



**A University of Sussex PhD thesis**

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

Pastoralism in the shadow of a windfarm: an ethnography of people,  
places and belonging in northern Kenya

James Drew

Submitted for Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

University of Sussex

June 2017

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

JAMES DREW

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN GEOGRAPHY

PASTORALISM IN THE SHADOW OF A WINDFARM: AN ETHNOGRAPHY  
OF PEOPLE, PLACES AND BELONGING IN NORTHERN KENYA

SUMMARY

This thesis develops an ethnographic approach that draws upon multispecies ethnography to provide insights into the lives of people living to the south and east of Lake Turkana.

The thesis is based upon twenty-two months of fieldwork with Samburu, Rendile and Turkana communities in Samburu and Marsabit Counties. However, most time was spent with a community of Samburu pastoralists living at Mt Nyiro. Information was gathered during fieldwork through participant observation and various types of interviews.

Through engagement with people's perspectives, analyses, and where possible their cosmologies, the thesis provides insights into the ways historical context, ('timeless' notions of) identities, belonging and custodianship are inter-connected, emerge and are contested as a part of people's lives and changing relationships (including violence) within and between communities, the state and investment companies - in an arena of political reforms, patronage networks and perceived rights to benefit from recent large-scale investments.

The large amount of time spent with one Samburu pastoralist community at Mt Nyiro enabled me to gain insights into the ways their lives are entwined with the landscapes that they and their livestock live in and shape, through networks of relations and the associated cosmological ways of *Ikerreti*, in which humans and non-humans (including 'supernatural' entities) are inter-dependent agents. The thesis exemplifies how these lived entanglements are a part of and inform this community's 'timeless truths' relating to past and present lineage, ethnicity, belonging and custodianship. Also shown are the ways these 'timeless' portrayals and associated cosmologies emerge through contestations with, and analyses of, others' portrayals of lineage, ethnicity, belonging and custodianship, and how these are forwarded as a part of, emerge from and inform patronage politics and contested 'rights' to benefit from investments. The thesis demonstrates how changing relationships between people living within the Samburu community at Nyiro and between people of this and other communities, in light of political and economic changes, can also only be understood as a part of people's entanglements with humans and non-humans, and the associated cosmological ways of *Ikerreti*.

## Contents

List of figures .....	7
List of maps .....	9
List of tables .....	9
Acknowledgements .....	10
Chapter 1. Introduction .....	14
Chapter 2. Literature review: pastoral ethnicity, conflict and investments in sub-Saharan drylands .....	20
2.1 Introduction .....	20
2.2 Sub-Saharan pastoral ethnicity and belonging .....	20
2.2.1 Introduction .....	20
2.2.2 Ethnicity and belonging in colonial and post-colonial African states .....	21
2.2.3 Construction, negotiation and contestation of ethnicity and belonging in northern Kenya since multiparty-ism .....	25
2.2.4 Embodied ways of engaging with people and place: from lived to symbolic .....	27
2.2.5 An alternative, emic analysis .....	29
2.3 Investments and development in sub-Saharan pastoralist drylands .....	30
2.3.1 Introduction .....	30
2.3.2 New ecology: highlighting 'inappropriate' development and misunderstandings of pastoralism .....	30
2.3.3 Investments, territorialised ethnicity and patronage politics .....	34
2.3.4 The ontological turn .....	38
2.3.5 Multispecies ethnography .....	41
2.3.6 Ethnographic approach to analysis of investments among Samburu pastoralists of northern Kenya .....	44
2.3.7 Studies of Samburu pastoralism .....	46
2.4 Sub-Saharan pastoral conflict .....	48
2.5 Conclusion .....	54
Chapter 3. Methodology .....	55
3.1 Introduction .....	55
3.2 Fieldwork .....	55
3.2.1 An introduction to Flat Rock .....	55
3.2.2 Other fieldwork locations .....	59
3.2.3 Fieldwork in Flat Rock .....	61
3.2.4 Fieldwork beyond Flat Rock .....	66
3.2.5 Secondary information .....	70

3.3 Ethics .....	70
3.4 Writing the thesis .....	72
Chapter 4. Livestock herding in Flat Rock .....	75
4.1 Introduction .....	75
4.2 Livestock liking places .....	76
4.3 Following the rains in search of fodder and water .....	77
4.4 Wild animals 'making' places .....	79
4.5 Mineral-water and licks .....	81
4.6 Types of grass .....	83
4.7 Places made by <i>Nkai</i> , rain .....	84
4.8 Places that are 'good' .....	85
4.9 Places that are 'bad' .....	89
4.10 People ('via' <i>Nkai</i> ) making places 'good' .....	90
4.11 Livestock 'knowing' good and bad places .....	92
4.12 A deeper analysis of livestock 'signs' .....	92
4.13 Less grass, more shrubs .....	95
4.14 Conclusion .....	103
Chapter 5. Belonging in a more-than-human world .....	108
5.1 Introduction .....	108
5.2 Custodianship and belonging to lineage land .....	108
5.3 Conflicts over seniority, custodianship and belonging to lineage land .....	111
5.4 Custodianship and belonging to 'Flat Rock community land' .....	113
5.4.1 Places, places names, familiarity and belonging .....	121
5.5 Seniority, custodianship and belonging in relation to ceremonies .....	124
5.6 Conflicts over seniority and ceremonial Custodianship .....	130
5.7 Conclusion .....	130
Chapter 6. Changing relations between Samburu and Turkana .....	135
6.1 Introduction .....	135
6.2 Post-1990s persistent insecurity in the north of Samburu County .....	137
6.3 A more 'peaceful' past .....	138
6.4 Post-1990s insecurity .....	142
6.5 Perceptions of the past .....	146
6.6 Perceptions of post-1990s violence .....	153
6.6.1 Violent episode 1 .....	153
6.6.2 Violent episode 2 .....	156
6.6.3 Violent episode 3 .....	159
6.7 Conclusion .....	162
Chapter 7. Lives in the shadow of a wind farm .....	168
7.1 Introduction .....	168
7.2 Disputes between Samburu lineages .....	173
7.3 Dividing leaders .....	180

7.4 Regional inter-ethnic divisions and alliances .....	187
7.5 Inter-ethnic claims to Sarima .....	192
7.6 Inter-ethnic violence .....	199
7.7 Conclusion: insights gained into the study of large-scale investment in northern Kenya .....	203
Chapter 8. Conclusion .....	212
8.1 Summary of findings .....	212
8.2 Critique of the approach developed in this thesis .....	223
References .....	227
Appendix .....	237
Appendix 1. Table of interview informant details .....	237
Appendix 2. Table of group interview informant details .....	239
Appendix 3. Table of conversation informant details .....	241
Appendix 4. Table of Samburu and Latin names for vegetation .....	243
Appendix 5. Table listing the years in which each Samburu age-set was circumcised .....	244
Appendix 6. A copy of the letter dated 14.08.2007, sent by Marsabit County Council to the national commissioner of lands granting permission for LTWP Ltd to lease 150 000 acres of land in Marsabit County .....	245
Appendix 7. A copy of the letter dated 26.11.2008, sent by the commissioner of lands to Marsabit County Council giving the Department of Land's approval for the leasing of land to LTWP Ltd. ....	246
Appendix 8. A copy of the 'Letter of Allotment' dated 18.03.2009, from the Department of Lands which grants LTWP Ltd. 60 705 hectares (150 000 acres) in Marsabit County .....	247

## Figures

4.1	View of <i>Ikees</i> stretching east from Mt Nyiro .....	76
4.2	<i>Marua</i> (grassy area for settling and grazing) on Mt Nyiro .....	79
4.3	Permanent well containing fresh water on Mt Nyiro .....	79
4.4	Site where a popular <i>Iturot</i> once stood .....	80
4.5	One of the two water troughs which receives a permanent supply of water piped from a well on the side of Mt Nyiro .....	81
4.6	Well containing mineral-rich water, located on the side ( <i>Ikub</i> ) of Mt Nyiro .....	81
4.7	Cow licking mineral deposits next to a well .....	81
4.8	A mineral-rich well, located at the foot of Ldonyo Mara Mountain .....	82
4.9	View of the Lake Turkana shoreline with mineral deposits .....	83
4.10	<i>Lonoro</i> grass growing in an area of <i>Ikees</i> to the east of Mt Nyiro .....	84
4.11	An <i>ntabas</i> in <i>Ikees</i> to the north east of Mt Nyiro .....	86
4.12	A shallow basin recently submerged by water escaping an adjacent <i>ntabas</i> .....	87
4.13	The <i>siratta</i> extending north and east from the recently submerged area .....	87
4.14	<i>Siratta</i> to the north east of Mt Nyiro.....	87
4.15	The prized <i>marti</i> , located to the west of Mt Nyiro .....	88
4.16	Coveted <i>Lkauwa</i> grass growing on volcanic soil atop the prized <i>marti</i> .....	89
4.17	A grasshopper on Mt Nyiro .....	91
4.18	Close up of <i>Ldukoronyanto</i> in <i>Ikees</i> .....	97
4.19	View of <i>Ikees</i> , which shows the extent of <i>Ldukoronyanto</i> .....	97
4.20	Picture showing the extent of <i>Ldukoronyanto</i> covering the Baragoi plains .....	97
4.21	<i>Lchurai</i> trees and <i>Ldukoronyanto</i> shrubs on what used to be the favoured <i>siratta</i> close to Mt Nyiro .....	98
4.22	View across what used to be the <i>siratta</i> .....	98
4.23	The cursed place of 'Soito Kokoioyo' .....	99
4.24	Women of Flat Rock performing a <i>lamal</i> ceremony at a well on the side of Mt Nyiro above Flat Rock .....	100



5.1	Grass <i>marua</i> surrounded by shrubs and trees, located on the slopes of Mt Nyiro .....	109
5.2	A <i>lorian</i> surrounded by forest, located on the top of Mt Nyiro .....	110
5.3	Water point located on the side of Mt Nyiro, within a Flat Rock lineage's territory .....	110
5.4	Food Aid temporarily stored in Flat Rock Primary School before its equal distribution among the Flat Rock community .....	120
5.5	<i>Marua</i> located in Flat Rock territory .....	121
5.6	An <i>Imurrani</i> collecting honey from his beehive located in his (inherited) tree within his lineage's territory .....	122
5.7	<i>Lmurran</i> sharing honey they have just collected .....	122
5.8	Grassy openings within Mt Nyiro forest where honey collectors eat their harvested honey .....	122
5.9	Two <i>saiyata</i> (piles of branches) placed either side of a path, atop Mt Nyiro .....	122
5.10	<i>Lasar</i> : burning of sacred plants at Flat Rock <i>Lmeoli</i> 'Lmuget of milk and leaves' ceremony, Mt Nyiro .....	126
5.11	Cosi Cosi, Mt Nyiro .....	127
5.12	Bamboo forest, Cosi Cosi, Mt Nyiro .....	128
5.13	Soit e Nkai: one of the (mist concealed) houses of <i>Nkai</i> atop Mt Nyiro .....	128
5.14	The <i>lmeuteun</i> at the foot of Mt Nyiro .....	128
6.1	View of the Sikira plains .....	142
6.2	Livestock fora camp .....	145
6.3	Stone <i>nasai</i> beside a path near Flat Rock .....	146
6.4	The main road through Baragoi town dividing Samburu and Turkana territories .....	160
7.1	The first turbines installed by 'Vestas' at the Sarima wind farm site .....	171
7.2	The new Sarima village built by wind power .....	197
7.3	The previous Sarima village located next to the South Horr-Loiyangalani road .....	197
7.4	Site of 'original' Sarima resident's river bed settlement, located about a kilometre from the new Sarima village .....	198

## Maps

Map Key .....	11
Map 1 Places and features of significance, including the 'Turkana Line' (north) .....	12
Map 2 Places and features of significance, including the 'Turkana Line' (south) .....	12
Map 3 Flat Rock residents' version of the 'original' Samburu District .....	13
Map 4 Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. 150 000 acre site .....	13

## Tables

A1 Table of interview informant details .....	237
A2 Table of group interview informant details .....	239
A3 Table of conversation informant details .....	241
A4 Table of Samburu and Latin names for vegetation .....	243
A5 Table listing the years in which each Samburu age-set was circumcised .....	244

### **Acknowledgements**











I would like to begin by thanking all of the people of Kenya that I was fortunate enough to spend time with - some longer than others, without whom I would not have been able to carry out this research. In particular, I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the people of Flat Rock for welcoming me into their community, and to my various research assistants and friends.

I also owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisors for their continued support and work. Without Professor James Fairhead's and Dr Jeremy Lind's guidance, support and insightful feedback, this research would not have happened or reached completion. I am grateful to the Economic and Social Research Council for funding my PhD.

Thank you to my mum and dad for their continued support, especially in the last few months of my writing. Thank you also to friends who have supported and helped me along the way. In particular, I am forever indebted to Damsey, Georgie, Popey and Daubs for their hospitality and friendship in Nairobi. A special mention must also be given to Sean and Jen for their friendship in Kenya; and Sharon and Tim for their friendship and support over the years.

## Map Key

### Symbols

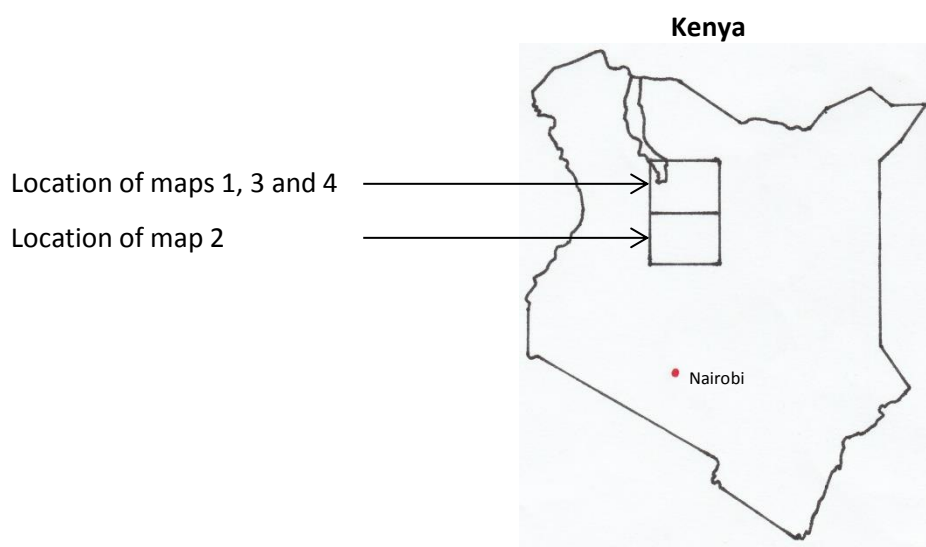
	Settlement
	Road
	County boundary
	Mountain/hill/volcanic plateau
	Lake
	Seasonal wetland
	The 'Turkana Line'
	Flat Rock residents' version of the 'original' Samburu District boundary
	Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. 40 000 acre wind farm site or 'footprint'
	Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. 110 000 acre 'concession area'

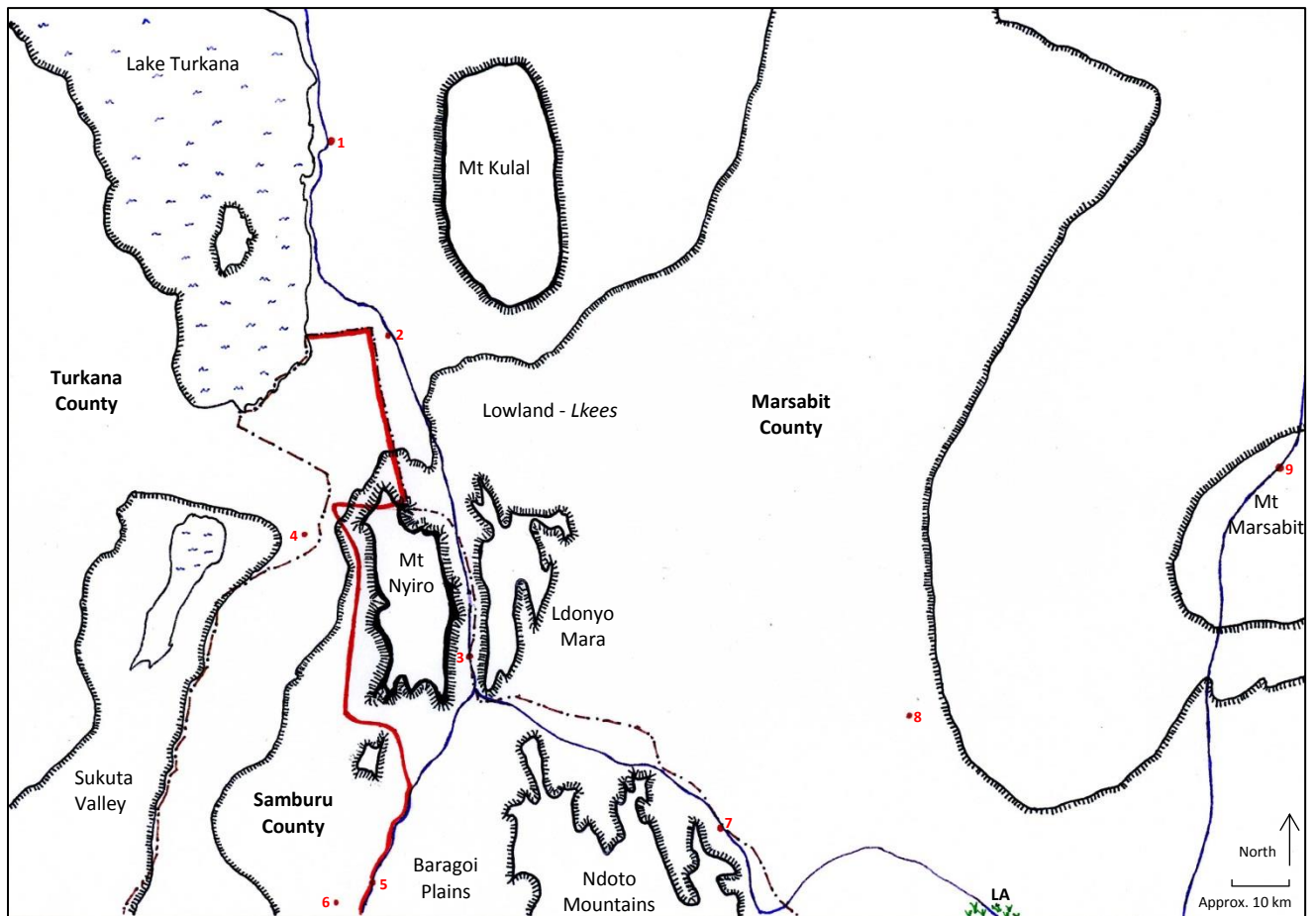
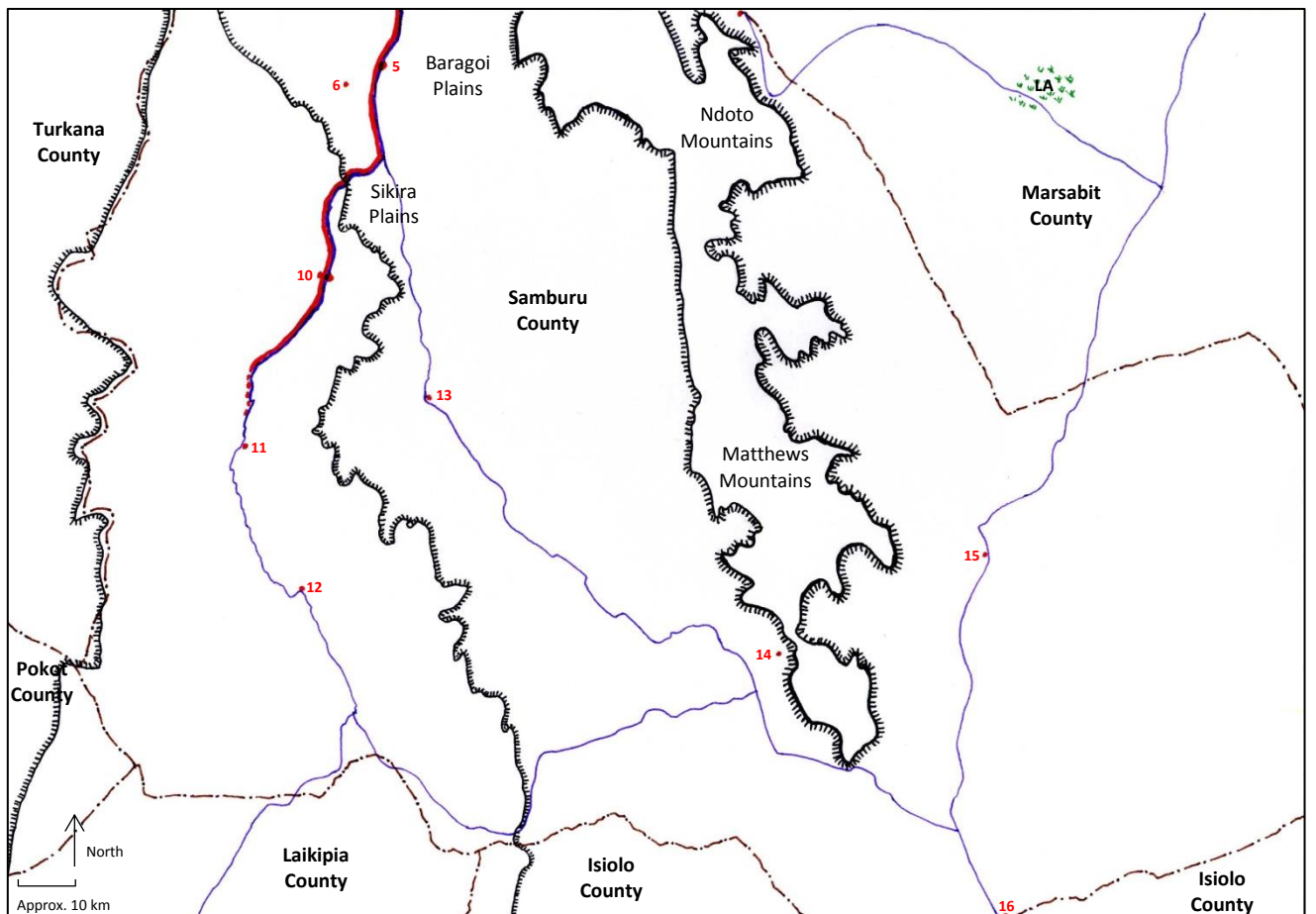
### Settlements

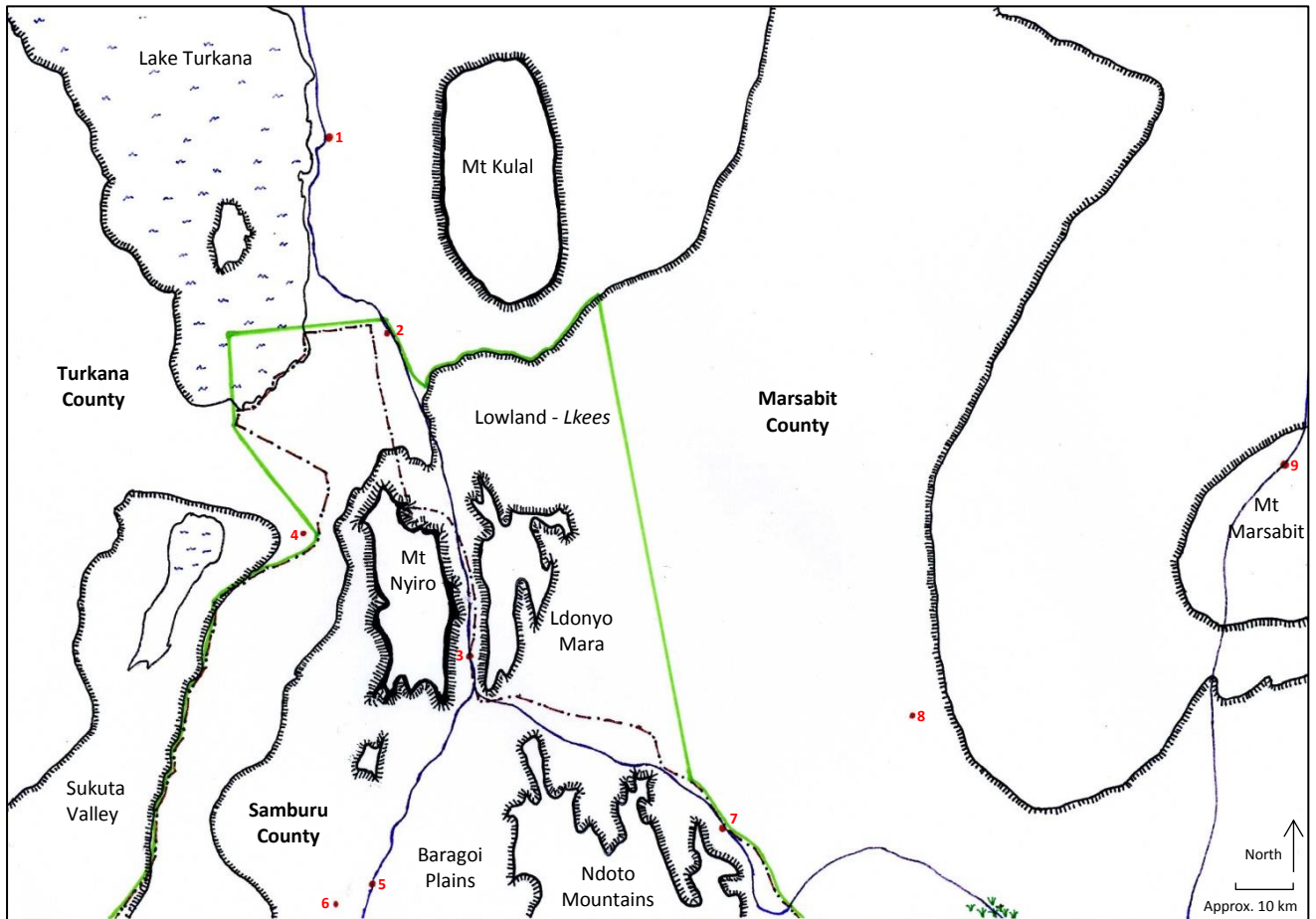
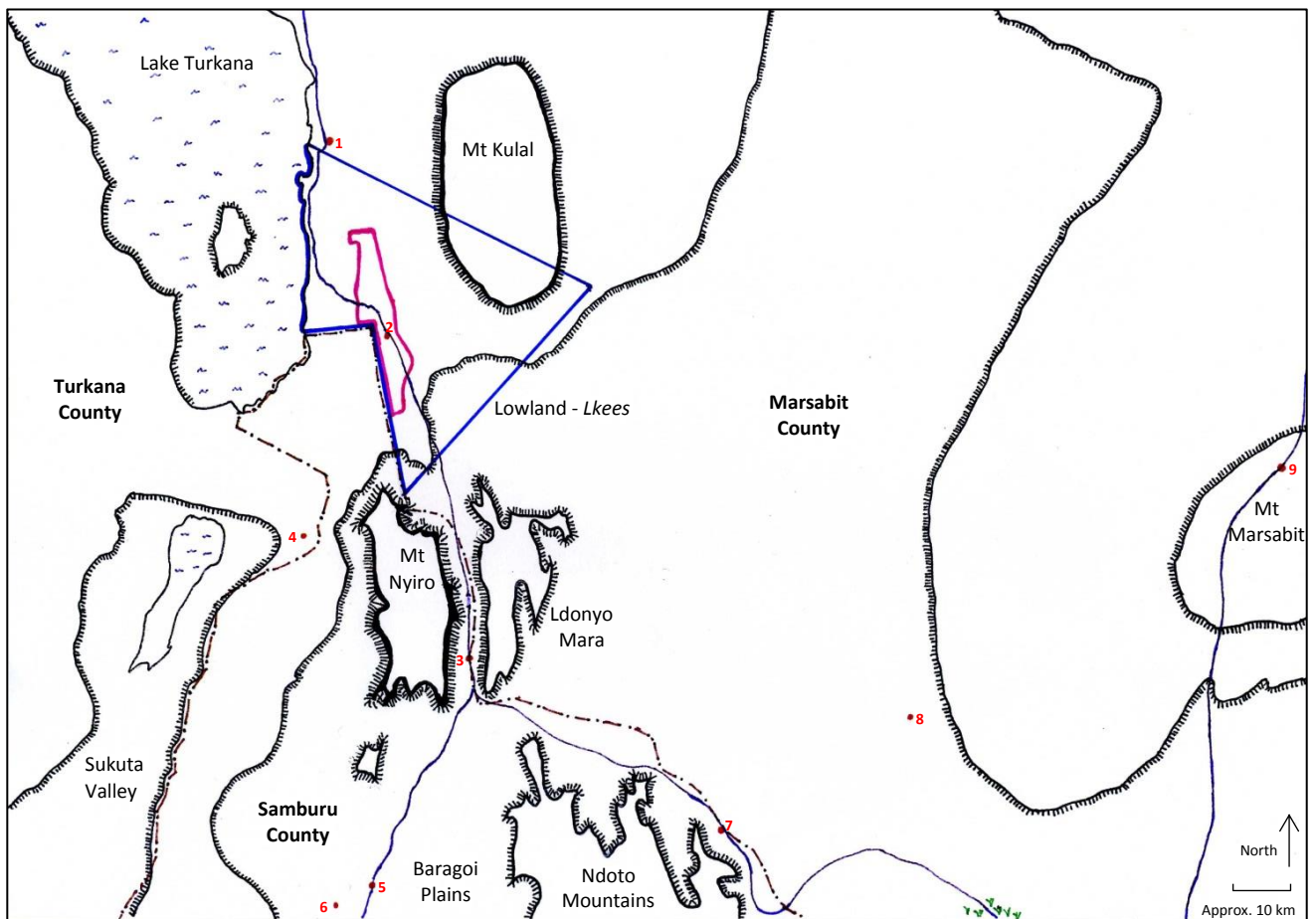
<b>1</b>	Loiyangalani
<b>2</b>	Sarima
<b>3</b>	South Horr
<b>4</b>	Parkaati
<b>5</b>	Baragoi
<b>6</b>	Lemelok
<b>7</b>	Illaut
<b>8</b>	Korr
<b>9</b>	Marsabit Town
<b>10</b>	Marti
<b>11</b>	Porro
<b>12</b>	Maralal
<b>13</b>	Barsaloi
<b>14</b>	Wamba
<b>15</b>	Sere Oipi
<b>16</b>	Archer's Post

### Other features

**LA** Larapasi



**Map 1** Places and features of significance, including the 'Turkana Line' (north)**Map 2** Places and features of significance, including the 'Turkana Line' (south)

**Map 3** Flat Rock residents' version of the 'original' Samburu District**Map 4** Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. 150 000 acre site

## Chapter 1. Introduction

Many small, relatively level grassy areas, known in Samburu language as *marua*, are found on the sloped terrain of the flanks of Mt Nyiro (see Map 1). These *marua* are usually surrounded by more woody vegetation. One such *marua*, like others in the area, is periodically lived on by the herders of a settlement situated close to Mt Nyiro (henceforth known by the pseudonym of Flat Rock) and by their livestock which feed on its grass and surrounding vegetation.

It is early morning and the sun has not yet risen over *Ldonyo Mara* mountain range to the east. An *Imurrani* (male warrior) of *Lmetili* age-set<sup>1</sup> in his mid-twenties stands up from his sleeping spot on the damp soil and wraps his single shuka around his body in an attempt to get warm. His asthma is bad at this altitude and temperature; he puts some fresh wood onto the almost dead fire.

The *Imurrani* makes a grunting sound; it is the sound of a bull, of masculinity - which is commonly made by *Imurran* (men of warrior age-set). He lifts the front of his blanket over the roaring fire warming his body underneath. Three *Imurran* and a young boy have been living at this *marua* with their families' cattle for a few weeks. Some of their herd belong to their brothers who live in towns. Townspeople who have jobs rely upon their rural families to herd their livestock. Many who grew up in remote villages such as Flat Rock and herded as a child or visited rural areas as a child to herd still value livestock and having a herd.

The three *Imurran* came to the *marua* from their livestock camp in the desert lowland (*Ikees*), east of Mt Nyiro, because of the rain, as the grass on the lowlands could not satisfy all the herds living there.

One thousand metres below the *marua* at the foot of Mt Nyiro is the now-permanent settlement of Flat Rock, where the parents of the three *Imurran* and the boy live. Flat Rock, like other settlements in the area, became permanent in the 1990s; the nomadic livestock herders who were living on this part of Mt Nyiro and the surrounding lowlands having decided to congregate and settle permanently in order to benefit from regular food aid, newly constructed water tanks which store water piped from reliable wells on the mountain side, and the newly constructed nursery and primary schools<sup>2</sup>.

The whole family had used to move with livestock, but nowadays only livestock camps move between lowlands and Mt Nyiro; between the varied landscapes of the lowland desert, and the volcanic plateaus, mountain sides and mountain top, to enable their herds of cattle, camels, goats and sheep ('shoats') to access seasonally variable fodder and water. The lowlands often dry faster than Mt Nyiro, which is cooler and wetter, so the mountain is a reliable source of 'dry season' fodder. People split their herds according to different livestock 'likes' or requirements. Most say that camels prefer warm dry environments, some say that cattle prefer the mountain, others say cattle prefer the lowlands, some say they like both. Such opinions alter where they locate their mobile cattle, camel and shoat camps.

It is 6.30 am at the *marua*; the three *Imurran* are in high spirits, full of energy, barking instructions at the boy and chatting enthusiastically about where their livestock will graze today and which ones will take water at one of the nearby mountainside wells. After milking, while sat around the fire drinking milk from freshly filled *malasin* (containers carved from wood), conversation turns to more serious matters.

Families of Turkana livestock herders used to live in and around Flat Rock with Samburu. They were friends and lived and herded together. However, conflict between Samburu and Turkana of the region worsened in the 1990s and for the last ten years no Turkana have lived in Flat Rock; old friends are now enemies. Similar divides between once friendly Samburu and Turkana communities, both rural and town-based, have occurred across the north of Samburu County since the 1990s.

The three *Lmetili Imurran* and their age-mates, like the *Lmeoli* before them, are tasked with defending the people of Flat Rock, their livestock and land from Turkana enemies. Many carry legal or illegal guns, such as AK-47s, G3s or M16s in order to protect their livestock from Turkana raiders. *Imurran* identity is tied with defending livestock and land from Turkana, which according to Flat Rock residents, belongs to Samburu, not Turkana.

*Imurran* sing and tell stories about successful raids on Turkana livestock. The eldest *Imurrani* at the *marua* relayed one such story while sipping his milk. Everyone had heard the story before but all enjoyed hearing it again and taking pride in the strength and bravery of Flat Rock *Imurran*.



Conversation then turned to an event that the three *Imurran* attended and was still fresh in their minds. A week earlier, they and other *Lmetili* and *Lmeoli* had blocked the road to protest against their leaders. Employed by Lake Turkana Wind Power (henceforth 'Wind Power') to liaise with communities, these leaders were unfairly depriving their community of jobs and compensation for trees cut in 'Flat Rock territory' along the electricity pylon route that will carry electricity to southern Kenya. Some men of the area have been employed as construction labourers for Wind Power sub-contractors, others as security guards for G4S, who had won the security contract. People of Flat Rock, like other herders of the area sought these good jobs, yet the community leaders were favouring only 'their people'.

Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd began to build Africa's largest Wind farm at Sarima in late 2014. They acquired the 150 000 acre land lease from the Kenyan Department of Lands in 2009 after securing permission from (the now defunct) Marsabit County Council in 2007<sup>3</sup>; 40,000 acres for the wind farm proper and a 110 000 'concession area' surrounding it<sup>4</sup> (see Map 4).

A Dutchman/Kenyan farmer and his Dutch friend had holidayed in the area in 2006 and noticing the strong wind, dreamt of constructing a wind farm. They set up a company: KP&P BV Africa, that in joint venture with a UK and Danish company, Norwegian, Finish and Danish development investment funds, and investment banks and multilateral lenders, became Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd<sup>5</sup>.

The nature of the Wind Power Company is unclear and a source of suspicion locally and several took it to court along with its associates (Marsabit County Council, the Attorney General and the National Land Commission) for the alleged illegal leasing of the land. Some of the plaintiffs accuse Wind Power of being a group of foreign and Kenyan land speculators<sup>6</sup>.

The court case was a fight on behalf of the Marsabit people who call this land theirs<sup>7</sup>. They framed this land as 'Trust land' and under their stewardship as members of Marsabit County Assembly (previously Marsabit County Council). According to them, the alleged land speculators did not follow the correct legal procedure outlined in the now-defunct 'Trust Land Act' when acquiring the land lease, including inadequate public consultation, and the illegal lease should be terminated<sup>8</sup>.

Wind Power entered the discourse of many people living to the east of Lake Turkana, including Flat Rock residents, around 2006 when the company installed test pylons in the area to

measure wind speed, so they could decide where to locate the wind farm. But conceptions of what Wind Power was and what it meant to people's current and future lives only really began to take shape in late 2014 when construction of the wind farm began. Sub-contractors arrived to construct new roads to provide better connections between the wind farm site and southern Kenya; other sub-contractors arrived to start constructing the wind farm at the Sarima site.

The youth protesting at the roadblock were not angry with the Wind Power Company, rather they were aggrieved at the local chiefs and Wind Power brokers from the area who represent Wind Power and the national administration. In the eyes of Flat Rock, these people were the ones who were guilty of keeping them in the dark regarding the stolen land and not enabling the equitable sharing of Wind Power benefits between communities.

Elsewhere in the area, communities of Samburu, Rendile and Turkana were also protesting against their leaders' and brokers' alleged involvement in land acquisition for Wind Power and unfairly distributing the project benefits. Yet as some became allied with the court case plaintiffs, so others allied with those leaders and brokers accused of wrongdoing. Accusations were rife about various leaders dividing communities, forming alliances and promoting inter-ethnic violence. Old and new divisions within and between communities and ethnicities (re-)formed. Discourse surrounding ethnicity, custodianship, belonging and rights to benefit from Wind Power were voiced by people of the region in light of the development, divisions and violence.

This thesis attempts to understand the lives and perspectives of Samburu and livestock herders of Flat Rock in particular, as their herding intersects with the unfolding of ethnic violence and transnational investments. It addresses the ways people relate with livestock, place and belonging, and endeavours to show how such issues are interconnected as part of people's lives with experiences of and perspectives concerning issues such as conflict, (political) patronage, investments and land annexation (especially related to Lake Turkana Wind Power). The perspectives of Turkana and Rendile people regarding these issues are also considered.

The thesis develops an ethnographic approach, which draws upon multispecies ethnography, to engage with embodied ways people of Flat Rock interact and identify with, and attach meanings to, people, place and other more-than-humans, as a part of everyday lives and

associated cosmological ideas. The thesis exemplifies how these embodied entanglements are a part of and inform Flat Rock informants' 'timeless truths' relating to past and present lineage, ethnicity and belonging, and their analyses of others' 'strategic' portrayals of lineage, ethnicity and belonging - in light of patronage politics and investments.

The thesis engages with the ways informants from Flat Rock and elsewhere portray and analyse ethnicity and belonging in association with patronage politics and investments, and how they analyse other people's (strategic) portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in association with patronage politics and investments.

It is hoped that this approach will offer alternative insights into ways that people understand and relate with each other and with place and other aspects of their lives, and the ways that inter-ethnic relations and conflict, politics and investments are combined within people's lives.

Initially, the literature review discusses in more detail existing approaches and analyses of ethnicity, herding, inter-ethnic conflict and investments in pastoral regions of East Africa, and in particular in northern Kenya. Issues and questions are raised and an ethnographic research approach is suggested which may help to address them.

The methodology outlines how the approaches taken during fieldwork and writing the thesis enable the issues and questions raised in the literature review to be addressed. The more empirical chapters (4-7) aim to address the questions and issues raised, and enable the reader to gain an understanding of people's lives, perspectives and analyses in relation, first, to herding, then to social practices, conflict and ethnicity, and finally, investments.

---

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 5 for a list of Samburu age-sets

<sup>2</sup> Lesorogol (2008) and Fratkin and Roth (2005) comment on this trend of sedentarisation among Samburu and Rendile pastoralist communities in the region.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 6 for a copy of the letter dated 14.08.2007, sent by Marsabit County Council to The national commissioner of lands granting permission for LTWP Ltd to lease 150 000 acres of land in Marsabit County. See Appendix 7 for a copy of the letter dated 26.11.2008, sent by the commissioner of lands to Marsabit County Council giving national Department of Land's approval for the leasing of land to LTWP Ltd. See Appendix 8 for a copy of the 'Letter of Allotment' dated 18.03.2009, from the Department of Lands, which grants LTWP Ltd. Their 60 705 hectare (150 000 acre) plot in Marsabit County.

<sup>4</sup> 'Resettlement Action Plan (RAP): Sirima [sic] Nomadic Pastoralist Relocation of the Community Encampment', 2014, available at [ltwp.co.ke](http://ltwp.co.ke)

---

<sup>5</sup> I obtained this information via a combination of interviews and conversations with court case plaintiffs: GRO 21; CON 20; information from the Wind Power website: [ltwp.co.ke](http://ltwp.co.ke); and information from Norfund: The Norwegian Investment Fund for Developing Countries, *Lake Turkana Wind Power Limited*. Available at: <https://www.norfund.no/investmentdetails/lake-turkana-Wind-Power-limited-article11926-1042.html>

<sup>6</sup> GRO 21; CON 20

<sup>7</sup> INT 48; GRO 21; CON 20

<sup>8</sup> INT 48; GRO 21; CON 20

## **Chapter 2. Literature review: pastoral ethnicity, conflict and investments in sub-Saharan drylands**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the various ways that ethnicity and belonging to communities and places among pastoralist peoples of northern Kenya and sub-Saharan Africa more broadly have been addressed by academic studies. In particular, the chapter focuses on how literature has approached the ways pastoralists' constructions of ethnicity and belonging are associated with ethnic clientelism politics, conflict and investments. Given the concerns of proponents of the ontological turn and of multispecies ethnography with researchers' analytical frameworks, I develop an alternative approach to the analysis of ethnicity and belonging among Samburu pastoralists and its interplay with conflict, politics and major infrastructural investments.

### **2.2 Sub-Saharan pastoral ethnicity and belonging**

#### **2.2.1 Introduction**

This section discusses analyses of how African, Kenyan, and northern Kenyan pastoralist communities in particular construct, negotiate and contest ethnicity and belonging in light of changing administrative and political contexts.

Initially I highlight studies which forward etic analyses of how the public and their co-ethnic patrons instrumentally construct and contest ethnicity and belonging within the paradigm of ethnic territoriality. I then turn to Lynch's (2010) and Jenkins' (2012) call for academic analyses of politically motivated instrumental constructions of Kenyan ethnicity to engage with lived, embodied ways that people engage with ethnicity, place and belonging. With this in mind, I build on Watson (2010) who combines an emic analysis of pastoralist's embodied ways of engaging with people and place with an etic analysis of the ways such embodied notions of place are instrumentally employed in current constructions and political contestations over ethnicity and belonging to administrative territories. This aims to build analytical framing which engages with the ways people portray and analyse ethnicity, belonging, patronage politics, and the ways they portray and analyse history in light of (past and present) embodied ways of being in the landscape, which may enable alternative insights into (political) constructions of, and contestations over, ethnicity and belonging among northern Kenyan pastoralists.

### **2.2.2 Ethnicity and belonging in colonial and post-colonial African states**

According to Ranger (1994) and Southall (1970), ethnicity among Africans and Kenyans, respectively, was constructed and acquired its present territorial and exclusionist form during the colonial period as colonial powers delineated administrative territories for 'ethnic groups' or 'tribes', as they saw them. Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) question these authors for underemphasising African agency in ethnic 'creation', and for neglecting the continuous reimagining of identity over time.

Berman (1998) in particular emphasises African agency during the colonial delineation of its peoples into 'tribes' and into the nature of ethnic content. He depicts how colonial experiences encouraged Africans to think and act ethnically. Provincial administration was the linkage between state and society – the way to distribute state gifts and control the population. The success of African ethnic cohorts in legitimising their presence and access to colonially administered resources depended upon their co-ethnic chief's and/or headman's ability to lobby the administration successfully on their behalf. As he reads it, continual construction, contestation and negotiation of ethnic identities took place through entrepreneurial manipulations and selections of customs and lineage histories in order to stake claims to an area and thus the right to access state resources. Whilst Lentz (1995) and Berman (1998) stress how prior to colonial administrative interference African identities had been more fluid, many authors express caution over this when portraying precolonial, colonial (and post-colonial) ethnic constructions: there was a limit to how flexible negotiations of ethnic identities were in colonial times, as there is today (Schlee, 2010; Schlee and Shongolo, 2012; Jenkins, 2012; Lynch, 2006; 2010; Broch-Due, 2000).

They reject the implication that the British 'invented' tribes. Instead, these academics emphasise how since colonial times ethnicity has been newly contested, transformed and renegotiated in relation to territory. Boundaries between who is kin, friend, ally or enemy became framed in terms of 'belonging' to territory (Jenkins, 2012). People's identities became more closely tied to 'tribes' having their place based upon European ideas of place of birth and inherited rights over that place (Broch Due, 2000). Schlee (2010) terms this 'territorialised ethnicity'. Many have argued that during the colonial era, the ability of pastoralists of northern Kenya to negotiate access and claim custodianship rights over places for grazing and watering livestock was determined by their ability to negotiate the colonial idiom of peoples of one ethnicity having ancestral precedence over and belonging to a territory<sup>1</sup> (Berman, 1998; Broch-Due, 2000; Schlee and Shongolo, 2012; Sobania, 1991). Colonial indirect rule and

people's access to resources and state power depended upon their and their co-ethnic patron's ability to portray/construct notions of separate ethnic groups who belong to certain administrative territories based upon birth rights and ancestral longevity in those places. This encouraged people to emphasise difference between ethnic groups (an 'us' vs 'them') in terms of their belonging to administrative areas and thus their rights to be there. The trend of contesting ethnicity in relation to territory in light of the changing political context has continued in Kenya up to the present day.

Prior to colonial administrative interference, there was less exclusivity, rigidity or permanence attached both to 'identities' of pastoralist ethnic groups and to areas where people lived, grazed, and watered. As Schlee and Shongolo suggest, pastoral groups of northern Kenya, such as Borana, were "organised along lines of difference without separation" (2012, p. 27). Relations between people and between people and place were dynamic, rather than being static or bounded by territory. When the British arrived in northern Kenya there was a mosaic of clans, ethnicities and identities with ill-defined territorial boundaries (Broch-Due, 2000; Sobania, 1991). Yet as Schlee and Shongolo (2012) also make clear, for pastoralists of northeast Kenya, despite this flexibility and non-territorial notion of ethnicity, 'ethnic' groups, such as Borana, Gabbra, Rendile had a strong sense of their separate identities.

The ways pastoralists could access resources and places were different and involved, among other things: fighting to displace others and having a range of reciprocal relationships and alliances with people of other 'communities', such as stock relations, kin relations, trade relations, and ritual relations. This concept of reciprocal relationships, which linked yet divided 'ethnic groups' such as Turkana and Samburu, was essential during droughts, famines and epidemics. For example, during the livestock Rinderpest epidemic of 1890, Samburu herds were decimated and many joined Turkana whose herds were less affected. Some Samburu joined Turkana kin; others joined Turkana communities based upon existing or created reciprocal relationships such as patronage, marriage or herding arrangements (Broch-Due, 2000; Sobania, 1988; 1991).

Berman (1998) and Klopp (2000) discuss how colonially induced notions of exclusive ethnic territoriality continued to influence the constructed or instrumental nature of ethnicity in post-colonial African states through client-patron relations. This was the means by which to access state resources and the vast pools of international aid distributed through the state. Politicians invest in maintaining patronage networks among their co-ethnics in order to gain

their political support and the public rely upon, expect and demand that their co-ethnic patron, provides their ethnic group with preferential access to their share of the 'national cake', investments and development projects.

Prior to multiparty-ism in the 1990s, independent Kenya was a one-party state. Patronage networks between politicians and the public formed the basis of this political system. Access to government and international aid resources for the public and access to votes for politicians relied upon selective distribution of these resources along lines of ethnic clientelism (Schlee and Shongolo, 2012). At this time before multiparty-ism, constructions of communal histories to legitimise ethnic cohorts belonging to certain territories, and therefore having exclusive rights over governmental resources and international aid, were evoked, but subtly as part of this political patronage process (Schlee and Shongolo, 2012).

Schlee and Watson (2009), Klopp (2000) and Boone (2012) recall the internal and international pressure put on Kenyan President Moi to 'democratise' from the late 1980s. Internal pressure came from the Church and rival politicians. The cold war was ending and the international community were no longer interested in propping up one-party states through means such as 'development aid' donations, which 'dictators' could influence more or less as they pleased. International donors (nations and non-governmental institutions) increasingly required accountability and an end to states and politicians using development as a tool in ethnic clientelism politics. In 1991, international donors stopped Kenyan aid.

Under internal and international pressure to 'democratise', President Moi repealed the Kenyan constitutional ban on opposition parties and instigated the first national multiparty elections in 1992. In light of this, international donors resumed aid to Kenya, but monitored its distribution more closely than before. Less international donor money was available for patronage politics at a time when Moi most needed it to buy the support of his political allies who threatened to defect from his KANU party to become rivals. Patronage networks among public voters also needed maintaining in light of increased political competition. In order to fill the deficit in funds, politicians increasingly turned to land as a patronage asset (Klopp, 2000; Schlee and Watson, 2009).

In order to strengthen ethnically oriented patronage networks and win multiparty elections, Kenyan politicians (nationally and regionally) and public alike increasingly openly promoted their ethnic cohort's exclusive right to benefit from governmental resources in their supposed



tribal homeland, and the need to exclude other ethnic cohorts ‘intruding’ on their ancestral land, taking land and governmental resources which did not belong to them. These claims were based on the assumption that there are group rights to specific territories (Broch-Due, 2000; Schlee and Shongolo, 2012; Lynch, 2006).

Schlee and Watson (2009), Schlee (2010), Schlee and Shongolo (2012) and Boone (2012) show how the exclusive, ethnic territoriality nature of patronage politics and associated ethnic violence, which became normal and legitimate across Kenya in the late 1990s, early 2000s, took precedence from the ‘Rift Valley clashes’ of the 1990s. In these, President Moi and his KANU party had a strong Kalenjin following and was politically dominant in the heavily Kalenjin populated Rift Valley region. Prior to the 1992 and 1997 national elections, Kalenjin leaders allegedly incited their co-ethnics to evict ‘alien’ Kikuyu settlers from Rift Valley land – asserting that the land had ‘belonged’ to Kalenjin since ‘time immemorial’. Kikuyu leaders and members of the public rallied to respond in kind and violence ensued.

Emerging trends in ethnicised patronage politics elsewhere in the country in the 1990s, resulted in northern Kenyans also displaying a heightened consciousness of ethnic identities and their belonging to administrative homelands – or not belonging. Politicians’ patronage networks increasingly became based upon promoting and securing their co-ethnic pastoralists’ rights to exclusive grazing land and water point access, and rights to exclusively access government resources allocated to ‘their’ (sub-) district/county (Schlee and Shongolo, 2012; Broch-Due, 2000; Schlee, 2010). Furthermore, despite international aid donors increasingly bypassing states and increasing the monitoring of aid distribution, politicians still found ways to position themselves between international donors and the public, in order to personally benefit from funds and use them within new multiparty political patronage networks (Klopp, 2000).

During the 2014 national elections, as part of Kenya’s new constitution, the Kenyan public elected members of a new devolved county government system, which instigated a new era of power sharing between central government and forty seven county governments (D’Arcy and Cornell, 2016; Cheeseman et al., 2014).

The new county government system devolved unprecedented responsibility and power to counties that would govern their own affairs and manage budgets previously entrusted to central government. D’Arcy and Cornell (2016), Carrier and Kochore (2014) and Cheeseman et

al. (2014) point out that the political reform resulted in both the public and their co-ethnic politicians instrumentally negotiating their ethnic cohorts' belonging to 'their' counties and therefore having the right to benefit exclusively from the new devolved wealth, in order to access this wealth via their patrons or via election, respectively. As a consequence, ethnic alliances and divides within counties have deepened. Those ethnic groups/alliances with the majorities in a county dominate many leadership positions, which has reinforced dominant groups' perceptions of themselves as 'owners' of counties. Minority ethnic groups within many counties with no political patrons have become more marginalised than before.

More than in previous elections, in 2014 voters in northern Kenya were an important electoral focus for national political candidates because of changes to the national voting system. Successful candidates were now required to secure 25% of the vote in at least 24 counties. In order to gain the required proportion of votes, national candidates relied upon and perpetuated their regional political allies' patronage networks based upon ethnic-clientelism (Carrier and Kochore, 2014).

### **2.2.3 Construction, negotiation and contestation of ethnicity and belonging in northern Kenya since multiparty-ism**

Schlee and Shongolo (2012) and Lynch (2006; 2010) exemplify how, since multiparty-ism, through ethnic patronage politics, northern Kenyan public and politicians have increasingly contested and manipulated communal histories (including lineage histories), emphasising alliances and divisions between discrete 'ethnic groups', to frame instrumentally certain ethnicities as belonging to certain administrative areas, or not belonging, in order to legitimise territorial claims and thus rights to governance and state resources. Who constitutes a distant relative and welcome 'guest'; or an unwelcome, unrelated 'occupier' and enemy, is negotiable and highly contingent upon the immediate political context. These authors demonstrate African agency in the construction of ethnicity, which is not created out of thin air; rather ethnic content is interpreted and reinterpreted within limits.

Schlee and Shongolo (2012) for example, emphasise how constructions and manipulations of Borana, Ajuran and Somali 'ethnicities', among others, are based on selectively remembered communal histories - a 'truth'; and are thus not invented. For example, Ajuran public and their co-ethnic patrons strategically distanced themselves from Somali while reviving their affiliation with Borana after decades of denial, by emphasising ancestral heritage: lineage linkages between Ajuran and Borana. Schlee and Shongolo argue that such portrayals of history are not

created but are selectively remembered in order that Ajuran can legitimately live and have political representation and access to state resources in so-called 'Borana' administrative areas. Their etic analysis explains this behaviour as being based upon the colonial idiom of territorialised ethnicity whereby the legitimacy of people in an area depends upon longevity/ancestral claims of certain 'ethnicities' to place.

Like Schlee and Shongolo, Lynch (2006; 2010) emphasises how Kenyans instrumentally interpret and reinterpret ethnic content in order to distance themselves from, or forge closer links with 'cousins', to secure access to political and/or economic resources. Lynch discusses elite and non-elite Kalenjin people's role in construction, interpretation and (re-)negotiation of ethnic identities, allies and enemies over time. Such constructions are through drawing upon selective manipulations/readings of complex, ambiguous communal histories, and of interaction (including intermarriage, migration and absorption).

Unlike Schlee and Shongolo, Lynch (2010) does not place emphasis on the historical accuracy of ethnic constructions: "Such shared pasts don't have to be historically accurate, but they cannot be invented out of thin air - they must be built on real cultural experience" (2010, p. 194). Lynch reaffirms that constructed ethnicities must also hold resonance with cultural traditions, ethnic history and associated language and culture. She acknowledges that although negotiation and construction of ethnicity and communal histories are instrumental and opportunistic, they are constrained by the necessity of an ethnic group to be inter-intelligible: to have linguistic and cultural similarity, a notion of blood ties and a shared past/common descent.

Lynch comments on the importance of situating instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging, an 'us' vs 'them', within people's lived experience, "real cultural and linguistic experience forms an emotive 'primordial' base into which negotiated ethnicities [through 'communal histories'] become embedded" (2010, p. 196). According to Lynch, such considerations are often neglected in debates regarding the politicisation of ethnicity.

Yet despite her own advice, Lynch uses an etic approach which emphasises people's instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging in light of changing political contexts, without embedding people's discourse within more emic, analyses of people's ideas of a 'deep', embodied sense of selves and place.

Jenkins (2012, p. 580) in a study of identity politics among southern Kenyans, argues that, “ethnised understanding of belonging to and ownership of space - is remarkably durable and has become embedded in everyday social practices, institutions, and discourses”.

As with Lynch’s aspirations, Jenkins highlights the importance of analyses which combine people’s instrumental constructions of communal histories, ethnicity and belonging in light of changing political contexts, with people’s lived and ‘deep’ sense of identities and belonging - within which instrumental discourse holds meaning. With this in mind, the section turns to consider studies among Kenyan pastoralists, which have discussed lived, embodied ways of engaging with ethnicity and place.

#### **2.2.4 Embodied ways of engaging with people and place: from lived to symbolic**

Schlee (1992), Watson (2010) and Broch-Due (2000) emphasise through emic analyses how, in the past, the lived, felt, embodied ways pastoralists of northern Kenya acquired identity, ethnicity and belonging in relation to place was associated with mobility and non-territorialised notions of ethnicity. Yet Watson (2010) and Broch-Due (2000) also employ etic analyses to show how Gabbra and Borana, and Turkana lives, respectively, have changed since multiparty-ism, sedentarisation and territorialised notions of ethnicity. Mobile, embodied ways of engaging with the landscape are now mainly symbolic, relevant in their discursive use in debates over identities, belonging and ethnic territory, in light of ethnic patronage politics. Indeed, Watson makes an argument that the removal of people’s personal engagement with landscape is one reason why Marsabit Town Gabbra and Borana identities are now more rigid and why an inflexible negative relationship between them is easier to maintain.

Prior to increasing sedentarisation, Schlee (1992) and Watson (2010) discuss how religious beliefs, practices and institutions were central to northern Kenyan Gabbra and Borana relational constructions, performance and experience of landscape. Movements through landscape, identities of, and meanings attached to places and people (including ways inter-ethnic relations were constructed and negotiated) were known and performed relationally through ritual practices. “Sacredness of places was constructed through ritualised migrations which were enacted and embodied” (Watson, 2010, p. 214).

Identities (including origin stories) of specific Gabbra and Borana lineages are associated with ritual sites. Particular lineages perform ceremonies at a mountain place specific to their lineage history, at a propitious time of the lunar calendar. Through enacting rituals, identities

of, and relationships between, people and place are constructed, social structure is defined, herding patterns and access to certain sacred wells are controlled, and the well-being of people, their livestock and the land are ensured (Schlee, 1992; Watson, 2010). “The everyday world of rain, land, grass, water, animals, people, prosperity or hardship, environmental degradation or fertility, is managed ritually as much as it is practically” (Watson, 2010, p. 207).

Engagement with and migrations between ritual sites, alongside religious institutions reinforces the ‘one-ness’ of a group. Ritual migrations also interwove Borana and Gabbra lives around each other, for example, Gabbra were involved in Borana ceremonies. This countered the identification of ethnicity with particular territories and engendered a respect for difference (Watson, 2010).

Broch-Due (2000) similarly analyses how past Turkana relationships to land was fluid, flexible and constantly (re-)constructed through moving across and interacting with it. Turkana identities and meanings attached to people and place were not bounded and fixed by territory. For Broch-Due, such an embodied way of relating with landscape changed with colonially introduced notions of territorialised ethnicity. An embodied sense of identity and place among Turkana is now more merely discursive and strategic in light of multiparty politics.

Similarly, Watson (2010) explains how since multiparty-ism, identities and inter-connected lives of many Gabbra and Borana of Marsabit Town, are no longer enacted as part of herding practices and ritual movements through the landscape. Their lives have become sedentary: inter-ethnic relations and relations to space through herding and ritual practices have become fixed, segregated and now more conflictual in light of the politicisation of ethnic territory and associated violence. Through building schools, dispensaries and administering food aid, Catholic and Islamic institutions have also encourage sedentarisation. Catholicism and Islam have also discouraged more ‘traditional’ religious practices (Watson, 2010). The ways Gabbra and Borana, now living in Marsabit Town, interact and identify with themselves, each other and places has changed from one enacted and inclusive to one discursive and exclusive. There is now a separation between Gabbra and Borana sacred places and a change in the way they are used: the only sacred sites visited are those within one’s own ethnic territory, if they are visited at all. Current salience and experience of ritual sites for many Gabbra and Borana lies in their discursive use by public and politicians alike to emphasise difference in ethnicity and territory. Rituals and migrations have become symbolic and theoretical, signifiers in political debates manipulated by elites.

### 2.2.5 An alternative, emic analysis

Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) both suggest that analyses of instrumental construction and negotiation of ethnicity and belonging in light of changing Kenyan political contexts must incorporate people's present-day lived and embodied experiences. Watson (2010), Schlee and Shongolo (2012) and Broch-Due (2000) also develop emic analyses of pastoralist's ways of engaging with people and place in a non-territorial world. However, in light of recent political contexts and associated notions of exclusive ethnic territories, Watson (2010) also discusses, as we have seen, how Gabbra and Borana embodied ways of engaging with the landscape have been curtailed by territorialised ethnicity. The salience of such past non-territorial ways of experiencing people and place through herding and ritual practices lies in their symbolic and discursive agency in multiparty identity politics.

The studies presented here do not engage with analyses of present-day embodied ways Kenyan pastoralists interact and identify with, and attach meanings to, people, place and other more-than-human things, in combination with their experiences and instrumental discourses associated with notions of ethnic territoriality and politics. Instead, a study which does highlight their informant's embodied experiences of place (Watson, 2010), emphasises how such engagements are becoming incompatible with present-day territorialised notions of ethnicity: what is relevant regarding current conceptions of ethnicity and belonging in light of politics are people's discursive applications of such embodied experiences with landscape.

These works suggest that insights into instrumental constructions and contestations over ethnicity and belonging as part of ethnic clientelism politics among northern Kenyan pastoralists and politicians might be achieved through engagement with the ways informants themselves portray their own ethnicity and belonging in association with patronage politics, and by analysing people's (strategic) portrayals of 'other' ethnicities and lack of belonging in association with patronage politics. Yet, they also suggest the need to portray and analyse past and present ethnicity, belonging and politics in light of (past and present) embodied ways of being in the landscape. We need to ask both *how do pastoralists construct, analyse and contest their and others' portrayals of ethnicity and belonging alongside portrayals of colonialism, politics and ethnic patronage networks?* And *how do these portrayals/constructions interplay with people's every-day relational ways of engaging with people, place and other more-than humans?*

## **2.3 Investments and development in sub-Saharan pastoralist drylands**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

I now discuss how infrastructural and energy investments and development in pastoralist areas play into the way pastoralists conceive, interact and engage with the landscape, and questions of belonging.

Colonial and post-colonial administrative development programs have been criticised for misunderstanding the ways pastoralist societies conceive and interact with the landscape through herding. New ecology arguments are forwarded which legitimise the rationality of pastoralism through showcasing the relational ways pastoralists interact with landscape in their herding. Discussion then turns to analyses of how recent investments in the drylands of northern Kenya have become incorporated into political contestations over territorialised ethnicity, belonging and the right to benefit from development. In light of Lynch's (2010) and Jenkin's (2012) criticisms of instrumental approaches to ethnicity, symbolic studies of the embodied ways northern Kenyan pastoralists experience place are presented. Yet proponents of the ontological turn and multispecies ethnography express concerns over researchers' analytical frameworks which risk misunderstanding embodied ways informants experience the world. These concerns are then discussed. To address this, I forward a multispecies ethnographic approach to engage with the embodied ways pastoralists relationally experience and understand the landscape, and how such embodiment is associated with community relations, notions of belonging and ethnic territoriality. This approach is then compared with existing ethnographic research with Samburu pastoralists and their understandings of landscape.

### **2.3.2 New ecology: highlighting 'inappropriate' development and misunderstandings of pastoralism**

Klopp (2000), Broch-Due (2000) and Boone (2012) examine how the Kenyan colonial administration and 'white settlers' promoted private land tenure and commercial settled agriculture as 'development'; as more evolved and civilised than customary forms of land tenure, subsistence agriculture and nomadic livestock herding. They highlight how settlers concentrated their civilising mission on the high, fertile lands of southern Kenya which, in their opinion, were suited to intensive agriculture; the type the settlers practiced in northern Europe and were familiar with. Elliot (2016) and Klopp (2000) write how the 'development', 'civilising' rhetoric was used by white Kenyans to grab land from those perceived not to be exploiting land to its economic potential.

Unlike more fertile land in southern Kenya, the arid rangelands of the north were deemed by the colonial administration to be of low economic potential and undesirable for agriculture. This idea persisted after independence and has contributed towards the neglect and marginalisation of northern Kenya's pastoralist communities in terms of development and investments (Broch-Due, 2000).

Scoones (1996), Leach and Mearns (1996) and Sullivan and Homewood (2003) consider how the sub-Saharan colonial administrations, including Kenya, misunderstood pastoral society and land use practices and blamed the pastoral 'communal land tenure system' for encouraging pastoralists to move across the rangelands, over-graze them, and exceeding their 'carrying capacity', leaving a sea of irreversible land degradation and desertification in their wake. This was packaged as a classic case of Hardin's (1968) 'tragedy of the commons'.

Homewood and Rogers (1987) and Scoones (1996) have since outlined that colonial administrations propagated and institutionalised a common-sense notion of unsustainable pastoralism and the need to save the rangelands from degrading pastoralism, in order to legitimise their 'solutions' to settle and civilise primitive nomads and to administer and control 'tribes' within their supposed tribal homelands. Grazing schemes, modelled on ranch herding in North America, were imposed upon pastoralists in areas of the rangelands deemed by the administration as 'worth saving'. The schemes were supposed to 'teach' pastoralists the benefits of keeping less livestock in a smaller area: a settled, civilised way of farming and living. Swift (1996) writes that the schemes enabled colonial administrations in Africa to claim stewardship rights over pastoralist resources previously outside their control. Lesorogol (2008) similarly writes how white Kenyan farmers forwarded 'misconceived' allegations against 'irrational' Samburu pastoralists as degrading and not 'exploiting' the land to its economic potential, in order to 'grab' the land for themselves.

Fratkin and Roth (2005), Sullivan and Homewood (2003) and Galaty (2013) all illustrate how post-colonial state and international organisations administering 'development' funds continued to portray sub-Saharan mobile pastoralism as irrational and land degrading. State, NGO, missionary, United Nations and World Bank funded and guided development mirrored prior colonial initiatives aimed at settling pastoralists and incorporating them into 'civilised' private land tenure systems that they thought would enable them to exploit the rangelands 'sustainably' and realise the economic potential of the land. In the 1960s and 70s, the United



Nations and World Bank promoted group ranches among pastoralists in Kenya which were supposed to increase pastoralists' landholding security by transferring rights over land from the state to pastoralists through registration of ranch members.

Galaty (2013) suggests that Kenyan politicians and elites went along with international donor notions of unsustainable pastoralism and the proposed schemes to rectify this, and turned them to their advantage. For example, Lesorogol (2008) reports how, during group ranch implementation in Samburu District in the 1970s, Samburu elites exploited Samburu group ranch committee members' ignorance towards the land title adjudication process, to illegally secure land titles. Instead of increasing land security among pastoralists, privatising schemes, such as group ranches, thus made people vulnerable to land grabs by elite speculators (Galaty, 2013).

An important political ecology literature led by Ellis and Swift (1988), Homewood and Rogers (1987) and Scoones (1995; 1996)<sup>2</sup> has questioned the assumptions of equilibrial ecology<sup>3</sup> which underpins what they suggest is a misunderstanding of dryland pastoralism in sub-Saharan Africa propagated by colonial administrations and post-colonial state and non-state institutions. This research argues that theories of human induced land degradation and desertification of equilibrial ecosystems were developed in temperate regions but are not applicable to sub-Saharan African arid rangeland ecosystems that exhibit non-equilibrial characteristics. Crucially, livestock grazing does not permanently disrupt vegetation succession. Rather, seasonally and spatially variable rainfall plays a more dominant role in determining patchy vegetation dynamics across arid rangelands of sub-Saharan Africa.

Behnke et al. (1993), Swift (1996) and Scoones (1994; 1996), among others, promote a counter-narrative based upon this critique; promoting a new non-equilibrial ecology that has the effect of legitimating the economic and ecological rationales behind 'opportunistic', mobile livestock production systems in African drylands. They show how pastoral social structure, customary land tenure and herding practices together encourages mobility and discourages exclusive rights to pasture and water. Moreover, this is more effective than private land ownership at enabling herders to exploit and conserve the variable arid land resources. State and non-state initiatives promoting private land tenure to overcome tragedy of the commons have misunderstood (or intentionally misrepresented) the dynamics of customary land tenure in order to legitimise their 'development' initiatives.

In common with new ecologists, Fratkin and Roth (2005) argue that customary mobile pastoralism based on common property systems enables the sustainable utilisation of rangeland pasture. Yet, the separation of ethnic groups into tribal territories in colonial times and the subsequent break down of flexible identities and inter-tribal reciprocal relationships, such as kin relations and bond relations, which facilitated the sharing of resources, has undermined or destroyed such common property systems. Fratkin and Roth (2005) and Broch-Due (2000) discuss how, ironically, it is the introduction and enforcement of less mobile, settled forms of living and herding, among Rendile and Turkana of northern Kenya, respectively, that has led to situations of unsustainable herding – such as overgrazing and land degradation, and poverty, which such interventions proposed to combat.

In keeping with ‘new ecology’ approaches, Kratli and Schareika (2010), Kratli (2008), Niamir-Fuller (1999) and Roba and Oba (2008; 2009) provide detailed analyses of the relational ways in which pastoralists of sub-Saharan Africa live in and understand the landscape through livestock herding.

In a study with Woodabe pastoralists of Niger, Kratli and Schareika (2010) emphasise how dryland pastoralism is not a ‘coping strategy’ to survive within an ‘inadequate’ variable and unpredictable resource base. Rather, Wodaabe pastoralism, including herd management, is based around maximising the harnessing of non-uniform, unstable and transient concentrations of rangeland nutrients. Kratli and Schareika demonstrate in detail how landscapes and variable rangeland nutrient distribution are conceived and experienced through livestock nutritional needs, which are interpreted through livestock behaviour and health indicators.

Roba and Oba (2009) use a similar approach to reveal how Rendile pastoralist’s herding practices are a function of the way they classify and understand landscape productivity and degradation as ‘good’ and ‘bad’, in relation to their livestock. This is achieved through a combination of monitoring key fodder species which are suitable for particular livestock grazing because of their nutritional requirements, and monitoring livestock productivity and health indicators. Roba and Oba propose that ecologists need to incorporate such relational “herder knowledge” to improve their theories of rangeland productivity and degradation.

Discussion now turns to analyses of how recent investments in the drylands of northern Kenya have become incorporated into political contestations over territorialised ethnicity, belonging

and the right to benefit from development. In light of Lynch's (2010) and Jenkin's (2012) criticisms of instrumental approaches to ethnicity, symbolic studies of the embodied ways northern Kenyan pastoralists experience place are presented. Proponents' of the ontological turn and multispecies ethnography concerns over researchers' analytical frameworks which risks misunderstanding embodied ways informants experience the world are then discussed in relation to engagement with people's instrumental portrayals of ethnicity in light of investments and relational ways pastoralists understand the landscape.

### **2.3.3 Investments, territorialised ethnicity and patronage politics**

Many authors discuss the opening up of African state economies to foreign investors and the associated rise in state, foreign state and non-state investments across pastoralist arid lands, including northern Kenya (e.g. Catley et al. 2013, Galaty 2013, Nunow 2013, Cotula and Vermeulen 2009, Mosley and Watson 2016, and Igoe 2006). Pastoralist areas and their resources, once neglected, marginalised and considered peripheral to national interests, are undergoing a re-valuation and have taken centre stage in national and international development strategies. This is accompanied by an acceleration in land alienation from pastoralist communities.

In many cases, this concerns land acquisitions. Cotula and Vermeulen (2009), Galaty (2013), Catley et al. (2013) and Nunow (2013) among others analyse sub-Saharan land acquisitions for food and bio-fuel production by foreign states to enhance their fuel and food security and by companies for export crops. The rising interest in African arid lands by investors has attracted international and local land speculators. Local brokers secure land for speculators and investors, enabling them to navigate legal requirements and associated community consultations, permission and compensation. Brokers frame the area as empty and un-used, despite the longevity of occupation and continuity of use by pastoralists.

Galaty (2013) and Nunow (2013) outline that Kenyan pastoralists have become the victims of 'green grabbing', food and biofuel land acquisitions, and land speculation, and are often not consulted and unaware that their land has been taken. They show that although the proportion of land taken is small, it is often the most fertile and valuable pastoralist land, crucial dry-season refuges. They suggest that removal of such resources undermines the functionality of the whole subsistence pastoral system. Catley et al. (2013) are concerned that those herders relying upon subsistence pastoralism, networks of social relations and communal land tenure will not survive this commercial transition in land tenure.

They also highlight that not only is commercialised agriculture taking high-value land out of the reach of most pastoralists, but that pastoralism is itself also undergoing commercialisation. Commercialised forms of livestock herding are being practiced by elites and businessmen who rear livestock to sell at markets. They are versed in the nuances of private land tenure and are able to secure access to enclosed pasture, access urban livestock markets and pay poor herders to look after their vast herds. This is taking yet more valued land away from pastoralists who have come to rely on a more customary land tenure to facilitate extensive, subsistence grazing of their smaller herds. Catley et al. (2013) suggest that this is causing many of these less-commercial oriented pastoralists to leave pastoralism and move to live on the fringes or urban centres, surviving on food aid.

There are other, non-food or bio-fuel investments taking place across the arid lands of east Africa as part of nations' large-scale ambitious development plans or 'visions' which proclaim to 'develop' and 'open-up' previously neglected areas to new economic opportunities in the region (Mosley and Watson, 2016; Kochore, 2016; Cormack, 2016; Greiner, 2016; Elliot, 2016). Kenya Government's 'Vision 2030'<sup>4</sup> aims to throw off aid dependency and achieve 'middle-income-status' in less than two decades. Mosley and Watson (2016) and Kochore (2016) write that, northern Kenya is now envisaged as the engine of growth for the national economy, having become the means to enable middle-income status according to the Kenyan government. Kenya's 'flagship' 'Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor' project (LAPSSET)<sup>5</sup> with associated developments planned in the north of Kenya, and other large-scale energy projects taking place in the region<sup>6</sup> driven by public-private partnerships between the Kenyan state and trans-national companies, will set the country to middle income status.

Analysis of the emerging state rhetoric surrounding proposed investments in the arid lands of Kenya shows how yet again pastoralism is poorly valued (e.g. Kochore, 2016; Cormack, 2016). Investment 'visions' neglect to acknowledge the sustainability and productivity of pastoralism based upon systems of customary land tenure. The state and companies boast that their projects will utilise the newfound economic potential of the region's resources, in ways that pastoralism cannot. The region and its backwards inhabitants will be 'developed' and incorporated into the capitalist, modern ways of southern Kenya through commodification of land, private land ownership and permanent settlement.

Greiner (2016) and Cormack (2016) recognise the agency of pastoralists in the way developments and privatisation of land in northern Kenya play out between the state, private companies, civil society organisations, politicians and communities. They argue and exemplify how politicised ethnic competition between different groups for territory and resources are re-played and amplified in the context of modern development/privatisation projects/initiatives in order for public and politicians to benefit. The public and their co-ethnic political patrons instrumentally claim exclusive rights for their ethnic cohort to benefit from projects in 'their place', where they belong, by constructing/portraying their ethnic group having ancestral precedence in, and custodianship rights over, the land; 'other' ethnic groups are guests. Such strategic 'territorialised' depictions of pastoralism are a part of Kenyan patronage politics which has its roots in colonial patronage systems in which 'rights' were aligned with ethnicities belonging to their own administrative territory.

Greiner (2016) discusses the agency of pastoralists and the territorial nature of ethnicity in highly politicised intra- and inter-societal struggles over access to resources and land in light of the implementation of LAPPSET investments and 'community based conservancies' (CBCs) in West Pokot County. Pastoralist communities have increasingly asserted their rights to claim benefits from conservancies, geothermal development and county resources through conflicting portrayals of exclusive ethnic belonging to administrative areas. Greiner (2012) similarly highlights Pokot and Samburu communities and their political patrons asserting their ancestral rights and ownership of place in light of a proposed Samburu CBC. CBCs enable pastoralists who are members to access pasture in the enclosed conservancies. However, similarly to group ranches, those not registered as members are excluded from the enclosed conservancy area and financial benefits. This triggered increased conflict between Samburu and Pokot communities.

Thus, ethnic clientelism politics based upon exclusive ethnic territoriality, and the roles of public and politicians, has influenced the ways developments have materialised. Likewise, such developments, especially CBCs that encourage land enclosure, have contributed to the increasing commodification of land and have influenced the public's and politicians' engagement with space and resources as belonging exclusively to certain ethnicities.

Cormack (2016) shows how ideas and imaginations of heritage among Borana communities of Isiolo County are contingent on contemporary economic and political contexts. Borana communities, encouraged by civil society organisations, promote their heritage, in particular a

territorially bounded version of the *dedha* communal land tenure system, in order to claim legal community rights to land tenure, in light of increasing commoditisation of pastoralist land. “Historical memory” of a territorially discrete herding management system, and an understanding of and investment in ideas of identities tied to exclusive ethnic territories are promoted by Borana communities as a way to negotiate access to locality, newly devolved county resources and benefits from proposed LAPSET developments in the area. Equally, such notions of identity and space are promoted to contest ‘alien’ pastoralists’ claims to belonging and thus their rights to benefit from state resources and LAPSET developments in ‘Borana land’. Cormack concludes that these portrayals of Borana ‘heritage’ are a symptom of colonial and post-colonial administrations’ implementation of bounded ethnic territory. The pre-colonial *dedha* system and notions of identity and land were not territorial in nature.

In a similar way to Cormack and Greiner, Li (2001) shows for Sulawesi, Indonesia how political and economic processes connect people, state institutions and places. Identities and lived experience of public and state officials are relational: people construct identities of themselves and others in and through relationships with other people and state institutions, in light of changing political-economic contexts. State implemented developments ‘externally’ imposed on communities are complex because state officials and those they would call clients are already enmeshed in sets of economic and political relationships in which their own identities, desires, and practices are deeply implicated. These relationships influence the way that developments play out. Furthermore people’s multiple relationships, identities and lived experiences are re-constructed, re-negotiated, re-worked, used instrumentally, and changed through the implementation of developments and associated political processes.

Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) argue that to understand pastoralists’ instrumental constructions and contestations over ethnicity and belonging, and the ways they portray and analyse history, a nuanced analyses is necessary that incorporates the embodied ways pastoralists interact and identify with, and attach meanings to, people and place.

Numerous emic studies analyse the ways pastoralists of northern Kenya symbolically interact with and relationally conceive people, place and more-than-humans.

Dahl and Megerssa (1990), for example, analyse the significance Boran attach to the daily activity of watering livestock and related material items. Identities and meanings attached to water are related to the symbolic use of water in other, non-productive contexts.

Management of wells and certain rituals performed with water are symbolically associated with Boran social structure, descent and identity. There is a metaphorical link between ceremonies, a clan's well and human and livestock fertility. Thus, daily tasks and material items have a latent symbolic meaning.

Broch-Due (1990) also analyses how relations between Turkana herders and their livestock are symbolic - through which herders construct and reconstruct their world of personal, social and spiritual identities and relations, rules and cosmologies.

We now move on to discuss recent debates in anthropology and human geography that encourage a questioning of researchers' analytical frameworks (including symbolic analyses) which risk misunderstanding embodied ways informants experience the world. Insights gained are used to suggest a research approach which attempts to engage with embodied ways people experience the world, specifically the relational ways pastoralists understand the landscape, and the ways they perceive investments to be a part of their lives – in particular, people's engagement with concepts of ethnicity and belonging in light of investments and politics.

#### **2.3.4 The ontological turn**

The recent ontological turn in anthropology (e.g. Holbraad and Pedersen, 2017; Holbraad, 2010) can help, methodologically, with discerning how 'emic' perspectives relate to identity. These works express concerns over academics' analytical frameworks, whether in relation to symbolism or in functionalist social explanations, which may deviate from the way informants understand the world.

The ontological turn, situated in the work of Viveiros de Castro (1998) and Strathern (1988) are concerned that many societies' distinctions between human and non-human (nature and culture) do not fit 'western' anthropology's presupposition that there is 'one nature' in which there are many cultures. Rooted in a western ontology that assumes a single humanity and explains difference in social constructivist terms, this delimits how 'the other' can be understood (Killick, 2014).

Thus Holbraad (2010), a leading proponent of this ontological turn, is concerned with the way that the different conceptions and actions of those being studied are analysed by anthropologists, using conceptual tools of interpretation and explanation, which infers that

they are just representations of a single reality. Holbraad substantiates his argument through suggestions that 'the other's' representations or constructions are often 'explained away' as somehow functional (in functionalist terms), as 'ideological' (in Marxist terms), or as symbolic (in different versions of structuralism). Cultural difference (including ideas of ethnicity and belonging) is reduced to mere superficial representations of this 'one nature - many cultures' reality (Candea, 2010a). Through anthropology's constructivist approach, therefore, ontological difference - the worlds and views forwarded by 'others' - are not taken at face value. They are not 'taken seriously' (Holbraad, 2010; Candea, 2010a). Anthropologists' analytical framework, which is incapable of accounting for alternative ontologies, is unable to adequately engage with embodied ways informants engage with ethnicity and belonging. In light of Lynch's (2010) and Jenkin's (2012) concerns over academics' reluctance to engage in deeper embodied ways people experience identity and place when forwarding etic explanations of informants' instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging, proponents of the ontological turn may therefore add that anthropologists are unable to engage with such embodied experiences.

Building on the work of Viveiros de Castro (1998) and Strathern (1988), Holbraad (2010) argues that there is an intellectual imperialism inherent in anthropologist's insistence that ethnographic data is always amenable to straightforward description in terms that the anthropologist understands. Yet, he suggests, the researcher may not always possess the analytical tools to comprehend another's conceptions.

Holbraad (2010) argues that instead of using their own inadequate analytical concepts to interpret and explain why ethnographic data are as they are, researchers should use ethnographic data to rethink their own analytical concepts.

Candea (2010a), Carrithers (2010) and Killick (2014) acknowledge the value in Holbraad and the ontological turn's pursuit of taking seriously the voice of others: an exploration of the literal rather than the metaphorical. However, they caution how instead of using this motivation to explore the complexity of people's lives and worldviews, proponents of the ontological turn, including Holbraad, actually fit informant voices to their own theoretical (ontological) preoccupations. By creating new ontological concepts, they impose their own intellectual imperialism and thus fundamentally undermine the political act that they claim lies at the foundation of the ontological turn. Killick (2014) considers that Holbraad conceives of the ontological turn as a philosophical and methodological endeavour: the search for the



production of a new ontological conceptual frame within which to situate the researcher's ('western') and informants' incompatible perspectives. Both parties can then move forward together in a newly shared understanding of the world.

In particular, Killick (2014) and Candea (2010a) raise concern over Holbraad, and the ontological turn more generally, for creating 'purified' versions of 'western' and 'the other' in terms of ontologies. Not only does the power to decide who belongs to each group rest with the researcher, but such an approach denies people's multiple personal, cultural and ontological backgrounds. Holbraad and the ontological turn are not concerned with ethnographic specifics and the wider social and political setting and contexts in which they occur. They do not engage with the heterogeneous, historical context and contest-riven nature of cultures, identities and ontologies. Holbraad and the ontological turn fail to capture people's ambiguity and conflicting ideas and beliefs; and deny the fact that 'different' peoples are able to interact with others prior to anthropologists' philosophical intervention. Killick asks if an internally logical system of thought actually exists for the informants at all.

Candea (2010a), Carrithers (2010) and Killick (2014) argue that ethnographic research, which Holbraad criticises for imposing etic analyses, has always tried to engage with a multiplicity of worldviews and worlds, different perspectives, ways of knowing and acting. Anthropology and anthropologists have never reduced 'culture' to mere representations which do not consider embodiment and world-making activities (Candea, 2010a). Thus Lynch's (2010) and Jenkins' (2012) concerns over researchers not engaging in embodied ways people experience identity and place is just an analytical choice of the researcher.

Furthermore, ethnographic research reveals the everyday world of people to be more complex than the philosophical inversions that lie at the heart of the ontological turn, which - despite their underlying intentions of giving voice to informants' worlds - robs lives of their complexity and underlying self.

Nadasdy (1999; 2007), similarly to the ontological turn, raises concerns over academic analysis which risk misunderstanding ways 'the other' experience the world. His criticism is directed towards political ecological accounts of 'indigenous knowledge' in which researchers focus on ecological aspects of their informants' lives. The researcher decides what knowledge is valid and relevant for inclusion within their resource management framework. Nadasdy (1999; 2007) articulates that ecology cannot be compartmentalised and separated from social and

other aspects of people's lives which gives it context and meaning. Failure to include aspects of people's lives which do not fit with notions of reality informing such ecological frameworks, risks misrepresenting people's ways of knowing, living and belonging in the world.

Duvall (2008) and Agrawal (2002) similarly caution 'ethnoscience' studies of people's relationship to land which focus on particular aspects of local knowledge systems comparable in referential extent to 'western' scientific 'technical knowledge' of the biophysical environment. Duval shows how Maninka agriculturalists' of West Africa cosmologically embedded conceptualisations of, and meaning they attach to, landscape depend upon relationships between biological, physical, human and spiritual agents.

Such concerns of Nadasdy, Agrawal and Duval can be applied to the work of east African new ecological studies, such as Kratli and Schareika (2010) and Roba and Oba (2008; 2009), who use western ecological frameworks (that may be inadequate) to situate the relational ways pastoralists understand the landscape.

In the following section, I discuss a framework that enables analysis of how pastoralists, through their relationships with more-than-humans, including so-called 'supernatural' elements, understand and are a part of the landscape.

### **2.3.5 Multispecies ethnography**

A recent trend among a diverse range of studies within anthropology and geography has emerged from the field of post-humanism to draw attention to questions of people's place in the landscape, to question categories of and relations between human, animal, place, and other more-than-humans.

In a similar vein to the ontological turn, these studies call into question the researcher's analytical framework and analytical tools which assume a notion of one nature and many cultures: an 'out there nature' which exists separate to people (Lindblad and Furmage, 2016). Haraway (2008) and Tsing (2015), key multispecies thinkers, demand the discarding of human exceptionalism and an appreciation of the more-than-human connections that make up human lives. Whatmore (2006), publishing in the field of cultural geography, and fellow post-humanist Bennett (2010), also challenge academics to decentre the human and attend to the 'vibrant agency' of the more-than-human. These academics, among others, highlight how people, place and more-than-humans are relationally constituted through interactions and

entanglements. Emphasis is given to the co-agentive relational ways in which humans and more-than-humans interact; more-than-humans are given 'voice' and 'taken seriously' (Hartigan, 2016).

Many participants using this approach of de-centring the human, such as Whatmore (2006), connect their work with Latour's 'actor network theory' which also descriptively traces the effects various human and non-human actants have on one another. However, multispecies approaches differ in their attempts to account for more-than-human intentionality (Candea, 2010b).

In order to take seriously and account for the intentionality of more-than-human entanglements (with humans), multispecies and more-than-human researchers encourage a move beyond theoretical subjugation of animals to symbols and other passive tools of human world-making. Studies which focus on symbolism and systems of classification ignore the ways in which such categories are sustained and mediated through social practices, dimensions of human-animal interactions, and the non-human actors themselves (Aisher and Damodaran, 2016; Lindblad and Furmage, 2016).

The move away from human-centric world-making illuminates the relational dynamics between people and the more-than-human through entanglements. More-than-humans are active agents in human society, rather than symbols of it (Kirksey and Helmreich, 2010; Candea, 2010b). Haraway (2008) puts it, animals are not only 'good to think' but 'good to be with'. 'Social life' does not simply entail relations between people but is co-produced through encounters between people and more-than-human things (Panelli, 2010).

In a podcast hosted by Lindblad and Furmage (2016), Tsing criticises the ontological turn for using human-centric cosmologies in attempts to account for the more-than-human. Like other proponents of multispecies ethnographies, Tsing moves away from cosmologies to a focus on practice and entanglements between humans and non-humans (including place) in order to account for their relational agency. Like Tsing, Hartigan (2016) and Wright (2016) praise multispecies ethnographies for being sensitive to everyday co-agentive relations and interactions between humans and more-than-humans in their mutually entangled 'worlding' projects.

This trend in post-humanism emphasises relational ways of knowing place. Aisher and Damodaran (2016) and Panelli (2010), in a review of multispecies ethnographies and a review of geographical studies of the more-than-human, respectively, comment on the ways that views of the world and history are rooted in place. Human and non-human relationships are place-specific and determine how places are felt, experienced and imagined. Moreover, in geographical circles, Massey (2006) shows how landscapes constantly emerge or ‘become’ through continual encounters between humans and non-humans, which take place within them. Likewise, experiences of people and more-than-humans constantly emerge or ‘become’ in relation to each other and place. Thus, space does not exist prior to interaction. Ingold (2007, p 31) also positions place as a “relational embodied achievement”: a recognition of the rich, intimate, ongoing togetherness of beings and things.

Wright et al. (2016) give voice to the land of Bawaka Country in North East Arnhem Land, Australia as a way to attend to the more-than-human connections that bind and constitute humans and their relations to other things. In tandem with the more-than-human trend in geography, they emphasise the place-centeredness and constant co-becoming of place through enacted connections between people and more-than-humans, but which includes the ‘supernatural’. For example, ‘spirits’ of those who once lived in Bawaka country continue as effective presences that constantly ‘become’ and co-constitute the landscape.

Wright et al. depart from the work of Haraway and Tsing, among others, by focusing on how daily enacted co-agentive relationality and emergence of all things (humans and non-humans) are structured by people’s cosmologically informed ‘rules’ of living. There is no place that is not bound up with how people, place and more-than-humans are continually co-created in specific known ways. In this way beings *are* place; becomings are more than networks of beings and things in a place, which is implied in Latour’s (2008) actor network theory.

Archambault (2016), continues the trend of multispecies ethnographies championed by Tsing and Haraway, by emphasising the experiential, lived, and felt aspects of ‘becomings’ between people, place and more-than-humans. However, unlike them and unlike Wright et al. who try and account for ‘co-becomings’ which people are often unaware of, Archambault makes the case for the continued relevance of anthropocentric analysis. Archambault’s enquiry into human-plant relations acknowledges its focus on human experience and does not attempt see the world from a ‘plants-eye view’.

Like Archambault, Galaty (2014), in a special journal edition focusing on multi-species ethnography, forwards an anthropocentric multispecies analysis among Maasai livestock herders. Galaty analyses how for Maasai, symbolism acquires meaning by being embedded in human-livestock interactions and intimacy. Galaty insists that for Maasai, tangible relations and experiential intimacy with their livestock creates ideas of what an animal is to a human and what a human is to an animal and how both relate to each other. This intimacy underpins the ways in which livestock are “good to think” and provide metaphors and metonyms for a wide variety of other social interpretations, such as meanings for society and personal identity. For example, a bull, to which someone has developed an intimate relationship with, is an appropriate sacrificial ‘holy symbol’ to represent that person, and link that person to Divinity and to society.

Yet unlike Wright et al., Galaty (2014) does not explore ‘supernatural’ elements that constitute livestock as ‘knowing beings’; and Maasai herder’s intimate relations with their livestock and place. Furthermore, in line with many multispecies studies, Galaty does not engage with the way Maasai cosmologies influence herder-livestock intimate relations. Perhaps an approach like Wright et al. that engages with people’s cosmologies would enable a different non-symbolic view of Maasai livestock-human relations, including sacrifice. For example, bulls may *be* Divinity, not just symbolic of it.

In a review, Kirksey and Helmreich (2010) discuss how multispecies ethnographies centre on the ways more-than-humans shape and are shaped by political, economic and cultural forces. Panelli (2010), in a review of more-than-human geography studies, emphasises how social constructions, uneven power relations, and people’s engagement with politics incorporate the mutual, entangled ‘worlding’ projects of humans and more-than-humans. Archambault (2016) demonstrates the agency of more-than-humans in people’s engagement with conceptions of who they are, relations to others and place, and engagement with past and present politics. Wright et al. (2016) dwell on how ideas of belonging are wrapped up within daily experiences in which people, place and more-than-humans are known and ‘become’ relationally, within cosmologically bounded notions of what is possible.

### **2.3.6 Ethnographic approach to analysis of investments among Samburu pastoralists of northern Kenya**

In this section, I outline how an ethnographic approach can draw upon multispecies ethnography to engage with the more embodied ways that northern Kenyan pastoralists

interact and identify with, and attach meanings to, people, place and other more-than-humans. I briefly discuss how this approach enables one to discern how these embodied entanglements are combined with people's (analyses of) portrayals of past and present ethnicity, belonging, patronage politics and investments.

Such an approach can thus address Lynch's (2010) and Jenkins' (2012) concerns regarding analyses dealing with instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging which do not consider their deeper embodied aspects.

An approach that aligns with Archambault's (2016) and Galaty's (2014) anthropocentric multispecies ethnographies can enable researchers to explore ways people experience, feel and understand their engagement with the more-than-human world as a part of everyday lives and associated cosmological ideas (see Wright et al., 2016), without attempting to see the world from a 'non-human eye view'. Such an approach aims to situate identities and agency of people, place and more-than-humans (including the 'supernatural'), and ideas of ethnicity and belonging - as a part of people's daily world-making experiences.

Such an analytical framework is able to discern how people's experiences and cosmologies (relating to place and belonging) are inseparable from their relationships with 'other' people and more-than-humans in light of changing political and economic contexts. This approach may also enable consideration of how people's instrumental portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in light of political and economic contexts emerge from and inform such embodied experience.

These insights also challenge the problems identified with the ontological turn in its portrayal of incommensurable communities and worldviews, and lack of engagement with the heterogeneous, historical context and contest-riven nature of cultures, identities and ontologies. The approach proposed here enables an analysis of how people's lives, including ontologies, are not isolated. Rather, they are inter-connected, emerge and are contested as a part of relationships and 'becomings' between people and more-than-humans, and between communities, the state and investments. This resonates with Li (2001) who highlights the ways political and economic processes connect people, state institutions and places. Li shows how people's identities and lived experiences are re-constructed and used instrumentally through relationships in light of developments and associated political processes.

In short, emergent relations between people's instrumental explanations of identity and belonging, portrayals of past and present politics and ethnic territoriality, and more embodied notions of self and place are a function of, and are only meaningful as a part of, relationships with other people and more-than-humans.

This analytical position provides alternative insights into instrumental constructions and contestations over ethnicity and belonging as part of ethnic clientelism politics, both among pastoralists and politicians, as it attends to the ways such constructions and contestations are associated with more embodied notions of self and place. It suggests that research must engage not only with the ways informants portray and analyse ethnicity and belonging in association with patronage politics and investments, and how they analyse other people's (strategic) portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in association with patronage politics and investments, but also that it must engage with the ways informants portray and analyse past and present ethnicity, belonging and politics in light of (past and present) embodied ways of being a co-agentive part of their more-than-human landscape. This approach thus resonates with the core agenda of the ontological turn, which expresses concern over researchers' analytical frameworks, which risk misunderstanding informants' lives.

Research must ask:

*How do pastoralists experience, construct, analyse and contest their and others' portrayals of ethnicity and belonging alongside experience and portrayals of colonialism, ethnic patronage politics and investments?*

*How are these experiences, constructions and analyses associated with people's embodied sense of belonging to the world and relational ways of engaging with people, place and other more-than humans?*

### **2.3.7 Studies of Samburu pastoralism**

There exists a substantial ethnographic literature on Samburu pastoralism and related understandings of landscape. This section will discuss how this existing work contributes to the research agenda laid out above, and how it differs from it.

Spencer (1965) pioneered the detailed ethnography of 'the Samburu' during the early 1960's, taking a functionalist analytical approach that yielded in depth explanations of people's behaviour and conceptualisations relating to social structure, relationships, identities, rituals, values and beliefs (including the 'supernatural'), and dealings with ancestry and belonging, and

did so largely in terms of their role in upholding a gerontocracy. For example, people's relationships with, identities of, and meanings attached to cattle are analysed as relevant to the way Samburu society is structured and how it 'functions'. Curses are discussed in detail to show how the 'supernatural' has a function in gerontocratic social relations, especially elders' control over youth. And ceremonies are described as significant only in their function of enacting and reinforcing social control and norms related to gerontocracy.

The concerns forwarded by proponents of the ontological turn and multispecies ethnography relating to researchers' analytical frameworks which risk misunderstanding the ways informants understand the world and the ways non-humans have co-agency in world-making, respectively, can be applied to Spencer's analysis.

Straight (2007) also grapples with the limitations of researchers' analytical frames in interpreting and theorizing the experience of Samburu. Straight is reflective of her own experiences and the ways they shape her encounters with and analyses of Samburu mundane and 'supernatural' ideas and experiences. Through the use of vignettes, which enable readers to participate in Samburu worlds, Straight demonstrates co-agentive relationships between Samburu people and more-than-humans, including the 'supernatural'. Straight demonstrates how the spoken word is implicated with Samburu reality; part of the fabric of their worlds. She shows how, for example, anger stored in the stomach and expressed in words can harm another person's fortunes.

Peterson (2008), however, raises concern over Straight's (2007) reification of a homogeneous Samburu ontology that does not address innovation or its transformations in relation to the social worlds of which they are a part. Petersen points out how Straight does not engage with the "social institutions by which Samburu knowledge about the world is regulated and reproduced" (2008, p. 228). Neither does Straight illuminate how power relations shape people's experiences and discourse.

In a separate and more recent study, however, Straight et al. (2016) do historicise, analysing how a coherent Samburu collective identity and associated ties to places are embodied through stories of 'ethnogenesis' which detail past relations with people of Laikipiak ethnicity. Places and stories which once belonged to these Laikipiak ancestors of specific Samburu lineages are claimed and remembered by their Samburu descendants and are now associated with 'being Samburu'.



The approach taken in this study builds on this analysis of Straight et al. (2016) by questioning how identities and ideas of belonging are embodied and emerge through being in a place and interacting with the place, not just through stories of ancestors.

Yet Petersen's (2008) critique of Straight (2007) could also be applied to Straight et al. (2016), who still frame Samburu portrayals of identity and history as coherent, uncontested and separate to politics. The approach forwarded in this chapter emphasises the relevance of analysing how people's accounts of collective identity and associated ties to place are contested between lineages and ethnicities, and how these contestations are a part of territorialised ethnic politics, relations between communities, and investments.

In a similar vein to Straight, Spencer (1965) describes the 'external influence' of the colonial administration as separate to a persistent Samburu traditional social system, rather than considering how identities and social structures emerge through relationships between societies and state (Li, 2001).

Hjort (1980) analyses the instrumental nature of ethnic identities in light of changing economic and political contexts. Ilgira are Turkana who have assimilated with Samburu and emphasise their Samburu identity in order to achieve financial gains. For example, as Samburu they can legitimately access 'Samburu pasture' and achieve security from Samburu livestock raids. However, while Lynch (2010) emphasises the constructed nature of ethnicities, Hjort, like Shongolo and Schlee (2010), implies more stable ethnic groups of Turkana and Samburu. Unlike the approach forwarded in this chapter, Hjort does not dwell on how people's embodied notions of identities and place are associated with their instrumental manipulations of ethnicity for economic gains.

## **2.4 Sub-Saharan pastoral conflict**

The section begins by highlighting debates surrounding analyses of changing pastoral conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. Many contemporary analyses of conflict emphasise causality associated with colonial and post-colonial changes to 'customary' pastoralism and conflict. In particular, ideas of rights to exclusively gain access to resources in a territory through ethnically oriented patronage networks in light of political reform and investments in dryland regions are important contextual and causative components in many contemporary analyses of inter-

ethnic pastoral conflict. Such analyses of changing pastoral conflict offer insights into the political undertones of conflict and ways various conflict drivers combine.

An alternative approach is proposed here that situates conflict within informants' own analyses of instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging in light of ethnicised politics and investments, and how these portrayals emerge within people's experiences and embodied notions of identities, belonging and conflict and associated relationships with people and more-than-humans. This approach may enable fresh insights into how changing conflict, politics and investments take form and meaning, and are related with (instrumental) discourse – as a part of the entanglements which make up people's more-than-human lives.

Academics writing about pastoral conflict in eastern Africa, including northern Kenya, have emphasised an increase in violence, centred around livestock raiding, since the 1990s (e.g. Greiner, 2013; Schlee, 2011; Broch-Due, 2005; Pkalya et al., 2003), or since the 1970s (e.g. Kratli and Swift, 2003; Goldsmith, 1997). Some academics emphasise that the dynamics of pastoral conflict have also changed, reporting a rise in deaths of women and children (e.g. Kratli and Swift, 2003; Pkalya et al., 2003). Explanations for these changes forwarded by Fukui and Markakis (1994) and Mkutu (2008) privilege the increased proliferation of guns. Hendrickson et al. (1996) and Fleischer (2002) focus on the rise of 'commercial' types of livestock raiding. Other explanations centre on debates surrounding resource scarcity conflicts in light of climate change (e.g. Theisen, 2012; Adano et al., 2012).

Hendrickson et al. (1996) and Fleischer (2002) present 'traditional' conflict as driven by 'internal' 'cultural' factors such as age-set reputation, bride-wealth, prestige, revenge, and restocking in lieu of drought. Such 'redistributive' conflict, undertaken by young men, is suited to management by elders through customary measures. An increase in exposure of northern Kenyan pastoralists to commercialisation and market forces in the late twentieth century caused a shift in conflict drivers and dynamics to a more 'predatory' type of raiding. The purchase of guns, elites hiring youth to raid, and the selling of stolen livestock in southern Kenyan markets means that elders are no longer able to control their youth who now raid for money.

Greiner (2013), Kratli and Swift (2003) and Lind (2007) question Hendrickson et al. (1996) and Fleischer (2002) for their analyses of 'traditional' or 'redistributive' forms of raiding as separate to and being replaced by more 'commercial' or 'predatory' forms of raiding. They reveal that

livestock raiding has always had a commercial element and propose that studies into changing dynamics of pastoral conflict should analyse the way so-called 'cultural' and 'commercial' aspects of raiding coincide and mutually produce one another. For example, a 'commercial' raid can trigger a chain of other cultural-type raids between ethnic groups (Kratli and Swift, 2003); young raiders, sponsored by politicians to raid, may follow their own 'cultural' agendas, such as proving bravery or accumulating livestock to marry (Greiner, 2013). Likewise, politicians may take advantage of (and amplify) 'cultural' raiding for their political purposes (Galaty, 2005; 2013).

Theisen (2012) and Adano et al. (2012) analyse the debate over the relative significance of climate change or political factors as pastoral conflict drivers in light of scarcer resources. Greiner (2013), Kratli and Swift (2003) and Lind (2007) question this debate, suggesting that instead of trying to find the relative significance of political and climate variables, analyses must focus on how these variables combine with other conflict drivers within wider historical, economic, social and political contexts.

Lind (2007) and Greiner (2013) argue that the Kenyan colonial administration's enforced changes to pastoralism (and associated weakening of pastoralists' customary institution's ability to control conflict) is the historical context missing from studies trying to isolate causes of pastoral conflict and account for the perceived increase in conflict since the 1970s or 1990s.

According to Lind (2007), Greiner (2013) and Sobania (1991), pre-colonial inter-ethnic pastoralist conflict in northern Kenya was kept in check by the numerous fluid relationships shared between communities. They suggest that identities of pastoralist groups were flexible, involving a range of reciprocal relationships, enabling the sharing of resources. When livestock raiding did erupt, it was for 'cultural' reasons, such as those highlighted by Hendrickson et al. (1996).

Lind (2007), Greiner (2013) and Sobania (1991) propose that the Kenyan colonial administration's attempts to fix ethnic identities and isolate mobile pastoralist 'tribes' to their own districts caused a breakdown in flexible inter-ethnic relationships: specifically, the capacity to share resources through reciprocal relations, and the capacity of once-connected groups to resolve conflicts. People strategically portray their ethnic groups as separate to others, belonging to 'their' district in order to claim rights over access to resources. Inter-

ethnic conflict changed to become about the exclusive right to gain access to resources in a territory through ethnically oriented patronage networks (Greiner, 2013; Sobania, 1991).

Sobania (1988), Broch-Due (2005) and Lind (2007) suggest that pre-colonial pastoralism and associated dynamics of conflict were altered in other ways by the colonial administration, for example by their tactic of punitive raids against certain ethnic groups such as Turkana. Punitive raids, which were carried out against Turkana to punish their aggression and reduce conflict, actually legitimised and increased raiding against the 'tribal other'.

According to many works on pastoral conflict in northern Kenya, including Lind (2007), Broch-Due (2005), Greiner (2012) Schlee (2012) and Sobania (1991), changes to pastoralism, 'customary' (conflict) management systems, and associated pastoral conflict brought by the Kenyan colonial administration explains and contextualises subsequent changes in the dynamics of pastoral conflict in northern Kenya, including the increase in conflict associated with political patronage and multiparty politics in the 1990s.

Schlee (2012), Schlee and Shongolo (2013), Broch-Due (2005), Straight (2009), Greiner (2013), Boone (2012) and Scott-Villiers et al. (2014) show with examples how pastoral violence has played a central role in ethnic clientelism patronage politics of northern Kenya since the 1990s. Since this time politicians have sought power through alliances along ethnic lines by expressing xenophobic discourse and inciting their ethnic cohort to enact violence against, and expel, 'the other' ethnic group said not to 'belong'. This has reinforced ideas of particular ethnic groups exclusively belonging to and having rights over their own administrative district. The incitement and killings have created fear and suspicion of 'the other', which has hardened ethnic divisions and led to an increasingly divided population.

Schlee (2012), Greiner (2013) and Galaty (2005) suggest that the politically sponsored Rift Valley clashes prior to the 1992 and 1997 multiparty elections, when Kalenjin militia were sponsored by their political patrons to expel Kikuyu 'settlers' deemed not to belong to the region, set the precedence for the subsequent dynamics of exclusionary pastoral conflict in northern Kenya. Such enforced exclusion of an ethnic group deemed not to belong, practiced by politicians and public of northern Kenyan districts, ensures exclusive access to pasture, water and government resources for the dominant ethnic group.

These academics, along with Straight (2009), Scott-Villiers et al. (2014), Boone (2012) and Cheeseman et al. (2014) claim that the pastoralist public have been encouraged to engage in such exclusive rhetoric and violence by their co-ethnic political patrons who incite violence against 'the other', provide guns and ammunition, and protect those engaging in violence from security forces and prosecution. Such behaviour by politicians increases their popularity and their chances of re-election at the next elections. Politicians' chance of election is also increased through sponsoring their co-ethnic voters to enact violence against rival ethnic cohorts prior to elections in order that they flee across the constituency border, changing the ethnic balance.

Recent political reforms have led to increased inter-ethnic violence (D'Arcy and Cornell, 2016; Cheeseman et al., 2014; Kochore, 2016). Unprecedented high budgets available to counties heightened the desire of political candidates to be elected into the newly devolved governments in 2014, so they could access this wealth. It also heightened the desire of the public to have a co-ethnic leader in position to ensure their ethnicity's exclusive access to these land and state development resources. Ethnic alliances and divides deepened and the promotion of violence to exclude 'the other', said not to 'belong', from the area and from accessing these resources, increased. National politicians, who were required to secure 25% of the vote in at least 24 counties, relied upon and perpetuated the violent ethnic-clientelism world of their regional allies in order to gain votes (D'Arcy and Cornell, 2016; Cheeseman et al., 2014; Kochore, 2016).

Greiner (2013; 2016), analyses how, since the emergence of violent exclusionary ethnicised patronage politics, Pokot and Samburu have contested and fought over their right to benefit from national and international development initiatives which promote private land tenure agreements, such as group ranches and community based conservancies, based upon their ethnic cohort's exclusive belonging. Contested territorialised versions of ethnicities with ancestral precedence in the area earmarked for development are forwarded by different groups and their co-ethnic leaders in order to claim rights to belonging and thus benefit from the proposed development within the area.

Lind (2007), Broch-Due (2005) and Greiner (2013) offer context and causality to their informants' discourse to show how 'cultural', 'commercial' and 'political' drivers of pastoral conflict in northern Kenya mutually reinforce one another. These mutually reinforcing conflict drivers include: politicians sponsoring conflict for votes/popularity, or to raise money for an

election campaign; businessmen and raiders wanting to sell stolen livestock for money; herders wanting to claim exclusive access to grazing land, state resources or development initiatives; herders seeking to restock after a disease or a drought, revenge, bride-wealth, or prestige.

Greiner shows how politicians and pastoralists often strategically explain incidents of conflict as caused by ‘cultural’ drivers, such as revenge, bride-wealth, prestige – which conceals political drivers and associated ideas of exclusive ethnic territoriality. For example, politicians incite Pokot herders to raid and then publically deny their incitement, instead blaming violence on cultural idioms, intrinsic to the pastoralist society, supposedly beyond the control of politicians (Greiner, 2013).

Lynch’s (2010) and Jenkins’ (2012) concerns may be applied to academics’ analyses of people’s instrumental portrayals of ethnicity, belonging and violence as symptomatic of ethnic clientelism politics and territorialised ethnicity with roots in colonialism, which do not engage with people’s deeper, more embodied ways of experiencing place and conflict.

As outlined in section 2.3.6, analysis may instead focus on ways in which informants’ own analyses of instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging and the mutually reinforcing nature of various conflict drivers, are associated with their portrayals of ethnicised politics and investments, and how informants’ instrumental discourse influences, draws meaning and emerges from their more embodied experience of identities, belonging and conflict and associated relations with people and more-than-humans.

As that section outlined, there is a need to understand how informants portray and analyse ethnicity and belonging in association with conflict, patronage politics and investments; how they analyse other people’s (strategic) portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in association with conflict, patronage politics and investments; and how these relate to embodied ways of being a co-agentive part of their more-than-human landscape.

As stressed in the respective concluding sections 2.2 and 2.3, such a framing suggests that we ask *how do pastoralists experience, construct, analyse and contest their and others’ portrayals of ethnicity and belonging alongside experience and portrayals of conflict, colonialism, ethnic patronage politics and investments?* And that we ask *how are these experiences, constructions and analyses associated with people’s embodied sense of belonging to the world and relational*

*ways of engaging with people, place and other more-than humans? We also need to question: how is people's discourse part of the violence?*

## 2.5 Conclusion

The questions surrounding African (specifically northern Kenyan) pastoral ethnicity and belonging, politics, investments and conflict, which have been raised in this chapter, are addressed in the more empirical chapters (4-7). Before this, the methodology chapter discusses the ethnographic, multi-species approach developed during fieldwork in northern Kenya (see Map 1).

---

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>      Colonially recognised pastoralist ethnic groups of northern Kenya include Turkana, Rendile, Borana and Samburu (Sobania, 1991)
- <sup>2</sup>      Other articles include, Fratkin (1997), Sullivan and Homewood (2003), Behnke et al. (1993), Sandford (1983), Brockington and Homewood (1996), Goldman et al. (2011)
- <sup>3</sup>      Ecosystems in equilibrium are characterised by a stable 'climax vegetation community', which consists of the vegetation a given climatic zone would support in the absence of human or other) disturbance. For example, grazing disturbance which exceeds the 'carrying capacity' of a particular climatic climax vegetation community can cause it to revert to a sub-climax vegetation type. 'Carrying capacity' is the given number of people and/or livestock a vegetation community can support; once exceeded the ecosystem will undergo a spiral of declining productivity (Swift, 1996)
- <sup>4</sup>      Kenya Vision 2030, Government of Kenya. Available at: <http://www.vision2030.go.ke>
- <sup>5</sup>      'Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor' (LAPSSET) Development Authority (LCDA). Available at: [www.lapsset.go.ke](http://www.lapsset.go.ke)
- <sup>6</sup>      Projects such as Tullow Oil extracting oil in Turkana County, Lake Turkana Wind Power Project in Marsabit County and geothermal power projects in Baringo County (Moseley and Watson, 2016).

## Chapter 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how an ethnographic approach was developed during fieldwork and guides the writing of the thesis and how this enables the issues and questions raised in the literature review to be addressed. In particular, it focuses on the ways that fieldwork and writing have facilitated an engagement with people's perspectives and analyses, including how people and more-than-humans are connected through relationships (and the associated cosmology of *Ikerreti*) in which they are co-agents. This approach enables an understanding of the ways people understand, portray, contest and analyse elements of their and others' lives, that are to be discussed in later chapters. I examine the ethical dilemmas of this approach including the ethical merits of engaging with people's perspectives and analyses.

### 3.2 Fieldwork

Initially I describe the main fieldwork site of Flat Rock (pseudonym) and relations between the residents and people of other communities. The rationale for this fieldwork site is forwarded. I then outline the other fieldwork locations and their rationale, before explaining the ethnographic methods and the analytical imperatives they generated.

#### 3.2.1 An introduction to Flat Rock

I conducted the majority of the fieldwork between March 2014 and October 2015 while living with a community of Samburu pastoralists called Flat Rock, located at the foot of Mt Nyiro, in the north of Samburu County (formerly District) (see Map 1). I was introduced to the community by a teacher from the area, who has family there. I lived with his family in my own house/hut, which women of the settlement built for me.

Flat Rock, which became a permanent settlement in the 1990s, is a focus for food aid, has water tanks which store water piped from reliable wells on the mountain side, and nursery and primary schools. Some residents have food shops, though they are often devoid of foodstuffs.

Families of Flat Rock herd cattle, camels, sheep and goats ('shoats'). Some shoats and camels remain at Flat Rock settlement to provide milk for those living there; most of the herd are under the care of *Imurran* (men of warrior age-set) and/or young families who move with them in mobile livestock camps to access fodder and water between places on Mt Nyiro, in the desert lowland and on volcanic plateaus.



Many young men of Flat Rock of *Lmetili* and *Lmeoli* age-sets<sup>1</sup>, who herd livestock in the mobile camps, have more shoats than their fathers, who preferred cattle. A reason is that shoat herds multiply faster than cattle, so a young man can accumulate wealth faster. Yet also, a nearby market deals in shoats, not cattle or camels, so they can sell older shoats and buy young females to augment their herds, and then sell the offspring for cash. Such 'business-like' herding is practiced by a few elder men of Flat Rock who became accustomed to it when they lived and worked away from Flat Rock in the past, but is becoming popular among the younger herders who need cash to buy things like mobile phones and even motorbikes. However, most money earned through such trade is reinvested in stock; cattle are still revered by all. Many *Lmeoli* and now *Lmetili* are investing in motorbikes for ease of transport to nearby towns to procure items such as food, and to visit livestock camps with supplies such as food, water and veterinary medicine. Motorbike owners can also earn money as a taxi service for their neighbours. And all people of Flat Rock occasionally sell shoats when they need things such as food, school fees or clothes.

Most boys and girls attend the Flat Rock nursery and primary school. Some may go on to study and board at nearby secondary schools if their parents can afford it, or are prepared to sell livestock to pay the fees. Most parents now appreciate that education brings benefits and want most of their children to attend school – although they choose one or two (boys or girls) to become herders instead. And often, parents are powerless to decide for those who, not liking school, run to the livestock camps to herd, or inversely for others who, deprived of education nevertheless run to school until their parents give in and allow them to attend. Most primary school children are sent to herd in livestock camps during school holidays. Some parents who observe how educated children lack jobs encourage all of their children to privilege herding.

A few secondary school leavers and those who dropped-out for want of fees have returned to Flat Rock, caught between worlds. While living away in nearby towns while at secondary school they become detached from herding and develop a desire to get a job away from Flat Rock. However, there are few jobs in these towns which they feel their level of education deserves and very few can afford college or university fees, so they remain jobless and many reluctantly return to Flat Rock: young men herd, assisting their uneducated herder brothers; girls help their mothers in the homestead, while some help teach at the primary school. Despite this, many still dream of one day attending higher education. A few Flat Rock youth

have 'succeeded' in going to college or university, many of whom became local teachers or business people, some having even gained prestigious jobs in Nairobi and big towns, sending back remittances to their Flat Rock families.

Those who only attend primary school, drop out of it, or never attend, and who have never left Flat Rock - become expert herders. Such boys grow up to herd their family's livestock and defend their land, as their elder brothers and fathers did. There is a close bond and mutual respect between these people. Uneducated girls also become expert herders and lead a life similar to their mothers and as such have a close bond. Once married they move to live with their husband's family, be they from Flat Rock or elsewhere. Similarly, many women who married men of Flat Rock came from families living elsewhere.

The residents of Flat Rock call themselves *Lokop* (meaning 'of the land') or *Samburu*. Turkana call Samburu *Nkorr*, Rendile call them *Koro*, and Borana call them *Kore*. I use the name Samburu. Some people of Flat Rock are descended from Samburu clans and lineages who claim that sections of Mt Nyiro belong to them. They and their ancestors have lived and grazed their livestock between Mt Nyiro and the surrounding lowlands since long before Flat Rock became a permanent settlement. Others arrived more recently and make no claim to lineage land on the mountain. Nowadays, the Flat Rock community claim that this part of the mountain and a large area of lowland falls under their communal custodianship (a 'Flat Rock territory'). The rest of Mt Nyiro and surrounding land is lived in by Samburu, including Ldonyo Mara Mountain and Mt Kulal located in Marsabit County. Although some Samburu have their permanent homestead in Marsabit County, most Samburu speakers have their permanent homestead in Samburu County. Turkana speakers, many of whom herd livestock, also live in Samburu County to the west of the Baragoi-Marti road, adjacent to the Sukuta Valley and in towns of Baragoi, Marti and Maralal (see Maps 1 and 2). However, Samburu are the dominant ethnic group of the county.

Until the 1990s, Turkana used to live with those Samburu who now call Flat Rock their home. They schooled, danced and herded together, although Turkana never ascended Mt Nyiro with their livestock. Livestock raiding has occurred between Samburu and Turkana in the region since before colonialism. Despite this, Flat Rock Samburu and Turkana remained friends, as did similar mixed Samburu-Turkana communities across the north of Samburu District. However, conflict worsened in the 1990s and Turkana no longer live in Flat Rock; old friends are now enemies. Since the 1990s, relations between Samburu and Turkana have deteriorated

across Samburu District resulting in once-mixed rural and town settlements dividing. Livestock raiding and other types of violence between Samburu and Turkana have become more frequent and deadly.

Flat Rock is one of the northernmost Samburu settlements in Samburu County. The *Imurran* of Flat Rock are renowned across Samburu County as some of bravest and best fighters among all Samburu as they have refused to flee from Turkana since relations worsened in the 1990s. Instead, they have held their ground and still live and graze livestock across the northern periphery of Samburu territory, surrounded by 'hostile Turkana'. Defending their families, livestock and territory from Turkana is part of their lives. The police, although present in South Horr, Baragoi and Loiyangalani, do little enforce Kenyan laws around Flat Rock.

Like all Samburu across the region, Flat Rock residents are proudly Samburu, yet all have either Turkana and/or Rendile relations and/or ancestors. A few male residents of Flat Rock were born into a Rendile community but moved to Flat Rock to live with their Samburu mother's family; and now refer to themselves as Samburu. Some Flat Rock residents also have Rendile mothers who married a Samburu man. Others have Turkana parents or grandparents.

It is the same across Samburu County and among Samburu living in Marsabit County. Samburu and Rendile are closely related, especially in places straddling the Samburu-Marsabit County boundary. Some Rendile refer to these people as *Ariaal* (half Rendile, half Samburu); many Samburu say that Rendile are becoming Samburu because they adopt their dress and language; while many Rendile say that Samburu are becoming Rendile, because some Samburu are adopting their way of life, such as Rendile *Sorio* ceremonies. It is common for Rendile to move to Samburu County to live with their Samburu kin (perhaps a brother who moved to become Samburu in the past and is now Samburu). There are related families, lineages and clans which connect Samburu and Rendile. For example, nearly every Samburu clan has a Rendile equivalent. Those Rendile who move to live with Samburu often adopt the Samburu equivalent of their Rendile clan and family name. If they return to live with their Rendile kin - they will revert back to their Rendile family and clan. There are also related lineages and clans between Samburu and Turkana, but since the 1990s, people have stopped moving between them. Unlike relations with their Turkana kin, Samburu do not engage in violence with their Rendile relatives<sup>2</sup>.

North of Flat Rock is Sarima, where Turkana live and graze their livestock – and where now a massive wind farm is being built on land Flat Rock residents claim to be theirs (see Map 4). Sixty kilometres north of here, by road, is the lakeside town of Loiyangalani where Turkana, Rendile and Samburu live together (see Map 1). Many there fish in Lake Turkana as well as/rather than - herding livestock. North of Loiyangalani and Mt Kulal are Gabbra pastoralists. Turkana have fought Gabbra, as have Rendile and Samburu of the area, including Samburu who call Mt Kulal home. Turkana frequently graze their livestock north of Loiyangalani in Sibiloi National Park. It is here that they have clashed with Gabbra<sup>3</sup>.

The Flat Rock community was appropriate as a fieldwork location, as ethnography there could address questions that were discussed in the literature review. Specifically, the residents of Flat Rock are pastoralists and live and graze their livestock across a variety of landscapes including mountains, lowland deserts and volcanic plateaus. People of Flat Rock have a long history of experiencing violence too; their area is still prone to intermittent violence, including livestock raiding between themselves and nearby Turkana pastoralists. Violence is a part of their daily lives. Until recently, Turkana lived with Samburu in Flat Rock so the current residents have a good understanding of Samburu-Turkana relations because of their first-hand experience of interacting with Turkana on a daily basis. During my fieldwork in Flat Rock, the Lake Turkana Wind Power (henceforth Wind Power) investment and a solar energy investment became relevant to Flat Rock residents. Therefore, by living in Flat Rock I was well placed to gain an understanding of how recent investments in northern Kenya play out in the lives of pastoralists.

### **3.2.2 Other fieldwork locations**

Occasionally I would take a break from Flat Rock and visit a nearby town where I would interact with people who identified as Samburu. Whilst the former was central to research on pastoralism, the latter became important to the questions of ethnicity, belonging, politics, conflict and the investments as the research unfolded. I also infrequently visited to the Samburu dominated, but cosmopolitan town of Maralal (see Map 2) where I would discuss a similar range of topics with people of many ethnicities. Again, some spoke English, while others did not and I required one of my English-speaking friends to interpret. While in these towns, I also spent time interviewing administrators and politicians.

During a two-month scoping visit to Kenya in 2012 and at the beginning of my fieldwork proper in September 2013, prior to settling in Flat Rock, I visited many pastoral areas of northern

Kenya in order to find a location most suited to extended fieldwork. In 2012, I visited communities affected by land acquisitions, including those of Orma and Pokomo in Tana River and Lamu Counties. In 2013 and early 2014 I visited communities of Turkana pastoralists around Lodwar, Pokot pastoralists in rural and urban parts of East Pokot and Baringo Counties, and Borana and Somali pastoral communities around Isiolo County and Isiolo Town. I also spent some time with various communities across Samburu County, including around Sere Olipi, Wamba, the Matthews Mountains, the Ndoto Mountains, Ldonyo Mara Mountain, Mt Kulal and Mt Nyiro, including Flat Rock (see Maps 1 and 2). Time was also spent in towns of Maralal, cosmopolitan Isiolo, Baragoi and South Horr speaking with English speakers, administrators and politicians. Through these experiences, I gained broad insights into many issues in northern Kenya, such as those surrounding inter-ethnic relations and conflict, politics, development and investments. I built up a network of contacts across the region, especially within Samburu County, which aided fieldwork logistics later in a variety of places.

During 2015, after a year of living in Flat Rock, I began to conduct more in-depth research with Samburu and Turkana communities within and surrounding the towns of Baragoi and Marti (see Map 2), in order to gain region-wide perspectives regarding not only herding but also conflict, politics and development. Marti was chosen because, like Flat Rock, until recently Samburu and Turkana lived together. This is rare in Samburu County. Now the town is divided between Samburu and Turkana settlements hostile to each other. I chose Baragoi because it is the home of divided Samburu and Turkana communities and is at the centre of Samburu-Turkana conflict in Samburu County.

In August and September 2015, during a break from Flat Rock, and near the end of my fieldwork, I conducted research with Rendile, Samburu and Turkana communities, administrators and politicians in the settlements of Marsabit, Korr, Sarima and Loiyangalani (see Map 1). This period of my fieldwork enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of how the Wind Power investment was a part of people's lives across the region. It also gave me an opportunity to discuss with Rendile, Turkana and other Samburu, topics which I had previously explored with Flat Rock, Marti and Baragoi communities; topics such as inter-ethnic relations, herding, politics and conflict.

Over the course of my fieldwork, I drew upon a range of methods, including participant observation, individual and group interviews and more informal conversations. The role of

these methods in enabling engagement with people's perspectives, as a part of an ethnographic approach, is discussed in the following section.

Research in different places was facilitated by the many people who introduced me to their communities, families and friends, some of whom I paid as interpreters and assistants.

My research assistants always came from and were a part of the community in which I was carrying out research. Their understanding of the place and the people enabled participants to be accessed in a safe and respectful way. Assistants' guidance was invaluable in ensuring that topics were broached in an appropriate manner. The standard of English spoken by different assistants varied, as did their corresponding ability to convey meaning from the Samburu, Turkana or Rendile language into English. The longer I worked with an assistant, the better at translating they often became. Initially, some assistants summarised conversations into English, which meant that potentially important information was omitted and meanings lost. Over time, as my relationship developed with an assistant, they became used to the types of information I was interested in, and why I wanted detailed translations; thus, my understanding of conversations and people's lives increased.

### **3.2.3 Fieldwork in Flat Rock**

I spent much of my early time in Flat Rock moving with *Imurran* as well as with young families in livestock camps. My first interpreter, who grew up and lived in Flat Rock, and I, lived with an *Imurrani* (man of warrior age-set) relative of his and his wife in various livestock camps in the desert and the mountain. I also spent time in other Flat Rock livestock camps containing camels, cattle and shoats, atop Mt Nyiro, in the desert and on volcanic plateaus. Various English-speaking youth of Flat Rock guided me to these camps and acted as interpreter with varying degrees of success.

The time spent in livestock camps enabled me to gain some understanding and experience the arduous life of a pastoralist. I learned about livestock herding and how insecurity and threats of Turkana raids are part of daily lives and routines. I built up relationships with people, who over time, shared increasing amounts of information and stories with me.

People of Flat Rock began to identify with me as one of the *Imurran* who enjoys spending time in livestock camps and herding. The elder members of society began to treat me as one of

their 'sons', and the *Imurran* as one of their age-mates. I was always an outsider, but over time, I became a part of the community.

During my time in Flat Rock, I engaged in the activities of the community, and through this experienced a way of viewing reality, which was new to me. Over time, through this immersion I increasingly questioned my own worldview/nature of reality and ideas of what is possible, which centred around a separation of nature and culture informed by a 'UK scientific' background in which any 'God' played little or no direct role. During my early days in the field, such a conception of the world and my ideas of 'what is possible' influenced how I understood everything around me, including many Flat Rock informants' ways of thinking and ontologies. Yet with time, living in Flat Rock, I developed alternative ideas of 'what is possible', and began to understand the world in ways, which were once alien to me. For example, *Nkai* (Divinity) could cause rain (or *is* rain); prayer may influence rain and/or *Nkai*, and curses by people could lead to illness or an invasion of shrubs. Through the process of my changing understanding and experience of the world, I have reevaluated my 'UK scientific'-informed worldview. My conceptions of Flat Rock people's lives and their relations with people and more-than-humans are a part of this process.

Such a fieldwork epiphany is not uncommon to anthropologists and is much discussed now in relation to the ontological turn (e.g. Viveiros de Castro, 2004; 2012; Holbraad and Pedersen, 2017). Proponents of multispecies ethnography, like those of the ontological turn, encourage researchers to question their analytical frameworks. In particular, multispecies ethnographies emphasise decentring the human and recognising the agency of more-than-humans.

This fieldwork epiphany did not arrive after weeks or a few months of fieldwork, but took many months of living in Flat Rock, during which time it became my home – where I knew people and places and had learned and experienced a lot about life there, including some of the language. Only then was I able to open myself up to such ideas and give myself up to this unknown without clinging to the certainty of my pre-conceived ideas of reality. Things that I experienced in the first months of living there took on new meanings in light of my accumulated lived experience in the place.

I was increasingly concerned with how I related with people and the ethics of representation. As my conceptions of the world and ideas of what is possible changed, it became obvious to me that I could not fit people's ideas, lives and discourse into my pre-fieldwork worldview and

explanations of what is possible. In the face of such ethnographic insights, the causal frameworks, which I carried with me from the UK, based upon a world in which nature and culture are divided, seemed contextless and detached from the Flat Rock people they are trying to explain. Such causal frameworks risk not only misrepresenting people's lives but also being unethical. As is explained earlier, after living in Flat Rock for some time, my conceptions of the world changed alongside my engagement with, and participation in, Flat Rock people's lives and their relations with people and more-than-humans.

During the last six months of my fieldwork, I spent more time in Flat Rock homestead speaking with elder members of the community. I had gained a new research assistant, older than my previous ones, who also lived in Flat Rock and spoke excellent English. My first assistant was in his late twenties; he never attended secondary school but had lived in Flat Rock all his life; despite this he spoke English. He was 'one of the *Imurran*' and took me to live in one of his male relative's livestock camp. Because he had herded in Flat Rock for most of his life, he was very knowledgeable regarding herding and things about life in Flat Rock in general. However, after many months together he left me because he got a job with one of the Wind Power sub-contractors. Over the next few months in Flat Rock, I had a succession of three different assistants, all were secondary school leavers in their early twenties, who had returned to Flat Rock after finishing or dropping out of school. They could speak English but because of their young age and time away at school, they knew less about herding. Furthermore, they were less enthusiastic about the 'hard' life in Flat Rock and were often unreliable, choosing to pursue interests in town ahead of working with me.

However, my assistant for the final six months of research, who was older than my previous assistants, was a breath of fresh air. As a younger man, he had lived and worked in southern Kenya. Before and after this time he had lived in Flat Rock and is currently a poor man, by his own admission, with only a few shoats and no cattle. Because he is one of the elders, it enabled us to sit for hours talking with them both individually and collectively in 'interview' and informal conversation format. My acceptance as one of the community also enabled my inclusion in such discussions and enabled me to better understand perspectives and lives.

I spent more time interviewing and conversing with men than women because my interpreter and I are male. Flat Rock is largely segregated by gender and certainly, people speak more freely among their own gender. Yet, I did spend a lot of time talking with women, especially my 'mother', whom I lived next to. My outsider status may have meant that women revealed



things to me that they may not have done to men of the community. Because of my interest in herding and the landscape, I was advised by men and women to converse more with elder men because they are the holders of such information, and in charge of the family herd. With time, I learned who were the most open and knowledgeable of these men and carried out many discussions with them. I also undertook walks through the various landscapes of the area with these particularly knowledgeable elders in which they shared salient information regarding herding, vegetation, water points and soils, among other things.

With time and under the advice of my various interpreters, I learned how to converse with certain people; I learned their idiosyncrasies. Over repeated 'interviews' and conversations with individuals and collectives I was able to develop certain themes. Interviews were generally 'open', at least at the early stages of my research, because I wanted to understand the ways that people frame things and I did not know what questions were relevant. Besides, most people did not respond well to a question and answer interview format. One almost needed to know an answer in order to frame the question. Initially this caused me frustration and I relied upon my research assistants to prompt the interviewees. My early research assistants were young and had a limited knowledge of things due to their age. However, my later, older assistant was very good at prompting and probing people. Furthermore, over time, I learned 'the answers' and understood more about people's lives and was better able to direct conversations and ask leading questions which 'made sense' within the context of people's lives. After repeated conversations, sets of ever changing themes emerged and re-emerged, which enabled me to conduct increasingly refined interviews, focusing on specific themes within contexts which were relevant to people. Yet always, despite having a focus, interviews could go in directions which could not have been predicted and were all the more significant for it.

With some of my early assistants in Flat Rock, translation was a problem. It is often difficult to convey meaning from Samburu into English; furthermore, some assistants did not translate everything but censored and summarised what participants said, which inhibited the conveying of people's perspectives into English. Initially, my final Flat Rock assistant also summarised during interviews, but this soon changed. His expert grasp on the Samburu and English languages enabled him to expertly convey meanings into English. As he became more comfortable in his role as translator and he became used to the types of information and detail that I required, he began to take the initiative and lead interviews and discussions. As my Samburu language skills improved I could also take a more active role in conversations and

question informants and the meaning of terms directly. From when I first arrived in Flat Rock, I attempted to learn the Samburu language with the help of my assistants and with the assistance of Samburu-English language teaching materials compiled by a local missionary. Over time, as my relationship with my final assistant developed, we spent hours discussing meanings of Samburu terms and concepts and the information that people had provided us.

The experience, understanding and identity I acquired through spending so much time in livestock camps helped when discussing people's lives, especially in terms of livestock herding; of the events which have happened in places; of lineage land and ideas of belonging, and of conflict with Turkana, among other things. Every topic of conversation is tied to a place. Those talking have a mutual understanding of that place and their discussion revolves around this. A rapport could develop between the community and me because I lived with them and knew their places. Because of our mutual lived experience, people were open with me about their experiences in, understandings of, and feelings related to the ceremonies, conflict and herding which had happened in certain places. Because I had had a taste of some of the things (including feelings) discussed, I was able to appreciate and empathise with what people were talking about and how they feel about such things within the context of their lives.

Furthermore, because I had spent time herding and knew certain places, wells, vegetation, soils etc., people discussed their perspectives of such things with me in detail. Without experiences of these places, I would not have known what details to ask elders, they would not have known what to divulge and the conversation would not have had the same meaning to me as it now did having previously experienced, seen and felt what we were discussing.

The Lake Turkana Wind Power and the solar energy investments emerged as issues after I had been living in Flat Rock for some time. Flat Rock became divided along various fractures. I was able to discern the significance of such divides and alliances because of the time I had already spent there and my understanding of lives and people's worldviews. Yet conversations and interviews with people also helped me understand such divisions and alliances. People often discussed current community dynamics and behaviour of people in light of past divisions, alliances, events and behaviour.

Talk of politics, conflict and especially the investments was often sensitive. Some people were afraid of being seen to be taking sides with either protestors or the investors. Yet, my

relationships with Flat Rock people led them to open up to me about things they may not have shared with a stranger.

Besides participating in the daily life of Flat Rock and livestock camps, I had the privilege of taking part in and/or observing intermittent ceremonies and celebrations. These included weddings, funerals, celebrating the birth of a child, blessings, *Lmuget*, and *Lamal*. Through participating, I learned a great deal about people's lives, information which guided subsequent interviews and conversations.

#### **3.2.4 Fieldwork beyond Flat Rock**

During a hiatus in Flat Rock fieldwork, I spent some time carrying out interviews with Samburu and Turkana communities within the towns of Baragoi and Marti and their surrounds in order to gain their perspectives regarding topics such as conflict, herding, politics and development.

Various town-based English speakers assisted with interviews of men and women, young and old. I also had many informal conversations with English speaking youth, business people and administration personnel. Because of the limited time I spent around Baragoi and Marti, I was unable to build the same rapport with research assistants and interviewees that I had achieved in Flat Rock. I was therefore unable to develop as much of an understanding of their lives. It takes time to develop a relationship with an assistant; to not only ensure that translations are detailed, but to create a climate where both the assistant and I freely discuss the meaning of concepts.

Moreover, with Turkana informants I did not develop a detailed understanding of their ways of living within the landscape and cosmologies, so these elements of informants' lives did not reveal themselves to be salient to me as part of the interviews. Furthermore, my inability to engage with the Turkana language inhibited my understanding.

However, having spent so long with people of Flat Rock and the surrounding area, I had a good understanding of the dynamics between the inter-ethnic communities prior to spending time with Turkana communities, albeit from a Samburu-centric viewpoint. Furthermore, I had spent much prior time with Turkana speakers in Maralal, discussing Samburu-Turkana history, conflict, investments and politics in the region. It was one of these men who put me in contact with my Baragoi and Marti English speaking assistants.

In April 2015, some Marsabit County politicians who were fighting against Wind Power in court, organised rallies in Loiyangalani and South Horr to sensitise the population about the Wind Power land acquisition and other injustices. I attended the Loiyangalani rally with youth from South Horr. I also attended the South Horr rally. Since that time I was branded by many as a supporter of the court case against Wind Power.

Prior to Wind Power gaining significance for people of the fieldwork area, I was 'friends' with the person who became the head community liaison officer for the Wind Power project (referred to in chapter 7 as 'the Samburu broker'). When various Wind Power sub-contractor employees began to arrive in the area in 2015 I got to know them too. However, after the rallies I was suspected by the head liaison officer, sub-contractor employees and area chiefs of being involved (and even funding) the protest and such relations were strained. Despite this, however, I was able to interview the chiefs on this set of questions to gain their perspectives.

Indeed, I worked hard to distance myself from being portrayed as an anti-Wind Power protestor, especially among the Flat Rock community who were divided in light of this and the solar power project. I feared that my perceived allegiance to the protestors would compromise my gathering of perspectives about the investments. I also feared for my safety in South Horr although my identity as a protestor did enable me to engage freely with those protesting against Wind Power and gain insights into their perspectives. I was safe in Flat Rock where I had the protection of my family.

A month after the rallies, Wind Power took a back seat in the area, including Flat Rock, because people's attention was diverted to survival in light of drought and heightened Samburu-Turkana conflict. In many ways, my relationships with many people of the area reverted to what it had been before Wind Power arrived.

In light of the sensitivity and impact that the Wind Power project was having on the lives of all communities surrounding the proposed wind farm, I decided that I needed to travel around the region and interview various rural and urban Turkana, Samburu and Rendile communities, to try and understand the investment from their perspectives and how it had become a part of their lives. This also gave me an opportunity to discuss with a wider sample of people, topics which I had previously explored with Flat Rock, Marti and Baragoi communities; topics such as inter-ethnic relations, herding, politics and conflict.

In August 2015 I travelled to Marsabit Town to interview Rendile politicians who were involved in taking Wind Power to court. I also interviewed the Loiyangalani ward Member of County Assembly, a man of Turkana ethnicity who was accused of wrongdoing in association with Wind Power. In August and a few times prior to this, I visited and conversed with a man in southern Kenya who was very knowledgeable about the court case. This man and the Rendile councillors provided me with literature surrounding the court case and wind farm in general.

In August 2015 I also interviewed Rendile speakers in Korr Town and surrounding pastoralist homesteads to hear their perspectives regarding a range of issues, including the wind farm. Korr is a Rendile town; during my time there I was assisted by two English-speaking men.

During September 2015 I returned to Loiyangalani for a week to interview people who identified themselves as Rendile/Samburu, Turkana and Samburu. Loiyangalani is a 'cosmopolitan' town: the main ethnicities are Turkana, Rendile and Samburu. Turkana usually live in separate quarters to Rendile and Samburu. I had one man to assist interviews among Rendile/Samburu informants and another to assist among Turkana; both were residents of Loiyangalani. I also interviewed and spoke informally with chiefs and elites of all ethnicities. My assistants were not 'pro-Wind Power' which was important because if they were they would probably have acted to censor the information I received by taking me to certain people who would not speak out against the injustices of the project.

However, this potentially put my assistants and me in danger from pro-Wind Power supporters who were watching our every move under instruction from the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani ward MCA. The issue of Wind Power was extremely sensitive, but my assistants were clear in the knowledge that they were not obliged to help and could walk away at any time. One interpreter did so because he was afraid that his association with my research might affect his future political aspirations. In order to gain a wide range of perspectives, we interviewed those supporting the Rendile councillors in their court case against Wind Power, those 'supporting' Wind Power against the court case, and those 'in between'. The interviews were usually in a group format and people were often very careful in what they said to me. In light of the tension, we would begin conversations with discussions surrounding less sensitive issues relating to people's lives. We waited for people to bring up topics of conflict, political incitement, Wind Power, land acquisitions and associated political wrongdoings before gently probing them on these things. Sometimes people were waiting for a certain person to leave the group before opening up to us on issues surrounding Wind Power, politics and/or

(incitement of) violence. Despite not spending much time with the informants, we were able to build up some rapport due to my assistants' status as community members and my acceptance because of the time I had already spent in the area and my prior understanding of issues we discussed, including the dynamics between the inter-ethnic communities. Time I previously spent with Turkana communities in Marti, Baragoi and Maralal, sensitised me to some Turkana people's ways of knowing the landscape and opinions regarding past and present politics, investments, and violence in the region. My experiences in Flat Rock and my knowledge of the Samburu language gave me a bond with Samburu/Rendile informants as we discussed mutual friends living there. This encouraged them to open up to me and enabled me to be able to engage with and contextualise information that people were sharing. However, people were often willing to speak out also because of the injustice they felt over issues surrounding the wind farm. They were happy that someone was investigating the 'injustices' of the Wind Power Project.

Nowhere were people feeling Wind Power injustices more and nowhere was a community more divided than Sarima, the site of the wind farm. Despite my outsider status, people, especially those who felt betrayed by their 'community leaders', politicians, Wind Power brokers and the company, were willing to express perspectives on the project. English speaking Turkana living in Sarima were happy to assist me in interviewing their families and friends.

Sarima was not a safe place. Two months before I visited, Samburu of the area attacked and killed many Turkana living there. Wind Power relocated the village of Sarima shortly after the attack, although the move was already planned. Sarima consisted of mainly Turkana occupants, with some southern Kenyans (Wind Power employees) renting huts. Many Sarima residents rented houses from 'original Sarima residents' who resided elsewhere with their livestock. Many of those renting were Turkana immigrants looking for work with Wind Power; some were Turkana business people from Lodwar, Baragoi, Isiolo or Maralal; some were Wind Power employees. Some original residents and renters converted their hut into a shop or bar in which low-paid Wind Power employees came in the evenings to spend their money. Because of the recent violence and history of violence between Samburu and Turkana, employees of these ethnicities drinking together and becoming inebriated made many inhabitants afraid that violence could erupt.

I conducted interviews in Sarima over three days, aided by two English speaking Turkana men from Sarima who were sympathetic of the Rendile politicians behind the court case against Wind Power. Interviews with the few pro-Wind Power supporters living in Sarima were tense and, like in Loiyangalani, I was tactical when interviewing.

### **3.2.5 Secondary information**

During the latter stages of my fieldwork I spent two weeks researching relevant archival information at the Kenyan National Archives in Nairobi. This information is used to augment colonial information forwarded by informants. When possible during my fieldwork and during writing, I engaged with (archived) media political reports of the region and social media websites in which national and local politics are discussed in detail. I accessed relevant Wind Power documents from the Wind Power website, which addressed issues being raised by informants. I also engaged with literature pertaining to the court case against Wind Power given to me by the court case plaintiffs.

### **3.3 Ethics**

Verbal consent was obtained from all research participants during fieldwork; written consent was often inappropriate because many participants were illiterate; furthermore, many people were suspicious of signing documents, especially if they were illiterate. I was clear to people about my status as a university PhD student, what the research was about and the possible consequences of the thesis. Those in towns, especially educated people, had a clearer conception of university research than more rural people (e.g. most people of Flat Rock) either because of first-hand experience of conducting research or exposure to Kenyan and/or foreign researchers in the past. Despite having little or no prior experience of researchers, most rural people, like those of Flat Rock, had an idea of what being a university student was because people from their family had attended university. I was careful, especially among rural people, to discuss the outcomes of the research and listen to their expectations; I was clear that the research was not associated with a state or non-governmental organisation and will not benefit them in the future. With non-English speakers, I relied upon assistants to explain the nature of my presence and the research I was undertaking.

ASA guidelines (2011, p. 5) states that “consent in ethnographic research is a process, not a one-off event due to its long-term and open-ended qualities. Consent may require constant negotiation over time.” This was certainly the case during my fieldwork. With those I spent long periods of time, such as Flat Rock residents, verbal informed consent was a continual

process, constantly revisited between myself, my research assistants and those who participated in the research. I was concerned with, and continually reflected on the ways my presence impacted upon people's lives, including my behaviour and the topics discussed. I relied upon research assistants (who live within the community), especially early on during my time in Flat Rock, to guide the way I conducted myself, who to interview, when and how to interview and what themes were appropriate. Over time, I learned appropriate ways to behave, interact with people, and topics to discuss. Furthermore, people of Flat Rock, and many others living in the area, became used to me as a researcher and my purpose for being there.

Throughout my fieldwork, I attempted to enable participants to control the parts of their lives and information they wanted to share with me during everyday tasks, conversations and interviews. As such, power to set the agenda was with research participants, not me as researcher. This approach also enabled me to engage with people's perspectives and analyses.

During conversations and interviews with those I spent less time with, such as people away from Flat Rock, I also tried to enable the participants to dictate the nature of conversations and topics discussed. This approach, which gave power to participants, was especially important when discussions turned to sensitive issues such as Wind Power, politics and conflict. I often relied upon assistants (living within the community) who knew the people and the place, for guidance when addressing certain issues in order that they were broached in an appropriate manner. I tried to avoid putting participants (including my research assistants) in positions and situations in which they felt uncomfortable, to reveal things that could potentially jeopardise their safety; people discussed things they were comfortable with sharing. I made it clear to those sharing information and research assistants that they had no obligation to discuss anything and could walk away at any time. Some informants did, as did one of my Loiyangalani assistants.

In some places it was appropriate to obtain prior consent from local chiefs and administrators before carrying out research in their jurisdiction. I also obtained official approval to carry out academic research from the Government of Kenya in Nairobi at the beginning of my fieldwork.

All research participants, including my assistants, were informed that their identities would remain anonymous in my thesis and any subsequent published articles. Pseudonyms are used for some places, including Flat Rock, lineages and family names, among other things, in order



to protect people's identities. However, I also made it clear to people that despite my best attempts at concealing people's identities, those from the area who read the thesis may be able to identify places and individuals. This situation may be especially unavoidable for brokers, politicians, chiefs and other administrators.

Many interviews were recorded with the permission of participants, who were informed that the recording would only be listened to by me. I found that recording enabled me to better partake in discussions, rather than constantly writing notes. A few elites and politicians requested not to be recorded so I took notes instead. Photography was also undertaken overtly.

During fieldwork I was careful that my field notes and interview recordings were kept secure to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of research participants. I kept my completed journals and a laptop containing the transferred voice recordings in a locked container at a secret location in a town within the area.

During the writing of this thesis I endeavoured to present the information people offered without decontextualizing it, by for example avoiding adding causality where it may not have been intended. This would risk misrepresenting people, which is unethical and could put them in danger.

### **3.4 Writing the thesis**

The thesis is written in an attempt to engage with people's perspectives and analyses.

During fieldwork hundreds of interviews were recorded and/or hand-written. I transcribed the recorded interviews, typed hand-written interviews and catalogued them. I recorded in journals the informal conversations I had with people and daily accounts of my 'participant observation' in Flat Rock and elsewhere. Empirical chapters 4-7 are based upon many of these interviews (both individual and group), conversations and participant observation. Interviews and conversations are referenced in the text via coded endnotes. A table in the appendix outlines some information about informants to enable the reader to better contextualise the discourse presented. However, care is taken care to keep participants' identities anonymous.

The following four empirical chapters are ordered in such a way as to enable the reader to engage with people's lives and their perspectives on, and analyses of, their and others' lives.

Chapter 4 (Livestock herding in Flat Rock) is written to develop the reader's understanding of the ways Flat Rock herders interact and become familiar with, feel and understand their relationships with more-than-humans, especially livestock, places and *Nkai* as a part of their everyday lives and associated cosmological ideas. Chapter 5 (Belonging in a more-than-human world) exemplifies how Flat Rock people's and their neighbours' (contested) 'timeless truths' regarding seniority, belonging and custodianship are a part of (and informed by) their embodied experiences and identities in relation to lineage, place and other more-than-humans and associated cosmological ideas. Relationships between people and between people and place involve more-than-human relationships and the cosmology of *Ikerreti*.

I argue that the understanding of the ways Flat Rock people live as a part of, and understand, their landscape and world revealed in these two chapters enables a better understanding of people's perspectives, contestations and analyses of conflict, politics and investments presented in the subsequent chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 (Changing relations between Samburu and Turkana) considers Flat Rock, other Samburu and Turkana perspectives, and analyses of others' perspectives, relating to past and present inter-ethnic relations, including violence. In building the analysis around people's own perspectives, I am mindful not to impose causality where people do not. Chapter 7 (Lives in the shadow of a wind farm) considers how inter-ethnic communities' lives have become associated with the Lake Turkana Wind Power investment (and solar energy investment for Flat Rock). Forwarding people's perspectives and their analyses of others' perspectives enables insights into ways of living in and understanding the landscape and relationships with other communities, including changes in inter-ethnic conflict. Such perspectives and analyses involve various portrayals of (past and present) politics and administrations, and for Flat Rock: more-than-human entanglements and the cosmology of *Ikerreti*.

The conclusion, chapter 8, considers how the analytical approach taken is similar and different to other works that have addressed similar themes. The conclusion also critiques the approach developed in this thesis.

---

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> See Appendix 5 for a list of Samburu age-sets
- <sup>2</sup> For a historical perspective on Samburu-Rendile relations, see Spencer (1973); for more recent accounts see Fratkin (1997; 2001).
- <sup>3</sup> For a historical perspective on relations between people east of Lake Turkana see Sobania (1980; 1988; 1991).

## Chapter 4. Livestock herding in Flat Rock

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how livestock herders of Flat Rock understand and live as part of the landscape.

The ways sub-Saharan pastoralists understand and value vegetation and the landscape relationally through their livestock has been the focus of numerous studies which try and give voice to pastoralists (e.g. Kratli 2008; Kratli and Schareika, 2010; Roba and Oba, 2008; 2009). These analyses, among others, work to discredit portrayals of pastoralists as irrational, overstocking, overgrazing and degrading the arid rangelands. They demonstrate how pastoral customary institutions are, on the contrary, rational and enable sustainable, non-degrading, mobile ways of managing livestock and accessing pasture and how this is well suited to non-equilibrial dryland ecosystems with variable rainfall.

Ellis and Swift (1988), Homewood and Rogers (1987) and Scoones (1995; 1996), among others argue that misplaced ideas of pastoralist-livestock induced land degradation were developed in temperate regions with equilibrial ecosystems, but that such ideas are not applicable in sub-Saharan African arid rangeland ecosystems which exhibit more non-equilibrial characteristics. Here, rainfall variability is the main factor determining vegetation dynamics, not livestock numbers, and mobile livestock herding is the most efficient way to access variable pasture.

In light of Nadasdy's (1999; 2007), Agrawal's (2002) and Duvall's (2008) concerns over analyses which separate ecology from other aspects of people's lives which give them meaning, this chapter examines how people's relations with livestock and livestock management, and understandings of pasture and rainfall are a part of their relations with other people and more-than-humans.

The chapter analyses how agency of more-than-humans, including livestock, *Nkai* (Divinity) and landscape, is situated within people's world-making practices and experiences, and the seeking of 'goodness'. The chapter exemplifies ways Flat Rock herders interact and become familiar with, feel and understand their relationships with more-than-humans, especially livestock, places and *Nkai* as a part of their everyday lives and associated cosmological ideas.

#### 4.2 Livestock liking places

Many herders of Flat Rock interact with and portray places and fodder in terms of their livestock's needs and likes. Some places, grasses and shrubs are referred to as good, others as bad for certain livestock. Herders interpret their livestock's needs and preferences based on various 'signs' displayed by the animals<sup>1</sup>.

Flat Rock elders call the arid lowland (*lkees*) stretching away from the east of Mt Nyiro (see Map 1) *koropili* meaning goodness, containing nutritious fodder for livestock, especially following rains when grass and leaves are green, but even in dry times when fodder is dry<sup>2</sup>. The elders talk of the warm temperatures and comfortable ground in *lkees* which, unlike mountain ground, is not rocky (no gravel) so livestock can eat in a relaxed way. It is the desire of herders that their livestock eat as much of the 'right' fodder for as long as possible so that they become healthy and produce as much milk as possible. According to many elders, the quality of fodder, terrain and temperature in the *lkees* to the east of Mt Nyiro are 'liked' by all livestock<sup>3</sup>. 'Like' means that the area and forage 'satisfy' livestock enabling them to become 'healthy'. This health is displayed by livestock through 'signs', which include a shiny coat, healthy eyes, body fat, and providing there is 'enough' water: milk quantity and fat content. Livestock contentment in an area is also displayed through certain behaviours such as male cattle, goats and sheep mounting female cattle, goats and sheep, respectively<sup>4</sup>.



Figure 4.1 View of *lkees* stretching east from Mt Nyiro. The northern end of Ldonyo Mara Mountain is to the right of the picture.

Through observing their livestock's bodily and behavioural 'health' indicators many Flat Rock herders agree that livestock like a varied diet<sup>5</sup>. One Flat Rock elder says that cattle like a varied

diet consisting of differing grass species augmented with some shrubs; the lowland, with a wide variety of nutritious grasses and shrubs, is a desirable place for cattle<sup>6</sup>.

Bollig and Schulte (1999) and Kratli and Schareika (2010) also detail relational ways that African pastoralists value places and vegetation based upon interpretation of numerous health indicators displayed by their livestock. Kratli and Schareika (2010) write how Wodaabe herders of Niger target certain areas with certain fodder because they want their cattle to eat the things they know (from experience and constant monitoring of livestock health indicators) make them healthy and productive.

#### **4.3 Following the rains in search of fodder and water**

The location of desirable fresh, green and nutritious pasture ('liked' by livestock), depends upon rainfall, especially in the lowlands. Rain is 'expected' to mainly fall within two rainy seasons: *Ngerngerua* (March-May) and *Ltumeren* (October-November). In between rainfall when the lowlands are dry, many people take their livestock to live on and graze Mt Nyiro<sup>7</sup> (see Map 1). People and livestock become familiar with places, places which livestock are perceived by their herders to like, places that are considered to be good for their health. Herders interpret their livestock's likes through certain signs/displays of health<sup>8</sup>.

Flat Rock residents relay stories about grazing livestock in the lowlands during rains when grass and leaves became green and nutritious. Some places receive more rainfall than others during the rainy seasons. People migrate across the lowlands to access places with fresh, green, nutritious vegetation growing on recently watered soil<sup>9</sup>. Young herders and/or their fathers carry out *saa* (rekeys) to view potential grazing areas and discuss the forage and water availability with those already grazing there<sup>10</sup>. Such practices are common among pastoralists. For example, Kratli and Schareika (2010) write how Wodaabe herders continuously monitor and move through the non-equilibrial, variable rangeland so they can direct their herds to access short-lived concentrations of nutrients contained within fodder desired for its livestock health-promoting properties.

Access and distance to water as well as surrounding forage are taken into consideration when deciding where to settle and graze livestock. Water influences how 'comfortable' livestock are, their appetite and thus how much (good stuff) they are able to eat<sup>11</sup>.

In the past, livestock camps were able to graze the lowlands far from the permanent water sources of the mountains due to the presence of pools of rainwater called *lturot*<sup>12</sup>. *Lturot* are found on level land in *Ikees* lowlands and on volcanic plateaus (*martin*) in areas of clay soil “which does not drink water”<sup>13</sup>. Water enters the *lturot* via surface runoff, where it remains<sup>14</sup>. Pools of rainwater (*nkuta*) are highly valued by herders for drinking, “the first water which collects in pools (*lturot*) is good quality for the cattle”<sup>15</sup>. Many people located their livestock camps within reach of known *lturot*. Water from these *lturot* sustained their herds and people while grazing desirable fodder located nearby. They never stayed in one place for long, instead migrating slowly to where they had heard it had rained and it was *lari* (green, wet)<sup>16</sup>.

While the livestock camps containing the bulk of families’ herds are often grazing far into *Ikees*, goats, sheep and a few lactating cows remain with, and provide milk for, families’ main homestead, which nowadays remain permanently at Flat Rock. In the past, these homesteads would often migrate between pastures close to Mt Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara. This would allow the land around Mt Nyiro to rest. Some homesteads would remain at the foot of Mt Nyiro because there may be young children or elderly people unable to migrate. These homesteads used to take their cows to drink collected rainwater (*nkuta*) at an *lturot*, located in between Mt Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara Mountain<sup>17</sup>. People and livestock would drink *nkuta* water in *lturot* of *Ikees* and *martin* (volcanic plateaus) and graze the area until grass and/or *nkuta* was finished.

After the rains had finished, once the lowland fodder had been eaten or became dry and yellow, and/or once water holes dried, livestock camps (and homesteads which had moved away from Mt Nyiro) returned to Mt Nyiro. This was usually June/July, a time of the year known as *Lopusani*, meaning yellowing of leaves. Here, livestock drink water at the many permanent wells and feed on vegetation at the mountain summit, which remains green all year. During this time lowland areas were left to rest and recover<sup>18</sup>.



Figure 4.2 (left) *Marua* (grassy area for settling and grazing) on Mt Nyiro.



Figure 4.3 (right) Permanent well containing fresh water on Mt Nyiro.

Many *Imurran* of Flat Rock do not graze their cattle on Nyiro as frequently as their fathers used to because nowadays there are more people and livestock which would rapidly finish the forage. Despite this, some people with large cattle herds like to graze them on the mountain when the lowlands are dry. An *Imurrani*, whose family may be considered wealthy in Flat Rock because of their many head of cattle, says that he and his animals like the mountainside and top for grazing; he says that his cows quickly adapt and remember their mountain life. “Thirst in this place is no longer an issue for the cattle or people; it is cooler and water is close by”<sup>19</sup>. Other herders say their livestock prefer the lowlands (including the types of fodder there) and become less healthy in the mountain<sup>20</sup>.

Livestock become familiar with places they remember, places they have learned to like in light of certain fodder, temperature, water, and soil, which are considered to be good for their health. Herders interpret their livestock’s likes (and familiarity to places they like) through livestock signs. Perhaps related to this, Kratli (2008) writes how some Wodaabe herds can gain weight in places where other herds cannot because they are accustomed to feeding there.

#### 4.4 Wild animals ‘making’ places

In the past, livestock and people were not the only visitors to *Iturot* during rains. During the night, elephants used to drink at *Iturot*, especially *Iturot* near the South Horr River. People used to avoid the regular watering places of elephants because of the tsetse fly and disease that they carried which could infect livestock. *Iturot* away from the river were less frequented by elephants and preferred by herders. When the water became low, elephants would roll in



the mud and deepen the *Iturot* ready for the next rains. Many people equate the ‘filling in’ of *Iturot* with the decline and eventual disappearance of elephants from the area in the 1970’s due to poaching. Abandonment of any drinking point will lead to its ‘death’ by soil ‘growing up’ to fill it in<sup>21</sup>.



Figure 4.4 Site where a popular *Iturot* once stood. The hollow has filled in with fine sediment over the years.

The reduction of *Iturot* due to a decline in elephant numbers and less ‘reliable’ rainfall means that livestock camps located far into *Ikees* lowland away from permanent water sources of the mountains are now avoided. Less use of *Iturot* by people and livestock has further compounded their decline. Furthermore, threat of insecurity from nearby Turkana causes people to avoid lowland locations far to the north and east of Mt Nyiro, usually opting instead to construct large cattle camps for safety within a few hours walking distance of the piped well at Flat Rock or a water tank at a place in *Ikees* containing piped water from Mt Nyiro<sup>22</sup>.



Figure 4.5 One of the water troughs which receives a permanent supply of water piped from a well on the side of Mt Nyiro.

#### 4.5 Mineral-water and licks

Locations of livestock camps and homesteads, and livestock's ability to reap the benefits from desired fodder deemed to make them healthy, are/were influenced by different livestock's mineral requirements during different seasons. Water sources and licks (*lbolei*) with varying degrees of mineral concentrations are located near the base (*Ikirne*) of Mt Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara Mountain. Water sources higher up the mountainside produce more fresh/'cold' water<sup>23</sup>. Livestock are led to mineral-rich water and licks at the onset of rains to 'cleanse' their stomachs, wash through the old grass and 'dirt', and kill any stomach worms, which enables them to digest the fresh grass. Cattle cannot drink mineral-rich water for long because the diarrhoea it causes makes them weak<sup>24</sup>.

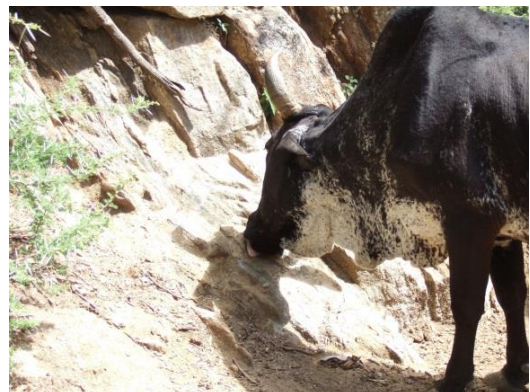


Figure 4.6 (left) Well containing mineral-rich water, located on the side (*Ikub*) of Mt Nyiro.

Figure 4.7 (right) Cow licking mineral deposits next to the well pictured left.

In the past, at the onset of rains some people of Nyiro moved their homesteads containing all cattle to live in and graze areas near the mineral-rich wells of Ldonyo Mara Mountain. People of Flat Rock claim that certain wells and associated places in Ldonyo Mara ‘belong’ to their lineages<sup>25</sup>. Nowadays since the permanence of Flat Rock homestead, only livestock camps travel to these places; in the past people of Flat Rock used to move their main homestead there. Ldonyo Mara is avoided by many because of the prevalence of ticks there, which bring livestock illness. In the past, fire was used to kill ticks and regenerate grass growth enabling people to live and herds at Ldonyo Mara<sup>26</sup>. Despite the abundance of ticks, some people still locate livestock camps there arguing that the mineral-rich water kills ticks, which fall off their bodies. “The mountain provides the solution to the tick problem”<sup>27</sup>. Those who can afford to, now spray their livestock with pesticides.



Figure 4.8 A mineral-rich well, located at the foot of Ldonyo Mara Mountain.

An area prized for mineral-rich water and licks is Lake Turkana. In the past, homesteads living at Mt Nyiro or nearby would meet livestock camps returning from near and distant lowland places where they had been grazing during rains, before jointly migrating north to a place called Sarima (see Map 1). For a few weeks livestock were grazed on the *marti*-land (volcanic) pastures of this area while drinking the very mineral-rich lake water. Fresh *nkuta* (rainwater) collects in a *mugur* (deep hollow in the ground) at Sarima for people and returning livestock to drink<sup>28</sup>. Many Flat Rock people claim that this water point and surrounding land belongs to the Flat Rock community. Due to insecurity with their Turkana neighbours since the late 1990s people of Flat Rock have not travelled with livestock camps to Lake Turkana.

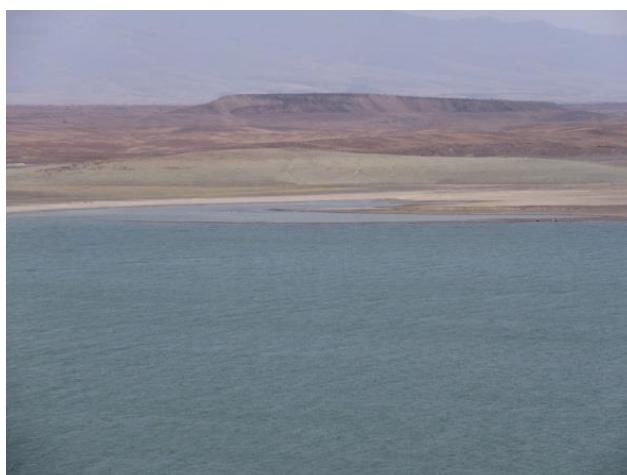


Figure 4.9 View of the Lake Turkana shoreline with mineral deposits (picture taken from an island on the lake).

#### 4.6 Types of grass

During rains in the lowlands, grasses grow at different rates, survive for different lengths of time and are differentially valued by herders. Certain fast growing and short living grasses, such as *Nyaput*<sup>29</sup> and *Rumoto*<sup>30</sup> are valued by Flat Rock herders for the goodness they provide. *Nyaput* is nutritious for calves, sheep and goats; larger cattle struggle to eat this small bladed grass because of their large mouths. All sizes of livestock eat *Rumoto*; cattle 'like' *Rumoto* when it is green because of the nutrients it contains<sup>31</sup>. One man called *Rumoto* and *Nyaput* 'helper grasses' because they provide livestock with fodder while other slower growing grasses germinate<sup>32</sup>. According to many people, these helper grasses dry and die back earlier than other more persistent grasses; their weak shallow roots and dry leaves mean that livestock may destroy the above ground part of the grasses by trampling<sup>33</sup>. Bollig and Schulte (1999) and Kratli and Schareika (2010) write that low-yielding grasses which sprout early after rains are of great importance to Pokot (of northern Kenya) and Wodaabe livestock (respectively) as they wait for other higher-yielding grasses to grow.

Slightly slower growing but more persistent *Ikees* grasses, liked by (nutritious for) cattle, include *Ntalankweni*<sup>34</sup>, *Lanana*<sup>35</sup>, *Lorrokue*<sup>36</sup> and *Loipuup*<sup>37</sup>. Herders enthusiastically praise all of these grasses, which can grow across the whole *Ikees*, for their potential ability to make cattle healthy<sup>38</sup>.

Fresh green grass is valued above older, drier grass because of the higher levels of nutrients it contains and the corresponding health benefits for livestock. However, nowadays, cattle graze

*Ikees* in dry as well as green times, especially areas that were left ungrazed after rains, meaning that an abundance of grass (albeit dry) is found there. People say that some types of grass are more nutritious than others in a dry state<sup>39</sup>. The most coveted grasses that grow in *Ikees* are *Lonoro*<sup>40</sup> and *Lkauwa*<sup>41</sup>, which is more common in higher areas. Both these grasses remain green for longer than other grasses and are nutritious when dry and yellow<sup>42</sup>. The strong roots and grass base mean that livestock trampling does not result in tufts of dry grass being destroyed<sup>43</sup>. Many herders say that cattle feeding on these grasses during drought will not die<sup>44</sup>. Pokot herders similarly praise *Lonoro* and *Lkauwa* grasses (Bollig and Schulte, 1999).



Figure 4.10 *Lonoro* grass growing in an area of *Ikees* to the east of Mt Nyiro. *Lonoro* is nutritious when dry.

#### 4.7 Places made by *Nkai*, rain

Flat Rock herders' understandings of rainfall variability, subsequent grass growth and livestock health depend upon *Nkai* (Divinity), and people's and more-than-humans' relations with *Nkai*.

According to many Flat Rock elders, the amount and variety of grasses depend upon rainfall, which is *Nkai*<sup>45</sup>, rather than a symbol of *Nkai*. The exact location of rainfall (*Nkai*) during the rainy seasons of *Ngerngerua* and *Ltumeren* is determined by *Nkai*<sup>46</sup>. People are reliant upon the power of *Nkai* or rain. People try and influence rainfall or *Nkai* through blessings, praising *Nkai* and 'doing the right thing/avoiding badness'<sup>47</sup>.

One elder explained that different rains bring different grasses; some rains may bring a mixture of grasses, while other rains may bring/cause one grass to dominate<sup>48</sup>. The elder says that grasses migrate, returning with certain rains or *Nkai*. Another elder suggests that *Nkai* migrates between mountains as rain and rain clouds<sup>49</sup>.



Rainfall or *Nkai* is variable, bringing unpredictable grass combinations and unpredictable livestock health. Lots of rain and new fodder growth does not guarantee that livestock become healthy<sup>50</sup>. An elder suggests that 'bad air' brought by rain/*Nkai* is the cause of this<sup>51</sup>. Presence of certain a green fly indicate such air. These green flies were abundant during the heavy *El Nino* rains in South Horr Valley in 1997, which brought lots of grass and shrubs along with disease for goats and people. Small rains and limited green fodder growth can lead to healthy livestock and lots of milk. The same elder suggests 'good air' as the reason. Others explain this phenomenon by evoking *Nkai* or rain 'quality'/'type' bringing a certain mixture of grasses which may or may not result in healthy livestock<sup>52</sup>. Livestock health determines which areas with certain grasses and/or 'air' are considered 'good' or 'bad' at certain times after particular rains. After some rains, an area may be considered 'good', after the next rains it may be considered 'bad'.

#### **4.8 Places that are 'good'**

There are certain 'good' places in the lowlands that Flat Rock herders seek out for specific livestock if they have heard that it has rained there; places with known concentrations of specific grasses and vegetation, which may remain green for longer after rains. *Ntabasin* are flat areas of small (often temporary) interconnecting water channels (*lpashat*), frequently found at the end of lowland water courses. After rains, water flowing through the channels stagnates, eventually being 'swallowed' by the earth depositing fine alluvium which enables grasses and shrubs to grow taller and remain green for longer than the surrounding sandy *Ikees*<sup>53</sup>. *Lterien*<sup>54</sup> and *Lkauwa* grasses are often found in these alluvium-rich soils<sup>55</sup>. According to one man, grasses grow tall in *ntabasin* because the shade provided by the shrubs protects them from the sun<sup>56</sup>. Holmgren and Scheffer (2001) describe the 'nursing effect' trees and shrubs provide for grasses to grow in arid landscapes. They write that the shade of 'nursing plants' lowers air and soil temperatures and reduces evaporation so water content of the superficial soil layer remains higher. This provides grasses with low thermal and water stress enabling them to grow.

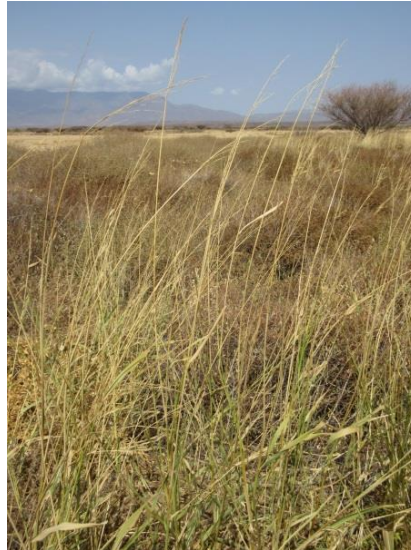


Figure 4.11 An *ntabas* in *Ikees* to the north east of Mt Nyiro. Tall grass in foreground is growing in the shelter of shrubs.

*Ntabasin* usually have an outflow of water and can flood adjacent areas. An *ntabas* used to spill into an open, grassy plain, void of tree and shrubs, to the east of Mt Nyiro. Such areas are known as *siratta*. Once water had infiltrated into the soil, *Lorrokue* and other grasses used to grow. The *siratta* was named after the *Lorrokue* grass which used to grow there in abundance. An elder relayed that people used to live and graze their livestock in this area after rains because it was rich with grasses that could support many cattle herds, but “these days there is only sufficient grass for people to graze there alone”<sup>57</sup>. Holmgren and Scheffer (2001) explain from their perspective how ‘islands of fertility’ (such as *siratta*), surrounded by less fertile land, persist. Surface runoff after rainfall settles at particular low-lying locations. Lush vegetation grows in these places, which trap future sediment carried within surface runoff, increasing the fertility of the site.



Figure 4.12 (left) A shallow basin recently submerged by water escaping an adjacent *ntabas*. The area is on the edge of a *siratta*, located in *Ikees* to the north of Ldonyo Mara Mountain.

Figure 4.13 (right) The *siratta* extending north and east from the recently submerged area. This *siratta* has not been invaded by as many woody plants as others in the area.



Figure 4.14 Siratta to the east of Mt Nyiro. Shrubs and trees now dominate, instead of grass.

The *siratta* to the east of Mt Nyiro provided a mixed diet for livestock, including an abundant shrub called *Ltilimani*<sup>58</sup>, which is valued for the nutrition it provides all livestock. When eaten in combination with other shrubs and grasses, *Ltilimani* leads to very healthy cattle. *Samanderi*<sup>59</sup> trees also grow here, which “support grass growth”<sup>60</sup>. Bollig and Schulte (1999) write how Pokot herders value certain trees that encourage grass growth. For example, *Acacia nubica* is liked because it repels grass-eating ants.

Larapasi is an 8 kilometre wide depression adjacent to the seasonal River (*Sere*) Milgis, about 200km southeast of Mt Nyiro (see Map 2). After rain, water from the Milgis River floods the depression. Once the river level has lowered, water flows back to the river and soaks into the



ground, depositing fine alluvium<sup>61</sup>. A Flat Rock elder spoke fondly of Larapasi, saying that, like the former *siratta* and *ntabasin* to the east of Mt Nyiro, grasses grow in abundance, including cows' favourite: "nutritious and strong *Larapasi*"<sup>62,63</sup>. The same elder noted that, like *Lkauwa*, *Larapasi* only grows in soils with a large concentration of clay. According to FAO (2016), *Echinochloa colona* (*Larapasi*) is common in loams, silts and clays, growing in swampy places and seasonally flooded grassland.

If it is dry around the *Ikees* close to Mt Nyiro and people 'hear' of rain at Larapasi, they may migrate there with cattle<sup>64</sup>. The elder who spoke fondly of Larapasi was one of the first Nyiro people to migrate there as a herds-boy with cattle in the 1950's.

Some places are permanently thought of as 'good' for livestock and people. One of the many volcanic plateaus (*martin*) of the lowlands around Mt Nyiro is prized for having 'good' air; it is a place of 'goodness': "we have never seen anybody die when living on top of [this *marti*]; there are no graves. I have never been sick when living there, unlike in Flat Rock. We are unsure if this place is *kamanyak* (sacred) but it is 'good'"<sup>65</sup>. Two Flat Rock elders praise the coolness of the air and ground there, which encourages growth of vegetation associated with mountains, such as much coveted *Lkauwa* grass<sup>66</sup>. Coolness also reduces livestock thirst meaning that they eat more, become healthier and herders have to spend less time taking them to water.



Figure 4.15 The prized *marti*, located to the west of Mt Nyiro.

Volcanic rocks of *martin* give way under the hooves of livestock allowing comfortable grazing. Whereas the hard rocks of Ldonyo Mara Mountain do not give out under hooves and can lead to broken legs; cattle do not like grazing there<sup>67</sup>. Obsidian (volcanic glass), known as *ng'inai* is abundant atop the prized *marti*. Because *ng'inai* is located in a place of such 'goodness', a

piece can be worn on a necklace by young children. One elder suggests the reason for this is “Samburu culture”<sup>68</sup>. Another elder says that *ng'inai* and other special items are worn by children to ward off the ‘evil eye’ of certain families<sup>69</sup>. A different elder says that he was told never to burn the prized *marti* and nobody has ever seen it burn; “we believe that *ng'inai* should never be burned”<sup>70</sup>. The ‘goodness’ of the place depends upon people not burning it. Some men from Flat Rock and others from nearby settlements, who graze the *marti*, do not emphasise the presence of *ng'inai*; for them the identity of this place is tied up with ideas of ‘our land’ where they and their forefathers have long grazed<sup>71</sup>.



Figure 4.16 Coveted *Lkauwa* grass growing on volcanic soil atop the prized *marti*.

#### 4.9 Places that are ‘bad’

Other places are known to be ‘bad’ for certain livestock. A Flat Rock elder says that sheep and goats (shoats) do not like certain places with dusty soil; he does not settle in them because when such soils get trodden the dust gets into the nostrils of shoats making them cough and become sick<sup>72</sup>. The elder says that these fine clay soils (*mpulpuli*) are found in places in the South Horr valley, in parts of the lowland *Ikees* to the east Ldonyo Mara Mountains, and atop certain volcanic plateaus. The areas of fine clay soil in *Ikees* and certain volcanic plateaus are renowned for *Lkauwa* grass that grows there; cattle are grazed in these places to feed on this valued grass. The elder warned that during rains these fine clay soils become *sordo* (very sticky clay) and weak, sick cows can become stuck and may die.

Landslides (*ndalata*) can occur on the slopes of Mt Nyiro after heavy rains. Experience informs some elders<sup>73</sup> that such events are *kotolo* (bad), the land is no longer ‘good’: “the land has been ‘swept’, your livestock and family will be swept, so you have to avoid those places”<sup>74</sup>. *Nkai* caused/is the rainfall and landslide; there is a reason the rainfall and landslide occurred,

that reason is *Nkai*. A self-professed 'wise Samburu man' (*kursa*) said "*Nkai* can give and take life: like an elder's tongue which has two sides: one side is used to bless (give life), the other side to curse (to kill)<sup>75</sup>. According to some elders, ceremonies can no longer be performed in the vicinity of landslides.

Rain/*Nkai* may 'cleanses' scarred land from a landslide. This cleansing involves heavy rainfall and new vegetation growing to cover the bare land (*ndorot*). Land is now *koropili*, indicated through good smelling, fresh vegetation and the potential for livestock to become healthy through feeding there<sup>76</sup>. Similarly, rainfall/*Nkai* cleanses all land that has undergone a period of drought, 'making it right' with fresh vegetation. An elder said that soil (*nkulupo*) is alive in its own way<sup>77</sup>. He said that soil which has been rained on and remained undisturbed by people will grow lots of vegetation; "it has a good smell (*koropili*) during that flowering time ... so it is something alive, *Nkai* is taking care of it"<sup>78</sup>.

If a landslide occurs near someone's settlement and/or on 'their land' they can attempt to 'avert badness' and 'make things right'/'make the land good' again, which translates 'materially' as more rain/*Nkai* and green vegetation cover, which equals healthy livestock and thus people<sup>79</sup>. People can achieve this by appeasing the land and *Nkai* who is/brought the rain and landslide. This involves killing a goat, pouring the fat to 'cleanses' the land, and pouring milk to 'purify' the land. "If you have not cleansed the landslide near your home ... then people will say 'because you didn't cleanse before then more landslides will reappear'"<sup>80</sup>.

#### **4.10 People ('via' *Nkai*) making places 'good'**

People are agents in the occurrence of rainfall/*Nkai* and the goodness which follows, in the form of fresh vegetation which 'heals' dry, bare land, nourishes livestock who feed on it and nourishes people who feed on livestock products. *Nkai* has passed down (via forefathers)/*Nkai* is – a moral code of conduct for Samburu to live by, known as *Ikerreti* (the way of the sheep). By adhering to *Ikerreti*, people are acting to try to enhance the prosperity of their families and livestock, by avoiding or 'changing the direction' of perceived 'badness' and bad places and searching for 'goodness' and good places to live and graze.

In the past Samburu people would never settle anywhere without first pouring milk to appease the soil and the land of *Nkai*<sup>81</sup>. While moving around pouring milk, elders will say, 'this place of mine/soil become honey and milk to avert badness (such as soil-borne diseases, ill health) and bring goodness (a variety of fodder which makes livestock healthy)'<sup>82</sup>. "Honey is a preserver; it

ensures our life will be good and preserved. Milk is white and pure, and ensures our life will be peaceful”<sup>83</sup>. People of Flat Rock say that giving offerings to the land and/or *Nkai* is *Ikerreti* (the way of the sheep). Through enacting such offerings, elders are reinforcing *Ikerreti*, their status and ability to bring ‘goodness’ as elders (in the form of land and livestock prosperity).

Before livestock and their herders ascend Mt Nyiro (often in June/July), elders gather at a place on the foot of the west side of the Mt Nyiro in order that they may face and point their sticks at the mountain and the rising sun. They ask *Nkai* of Nyiro to facilitate good peaceful grazing for their families. The following day people may begin to ascend the mountain with their livestock<sup>84</sup>. A Flat Rock elder says that some people go ahead of their migrating herd to pour milk (and honey) on the place where they want to settle: an offering/blessing to the land and *Nkai*, asking it to receive the people and livestock well<sup>85</sup>.

The same elder says that wise men (*kursa*) wait a while before sending their livestock up Mt Nyiro. *Kursa* say that foolish people rush to the mountain where ‘badness’ (associated with *Nkai*) often awaits; this badness may or may not have ‘material’ manifestations. Material manifestations of ‘badness’ include livestock being attacked and even eaten by wild animals or livestock contracting diseases, such as those transmitted by grasshoppers. ‘Let the people follow the grasshoppers’, the elder says that *kursa* have been heard to say. “The grasshoppers feed on the new grass; *kursa* wait until these grass hoppers have dispersed until they send up their livestock”<sup>86</sup>. By telling me this, the elder was legitimising the wisdom of elders and *kursa* and the foolhardiness of those who do not value such ‘Samburu wisdom’.



Figure 4.17 A grasshopper on Mt Nyiro.

People of Flat Rock are continually connecting with *Nkai* to ask for prosperity for themselves and their livestock. People 'pray' to *Nkai* daily to ask for goodness for their families; elders bless people on request and at special ceremonies. Two of the eldest men in Flat Rock (of *Lkimaniki* age-set) said, "*Nkai* has given us the role of blessing our children because *Nkai* listens to us. We pray morning and evening so *Nkai* will give them what they want; *Nkai* will never let us down. *Nkai* told our ancestors: 'just say what you want and I will receive your messages'"<sup>87</sup>.

#### **4.11 Livestock 'knowing' good and bad places**

A Flat Rock elder says his cattle know what fodder is nutritious for them, and actively seek it out<sup>88</sup>. A particular *siratta* (grassy plain) located in *Ikees* is named after the grass *Lonoro* which often dominates there after rains. The elder used to graze his cows there, "in the morning the cows would eat until they were satisfied; they would rest in the middle of the day under the shade of trees. Once the sun cooled, the cows would run away from the area and try to find other types of grasses because they had become bored of *Lonoro*. They (cows) just want to mix the types of grasses". Another elder says that, "cattle will die if they have to rely on *Ntalankweni* grass alone"<sup>89</sup>.

Some elders spoke of cattle as being *loibon* (prophets, 'seers') because of their ability to 'sense' places that are good and bad for them<sup>90</sup>. "Bulls smell the *marua* (place where livestock camps settle) for a while, if it is not 'good' then they move on; if it is good then they sit and relax, the rest of the herd then follow suit. Cattle will run away from a place with 'badness'"<sup>91</sup>. Livestock also demonstrate the 'badness' of a place through health indicators, such as coat health, "in a bad *marua*, even with lots of grass, livestock will have rough coats like they are really sick; when you move places their hair will become better"<sup>92</sup>. If someone settles in a 'bad' *marua*, the place (*Nkai*) can cleanse/purify itself by sacrificing a fat cow; people cut it up, roast the meat, the incense rises and purifies everything bad in the *marua*. Despite the land having healed, people will still avoid settling there in the future<sup>93</sup>.

#### **4.12 A deeper analysis of livestock 'signs'**

Flat Rock residents' interpretation of appearance and behavioural signs displayed by their livestock depends upon a way of perceiving the world in which they, their livestock and other more-than-human things are inter-dependent agents. Certain information herders glean from their livestock enables them to act in order to obtain goodness and avoid badness, via *Nkai*.

Interpretations of certain livestock (specifically castrated bulls and goats) behaviours, colours, markings and horn shape reveal information to Flat Rock herders about the prosperity and well-being of their herd and family. Some animals indicate and bring goodness, others badness. Most people of Flat Rock have a basic grasp of these signs but do not consider themselves as expert interpreters<sup>94</sup>. Members of a particular family, especially men, have the '*Nkai*-given' ability to interpret 'signs' and communicate with livestock<sup>95</sup>. An old man from this family who helps people of Flat Rock communicate with their livestock and manage their herds to avoid badness, said "I can 'read' goodness (*kamanyak*) and badness (*kotolo*) in livestock through interpreting 'good' and 'bad' colours and markings, among other things. I am a *kursa* (wise-man); I know livestock"<sup>96</sup>. The man explained that *Nkai* gave him the ability to learn the 'skill' for himself, which he has built upon and improved over the years through experience and observation.

People of Flat Rock, often under the advice of the 'gifted' elder, will kill an animal born with a bad marking for fear of the badness passing to the rest of the herd or the family. People of Flat Rock also consult the elder about castrated bulls to be killed for certain ceremonies, ones that will bring goodness and prosperity to the owner<sup>97</sup>. The 'gifted' elder claims that certain livestock come and talk with him, while others avoid him: "a 'bad' *Imong'o* (castrated bull) will not stay around if he knows I am coming because he knows I will inform the owner and he will be killed in the morning"<sup>98</sup>. He can also inform an ill person which goat to eat for them to heal.

Very few people of Flat Rock doubt the ability of some of members this lineage to communicate with livestock. But some doubt the competency of Flat Rock's resident livestock communicator<sup>99</sup>. It is common for people to doubt the veracity of various *loibon*, without questioning the notion that some *loibon* are able to 'see' things and communicate with *Nkai* in ways that 'mortals' cannot. Some people of Flat Rock express a fear of the gifted elder, afraid he will somehow pass 'badness' onto their herd or give them the wrong information which may invite 'badness'<sup>100</sup>. Aware of his doubters and those that fear him misusing his '*Nkai*-given power', the elder takes his position and role very seriously and is keen to give people the 'correct' information.

The gifted elder told a story to illustrate the validity of the public's fear; the story also serves to validate the idea that 'goodness' and 'badness' plays out through connections between livestock, *Nkai* and people, and validates his ability and associated societal status.

The story centres on a jealous person who had the storyteller's ability to communicate with livestock. "The jealous man tricked a herder who had a 'very good' (*kamanyak*) bull, telling him instead that it was a 'bad' bull which would 'kill him', thus not allowing that herder to gain the goodness brought by the bull"<sup>101</sup>. The behaviour of the gifted man in the story went against 'Samburu ethics' (*Ikerreti*) which had consequences for him. The Flat Rock gifted elder continued his story, "As the condemned bull stepped out of the homestead it looked back at the rogue 'seer' and grunted at him saying, 'you lied about me and now I am going to be slaughtered or sold; you will never have an *Imong'o* (castrated bull) sacrificed for you in any more of your ceremonies, such as your burial ... you will become completely poor so that you cannot even afford *kochet* (the sacrifice of a castrated bull) to be performed by your children at your death"<sup>102</sup>. *Kochet* ceremonies must take place to carry away the deceased person's badness and cleanse their home to enable family members to perform other ceremonies (*ntasim*) in the future<sup>103</sup>.

Many people in Flat Rock emphasise the importance of 'correctly' performing ceremonies after the death of a relative in order to ensure goodness for the family. 'Correctly' is often perceived to be prescribed through *Ikerreti*, which has been passed down from *Nkai* to ancestors. Adherence to principles of *Ikerreti* not only ensures goodness, but is 'respectful' (*nkanyit*) to *Nkai* and ancestors, which further encourages goodness. "We should struggle to follow these standards set by *Nkai*, and followed by our ancestors in order to obtain goodness"<sup>104</sup>.

According to the storyteller, the seer in the story died poor: no *kochet* was killed for him by his family (because they were poor and had no cattle) and his sins/badness (*ngoki*) passed to his children who remained poor. The children of the seer went to a wise man (*kursa*) to ask how they could overcome this 'badness'. The wise man explained that they could change the direction (*ai-tibira*) of their father's sin/badness by performing the *kochet* ceremony different from the 'normal' way. So, the sons performed the sacrifice in the bush instead of inside the homestead and the sin/badness was left there; the family can now perform future *kochet* sacrifices in the 'normal' way<sup>105</sup>.

The idea that sin/badness can be averted by doing things differently and/or migrating is a common theme present in the lives of the people of Flat Rock. The practice of migrating with livestock to avoid 'bad land' with a lack of nutritious fodder which is due to (lack of) rain/*Nkai* and/or non-material elements of 'badness' (a badness which is often relayed to people from

*Nkai* though their livestock, or directly from *Nkai* in the case of some ‘gifted people’) must be understood as part of this more-than-human moral world.

In the past, elders of the family who can communicate with livestock could also identify ‘good’/favourable (*kamanyak*) and/or blessed (*kamayan*) places to settle, where no livestock or people will die. Such blessed places/land/soil have a good smell: *koropili*. ‘Bad places’ have a bad smell: *keret*; stock and even people will die there<sup>106</sup>. This rare ‘skill’ differs from the ways most herders identify places with desirable conditions for their livestock, which is based on visible livestock behaviour and health.

The gifted elder told the story of his father who possessed this ‘skill’ and could ‘smell’ good and bad places. When migrating he sent his sons ahead to select a place and make the livestock camp, while he and others followed with the stock. When the old man met them fencing at their chosen place he asked them to move again, but they refused because of the fencing work they had already completed. Their father warned them that something bad would happen; the father died in this place<sup>107</sup>.

#### **4.13 Less grass, more shrubs**

Various people of Flat Rock differentially portray perceived changes in rainfall, abundance and types of certain vegetation, and overall goodness and badness of places and their lives. These portrayals must be understood as part of people’s more-than-human relations.

According to all elders, the current *Ikees* is different from the *Ikees* of the past. Grasses which grow after rains are stunted and sparser than in pre-*Lkiroro* times (pre-1970s)<sup>108</sup>. The same grass types can be found now as in the past but *Ntalankweni* has decreased significantly and *Lonoro* can only be found in small parts of *Ikees*<sup>109</sup>. Bollig and Schulte (1999) write that Pokot herders also note a decrease in *Ntalankweni*. Changing grasses, together with less water pools in *Ikees* and increased stock numbers has led to less ‘healthy’ livestock than in the past: “Cows used to be very fat and there was lots of milk ... Unlike today, bulls were very active in the past: as soon as a heifer had given birth a bull would mount her”<sup>110</sup>. An elder reflected that the reduction in lowland grasses coupled with a rise in tick population means that, unlike in the past, ten cattle will not produce enough milk to sustain a whole family<sup>111</sup>.

“*Nyorte* (weeds) now grow instead of grass; weeds that we never saw growing before, so we have no names for them”<sup>112</sup>. “Nowadays we are only waiting for *Masai*”<sup>113</sup>. *Masai*<sup>114</sup> used to



be considered a weed (*nyorte*) and not classified as a plant (*Ikeek*) or grass (*nkujit*) because it was not eaten by livestock. Despite the general opinion that the relative abundance of *Masai* compared to desirable grasses is a bad thing, some herders' steer shoats and calves to known areas where they can feed on *Masai* because when eaten with other fodder it results in healthy shoats<sup>115</sup>. This is an example of people and their livestock adapting to, becoming familiar with and re-valuing (different) fodder. It demonstrates the constant experiential learning which goes on for (and between) people and livestock.

Many people of Flat Rock cite less heavy and less reliable/predictable rains (*Nkai*) as a reason for less grass<sup>116</sup>. According to one elder, the long rains (*Ngerngerua*) between March and June, which used to be relied on for long periods of heavy rainfall, often fail or just give small *loitipitipi* (drizzle)<sup>117</sup>. The short rains (*Ltumeren*) between October and November, now the most significant rains in the area have also not rained 'properly' (heavily for sustained periods of time) since *Lkiroro Imurran*-hood times (1970s). Many elders say the last heavy rains in this area were during 1963: "rain continued from cows getting pregnant to giving birth (more than nine months) ... during this time rain only ceased for a short time before restarting"<sup>118</sup>. The rains are known as '*Loidikidiki*' (the verb *ai-dikidik* means to continue without stopping)<sup>119</sup>. This rain, which many people equate with *Nkai*, brought lots of grasses and water, was plentiful in *Ikees* and livestock became very healthy<sup>120</sup>.

Another elder questions others' ideas that rainfall has become less; he argues that rainfall was less during the time of their grandfathers (late 1800s) as depicted in the many Samburu drought, disease and famine stories of those times. He suggests that it is the type of rain (i.e. *Nkai*) that is not bringing grasses<sup>121</sup>.

A reason commonly cited for the decrease in grasses is the increase in a shrub called *Ldurkoronyanto*<sup>122</sup> and tree named *Lchurai*<sup>123</sup>, which people say have taken over the lowland *Ikees* surrounding Flat Rock, leaving less space for grasses to grow<sup>124</sup>. Both have increased since *Loidikidiki* rains in the 1960s; "*Nkai*, the rain (both are the same) of *Loidikidiki* brought *Ldurkoronyanto* instead of grass"<sup>125</sup>.



Figure 4.18 (left) Close up of *Ldukoronyanto* shrub in *Ikees*.



Figure 4.19 (right) View of *Ikees*, which shows the extent of *Ldukoronyanto* covering *Ikees*.



Figure 4.20 Picture showing the extent of *Ldukoronyanto* covering the Baragoi plains.

Elders despair that there are no ‘proper’ *siratta* (open grassy lowland plains) nowadays: shrubs and trees have invaded reducing grass cover, ‘killing the grass and *siratta*’<sup>126</sup>. For example, the *siratta* located to the east of Mt Nyiro, which is named after *Lorrokue* grass which used to grow there in abundance, has now been invaded by *Ldukoronyanto* and other shrubs, “all that remains is the name”<sup>127</sup>. This, and the drying/death of nearby *Ituroto*, means that people no longer settle and graze their livestock there. “In the past when looking west from Ldonyo Mara to Mt Nyiro, one could only see the white of grass, now it is *sar* (shrubs and trees)”<sup>128</sup> (see Figure 4.23).

Similarly to the *siratta* of *Lorrokue*, another *siratta* close to Mt Nyiro was a favourite settling place of some people because of the abundance of *Lonoro* and other grasses growing and the close proximity to mineral-rich wells of Mt Nyiro, which made livestock healthy<sup>129</sup>. People also found water during rains by digging holes (*Ikuas*) in nearby dry watercourses (*Ibaan*). Since

*Loidikidiki* rains of 1963 the *siratta* has been encroached by *Ldukoronyanto* and *Lchurai*, so much so that *Lmeoli* (age-set of young elders) and *Lmetili* (age-set of current *Imurran*) do not know of its existence<sup>130</sup>. Unlike *Ltilimani* and *Samanderi* trees, which support grass growth, *Lchurai* roots are said to ‘burn’ the soil killing grass<sup>131</sup>. The resultant soil with little grass growing in it is known as ‘ndorot’ (bare). The soil in this area is a mixture of sand and clay and brown/red in colour; this specific knowledge causes people to use the terms *ndorot* (bare) and *nanyukie* (red) interchangeably to describe burned and/or barren, ‘infertile’ soil.



Figure 4.21 (left) *Lchurai* trees and *Ldukoronyanto* shrubs on what used to be the favoured *siratta* close to Mt Nyiro.

Figure 4.22 (right) View across what used to be the *siratta*.

An elder suggested that the rise in shrubs is because of a Rendile curse. “Like Samburu, the Rendile choose a man, known as *laiunoni*, to be the ‘head’ of each age-set. He is chosen for his perceived good character and ‘pure’ lineage. The Rendile catch their chosen *laiunoni* by force and cover him with a shuka/blanket. This chosen man did not want to be *laiunoni* so he ran away, in the process throwing off the white shuka onto a shrub. The Rendile said that the whole land will be become over-run by the same type of bush the shuka landed on. And so it happened: there is less open grassland with bush everywhere. If that cloth hadn’t landed on that shrub then the lowland *Ikees* would have remained the way like it was before”<sup>132</sup>. The elder, like me, was not convinced of this particular story’s validity. Noticing my scepticism, the elder narrated other past scenarios when Rendile curses have led to a decline in desirable vegetation in certain places, in an attempt to try to convince me of the validity of such things. The power of the Rendile curse seems unanimously feared among all people of Flat Rock. Most people have experienced an area of land ‘dying’ as a result of a specific Rendile curse<sup>133</sup>. Some elders say that Rendile curses on land have caused people and livestock that graze there to contract skin diseases<sup>134</sup>.

A place known as ‘Soito Kokoioyo’ or ‘Sikira’, south of Baragoi has been inflicted with a strong Rendile curse and remains a ‘black-spot’ up to this day<sup>135</sup> (see Map 2). In 1996, Turkana killed many Rendile herders living and grazing there and stole thousands of their livestock. Rendile cursed the place and since then this place has claimed the lives of many Turkana; rains there have become irregular and dams have dried up. Some Turkana called upon the Rendile of Kargi to come and bless the land to make it ‘good’ again. The Rendile elders agreed that they could not bless a place that had ‘eaten’ so many of their sons. However, some were given money by Turkana ‘elites’ to attend a blessing. On the journey to Sikira, they all died in a car accident<sup>136</sup>.



Figure 4.23 The cursed place of ‘Soito Kokoioyo’.

For many elders, a significant reason for the declining health of the landscape and badness inflicting people is young people’s increasing reluctance to adhere to *Ikerreti*. For example, apart from prior to ascending Mt Nyiro, nowadays less people pour milk and bless the land before settling<sup>137</sup>. One man commented that this is reducing the authority and legitimacy of elders<sup>138</sup>.

*Nkai* expressed dissatisfaction with people’s current lifestyles by appearing to a young man (an *Imurrani*) on Mt Nyiro during a dry time in 2014. “*Nkai* visited an *Imurrani* on Mt Nyiro and told him that people are ‘leaving their culture’ which was bad; women must dress in ‘traditional’ clothes and sing *lamal* songs then it will rain and goodness will be restored”<sup>139</sup>. The women of Flat Rock, like women from the rest of Nyiro, answered the request of *Nkai* and performed a *lamal* ceremony (*ntasim*). Groups of women, adorned ‘traditional skins’ and beads “because *Nkai* ‘likes’ that”<sup>140</sup>, and visited wells on the side of Mt Nyiro surrounding Flat



Rock. They sang songs<sup>141</sup> for *Nkai*/the well/Mt Nyiro (all are *Nkai*) and gave offerings of milk and freshly picked green grass. All are a form of prayer, praise, and a request to *Nkai* for goodness (rain, and improved vegetation, people and animal health). “We prayed and *Nkai* answered us”<sup>142</sup>. The next day it rained. Many elderly men of Flat Rock say that *Nkai* answers women’s prayers more than men’s<sup>143</sup>. The power of *lamal* to bring rain/*Nkai* is rarely disputed. For example, a young educated Samburu man in Baragoi Town said that “*lamal* never fails”<sup>144</sup>.

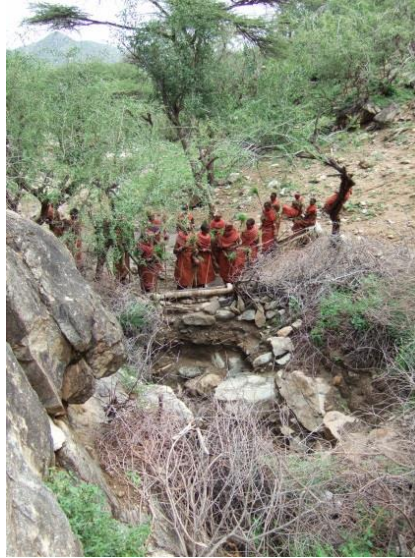


Figure 4.24 Women of Flat Rock performing a *lamal* ceremony at a well on the side of Mt Nyiro above Flat Rock. It rained shortly afterwards.

Some elders suggest that the decline of grass growth and disappearance of other plants valued for their fodder and medicinal properties (such as *Raragi*<sup>145</sup>), and the reciprocal increase in undesirable shrubs in the lowlands and sides of Mt Nyiro may be due to the cessation of burning<sup>146</sup>. “We used to wait for a strong easterly wind before *Ltumeren* (rains in October/November), and then set fire to the sides of Ldonyo Mara Mountain. The wind would spread the fire (westwards) scorching the *lkees* up to Mt Nyiro before dying as it entered the green moist forest near the summit of the mountain. After we burned we had more grass on the mountain side and lowlands ... The fire would also kill ticks on Ldonyo Mara enabling goats to live there<sup>147</sup>.” “Now that we have stopped regular burning, trees and shrubs which cannot resist fire are able to grow; trees and shrubs such as *Lchurai*, *Ldukoronyanto* and *Lcheni Nyiro*<sup>148</sup> have become so many and taken all the space so less grass can grow”<sup>149</sup>. The elder says that they used to also burn the *lkees* between Nyiro and Marsabit; after burning only grass grew. Cattle and goats feeding on healthy new plants in a place recently burnt give off a good smell (*koropili*). “You can find them by using your nose”<sup>150</sup>.

The installation of forest guards in the 1950s limited burning of Mt Nyiro to below the 'forest line', which is located in the lowlands about 5km from Flat Rock and Mt Nyiro. Despite the ban, people still risked burning above the line, towards Mt Nyiro, for the perceived benefits brought by the fresh grass growth. The lowlands and mountain were often burned prior to October rains in preparation for foraging camps returning from dry season grazing in *Ikees*. Once the rains came, the returning livestock would have fresh grass. The burning was done by those who remained at Nyiro close to water sources in the main homestead with goats and a few cattle<sup>151</sup>.

Elders do not instruct burning nowadays because of the risk posed to the large number of people and livestock living in the area. Despite this, the area is occasionally burned: "we burned the mountain side after *El Nino* rains; there is now less bush and more grass than before this time"<sup>152</sup>.

There are mixed opinions over whether livestock have caused the decline in grasses in the lowlands surrounding Flat Rock. Some argue that the recent permanence of water around Flat Rock and the piping of permanent water from Mt Nyiro to a water tank and trough at a place in *Ikees*, has encouraged some (previously more mobile) livestock foraging herds to remain in the area year round. The continual grazing of the area does not allow the land to recover, reducing grass 'quality' and quantity, which is known through reduced livestock health<sup>153</sup>.

Despite such intense grazing, people say that if land is allowed to rest and/or heavy rains come and/or rain (*Nkai*) favouring grass growth comes, then grass will grow like the past<sup>154</sup>. Some say that if they burned this land now then more grasses would grow<sup>155</sup>.

People of Flat Rock express concern at the health of the slopes of Mt Nyiro surrounding the settlement of Flat Rock. Their concern centres around the permanent flocks of shoats grazing the area year round. Unlike colonial times when goats were forbidden to graze the forest area (an area that included Flat Rock and Mt Nyiro), nowadays elders do not restrict grazing on the mountainsides due to the permanence of Flat Rock. People still move with shoats in mobile camps between *Ikees* and the mountainside, but a high number of shoats reside year round in Flat Rock and continually graze the surrounding *Ikees* and mountainside. The rise in permanent shoat numbers are said by many to be 'killing' the sloped terrain of the mountainside through trampling: "they eat small shrubs and grass down to the ground and up-

root them while loosening the soil using their hooves”<sup>156</sup>. Top soil is then washed down hill by rainfall. Trampling and removal of the top layer of soil reveals a bare, red/brown soil/*ndorot* (bare ground): a sign of infertility<sup>157</sup>. It is common knowledge among residents that livestock grazing here do not become healthy, indicated through bodily signs, behaviour and poor quantity and quality (nutrient and medicinal quality) of milk. People of Flat Rock relying on milk in their diet become less healthy. This shows people that the soil and fodder is poor quality and not *koropili*<sup>158</sup>. Unlike on sloped terrain, trampling does not damage soil on the level terrain of *Ikees*; *Ikees* land does not die in the same way as mountainside land.

Before *Lmeoli Imurran*-hood times (1990s), herders had few shoats; “the only animals that were many were cows and cows do not eat down the vegetation to the ground, or trample soil, killing it”<sup>159</sup>.

Despite the illness of the mountainside land, elders all say that if shoat numbers were to decrease then the red/bare (*ndorot*) land will ‘heal’, the top layer of dark soil will return and more nutritious shrubs and grass will grow after rains/*Nkai*<sup>160</sup>. People have seen and experienced ‘sick’ lands recover in other areas and ‘badness’ overcome.

The apparent degradation of land around (now-permanent) Flat Rock agrees with studies of pastoralism in northern Kenya which highlight that sedentarisation leads to land degradation, not mobile pastoralism (e.g. Fratkin and Roth, 2005; Roba and Oba 2008; 2009). Likewise, Flat Rock people’s accounts of land recovering once livestock are removed is echoed by Kratli and Schareika (2010) and Roba and Oba (2008; 2009) who claim it is rainfall variability, not stocking density which has the greater influence over vegetation dynamics.

The decline of certain desired vegetation and replacement with others seems to be common across northern Kenya. For example, Bollig and Schulte (1999) present Pokot accounts of certain desirable grass types declining while shrubs have encroached the rangeland. In line with non-equilibrium ideas that rainfall variability, rather than stocking density, has the greater influence over vegetation dynamics, the authors refer to the study carried out by Trollope et al. (1990) in order to emphasise that the decline in these grass types was not caused by overgrazing. Rather, the study of Trollope et al. shows that these grass types usually increase under heavy grazing and decrease under light grazing. Therefore, Bollig and Schulte conclude that overgrazing could not have caused a decrease in grasses.

#### 4.14 Conclusion

The chapter exemplifies how people of Flat Rock understand and live as a part of their non-human world consisting of livestock, 'variable' rainfall, soil, vegetation, and other non-humans, through complex networks of relations in which all are inter-dependent agents, overseen by *Nkai* and which interact to determine 'goodness'. Flat Rock people's differing ideas of (changes to) goodness (of a place), including ideas concerning fodder in light of livestock health, is understandable and meaningful within the context of their (daily) experiences of these relationships, which are guided by *Ikerreti*.

People and their livestock become familiar with places (including the soil, fodder, water and temperature), places they become used to and 'like' for the good, health-giving properties they promote.

People, livestock, wild animals and *Nkai* are among the various co-agents who influence the goodness of place, including the presence of water points in *Ikees* and 'fertility' of land. For example, elephants used to create *Iturot* in the lowlands, which enabled livestock to graze lowlands after rains. In another example, *Nkai* and/or people can sacrifice a cow to 'cleanse' a place after a landslide has occurred there. Rain, which is *Nkai*, then falls and heals the land – any 'badness' dissipates and vegetation flourishes. These world-making practices of people and more-than-humans emerge within the framework of *Ikerreti*, which is *Nkai*. People's and livestock's familiarity and belonging to each other and places, and their health, is associated with such 'emergence' of landscape.

People rely upon livestock agency: their link to *Nkai* - for their ability to know and sense nutritious fodder and good/bad places. Such goodness and badness may not correlate with ecological ideas of fodder nutritional value, rather it may relate to the 'supernatural'. Changes in goodness/health of land, places, and the value of vegetation and water in these places is understood/shown to people by *Nkai* through livestock behaviour and appearance.

People's and livestock's (past) movements, where they live, graze and water, and their health - depends upon these relationships and the corresponding co-agentive roles of people, livestock, wild animals, *Nkai* and land which determine land fertility and water sources (e.g. *Iturot*).



People's (intimate) relations and embodied experiences with livestock, land and *Nkai*, and associations with *Ikerreti*, are embedded in such ways of being and conceiving the world. This determines how people live as *part of* the landscape.

Understandings of such ways of being in the world are crucial to appreciate how people's relations with place and ideas of belonging play out in light of ethnicised politics and investment in the region, as discussed in later chapters.

In the following chapter, I continue to foreground the ways Flat Rock residents relate with people and places. I give particular focus to worldviews and morality surrounding ideas of seniority, belonging and custodianship.

---

## Notes

- 1 INT 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 26, 19, 27, GRO 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, CON 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, 19
- 2 GRO 1; INT 1
- 3 CON 1, INT 2, 4, 5
- 4 INT 2, 4, 5, 11, 19, GRO 7, 3, CON 1, 5, 6
- 5 INT 4, 1, 6, 14, 3, 16, 19, CON 1, CON 2
- 6 INT 5, 6
- 7 INT 3, 4, 8, 10, 13, 17, 19, 24, CON 1, 2, GRO 1, 2, 3
- 8 INT 2, 7, 6, 11, 19, 22, 20, 27, GRO 1, 2, 5, 6 CON 4, 5, 1, 10, 16
- 9 INT 8, 1, 7, 14, 3,
- 10 CON 1, 2, 4, 5, INT 4, 7, 8, GRO 4, 5, 7, 6
- 11 INT 1, 4, 58. 12, 13, 17, 19, 26, 27, GRO 3, 4, 6, CON 4, 5, 16, 18, 19
- 12 INT 6
- 13 INT 6
- 14 INT 4, 26
- 15 INT 27
- 16 GRO 1, 3
- 17 INT 6
- 18 INT 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 16, 19, 26, 27, 7, CON 1, 2, 4, 5, GRO 2, 3, 4, 6
- 19 CON 4
- 20 INT 26, 19, CON 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
- 21 INT 6, 4
- 22 CON 1
- 23 INT 1, 3
- 24 INT 4, 5, 3, CON 1, 2
- 25 INT 26
- 26 INT 9
- 27 CON 2
- 28 INT 11, 9
- 29 Either *Sporobolus nervosus* or *S. pellucidus* (see Heine et al., 1988)
- 30 Either *Eragrostis macilenta*, *E. minor*, *E. cilianensis*, *E. porosa*, or *Eriochloa fatmensis*
- 31 INT 5, 26, GRO 4, 5, 6
- 32 CON 3
- 33 GRO 2, 5, 6, INT 6, 3, 19, 7

---

34	Probably <i>Aristida adscensionsis</i>
35	Probably <i>Setaria verticillata</i>
36	Probably <i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i>
37	Probably <i>Stipagrostis hirtigluma</i>
38	INT 4, 5, 1, 2, 9, 12, 7 GRO 4, 5, 6, CON 5, 6, 6, 2
39	GRO 2, 4, 5, 6, CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, INT 7, 1, 3, 6, 5, 4, 9, 10, 19, 27, 26
40	Probably <i>Leptothrium senegalense</i>
41	Probably <i>Chrysopogon plumulosus</i>
42	INT 5, 6
43	GRO 1, 3
44	GRO 2, 3, INT 26, 5, CON 1, 3
45	INT 3, 4, 6, 8, 17, 13, 21, 24, 26, 27, 7, GRO 1, 2, 5, 6, CON 4, 5, 8, 7, 9
46	INT 1, 2, 6, 5, 12, 13, 27, 7, GRO 3, 4, 5, 6, CON 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,
47	INT 1, 4, 6, 17, 18, 27, 7, GRO 4, 7, 2 CON 4, 5, 7, 9
48	INT 5, 6
49	INT 22
50	CON 1, 15, INT 5, 7
51	INT 7, GRO 4
52	INT 1, 3, 4, CON 1, 15
53	INT 5, 6
54	Probably <i>Paspalidium desertorum</i>
55	INT 5, 6, 26, CON 1, 11
56	CON 3
57	INT 26
58	Either <i>Euphorbia cuneate</i> or <i>E. candidula</i>
59	Probably <i>Commiphora candidula</i>
60	INT 26
61	INT 5, 6, CON 1
62	Either <i>Echinochloa haploclada</i> or <i>Echinochloa colona</i>
63	INT 5
64	INT 4, 6
65	INT 11
66	INT 11, 7
67	INT 7, 9, 26, CON 4, 5
68	INT 2, 3
69	INT 16, 18
70	INT 11
71	GRO 8
72	INT 4, 6
73	INT 21, 9, 12
74	INT 21
75	CON 12
76	INT 23, CON 13
77	GRO 1
78	GRO 1
79	INT 21, 22, 23
80	INT 22
81	INT 20, 21
82	INT 20
83	CON 10
84	INT 10, 11, 3, 21, 27, GRO 1, 3, 6
85	INT 21
86	INT 23
87	GRO 2, 3
88	INT 6
89	INT 2, 3

---

90	INT 3, 10, 21, 22, 23, 20
91	INT 23
92	INT 23
93	INT 23
94	INT 3, 6, 8, 26, GRO 3, 4, 5, 6, CON 2, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16
95	INT 23, CON 13, 14, 5, 9, 12, INT 3, 8, 11, 18, 19, 25, 27
96	INT 20
97	INT 23
98	INT 23
99	CON 1, 10, 13,
100	CON 14, 4
101	INT 23, 20, 21
102	INT 220, 22
103	INT 23, GRO 1, 3
104	GRO 1
105	INT 23
106	INT 22, 21
107	INT 23
108	GRO 1, 3
109	INT 27, 5, 6
110	INT 27
111	INT 11
112	INT 11
113	INT 4
114	Probably <i>Potamogeton trichoides</i>
115	CON 1, 16
116	INT 1, 3, 9, 19, 26, GRO 8, CON 8, 11, 13
117	INT 9
118	INT 27
119	CON 1
120	INT 4, 6, 26, 27, GRO 2, 3
121	INT 4, 5, 6
122	<i>Duosperma eremophilum</i>
123	<i>Acacia reficiens</i>
124	GRO 1
125	INT 5
126	INT 5, 6, 26, 27, 11 GRO 2, 3
127	INT 6
128	INT 26
129	INT 2
130	INT 5
131	INT 5
132	INT 5
133	INT 5, 3, 8, 10, 17, 23, 27, GRO 2, 3, 5, CON 1, 2, 10
134	INT 23
135	INT 23, CON 10, 13
136	INT 23, CON 10, 13
137	INT 7, 8, 12, 19, 27, GRO 2, 3, 4, 5
138	CON 10
139	INT 7
140	INT 22
141	The Samburu word for song is 'lcheni', which also means plant and medicine (CON 1)
142	INT 24
143	INT 27, 17, 18, 15, GRO 1, 2
144	CON 17
145	Probably <i>Peponium vogelii</i>

---

146	INT 3, 6, 9, 14, 27, 11, 26, GRO 1, 3, 6, 3, CON 1, 10
147	INT 26
148	Probably Commifora africana
149	INT 11
150	INT 11
151	INT 11
152	INT 11
153	INT 4, 5, 6, 27, 7, GRO 2, 6
154	INT 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 27, 7, 8, 1, 3, 19, GRO 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, CON 2, 4, 18, 19
155	INT 1, 2, 6,, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, GRO 6, 4, CON 12
156	INT 6
157	INT 6, 2
158	INT 27, 5, 6, GRO 2, 3, CON 1, 10
159	INT 27
160	INT 5, 6, 27, 26, 11, 12, 3, 19, GRO 2, 3, 5, 6, CON 1, 5, 16

## Chapter 5. Belonging in a more-than-human world

### 5.1 Introduction

The chapter shows how Flat Rock people's lives and understandings of (ethnic) identities, belonging and custodianship - are inter-connected, emerge and are contested as a part of relationships and 'becomings' with other people, the colonial administration, place and other more-than-humans.

Lynch (2006; 2010) and Jenkins (2012) call for academic analyses to situate politically motivated instrumental constructions of Kenyan ethnicity, belonging and place alongside people's lived experiences and embodied sense of identities and belonging, within which instrumental discourse is embedded and holds meaning. According to Lynch and Jenkins, such considerations are often neglected in debates regarding the politicisation of ethnicity. People's 'instrumental' constructions of ethnicity and belonging through manipulations of lineage histories are explained as emergent from colonially introduced territorialised ethnicity and subsequent ethnic clientelism politics in order to legitimise territorial claims and thus rights to governance and state resources.

This chapter takes an alternative approach which analyses ways people of Flat Rock are a part of place through their part in relationships, which go beyond human. Identities of people and more-than-humans, including place are entangled and emerge as part of the moral framework of *Ikerreti* (the way of the sheep). Shown are how people's portrayals of history, including relationships with the colonial administration, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory, are associated with such embodied ways of being a part of the landscape and portrayals of identities, belonging and custodianship.

People's analyses of others being strategic/instrumental are within this context. This approach shows how the colonial administration and territorialised ethnicity are a part of the inter-play between embodied ways of belonging as part of more-than-human relations, and accusations of people strategically manipulating histories to claim belonging.

### 5.2 Custodianship and belonging to lineage land

Members of two different clans (*ntipati*) of Flat Rock (henceforth, known by the pseudonyms of Bull Clan and Goat Clan) frame their separate clan identities through ideas of custodianship

over, and belonging to, certain territories on Mt Nyiro (see Map 1). They refer to themselves as ‘sons of the soil’ within these territories, which they call *Nkop ang*’ (our land)<sup>1</sup>.

Custodianship of these mountain territories is exerted through controlling rights over water sources, controlling who lives and grazes on the open grass areas known as *marua* on the mountainside and *lorian* on the mountaintop, and controlling rights to hang beehives in trees<sup>2</sup>.

Various reasons are given by Flat Rock residents as to why custodianship of lowlands is not divided into lineages like on Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara Mountains. One reason is based upon the idea that custodianship depends upon the ability to remain somewhere permanently, which relies upon wells. Because lowlands, unlike Mt Nyiro, have very few wells, the surrounding land cannot be settled or grazed for long. As claims to areas of land depend upon custodianship of wells, the absence of wells makes land claims less common<sup>3</sup>. The lack of space and need to accommodate people and their livestock is a second reason given for divisions of land on Mt Nyiro, whereas lowlands are vast so there is no need to divide them<sup>4</sup>. Third, land divisions on Mt Nyiro reflect lineages’ hunting and honey harvesting areas from times when people lived permanently on Mt Nyiro with few or no livestock<sup>5</sup>.



Figure 5.1 Grass *marua* surrounded by shrubs and trees, located on the slopes of Mt Nyiro. It belongs to Goat Clan.



Figure 5.2 (left) A *lorian* surrounded by forest, located on the top of Mt Nyiro. It belongs to a Flat Rock lineage.

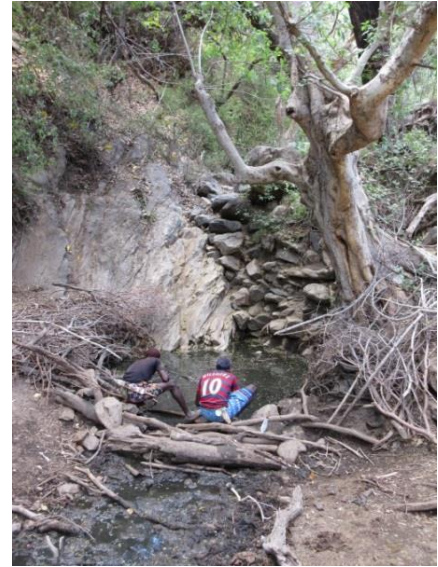


Figure 5.3 (right) Water point located on the side of Mt Nyiro, within a Flat Rock lineage's territory.

People of Flat Rock tell stories of events triggered by and associated with specific places. Members of Bull Clan living in Flat Rock tell a story of an event which happened at a place on Mt Nyiro, in which their Borana ancestor, a hunter-gatherer (*ndorobbo*), was assimilated into Samburu by a Samburu elder living there<sup>6</sup>. Identities of Flat Rock residents as Samburu pastoralists, their Samburu lineages, their custodianship over and belonging to certain places ('sons of the soil'), are evoked through the telling of such ancestral stories in which Samburu lineages came into being and have resided in certain places ('their places') for generations, as Samburu cattle herding pastoralists<sup>7</sup>.

Many elders told stories of how Samburu conquered Mt Nyiro from the previous Borana occupants and absorbed many of these Borana into Samburu, leading to new, younger, less senior Samburu clans, such as Bull Clan<sup>8</sup>. The Samburu who conquered Mt Nyiro descended from the first Samburu, who knew *Nkai* (Divinity) and were thus the most senior. Through interactions with *Nkai*, the first Samburu were the custodians of the correct Samburu way of life (*Ikerreti*: the way of the sheep). This involved managing (among other things) livestock herding, ceremonies on Mt Nyiro and other Samburu land, and seeking goodness from *Nkai*, the most senior, ultimate custodian over *Ikerreti*, places, and everything including rainfall, vegetation growth, human and livestock health, on behalf of all Samburu<sup>9</sup>.

Elders today who are descended from these first Mt Nyiro-conquering clans, such as Lmoosiat, express their custodianship of *Ikerreti*, through taking a lead role in ceremonies in which they seek goodness on behalf of less senior brothers/lineages, using their close, birth-rite ties with *Nkai*. The eldest/most senior sons of the most senior lineages of Lmoosiat are the ones tasked with the senior ceremonial roles<sup>10</sup>. There is therefore a dependency of some people upon others and everyone upon *Nkai* to secure goodness in their lives. These asymmetrical relationships involve respect and trust in those more senior, which is 'right' and respectful behaviour – known as *nkanyit*. This is all part of doing things the correct, Samburu way (*Ikerreti*), and avoiding badness<sup>11</sup>.

The assimilated Borana man, the original member of Bull Clan, was given *marua*, wells and areas on Mt Nyiro to hang beehives, by his senior Samburu patron, who belonged to Lmoosiat clan. He became the custodian over these places (and a son of the soil), tasked with ensuring goodness on behalf of their less senior brothers (via *Nkai*) through managing herding and performing ceremonies. The descendants of the first Bull Clan member belong to one of numerous related family lineages (*Itimito* – meaning gates). Bull Clan places on Mt Nyiro are divided between these family lineages, who claim custodianship over them. Flat Rock members of Bull Clan refer to their respective family territories as *nkop ang'* (our land); they also refer to the combined clan territory as *nkop ang'*. Within the clan territory, elders of the clan, especially those belonging to the most senior family lineages of the clan, act as custodians, liaising with *Nkai* to ensure goodness for all in their area: managing grazing practices and ceremonies<sup>12</sup>.

In the Bull Clan ancestral story, and other clan origin stories, Borana ancestors are portrayed as poor hunter-gatherers (*ndorobbo*) wanting to become wealthy Samburu who herd livestock and follow a desirable way of life and associated 'customs': *Ikerreti*. In the stories, Lmoosiat are distinct Samburu people, custodians of this distinct Samburu way of life, with distinct Samburu customs, ceremonies, and preferential activities of livestock herding over hunting and gathering. This Samburu way of life is framed as timeless, considered unaltered through interactions with other ethnic groups (such as those of Borana), with different ways of living<sup>13</sup>.

### **5.3 Conflicts over seniority, custodianship and belonging to lineage land**

There is an expressed reluctance among the people of Mt Nyiro to make claims over seniority and places for themselves or their cohorts which are not accepted by people in the community as long-established claims passed down from forefathers<sup>14</sup>. On display is the legitimating



strength of people en masse engaging with 'institutional frameworks' involving ancestral 'truths', bringing them and conceptions of a Samburu way of living (*Ikerreti*) into 'reality'. It is the daily exposure of people to this which makes the 'truths' surrounding seniority and place 'real', involving timeless ideas surrounding identities and belonging to certain senior positions and places.

Timeless frames ('truths') relating to seniority, custodianship over *Ikerreti* and places are forwarded in a world of competing claims. As such, there is a constant forming and reforming of competing 'timeless truths' between different peoples, through various versions and framings of the past and communal stories. These framings are guided by moral institutions (such as *Ikerreti*); which are re-shaped and reified in the process.

*Ikerreti* is central to Flat Rock people's perspectives, lives and contested histories relating to lineage, ethnicity, custodianship and belonging. A 'truth' expressed by people of Flat Rock which is guided by the Samburu way of living (*Ikerreti*), says that although lineages lay claim to places, people of other lineages cannot be denied access and use; to go against this would invite 'badness'<sup>15</sup>. "It is bad when one man claims that certain land or wells belong to him and says that everyone else should move away"<sup>16</sup>. Such immoral people and their families only obtain goodness for so long; acting against *Ikerreti* is sinful; sin (*ng'oki*) passes into the urine of the sinner's lineage and ultimately results in death of the lineage<sup>17</sup>. "If you claim land then the land/*Nkai* will claim you ... That place will never be good for that person ... his family will get badness and disappear"<sup>18</sup>. The validity of this *Ikerreti* 'truth' is expressed experientially through stories of men of Nyiro and their descendants who have incurred 'badness' after trying exclusively to claim places for them and their families. Such 'badness' culminates in the death and disappearance of the sinners' families from Mt Nyiro<sup>19</sup>.

In an unequal world of lineage seniority and associated places determined by birth (the order of which is determined by *Nkai*), these men tried to enhance their status in society, to seek a societal position and places not 'rightfully theirs'. These men are framed as harbouring greed in their desire to gain exclusive goodness from places<sup>20</sup>.

People also acted en masse to frame communal histories in ways that portrayed their lineage or clan as the senior custodians of places. Such acts were often in response to another groups' claims to custodianship over the same place. Claims and counter-claims of custodianship over places in Ldonyo Mara Mountain are expressed between members of Bull Clan of Flat Rock

and a clan of Ldonyo Mara (henceforth, known by the pseudonym of Camel Clan), who professed to be speaking on behalf of their whole lineage<sup>21</sup>. Members of Bull Clan claim that certain *marua* and wells belong to them. They claim custodianship based upon past grazing habits of themselves and their forefathers. They also claim custodianship based upon *marua* and wells that belong to their lineage. They say that current Camel Clan residents of Ldonyo Mara are wrongfully claiming custodianship of these places<sup>22</sup>. A Camel Clan elder disputed this accusation; he said that his ancestors allowed Bull Clan to access Camel Clan lineage land on Ldonyo Mara Mountain, land that has never belonged to Bull Clan. He framed Bull Clan as immoral, not adhering to *Ikerreti*<sup>23</sup>; Bull Clan framed Camel Clan in the same way<sup>24</sup>. Whether members of the accused clans will incur badness is not clear among informants, because the accused have not excluded others from using the places they claim custodianship over<sup>25</sup>.

A similar dispute exists between members of Flat Rock's Bull Clan and Goat Clan over custodianship of land on and surrounding Mt Nyiro. Both parties interpret ancestral stories in conflicting ways which serves to frame their clans (and family lineages within) as senior and custodians over the area<sup>26</sup>.

In short, the seeking of goodness, seniority and custodianship over people and places for oneself and/or one's lineage is acted out through/dictated by certain institutional frameworks (such as *Ikerreti*); though this, conceptions and form of institutional frameworks, goodness, seniority and custodianship are reified and re-shaped.

#### **5.4 Custodianship and belonging to 'Flat Rock community land'**

Instead of and/or as well as portrayals of belonging to lineage places, people of Flat Rock forward ideas of custodianship and belonging to a 'Flat Rock community area'. Belonging to this area is based upon various things, including ancestral presence in the area, administrative rights, familiarity of the area and livestock's likes/needs.

When sitting with their peers, members of Bull Clan lineage play down the salience of seniority and lineage claims of custodianship and territory on Mt Nyiro, suggesting that they are no longer relevant<sup>27</sup>. Elders of Flat Rock describe a territory comprising sections of Mt Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara Mountains and surrounding lowlands, which belong to all residents of Flat Rock community. They refer to the whole community as 'sons of this soil', on their land (*nkop ang'* – 'our land')<sup>28</sup>. The securing of goodness through custodianship of *Ikerreti*, including management of livestock herding and ceremonies, is the joint-responsibility of all Flat Rock

elders. Seniority of lineages is only reflected in the order they take part in ceremonies (the most senior going first)<sup>29</sup>.

Flat Rock residents frame their Flat Rock community as belonging to Flat Rock territory (*nkop ang'*) – where they are 'sons of the soil'. They also frame themselves as 'Samburu' (and their Flat Rock territory as) belonging to an 'original' Samburu administrative district (*nkop ang'*) – where they are 'sons of the soil', which is larger than the actual, current Samburu County (see Map 3). The district represents the ancestral lowlands and highlands of pre-colonial Samburu livestock herders, who were custodians of this area. This custodianship is based upon the requirements of their livestock, which need this whole area to graze due to variable rainfall and pasture<sup>30</sup>. According to Flat Rock elders, in the twentieth century the colonial administration created this 'original' Samburu District under the guidance of a Samburu chief called Lesuai<sup>31</sup>.

The modern-day world of ethnicised patronage politics based upon historical ideas of ethnicised territoriality could be interpreted as influencing Flat Rock informants' negotiations and portrayals of past and present identities and ethnicities through emphasising birth rights and ancestors' presence in 'their' administrative area. In particular, Flat Rock informants' framings of a pre-colonial Samburu 'territory' correlating with a current 'Flat Rock territory' and Samburu administrative district could be seen as being a part of (and reifying) this world of ethnicised territory. I am mindful not to explain Flat Rock people's portrayals as strategic attempts to legitimise their claims of custodianship over 'their land' (*nkop ang'*), which are symptomatic of colonially introduced and politically fuelled ideas of exclusive ethnic territoriality. Instead, the analysis turns to focus on how people make connections between lineage histories, belonging, custodianship and relations with the colonial administration and associated territoriality.

People's confusion over the location of the Samburu-Marsabit county boundary relates to people's conceptions of ancestral land and ideas of belonging. People's discourse concerning administrative areas also presents apparent contradictions relating to ideas of custodianship and belonging.

A group of Flat Rock elders said that Samburu County is meant for Samburu to live and graze their livestock, while Marsabit County is for Rendile<sup>32</sup>. The Flat Rock elders also emphasised that 'outsiders' (including Rendile) are allowed to come onto their land to graze and water

their livestock. There is a discrepancy between Flat Rock elders' description and the current and colonial administrative 'maps' over the extent of Samburu District. Flat Rock elders describe the 'original Samburu District' as covering lowlands to the north and east of Ldonyo Mara Mountain (see Map 3); land they classify as their ancestral grazing land (Flat Rock territory) (*nkop ang'*), which they are custodians over<sup>33</sup>. Flat Rock elders recalled how colonial and post-colonial administrations allowed them to graze lowlands to the north and east of Ldonyo Mara Mountain, which may have led to their perception that it is Samburu District<sup>34</sup>. The 'official' administrative boundary between Marsabit and Samburu Counties (formerly Districts) is located to the west of Ldonyo Mara Mountain, running through the South Horr Valley<sup>35</sup>. Land to the north and east of Ldonyo Mara Mountain that Flat Rock residents graze now and in the past is therefore located in Marsabit County and is 'Rendile land' (see Map 3).

Confusion over the 'ill-defined' Samburu-Marsabit District boundary, especially between Illaut and Lake Rudolf (Lake Turkana) (see Maps 1 and 2), which passes close to Mt Nyiro, was an ongoing theme of correspondence between successive Marsabit and Samburu/Maralal colonial administrators<sup>36</sup>. Spencer (1973) suggests that the colonial administration adopted a permissive policy towards the boundary because of the good relations enjoyed by Samburu and Rendile. Loudon, Maralal District Commissioner in 1945 wrote that "Samburu don't mind their Rendile brothers grazing Maralal (Samburu) District ... they hope that in times of drought the Rendile will let them use Kulal (Marsabit District)"<sup>37</sup>. Cornell, Samburu District DC in 1927, wrote that the boundary was hardly policed because of the good relations and lack of conflict between Rendile and Samburu<sup>38</sup>.

Other colonial administrators 'turned a blind eye' to 'trespassers' because of the knowledge that pastoralism relies upon distant pastures because of variable rainfall and pasture<sup>39;40</sup>. Colonial and post-colonial lack of enforcement of the Samburu-Marsabit District boundary may account for Flat Rock informants' apparent confusion over the location of the boundary, and may account for the ways people portray their custodianship rights through a combination of ancestral and administrative means.

Residents of Flat Rock claim that the lowlands stretching north and east of Mt Nyiro (land they say is Samburu County but is actually Marsabit County) has always been Samburu land, and in particular - Flat Rock people's land which they have been custodians over and herded their livestock in, since pre-colonial times.

Despite being long-term custodians over this large area of land, there have been times in the past when their ancestors have been unable to live, herd and enact custodianship rights across much of their land. Despite this, and despite the apparent annexing of their lowland area by Rendile/Marsabit District administration, many Flat Rock residents still claim custodianship rights.

For example, when the British arrived in this part of Kenya at the beginning of the twentieth century, Flat Rock people's forefathers were not living across all the land which is portrayed by Flat Rock residents as subsequently being demarcated as Samburu District (but much of which was actually demarcated as Marsabit District). Instead, they had few or no livestock, were poor and lived on Mt Nyiro hunting, gathering fruits and tubers, and harvesting honey<sup>41</sup>. Samburu lineage territories on Mt Nyiro were enacted by these 'poor' (*ndorobbo*) ancestors. Flat Rock residents' versions of stories about these times emphasise the status and identity of their *ndorobbo* ancestors as temporary; between being livestock herders<sup>42</sup>. This reinforces the idea that being Samburu means having livestock, especially cattle.

Prior to this, people of Nyiro lived and grazed their livestock between Mt Nyiro and the lowlands stretching north and east<sup>43</sup>. Sobania (1980) writes how 'Samburu land' between the 1850s and 1880s stretched from the Nyiro-Kulal area to Lake Stephanie ('Otto' in many Samburu, including Flat Rock peoples', stories) in southern Ethiopia; Samburu herded livestock with Rendile and Ariaal across this area.

Flat Rock elders said that their Samburu ancestors abandoned their former lowland grazing lands because their livestock were decimated by a series of droughts and diseases at the end of the 1800's, a period known as *Mutai* (the verb *a-mut* means to finish/kill). Many people died during *Mutai* from hunger and disease<sup>44</sup>. Some of those who survived lived atop mountains, including Mt Nyiro, others joined Rendile or Turkana communities<sup>45</sup>.

Sobania (1980) writes that the period of *Mutai* brought diseases of bovine pleural pneumonia and rinderpest which decimated Samburu livestock herds; famine and smallpox killed many people. Sobania (1991) describes how some impoverished Samburu survivors of *Mutai* lived an *ndorobbo*-like existence atop mountains, with the aim of re-building their herds, while other Samburu individuals, families or whole communities moved to live with Rendile, Turkana, Dasenech or Borana pastoralist 'friends'; some Samburu 'became' members of these other 'tribes', others returned to herd with Samburu kin after rebuilding their livestock herds.

During and after *Mutai* disaster in the late 1800s, early 1900s, Samburu surviving on Mt Nyiro were unable to build up their livestock herds and return to their lowland pastures due to insecurity caused by raiding parties of Laikipiak Maasai and Sitam. Laikipiak disappeared at the end of the 1800s but the Sitam continued to raid into the twentieth century<sup>46</sup>. Sobania (1980) describes how raiding parties of Laikipiak came north to Mt Nyiro and Mt Kulal looking to recoup their livestock, stolen from them by the Purko Maasai. Sobania (1980) also describes how Samburu found refuge on Mt Nyiro and other mountains from raiding parties of Turkana and Borana. However, the most feared raiders were Sitam who carried guns. Sitam were fragments of Ethiopian emperor Menelik II's army tasked with taking land for Ethiopia (Sobania, 1980).

A Flat Rock elder recalled his father's story of how the British colonisers forced the Sitam back to Ethiopia and brought peace to the area, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Samburu were able to return to Mt Nyiro and live on their surrounding ancestral lowland; they built up their livestock herds and practiced livestock herding across lowlands and Mt Nyiro, as their forefathers had<sup>47</sup>.

Sobania (1980) writes that in 1909 the British administration first administered the north of Kenya from Mt Marsabit in order to secure British territory from Ethiopia and protect their peoples from Ethiopian (Sitam) attacks. In 1911, the King's African Rifles (KAR) set up a base in Loiyangalani to try to prevent southward incursions of Sitam raiders, among other things. Sobania describes how many Samburu and Rendile who had fled the area, took advantage of this protection and ventured back (cautiously) to occupy the Kulal-Nyiro-lakeshore area. Gavaghan, Samburu District DC in 1956, writes that Samburu took advantage of the past colonial administration removing Turkana and Ethiopian raiders, which enabled Samburu to come down from their mountains, graze a wider area of land and build up their livestock herds<sup>48</sup>.

During the 1940's, after the expulsion of Sitam from the area and the creation of what Flat Rock residents frame as their Samburu-controlled grazing land within a Samburu District, the colonial administration implemented grazing restrictions on Mt Nyiro. Mt Nyiro and surrounding land was designated a forest reserve, which people were banned from living and grazing their livestock in for much of the year. People and their livestock, excluding goats,

were able to live in and graze the mountain for a short period of the year, after which the land and vegetation was left fallow and allowed to recover<sup>49</sup>.

The colonial administration deemed all Kenyan forests 'fragile' and in need of protection from people and livestock, especially goats, which were thought to lead to overgrazing, and were banned. Forest reserve laws also prohibited cutting wood and burning vegetation<sup>50</sup>. Forest guards were based at various places on Mt Nyiro to enforce these rules<sup>51</sup>. In 1956 Gavaghan, Samburu DC, detailed how Mt Nyiro grazing was controlled by Baragoi grazing committee; he mentioned the prohibition of goats and fires on the mountain<sup>52</sup>.

Sobania (1988) writes that colonial administrators took livestock herding decision making away from pastoralists, causing a change in pastoralists' 'traditional' herding patterns. This analysis of Sobania does not fit Flat Rock elders' accounts of the time. Far from being a colonial administrative imposition, Flat Rock elders who were alive during the colonial administration, frame the practice of migrating between lowland and highland places, leaving Mt Nyiro and lowland areas to 'recover' for much of the year, as their Samburu ancestors' 'customary' practice. Movement between lowlands and Mt Nyiro is required to take advantage of the variable rainfall and pasture in order to satisfy the grazing and watering requirements of livestock<sup>53</sup>. Colonial DC, Gavaghan also described how people of Mt Nyiro have long practiced rotational grazing; "they vacate the mountain top as soon as rains fall and return in dry weather"<sup>54</sup>.

Elders who were alive during the colonial administration said that control over when they used to ascend Mt Nyiro with livestock to live and graze, and perform ceremonies, lay with Samburu of Nyiro (the custodians of the area). The colonial administrators and forest guards did not dictate this process<sup>55</sup>. Perhaps such information was strategically forwarded to show the longevity of Flat Rock people's custodianship over the area, a custodianship and related conceptions of territory and belonging not solely created or enabled by colonial administrative interference. Perhaps such information and portrayals of a precolonial custodianship over large areas of land is symptomatic of colonially introduced regimes of territorialised ethnicity.

During the colonial administration, people previously restricted to Mt Nyiro could venture into their ancestors' lowland areas. Current residents of Flat Rock were born during or after the colonial administration and so have always moved across these lowlands areas. Ideas of their ancestors living, grazing and practicing custodianship rights over the area resonate with

people's similar lived experiences. The identities of people and places are connected through this lived experience and recollections of their ancestors' similar experiences. A sense of belonging to places grows through familiarity to places and ancestral stories rooted in places. This familiarity and sense of belonging extends to livestock who become familiar with/like certain places (perceived to be 'good' for them).

During the colonial administration, distant lowlands were places for living and grazing for livestock herds after the rains when rain-fed pools and green pasture freed people from reliance on the permanent water sources of mountains. The gentle terrain, warm temperatures and nutritious fodder frequently led to healthy livestock and an abundance of high-quality milk<sup>56</sup>.

Until forest laws were relaxed in the 1970's, the main homestead moved between places around Mt Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara, outside of the forest reserve boundary. Elders determined when livestock camps and main homesteads ascended Mt Nyiro. When the lowlands became dry and people required their mountain pasture and water sources they returned to their own *marua* on Mt Nyiro in their ancestral lands<sup>57</sup>. An elder said that they also needed to return to live on Mt Nyiro to harvest honey from their beehives to supplement their diet. Nowadays people of Flat Rock do not rely so much on honey because they are given food aid<sup>58</sup>.

Mt Nyiro is portrayed as a place to live and graze during dry times, after the rain-fed pools in lowlands have dried<sup>59</sup>. Flat Rock people's framings of past and present custodianship over 'Flat Rock ancestral territory' and/or Samburu District, relies upon their framings of these mountain and lowland places as required and frequented by their livestock to fulfil their nutritional needs in a landscape exposed to variable rainfall and subsequent variable pasture. This was the case during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times<sup>60</sup>.

Recollections of past (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial) herding across this land, based upon livestock needs, invokes identities of people and their ancestors as Samburu pastoralists as being a part of certain places; and ideas of certain places and territories belonging to certain livestock and herders of certain Samburu lineages and communities.

According to some Flat Rock *Imurran* and elders, during rains the cold weather on Mt Nyiro leads to ill health of people and livestock, another reason for the lowlands being required for



livestock grazing during these times<sup>61</sup>. Since the 1970's, forest guards no longer enforced forest reserve laws and people now return to Mt Nyiro during any dry period<sup>62</sup>.

Since the 1990's people have settled permanently at Flat Rock, within the forest reserve, which was prohibited in the past when forest guards were there<sup>63</sup>. An elder described how families living on Mt Nyiro lobbied leaders to make Flat Rock a point of food aid distribution; persuaded a local religious institution to fund the construction of a nursery and later a primary school, and the piping of water to the settlement from reliable mountain-side wells<sup>64</sup>. The installation of these developments led to the permanence of families at Flat Rock. Increased conflict with Turkana post-1996 made it dangerous for people to live apart in their separate lineage areas on the mountainside, which further encouraged people to congregate into one large settlement<sup>65</sup>.

Since the colonial administration, nomadic pastoralists across northern Kenya settled strategically to secure 'development resources' such as 'famine relief', which was unavailable to people in perpetual motion (Galaty, 2005; Fratkin and Roth, 2005).

Since the 1990's, the number of people living in Flat Rock has increased and includes people from a variety of Samburu clans who do not voice claims to ancestral land on this part of Mt Nyiro. When sitting with their peers, Flat Rock residents emphasised how all Flat Rock residents are joint-custodians of their territory (*nkop ang'*: our land), sharing the grazing, *marua*, piped water and other wells on the mountain side and top. Ancestral stories claiming lineage territories were deemed outdated<sup>66</sup>.



Figure 5.4 Food Aid temporarily stored in Flat Rock Primary School before its equal distribution among the Flat Rock community.

People say that nowadays those in most livestock camps return to Mt Nyiro to live, graze and settle at *marua* and to water at wells irrespective of so-called lineage land<sup>67</sup>. As such, Flat Rock families living permanently at Flat Rock and their periodically returning livestock for camps no longer enact Samburu lineage boundaries and associated custodianship claims through where they live and take water. The Flat Rock community enact a sense of belonging to their shared territory through living, herding and moving through it.



Figure 5.5 *Marua* located in Flat Rock territory. Residing there are *Imurran* (from Bull Clan, Goat Clan and Lmoosiat Clan families) and their families' for cattle herds.

#### 5.4.1 Places, places names, familiarity and belonging

One Flat Rock elder does still enact his lineage's territory<sup>1</sup>. In dry times, the elder and his sons return with livestock to their family lineage's *marua*, as his forefathers did. He does not exclude others from grazing the land, but it is generally accepted within Flat Rock that only he and his kin settle on his lineage's *marua*<sup>1</sup>. The man and his sons also enact their lineage territory through beehives, harvesting honey in their inherited trees<sup>1</sup>.

People's familiarity and sense of belonging to places ('their land') is continually evoked through living and recollections of living. Places take on identities and meanings from recollection of events that happened in them which involved the teller and/or their ancestors. The mention of place names evokes these recollections<sup>1</sup>. The honey-harvesting elder of Flat Rock pointed out grassy openings within Mt Nyiro forest that were named after past honey collectors who used to congregate in them to share honey<sup>1</sup>. These openings gained meaning to the honey harvester through this story; the story associated with the grassy openings evoked meanings and connections between the elder's and his ancestors' various identities and place. Being in these openings prompted the elder to tell stories of his ancestors collecting honey in this place. He talked of his identity as a honey collector and pastoralist within this place as being a continuation from his ancestors who lived in a similar way<sup>1</sup>.



Figure 5.6 An *Imurrani* collecting honey from his beehive located in his (inherited) tree within his lineage's territory.



Figure 5.7 *Imurrani* sharing honey they have just collected.

Certain activities/behaviours are enacted at certain places because of events said to have happened there. When passing a place atop Mt Nyiro people are required to pick a green branch and place it on one of the ever-present piles of similarly picked green branches, known as *saiyatta*. A reason given for this feature and activity was the death of newly circumcised boys at this location. The green branches are offerings to *Nkai* to encourage goodness to avoid such an event happening again<sup>1</sup>.

Carrying out these activities serves to make a place, past events that happened there, and ancestors' lives relevant to people's current lives and their future prosperity. The significance of Samburu ways of life (*Ikerreti*), *Nkai* and methods to avert badness are also reinforced.



Figure 5.8 Grassy openings within Mt Nyiro forest where honey collectors eat their harvested honey.



Figure 5.9 Two *saiyata* (piles of branches) placed either side of a path, atop Mt Nyiro.

Different herders perceive different places to be beneficial for/liked by their livestock, who in turn become familiar with and belong to these places. For example, those who practice alternate-mountain and lowland grazing frame both places as required by and familiar to their livestock (required because of with variable rainfall and pasture); their livestock belong to both places<sup>68</sup>. Those who graze their livestock in the lowlands year-round and frame lowlands as 'liked' and required by their livestock, emphasise their year-round belonging to lowlands<sup>69</sup>.

Rendile informants of Korr and Loiyangalani suggest that lowlands to the north and east of Mt Nyiro do not belong to Samburu of Mt Nyiro; claiming it is Marsabit District and Rendile land. They suggest that Samburu are mountain not lowlands people because Samburu are cattle herders and cattle herds require the cool, water-rich environments provided by mountains. They say that Samburu rarely take cattle to lowlands; cattle and the Samburu do not belong there. Dry, hot lowland environments are only suitable for Rendile and their camel herds, who have grazed there for centuries, land that belongs to camels and their Rendile herders<sup>70</sup>.

Flat Rock residents deny Rendile claims of custodianship of 'their' Samburu lowland areas; they say Rendile only ever pass through on their way to water their camels at Lake Turkana. Flat Rock residents highlight the lack of wells in lowlands and emphasise that people can only claim custodianship in places where wells permit people and livestock permanence. Flat Rock residents also suggest that their lowland-mountain migratory and custodianship pattern has been occurring since before the colonial administration arrived; Samburu and their herds of cattle, sheep and goats have always been 'of' lowlands and highlands. It is just that prior to the British presence, Sitam raiders temporarily prevented this cyclical lifestyle, excluding Samburu from 'their' lowlands. Because of this, in the absence of custodianship surrounding wells, the lowlands belong to Samburu, which is *nkop ang'* (our land)<sup>71</sup>. This discourse may seem contradictory.

Many Flat Rock residents acknowledge that the expansion of Mt Nyiro Samburu and their livestock into the lowlands, the adaptation of their herds (previously limited to Mt Nyiro) to the temperature, lack of water and vegetation types, and their corresponding claims to the land based upon their livestock needs and having lived there - were made possible by the colonial administration. This is because the colonial administration allocated Samburu their own district, evicted the Sitam raiders which made the area peaceful, and 'encouraged' people to descend Mt Nyiro and graze the lowlands – through designating Mt Nyiro a forest reserve<sup>72</sup>. Flat Rock elders describe how their fathers' herd sizes increased during the peaceful colonial times and how they migrated to distant lands with their livestock (fora) camps; while the main homesteads remained near to Mt Nyiro with some small stock<sup>73</sup>. This does not contradict Flat Rock people's ideas that they are the pre-colonial custodians of this land and their ancestors grazed the lowlands and highlands in much the same way as the colonial administration facilitated.

Since the 1990's many Samburu and Rendile homesteads in Samburu and Marsabit Districts (like Flat Rock) have become more permanent; small-stock graze year-round on land surrounding permanent homesteads with their wells and primary schools (Fratkin and Roth, 2005). Flat Rock mobile for camps travel less distance than in the past; many remain within the lowlands surrounding Flat Rock for the whole year<sup>74</sup>. As such, Flat Rock territory and custodianship roles of those living there have become increasingly lived and enacted by the residents. Framings of Flat Rock pastoralists belonging to and being custodians of Flat Rock territory must be considered with this in mind.

The above analysis shows how Flat Rock people's framings of their pre-colonial ancestors' conceptions of territory are associated with the (post-) colonial world, a world of territories and exclusion, and current permanence of settlements. Flat Rock residents' ideas of Samburu District mimicking their ancestral grazing lands, and Mt Nyiro forest reserve rules mimicking alleged already-established mountain-lowland grazing practices – were forwarded alongside 'timeless' framings of their administrative, grazing, and ancestral land (*nkop ang'*) which 'Samburu' (who practice an idealised 'Samburu' way of life) have always grazed and been custodians over. Such custodianship involves people acting as active agents in securing goodness for themselves, the land and livestock, via *Nkai* and by adhering to *Ikerreti* (see chapter 4). Thus, the meaning and history of land tenure and custodianship, including accounts of people's interactions with the colonial administration, can only be understood as part of people's relationships with people and more-than-humans.

### **5.5 Seniority, custodianship and belonging in relation to ceremonies**

Identities, seniority and belonging to various cohorts (including pastoralists, elders, *Imurran*, married women, 'Samburu' and lineages) and places are framed through performing, and recollections of stories surrounding, various ceremonies carried out by Flat Rock residents on Mt Nyiro. Identities, meanings and seniority of certain plants, livestock, *Nkai*, times of the month and seasons, and institutional frameworks take meaning and are reshaped and reified through recollections of their roles in, and/or association with, ceremonies. Familiarity and a sense of belonging to places are developed through performing and recollecting stories of these ceremonies.

Numerous events or occasions in Flat Rock people's lives are marked by a ceremony - including birth, circumcision, *Lmuget* age-set ceremonies (for men), marriage, birth of children, and death. Ceremonies are also performed at other times in which offerings are made to *Nkai*.

Many of these ceremonies take place at certain locations on Mt Nyiro, at certain propitious times of year, certain propitious times of the lunar calendar, and at certain times of life. Many events repeat, such as circumcision of a new age-set every 14 or so years<sup>75</sup>.

In the past, all clans of Mt Nyiro performed a ceremony on a *marua* in their place on the mountain (*nkop ang'*); a place they were custodians over in terms of securing goodness for other, less senior people through managing grazing and water sources, and managing ceremonies in their place<sup>76</sup>. Some elders of Flat Rock frame their ancestral land as sacred to their lineage because it contains their dead ancestors, those who are senior and closer to *Nkai*<sup>77</sup>; some framed ancestors as *Nkai*<sup>78</sup>. They perform ceremonies on ancestral land because it is sacred<sup>79</sup>; some say that the place has been made sacred and 'senior' (a place where *Nkai* listens) by successive generations performing ceremonies on it<sup>80</sup>. Through the performing of this ceremony, senior brothers enact custodianship roles over less senior/younger brothers, seeking goodness for their lineage from *Nkai*<sup>81</sup>.

In the past, a selection of the most senior men of the most senior families of the most senior lineages in each clan played a role in each clan's ceremony in their place. During the ceremony, one senior man from the clan brought milk, another man brought honey, another brought sacred plants, and another brought a sheep to sacrifice; all as offerings to *Nkai*. Because of their senior position, close to *Nkai*, elders blessed the land ('their land') and the people, asking *Nkai* for goodness. A male sheep was sacrificed because it is sacred (*kamanyak*); it is *Nkai*; Samburu life follows the way of the sheep (*Ikerreti*). Milk and honey are important offerings used in many ceremonies. Certain 'senior', holy/sacred (*kamanyak*) plants (two from the mountain and two from the lowlands) are burned. The smoke given off is an offering to *Nkai* and is *Nkai*, carrying the goodness of *Nkai*, which multiplies and attaches to other things, spreading goodness - noticeable in the form of a 'good' scent (known to be *koropili*). People waft their blankets in the smoke to attract the goodness of *Nkai* (see Figure 5.10, which shows this happening during a different ceremony). The clan ceremony described here, like many others, was performed on a propitious day of the moon and a propitious month of the year, during the rainy season known as *Ngerngerua*<sup>82</sup>.



Figure 5.10 *Lasar*: burning of sacred plants at Flat Rock *Lmeoli* 'Lmuget of milk and leaves' ceremony, Mt Nyiro.

Nowadays, only the most senior men of the most senior lineages of the most senior Samburu clan (Lmoosiat) perform this clan ceremony at Mt Nyiro. Junior clans of Nyiro have ceased to perform this ceremony on their clan land<sup>83</sup>. One Bull Clan elder said the reason his clan no longer perform the ceremony on their Mt Nyiro clan land is because no members of his clan's most senior family lineage currently live at Mt Nyiro. He said that it is not possible for members of junior family lineages to perform this ceremony in the absence of their seniors; such disregard for seniority, which is dictated by *Nkai*, and to assume custodianship over *Ikerreti* and places, would result in badness being bestowed upon those negligent people<sup>84</sup>.

Like custodianship roles over grazing on Flat Rock areas of Mt Nyiro, custodianship roles over ceremonies are no longer determined by lineage land; Flat Rock elders assume joint-custodianship of ceremonies in 'Flat Rock land'; lineage areas are irrelevant<sup>85</sup>.

As the most senior people closest to *Nkai*, Lmoosiat are known by all in Flat Rock to act as custodians of ceremonial duties involving communication with *Nkai* to secure 'goodness' for all Samburu people. Lmoosiat are known as the most senior clan because they perform this role. Because they are one of the original Samburu clans and were among the first Samburu to 'conquer' Nyiro, Lmoosiat clan are the custodians of the most sacred (senior) places, on the most sacred (senior) mountain for Samburu (Nyiro), the place where *Nkai* resides<sup>86</sup>. All Flat Rock residents recognise the seniority of their mountain among all others for Samburu through prayers, songs, blessings and curses, "When we seek (goodness from) *Nkai* we say, '*Nkai* of Cosi Cosi'"<sup>87</sup>. Lmoosiat land includes a place known as Cosi Cosi, which contains one of a select



number of large boulders on Mt Nyiro where many people say *Nkai* lives<sup>88</sup>. Identities of Lmoosiat and Cosi Cosi as senior depend upon one another.



Figure 5.11 Cosi Cosi, Mt Nyiro.

Many people of Flat Rock say that the ‘correct’ Samburu way of living (*Ikerreti*), which includes ideas that *Nkai* lives at certain boulders on Mt Nyiro, has been passed down from the first Samburu, directly from *Nkai* and should therefore not be questioned. To do so would question the identities, status and honesty of ancestors, *Nkai*, senior lineages who still perform ceremonies on Nyiro, and everyone who evokes *Nkai* of Nyiro when praying, singing, blessing and cursing. This would be disrespectful and go against *nkanyit* and *Ikerreti*<sup>89</sup>. Versions of various communal stories describe how ancestors have experienced *Nkai* in these and other places on Mt Nyiro<sup>90</sup> (see figure 5.13). Some people recall similar embodied experiences to those detailed in the stories<sup>91</sup>. Personal experiences of *Nkai* serve to validate stories and associated institutional frames, ‘truths’ of *Ikerreti*.

One way that people express the presence of *Nkai* at these boulders on Mt Nyiro is through descriptions of events preceding rainfall: increasing wind speeds, mist rising from the boulders, trembling and production of a ‘Godly’ sound from the boulders. These rain ‘indicating’ entities (visible material things and noises) are *Nkai*<sup>92</sup>. The presence of *Nkai* at Cosi Cosi is also known because many Mt Nyiro rivers originate there. Bamboo trees only grow in the boggy terrain of Cosi Cosi; such rare trees are holy (senior among other trees) and show the presence of *Nkai*/are *Nkai*<sup>93</sup>.





Figure 5.12 Bamboo forest, Cosi Cosi, Mt Nyiro.

Another place on Mt Nyiro where ancestors have experienced *Nkai* is a place known as an *Imeuteun*. *Imeuteun* are places where people (and livestock) were punished and turned into rocks by *Nkai*. The rocks at the *Imeuteun* on Mt Nyiro were once people celebrating at a homestead. The people did not show respect to an old woman, instead they laughed at her. The old woman was *Nkai* (in disguise); *Nkai* turned the sinners into rocks as punishment. The story and place is evoked by people to warn of the dangers of sinning and not following *Ikerreti*<sup>94</sup>.



Figure 5.13 (left) Soit e Nkai: one of the (mist-concealed) houses of *Nkai* atop Mt Nyiro.



Figure 5.14 (right) The *Imeuteun* at the foot of Mt Nyiro.

People justify the form of ceremonies by saying that the first Samburu performed the same ceremony and experienced 'goodness' as a result; to change the ceremony and question its purpose would be disrespectful<sup>95</sup>. People also claim that they have experienced goodness through performing these ceremonies<sup>96</sup>. A member of a senior family belonging to Lmoosiat clan said that when he has taken part in the ram sacrifice ceremony at Cosi Cosi, Mt Nyiro, during times of drought, goodness resulted in the form of rain; *Nkai* came, desired vegetation combinations grew, people and livestock became healthy. He said, "This shows that *Nkai* is present (on Mt Nyiro) and listens to our requests"<sup>97</sup>.

Goodness in people's and their livestock's lives depends upon these (and other) ceremonies and the roles played by various entities. Identities and meanings, such as concepts of seniority among people, plants, animals and places and their ascribed connections to *Nkai* are re-shaped and reified through practice (and recollections) of these ceremonies on claimed land. These entities are understood relationally and enable conceptions of people belonging to lineages and places, and conceptions of (custodianship over) *Ikerreti* to build up. The prosperity of people's lives in 'their' places, including grazing livestock and collecting honey, depend upon relationships with and roles of *Nkai*, senior brothers, certain senior plants and sacrificial animals.

Legitimacy of certain people's status and roles as custodians over ceremonies and places, enacting *Ikerreti* 'truths' to secure goodness for others, relies upon upholding this 'world' where ancestors' knowledge is framed as 'truth' in the form of *Ikerreti*; a world and 'truth' where seniority depends upon being first and first being close to *Nkai*; and depends upon a world and 'truth' where *Nkai* is said to reside on Mt Nyiro and influence lives of those living there. By evoking the lives of forefathers as linked with current lives and as being associated with the goodness of these lives, people are reinforcing a connectedness to the past, bringing the past to the present. Identities of being Samburu and being of lineages are made timeless. The inner-workings of *Ikerreti* become known and made into 'truth' in the process of performing and recalling performances of these ceremonies. 'Success stories' of ceremonies, such as bringing rain, further legitimise the 'truth' and necessity of upholding the institutions, rules and positionalities of various peoples in order that all lives will be prosperous.

Flat Rock elders recalled similar 'success stories' about times when they have blessed individuals inflicted by badness (such as miscarriages) due to a sin affecting them. After blessing and praying to *Nkai* to reverse the badness, goodness followed<sup>98</sup>.

## 5.6 Conflicts over seniority and ceremonial custodianship

Like seniority and custodianship over places, seniority and custodianship over ceremonies are contested between different cohorts. In an unequal world based upon seniority, people seek status and power over their peers using the ‘tools’ available within institutional frames, such as through seniority. People recall stories in ‘timeless’ ways which frame their lineage as most senior<sup>99</sup>.

Members of two family lineages (*Itimito* – meaning gates) of Bull Clan in Flat Rock (henceforth, known as the Green Family and the Brown Family), both claim to be the senior custodians of ceremonies in their Bull Clan area. Both claim to be descended from the elder son of a common Bull Clan ancestor, and therefore the ones chosen by *Nkai* to lead<sup>100</sup>. Elders of the Green Family accuse the Brown Family of stealing their seniority and taking their place at the head of ceremonies<sup>101</sup>. “It is not good in Samburu ‘culture’ for someone to take a position which is not his; that person will be followed by *ng’oki* (badness or sin)”<sup>102</sup>. The Green Family elders apportion ‘badness’ and deaths to members of the Brown Family lineage to this sin<sup>103</sup>. The Brown Family elders say their position as head of Bull Clan at Flat Rock has brought no badness to families and their livestock. They apportion any sin following certain Brown Family lineage families to an unrelated immoral act by one of their ancestors in the past<sup>104</sup>.

These contested claims reinforce the salience of seniority and custodianship according to moral frameworks on which these claims are based. *Lkerreti* ‘truths’ are re-shaped and reified through such conflicting discourse. Identities as a Samburu, member of a lineage, an elder etc., and ideas of *lkerreti* are made ‘timeless’.

## 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter explores and exemplifies how Flat Rock people’s embodied notions (and timeless ‘truths’) surrounding seniority, belonging to and custodianship over *lkerreti*, lineages and places are part of their relationships with more-than-humans. Such relationships are integral to securing ‘goodness’. Seniority, belonging, custodianship, *lkerreti* and relationships are lived through herding and moving through the landscape, stories connecting past and present people and lineages to places, and performing ceremonies in places. Identities and agency of certain places, plants, animals ‘become’ through their relationships with people, such as during ceremonies, and associations with *lkerreti* and *Nkai*. *Lkerreti* is embodied (and reified as a timeless ‘truth’) through such enactments and relations.

The chapter exemplifies how people's embodied notions (and timeless 'truths') surrounding seniority, belonging and custodianship over places and people, and securing goodness through ceremonies are contested between people based upon portrayals of lineage histories associated with places, familiarity of the area and livestock likes/needs. Through competing claims over timeless 'truths' surrounding lineage seniority, custodianship and belonging, these 'truths' are re-shaped and reified and are a part of people's embodied experiences and identities in relation to lineage, place and other more-than-humans.

People's (accusations of others' strategic) portrayals of history, including lineage origins, their relationships with and agency of the colonial administration, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory, are understandable as a part of people's embodied ways of being a part of the landscape – which includes their 'timeless' notions of identities, belonging and custodianship.

For example, 'the original' Samburu District boundary designated by the colonial administration recognises and follows the lowlands and uplands grazed by pre-colonial Samburu and Flat Rock people. This land has always been familiar and belonged to Flat Rock Samburu and their livestock. Lineages' seniority, custodianship over, and securing goodness for people and this area involves interactions with *Nkai* and other more-than-humans through everyday practices, including ceremonies. Current portrayals of a 'Flat Rock territory' are thus understandable within this historical and more-than-human context. Explanations of strategic claims to belonging and territory through manipulations of lineage histories in light of colonial and subsequent politically fuelled ideas of exclusive ethnic territoriality can be enhanced through engagement with people's lives and associated portrayals of history in the way undertaken in this chapter.

Insights gained in this chapter into Flat Rock peoples' lives, including their ways of perceiving custodianship and belonging, form an important context within which to understand issues discussed in the following two chapters. The following chapter considers the changing relationships between people of Flat Rock, other Samburu and Turkana in light of colonialism, politics and inter-ethnic conflict.

---

**Notes**

- 1 INT 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 26, 27, GRO 1, 3, 6, CON 1, 2, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19
- 2 INT 2, 3, 6, 9, 27, GRO 3, 6 CON 1, 2, 10, 18, 19
- 3 INT 3, 5, 10, CON 10, 1, 2, 16
- 4 INT 2, 4, 12, 13, 18, 27, GRO 3, 6, CON 10, 16, 4
- 5 INT 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 14, 16, GRO 1, 2, CON 18, 19, 15
- 6 INT 4, 10, 27, GRO 1, CON 10, 16
- 7 INT 4, 10, 27, 1, 13, 14, 17, GRO 1, CON 10, 16, 1, 2, 3, 8
- 8 INT 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, GRO 1, 2, 7
- 9 INT 1, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, GRO 2, 3, CON 12
- 10 INT 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, GRO 3, CON 12, 10
- 11 INT 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, GRO 2, 3, CON 12, 10
- 12 INT 2, 9, 12, 14, 15, GRO 3, CON 10
- 13 INT 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, GRO 1, 2, 7
- 14 INT 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22GRO, 2, 3, CON 12, 18
- 15 INT 2, 6, 12, 15, 17, 18
- 16 INT 10
- 17 INT 2, 18
- 18 INT 10
- 19 INT 2, 18, GRO 3
- 20 INT 2, 18, GRO 3
- 21 INT 28, 29, 3, 9, 10, 27, GRO 2, 3, CON 10, 3, 16
- 22 INT 3, 9, 10, 27, GRO 2, 3, CON 10
- 23 INT 28
- 24 INT 9, 10, 27, CON 10
- 25 INT 9, 10
- 26 INT 3, 9, 10, 27, 29, 20 GRO 2, 3, CON 1, 10, 16
- 27 GRO 4, 5, 7
- 28 GRO 7
- 29 INT 11, 17, 27
- 30 GRO 7, 2, 3, INT 3, 7, 12, 14, 25, 26, CON 10, 15, 1, 2
- 31 INT 3, 7, 12, 25, GRO 7, 2, 3, CON 1
- 32 GRO 7
- 33 GRO 7
- 34 INT 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 27, GRO 7, 2, 3, 6, CON 18
- 35 For colonial description of this boundary see 'Letter from DC Marsabit (Watts) to PC Northern Province, Isiolo, 2/7/47, DC MRL 1 5 4
- 36 Many examples are contained within KNA/DC/MRL/1/5/4 and KNA/MBT/7/1/1
- 37 Maralal District DO (Loudon) to Marsabit District DC, 1945, KNA/DC/MRL/1/5/4
- 38 Samburu DC (Cornell) Annual Report, 1927, KNA/PC/NFD/1/9/1
- 39 For example, see 'Letter from Marsabit DC to Officer in Charge of NFD', 27.11.1946, KNA/DC/MRL/1/5/4, in which the Marsabit DC writes that previous DCs wanted to extend Samburu grazing area to the north because of their livestock needs, especially because the Baragoi grazing scheme took up grazing land previously used by Samburu pastoralists
- 40 In their evidence at the 'Report on the Kenya Land Commission Evidence, volume 2: Northern Frontier Province', September 1933, three previous DCs of Samburu District: Stone, Bader and Lytton, recognise that in order to cope with variable rainfall and pasture, disease and drought, Samburu and Rendile pastoralists do not adhere to district boundaries.
- 41 INT 2, 10, 16, 27, GRO 3, CON 18
- 42 INT 2, 10, 16 GRO 2, 3, CON 18
- 43 INT 11, 13
- 44 INT 2, 9, 10
- 45 INT 2, 9, 10
- 46 INT 2, INT 11
- 47 INT 11

---

48 1956 Samburu District handing over report, Gavaghan to Jones, April 1956, DC/MRL/1/10/1  
 49 INT 10, 11, GRO 1, 2, 3  
 50 1956 Samburu District handing over report, Gavaghan to Jones, April 1956, DC/MRL/1/10/1  
 51 INT 9  
 52 1956 Samburu District handing over report, Gavaghan to Jones, April 1956, DC/MRL/1/10/1  
 53 INT 10, GRO 1, 3  
 54 1956 Samburu District handing over report, Gavaghan to Jones, April 1956,  
 DC/MRL/1/10/1  
 55 INT 27, 9, GRO 1, 2  
 56 INT 3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 27 GRO 3, 6, 7, CON 18  
 57 INT 10, GRO 1, 2, 3  
 58 INT 1  
 59 INT 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 27, GRO 2, 3  
 60 INT 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 19, 27, GRO 2, 3, 6, 7  
 61 INT 26, 19, CON 6, 7, 9, 14  
 62 INT 12, 14  
 63 INT 6, 10  
 64 INT 6  
 65 INT 6, 10, 26, GRO 3, 6, CON 10, 18  
 66 GRO 7  
 67 INT 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 26, GRO 3, 4, 5, 6, CON 4, 5, 2, 1, 16, 19  
 68 INT 6, 12, GRO 3, 6, CON 4, 5, 18, 19, 15  
 69 INT 26, CON 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14  
 70 GRO 22, 23, 17, 18, 19, CON 20  
 71 INT 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 7, 8, 18, 26, GRO 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, CON 1, 2, 10  
 72 INT 1, 9, 10, 27, GRO 2, 3  
 73 INT 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 27, 19, GRO 2, 3  
 74 INT 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 27, GRO 3, 6  
 75 INT 11, 16, 18, 24, CON 1, 10, 2  
 76 INT 12, 15, 16, 17, 27, GRO 1, 2, 3,  
 77 INT 27, 12, 3, GRO 3  
 78 INT 27, 12, GRO 2, CON 12  
 79 INT 2, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 27, GRO 1, 2, CON 12, 16  
 80 INT 21, 23, 9, CON 12  
 81 INT 3, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17  
 82 INT 16, 17, 18, GRO 1, 2, 3  
 83 INT 2, 10, 11, 17, 18, 26, GRO 2, CON 9, 21  
 84 INT 3  
 85 INT 3, 10, 4, 5, 25, GRO 7, 5, 1, 21  
 86 INT 3, 9, 10, 12, 7, 19, 26, GRO 1, 2, 3, 6, 5, CON 1, 2, 6, 16  
 87 GRO 2  
 88 INT 16, 17, 10, 27, GRO 3, CON 19, 16, 9  
 89 INT 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 27, GRO 2, 3, CON 4, 5, 14, 19, 21  
 90 INT 5, 8, 11, 14, 16, 23, GRO 4, CON 12, 21, 22, 16  
 91 INT 3, 16, 17, 18, 23, CON 22  
 92 INT 2, 4, 7, 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, CON 4, 5, 9, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22  
 93 INT 5, 11, 12, 17, 18, GRO 2, 3, CON 18, 15  
 94 INT 3, 10, 18, 24, 27, CON 9, 10, 16  
 95 INT 2, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 27 GRO 1, 2  
 96 INT 3, 7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 27, GRO 2, 3  
 97 INT 17  
 98 INT 27, GRO 1, 2, 3  
 99 INT 9, 10, 19, 27, GRO 2, 3, CON 1, 10, 16, 6  
 100 INT 6, 9, 10, 27, 1, 3, CON 10, 18  
 101 INT 27, GRO 1, 3, CON 10  
 102 INT 27

---

103	GRO 2, 3
104	INT 9, 10, GRO 6

## Chapter 6. Changing relations between Samburu and Turkana

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways Flat Rock people and other Samburu and Turkana speakers understand and attach meaning to land in relation to their portrayals of ethnicity, belonging, and custodianship inflected in relation to colonialism, local and national politics and changing relationships between communities - including changing dynamics of conflict.

Many contemporary analyses of inter-ethnic pastoral conflict in northern Kenya, as across sub-Saharan Africa more widely, focus on post-1980s changes in the dynamics of the conflict. Inter-ethnic conflict that once centred around intermittent livestock raiding, has become more persistent, and new forms of violence are emerging that include even the killing of women and children (Greiner, 2013; Schlee, 2011; Broch-Due, 2005; Pkalya et al., 2003; Scott-Villiers et al., 2015; Straight, 2008; Kratli and Swift, 2003).

Some explanations of changes in conflict dynamics across the continent privilege the proliferation of guns (e.g. Fukui and Markakis, 1994; Mkutu, 2008), some focus on the replacement of 'cultural' with 'commercial' forms of livestock raiding (e.g. Hendrickson et al., 1996; Fleischer, 2002), while others still centre on debates surrounding the relative significance of climate change or political factors as conflict drivers in light of resource scarcity (e.g. Theisen, 2012; Adano et al., 2012).

In an attempt to explain the complex nature of changing inter-ethnic pastoral conflict dynamics, rather than trying to isolate 'key' conflict drivers, many scholars promote analyses of the way aspects/drivers of conflict combine and mutually produce one another within wider historical, economic, social and political contexts (e.g. Greiner, 2013; Kratli and Swift, 2003; Lind, 2007). For example, young raiders, sponsored/enabled by politicians to raid, may follow their own 'cultural' agendas, such as proving bravery or accumulating livestock to marry (Greiner, 2013). Likewise, politicians may take advantage of (and amplify) 'cultural' raiding for their political purposes (Galaty, 2005; 2013).

Lind (2007), Sobania (1991) and Greiner (2013) argue that the Kenyan colonial administration had effects on pastoralist society and practice, in particular the breakdown in flexible inter-ethnic relationships and separation of mobile pastoralist 'tribes' to their own territories, weakening the capacity of once-connected groups to resolve conflicts. Inter-ethnic conflict



changed to become about the exclusive right of ethnic groups to gain access to resources in 'their' territory through ethnically oriented patronage networks (Lind, 2007; Sobania, 1991; Greiner, 2013). Lind (2007) and Greiner (2013) argue that such historical context is missing from studies that isolate causes of pastoral conflict and account for the perceived increase in conflict since the 1990s.

Much analysis emphasises how pastoral conflict dynamics has played into ethnic clientelism patronage politics of northern Kenya since the introduction of multiparty-ism in 1990s (e.g. Schlee, 2012; Schlee and Shongolo, 2013; Broch-Due, 2005; Straight, 2009; Greiner, 2013; Boone, 2012; Scott-Villiers et al., 2014) and since devolution in 2014 (e.g. D'Arcy and Cornell, 2016; Cheeseman et al., 2014; Kochore, 2016). These analyses show how colonially introduced ideas that particular ethnic groups belong exclusively to and have rights over their own administrative district are propagated by modern politicians who seek power through ethnic alliances and incite their ethnic cohort to enact violence against, and expel, 'the other' ethnic group said not to 'belong'. Equally, these works show how the public similarly forward exclusive and 'timeless' notions of ethnicity and belonging and condone violence against 'the other' in order to ensure that they have access to land and government resources via their own co-ethnic political patron.

Lynch's (2010) and Jenkins' (2012) concerns may be applied to academics' analyses of people's instrumental portrayals of ethnicity, belonging and violence as symptomatic of ethnic clientelism politics and territorialised ethnicity with roots in colonialism, which do not engage with people's deeper, more embodied ways of experiencing place and conflict.

The analysis of pastoral conflict in northern Kenya in this chapter draws from these studies of changing dynamics of pastoral conflict, but differs in its treatment of people's perspectives. Conflict is situated within Flat Rock informant's own analyses of (Turkana being strategic in their) instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging, and the mutually reinforcing nature of various conflict drivers. The chapter exemplifies how these portrayals of a 'strategic' 'other' emerge out of, shape and reify Flat Rock residents' 'timeless' portrayals and embodied experiences of identities and belonging, and their associated relationships with people and more-than-humans outlined in chapters 4 and 5.

In other words, the chapter highlights how Flat Rock residents' ways of perceiving and understanding the relationships between people and place revealed in chapters 4 and 5, are a

necessary context required to comprehend their portrayals of ethnicity, belonging, politics and associations with conflict and their accusations of others being strategic in their portrayals of such things.

The chapter considers how past and present conflict with Turkana is lived and embedded in the ways Flat Rock residents relate with and understand the landscape. This context is vital in order to understand Flat Rock discourse surrounding ethnicity, belonging, politics and conflict.

The chapter also engages with the ways other Samburu and Turkana informants portray and analyse ethnicity and belonging in association with conflict and patronage politics; and how informants analyse other people's (strategic) portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in association with conflict and patronage politics. This approach enables alternative insights into how changing relations, including conflict, between Samburu and Turkana, and politics take form and meaning, and are related with (instrumental) discourse, which also becomes part of the violence.

The chapter begins with a brief account of post-1990s changes in conflict dynamics. This contextualises the subsequent section, which documents people's portrayals of Turkana and Samburu relations during more peaceful times. The following section depicts portrayals of how changing conflict dynamics are part of Flat Rock people's (daily) lives. The fourth section discusses how people portray Samburu and Turkana ethnic cohorts in light of conflict, aggression, the colonial administration, (colonial) patronage networks, and the seeking of exclusive ethnic access to places.

The final section discusses how people portray Samburu and Turkana ethnic cohorts in light of their portrayals of post-1990s (and post-devolution) escalations in ethnicised politics and associated violence. Revealed are ways people forward 'cultural', commercial and political dynamics of conflict alongside portrayals of themselves and 'the other', and ethnicised politics.

## **6.2 Post-1990s persistent insecurity in the north of Samburu County**

Many Turkana of Baragoi, Marti and Sarima, and many Samburu of Flat Rock and elsewhere agree that conflict between them has changed since the Kenyan move to multiparty-ism in the 1990s, as it has between other ethnic groups in the region<sup>1</sup>. Prior to the 1990s, Samburu and Turkana raided each other in order to acquire livestock. Periods of violence in the new era of conflict involve not only increased livestock raids between Turkana and Samburu herding

communities, but new types of violence, which involve the killing of people (including women and children), and burning buildings in towns and rural areas, without stealing livestock<sup>2</sup>. Conflict has become more frequent and longer in duration and the threat of violence is a constant concern for most people<sup>3</sup>. Communities of Turkana and Samburu once united have separated and differences between them have been accentuated including the 'rights' of both to be in Samburu County and access government resources.

Many Turkana informants suggest that the changing dynamics of conflict are because of Samburu people's (the majority ethnic group in Samburu County) and their political patrons' increased desire to exclude Turkana from the County and their associated increase in rhetoric stating that Turkana do not belong to Samburu County<sup>4</sup>. Flat Rock residents and other Samburu informants blame Turkana people and their inciting politicians for changing the dynamics of conflict, threatening to chase Samburu from 'their' land and take the land for Turkana<sup>5</sup>.

Since the 1990s, politicians have spread fear among Samburu and Turkana communities of the aggressive 'other' wanting to exclude them. Through fuelling these flames of fear and sponsoring violence, Samburu and Turkana neighbours have been divided into more permanent enemies and live in a permanent state of non-peace<sup>6</sup>.

According to many Turkana, the rhetoric of Turkana people not belonging to Samburu County and politically incited violence against them has increased in light of the devolved government<sup>7</sup>.

### **6.3 A more 'peaceful' past**

Samburu and Turkana portray their lives and relationships as being different before the changes of the 1990s. They speak of 'friendly' relations between Samburu and Turkana neighbours from pre-colonial to post-colonial times that tend not to emphasise places belonging exclusively to people of certain ethnicities. Timeless depictions of Samburu and Turkana people (including identities, behaviours, and where they belong) are part of these portrayals.

Flat Rock residents used to live peacefully with some Nkwamakat Turkana around Mt Nyiro before the post-1990s change in conflict dynamics. Turkana also lived together with Samburu in towns and homesteads across Samburu District, such as Marti<sup>8</sup> (see Maps 1 and 2).

When recollecting their lives living alongside their Turkana neighbours, Flat Rock residents ascribe identities to places, to themselves, to Turkana, and in particular their own belonging to Mt Nyiro and Samburu District, without the exclusion of Turkana. Flat Rock residents describe how they and their Turkana neighbours, many of whom now live at Sarima (see Map 1), grazed and watered livestock together, shared food aid, schooled their children together at Flat Rock primary school, and sang and danced together<sup>9</sup>. Turkana residents of Sarima give similar recollections of their time living at Flat Rock<sup>10</sup>. Samburu and Turkana neighbours formed what were thought at the time to be life-long relationships, both between individuals and families, which enabled both to achieve 'goodness', such as wealth in livestock. Such relationships included Turkana elders holding a Samburu boy's back during his circumcision (which forms a life-long bond between the two actors), sharing livestock, marriages between Turkana and Samburu families, and subsequent kin obligations often involving livestock exchange<sup>11</sup>. A Flat Rock elder said how he still has some livestock of an old Turkana 'friend'<sup>12</sup>. These good relations commenced during colonial times<sup>13</sup>.

People of Marti also say how they are closely related to their Samburu or Turkana neighbours through marriage and extended families. Prior to the 1990s rise in violence, Samburu and Turkana of Marti shared homesteads, moved and grazed their livestock together<sup>14</sup>.

'Different', poorer Turkana from Turkana District also came to Samburu District and 'became' Samburu by joining Samburu families and homesteads to herd for them and build up their own livestock herds<sup>15</sup>. The area around Barsaloi (see Map 2) and nearby Suyan has a high number of people with mixed Turkana and Samburu parentage, known as 'Ilgira' - descendants of Turkana immigrants who 'became' Samburu<sup>16</sup>. Ilgira refer to themselves as Samburu; Turkana call them Samburu, while Samburu call them Turkana<sup>17</sup>. A group of Samburu men from Marti said, "they (Ilgira) are in between (Samburu and Turkana) ... They are raided by both Samburu and Turkana because Samburu say they are spies for the Turkana – leaking Samburu secrets; Turkana say they are spies for Samburu – leaking Turkana secrets"<sup>18</sup>.

Such relationships between Samburu and Turkana of Samburu District are reflected in archival documents. In their evidence for the 1933 Kenya Land commission ('The Samburu Question'), colonial District Commissioners (DCs) of Samburu District note the interchangeability of people between Samburu and Turkana ethnicities. They write that there were friendly relations between Turkana and Samburu of Samburu District. Poor Turkana came to herd for Samburu,

they intermarried and became Samburu; Turkana gave their daughters to marry Samburu men so they could build up their herds using the dowry<sup>19</sup>. Other colonial DCs of Samburu District recall how Samburu and Baragoi Turkana were intermarried, for example a Turkana chief in the 1920's had a Samburu parent<sup>20</sup>.

Hjort (1980) also suggests that during the colonial period, in the area surrounding Archers Post, Turkana individuals, families and whole homesteads were adopted into Samburu families and assumed their Samburu lineage. The assimilated Turkana, known as Ilgira, adopted Samburu customs including dress, behaviour and language. If not too old, men also underwent circumcision, a perquisite in 'becoming' Samburu (Hjort, 1980).

Flat Rock elders recount stories that highlight how their pre-colonial Nyiro ancestors enjoyed relationships with 'far-off' Turkana<sup>21</sup>. Similar accounts of Samburu-Turkana relations are detailed by Sobania (1988; 1991). After the 'triple disasters' of the late 1800's when Samburu were living atop Mt Nyiro, some grew and traded tobacco with Turkana 'friends' of Kerio Valley (located in Turkana District) in exchange for small stock in order to build up their livestock herds. During this time, impoverished Samburu went to live with Turkana and shared the land. Some Samburu married Turkana women there and became Turkana, which is how Samburu clan names are to be found in Turkana. Other Samburu who had not married there returned east once they had built up their herds<sup>22</sup>. Samburu and Turkana clan alliances also formed through Turkana moving to live with and 'become' Samburu (Ilgira) at Barsaloi-Suyan<sup>23</sup>.

Flat Rock elders' stories detail how their ancestors inter-married with these distant Turkana<sup>24</sup>. One Flat Rock elder described how his lineage originated from such intermarriage – his identity is tied with his Turkana ancestry<sup>25</sup>. These stories echo academics' accounts of pre-colonial pastoralism in northern Kenya, which highlight the fluid nature of relations between peoples and their customary institutions that were able to manage inter-ethnic conflict. According to these analyses, colonialism and the introduction of territorialised ethnicity stopped such fluid relationships and inhibited customary conflict management (Sobania, 1988; 1991; Greiner, 2013; Lind, 2007).

This analysis does not, however, correspond with Flat Rock peoples' accounts, which emphasise how peace enforced by the colonial administration facilitated close relations between Samburu and Turkana around Nyiro and much of Samburu District in colonial and post-colonial times<sup>26</sup>. "There was not much fighting between the Samburu and Turkana

because of fear of punishment from the British administration ... there were short fights but peace was soon restored ... this enabled close relationships between the Turkana and Samburu<sup>27</sup>.

It is only since the escalation of violence in the 1990s that relationships between Turkana and Samburu of Samburu District have soured. Until then, Turkana women married Samburu men in Marti, as they did in Flat Rock<sup>28</sup>. Since the 1990s, division and tension between Turkana and Samburu communities have made both intermarriage and a Turkana man 'becoming' Samburu rarer; and when recalled, the associated flexible notions of identity are cast as no longer relevant<sup>29</sup>.

While acknowledging their mixed heritage, Flat Rock residents identify as Samburu. The fact that one's grandfather or mother was a Turkana is irrelevant, and not openly discussed. Samburu and Turkana ethnicities are framed as always having been separate<sup>30</sup>.

Many Turkana and Samburu portray conflict between their ethnic groups prior to the 1990's as less and that it took the form of livestock raiding. There were fewer deaths because there were fewer guns<sup>31</sup>. Many Flat Rock residents used to think livestock raids against them (prior to the 1990's) were perpetrated by Turkana bandits, known as *nkoro*, from Turkana District; they thought that, on the whole, their Nkwamakats Turkana neighbours and 'friends' were not involved. They used to think that the intentions of the 'foreign' Turkana raiders or bandits (*nkoro*) was the acquisition of livestock<sup>32</sup>. Sarima (Turkana) residents affirm that when they lived at Nyiro with Samburu they were also raided by *nkoro* raiders from Turkana District. On top of this, they were raided by 'distant' Samburu who were enacting 'revenge' for the *nkoro* attacks<sup>33</sup>. People did not gain revenge against their actual attackers, who often came from far away. Instead, it was common to take revenge against people of the same ethnicity as the attackers living nearer<sup>34</sup>. Flat Rock elders recall their Turkana neighbours joining them in revenge attacks on settlements of Turkana in Turkana District. And their Turkana friends would warn them if they suspected Turkana raiders from afar. Likewise, Flat Rock elders warned their Turkana friends if they caught rumours of imminent Samburu attacks<sup>35</sup>. In instances when Turkana or Samburu of Nyiro were suspected of stealing livestock from their neighbours or joining 'distant' Turkana or Samburu raiders, Turkana and Samburu elders united to punish the culprits and end the episode of stealing<sup>36</sup>. Thus, despite these periods of insecurity and stealing from one-another before the 1990s, Flat Rock Samburu and Turkana continued to live together<sup>37</sup>.

Such accounts of pre-1990s manageable relations with Turkana ‘friends’ in the face of ‘distant’ Turkana aggressors who raid for livestock, sets the benchmark which subsequent conflict dynamics deviate from.

#### **6.4 Post-1990s insecurity**

This section considers Samburu and Turkana peoples’ portrayals of post-1990s changing conflict dynamics in the north of Samburu District, its impacts on their lives, and changing relations with their old Turkana or Samburu neighbours. The section concludes with a focus on how conflict has been and remains a part of Flat Rock people’s everyday lives and identities.

The event commonly cited by Flat Rock residents as triggering the new era of insecurity is a Turkana raid on Rendile and Samburu who were grazing their livestock on Samburu land at ‘Sikira plains’, south of Baragoi on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1996 (see Map 2). It was a time of drought and the herders had come from Marsabit District seeking pasture. The raiders came from Turkana District and were well armed<sup>38</sup>. Following the Sikira attack there were other raids on Samburu livestock camps near Baragoi and Marti<sup>39</sup>. Paklya et al. (2003) and Galaty (2016) comment on the numerous Turkana raids on Samburu following the Sikira attack, in which thousands of livestock were stolen, many people were killed and thousands displaced.



Figure 6.1 View of the Sikira plains in the foreground below; the Baragoi plains stretch away to the northeast. The Ndoto Mountains are in the distance.

Flat Rock residents recall numerous Turkana livestock raids and killings of Samburu people around Nyiro in the following months and years, and how they fled Flat Rock multiple times out of fear<sup>40</sup>.

Flat Rock is one of a few settlements that are located on the periphery of Samburu territory, which are particularly vulnerable to Turkana attacks. People there either fled to live with relations in the relatively safer areas of Mt Kulal, or lived atop Mt Nyiro, or otherwise moved to Samburu strongholds in the South Horr Valley. Nkwamakat Turkana living in Flat Rock fled at these times of heightened attacks because they feared revenge Samburu attacks<sup>41</sup>.

After months of repeated fleeing and returning to Flat Rock, its people eventually decided to stop running away from 'well-armed' Turkana attackers and took to defending their land instead. They purchased arms from Somali arms traders, who increasingly benefitted from the escalating conflict in the region<sup>42</sup>.

Samburu from across the region purchased guns. Samburu from the Baragoi and Nyiro area purchased guns at this time from Ethiopia and Somalia (Paklya et al., 2003). Turkana informants from near Baragoi suspected that politicians also armed them: "Samburu politicians gave them (Samburu) guns"<sup>43</sup>. Both Samburu and Turkana informants describe how access to guns led to increasing Samburu attacks against Turkana communities<sup>44</sup>.

In 1996, Samburu joined with Pokot to raid Turkana. The conflict became worse as women and children were being killed by raiders, so many Samburu of Marti who had been living among Turkana fled south towards Laikipia (see Map 2). Some Samburu families did return to Marti in 1998, and most came back in 2005 for the circumcision of the new age-set<sup>45</sup>. "We returned to Marti because it is our ancestral home: 'every baboon has his stone'"<sup>46</sup>. But since their return they have not lived next to their Turkana neighbours like before, instead they live in a separate Samburu-only homestead<sup>47</sup>. Many Turkana of Marti concur that the conflict changed after 1996, claiming that a Samburu West MP sponsored a Samburu and Pokot union to attack Turkana. Turkana of Marti, like Samburu, also fled south to Laikipia and Maralal, where some remain today<sup>48</sup> (see Map 1). Paklya et al. (2003) and Galaty (2016) note that Samburu and Pokot struck an alliance and counter-raided Turkana.

Samburu of Nyiro enacted revenge on their once-close Turkana neighbours. Turkana were chased out of South Horr and the surrounding area. Old friendships were lost. Internally displaced Turkana fled to towns in the north of the District, like Baragoi and Parkaati and since then no Turkana people have returned to live in the area<sup>49</sup> (see Map 1).



After the escalation of conflict in 1996, Turkana and Samburu separated permanently in most places where they had lived together (such as South Horr). However, during relatively peaceful periods in the 2000's Samburu and Turkana did return to their joint homesteads of Flat Rock and Marti. Yet, over time, relations between Samburu and Turkana neighbours in Flat Rock and Marti deteriorated<sup>50</sup>. Current Flat Rock residents accuse their old neighbours of assisting distant Turkana attackers<sup>51</sup>. Many Turkana of Marti, who now live apart from their old Samburu neighbours, accuse their old neighbours of facilitating 'distant' Samburu attackers; Samburu residents of Marti say the same about Turkana<sup>52</sup>.

This, along with growing divisions, suspicions and hatred between Turkana and Samburu elsewhere in the District, meant that it became less desirable for Turkana and Samburu to live together at Flat Rock and at Marti. In the late 2000s, Turkana people finally left Flat Rock for good to settle with other Turkana in Sarima, Parkaati and other Turkana strongholds. Samburu and Turkana of Marti now reside in separate homesteads, and graze and water their animals apart as well<sup>53</sup>.

Samburu of Flat Rock and Turkana of Marti and Sarima also express concern at 'new' forms of violence, such as the burning of houses, killing of women and children, killing of people in towns, as well as the increased frequency of livestock raiding. They express an air of inevitability that periods of no violence are abruptly brought to an end by an act of violence, and express an acceptance that this will inevitably lead to a period of multi-faceted violence ('revenge' attacks) between their co-ethnics and 'the enemy', including their old neighbours<sup>54</sup>.

In light of their ongoing 'un-peaceful' relations with Turkana, including their old neighbours, many Flat Rock residents portray their identities as tied with defending 'their land' (*nkop ang'*: 'our land'), and defying Turkana desires to chase them from it - by continuing to live there<sup>55</sup>.

Flat Rock *Lmeoli* and *Lmetili*, *Imurran* in the 1990s/2000s and *Imurran* since 2005, respectively, describe themselves as notoriously brave fighters, feared by Turkana and respected by other Samburu. They boast how, despite living on the periphery of Samburu territory and being exposed to Turkana attacks, they have held the line and even chased away Turkana<sup>56</sup>. Turkana of Marti similarly portray their young men as strong fighters, stronger than cowardly Samburu who run away<sup>57</sup>.

The need for Flat Rock herders to defend their livestock herds in fora camps from possible Turkana attacks are a daily concern<sup>58</sup>. The possibility of attack is ‘routinised’ within daily lives, influencing everything including location of camps, grazing patterns, watering of livestock, and sleeping arrangements (*Imurran* often sleep in shallow pits they have dug close to their livestock so that they are hidden from enemy attackers) (see Figure 6.2). People often live together in large mobile livestock camps for security, especially in areas close to places where Turkana graze. The permanent Flat Rock settlement consists of one large network of enclosures – surrounded by a protective thorn fence for security - containing all Flat Rock families. It is more risky for Turkana raiders to attack a heavily armed group of herders than an isolated home or livestock camp. Before 1996, Flat Rock families used to live separately or in small clusters, often alongside their Turkana ‘friends’<sup>59</sup>.



Figure 6.2 Livestock fora camp. Shallow sleeping pit of an *Imurran* in the foreground.

During periods of reignited, continued violence between Samburu and Turkana in the area, such as in early 2015, people often move their fora camps to secure locations, such as atop Mt Nyiro. In less secure locations during heightened insecurity, *Imurran* work to protect people and livestock from possible Turkana attacks. Some areas, like those adjoining Turkana grazing land near Sarima or Parkaati become ‘no-man’s land’ when fear of conflict escalates.

Flat Rock people’s identities as defenders of land and reminders of past violence are expressed through songs, stories and events that happened at particular places around Mt Nyiro<sup>60</sup>. For example, *nasai* stone piles are usually located beside footpaths to mark the place where livestock stolen by Turkana enemies were re-captured. When passing one, it is customary and respectful to place a stone or green branch on the pile (the verb *a-sai* means ‘to maintain’). The presence of *nasai* and the performativity of placing a stone or branch reinforces a sense of

the community's longevity in the place and a sense of 'our land' which needed (and constantly needs) to be protected from Turkana enemies who want to take it from them.



Figure 6.3 Stone *nasai* beside a path near Flat Rock. It marks the place where Flat Rock *Imurran* rescued livestock stolen from them by Turkana raiders.

### 6.5 Perceptions of the past

This section explores how Samburu and Turkana forward portrayals of their and each other's identities, belonging, and custodianship rights over places and resources. Also considered are their portrayals of the colonial administration, and (colonial) patronage networks, and how these are associated with their portrayals of changing conflict dynamics. A focus upon people's portrayals provides insights into how their discourse is part of the violence.

Many Flat Rock residents blame Turkana and Turkana patrons for the changing conflict dynamics. They feel betrayed by their old Turkana friends who they had let live with them on their land. Now they articulate how their old friends and other outside Turkana (who Samburu now perceive as having always been united) are being open about wanting to exclude their generous Samburu hosts from Samburu District and ancestral lands<sup>61</sup>.

Many people of Flat Rock have re-formed their opinions of their old Nkwamakats Turkana neighbours and friends, who they now 'realise' were not only involved in the post-1996 increase in violence against them, but assisted distant Turkana to raid them even before this time, providing them with intelligence on Samburu or even joining the raids, whilst pretending to Samburu that they were not involved. Flat Rock elders used to think that it was individual 'bad eggs' who conspired with distant Turkana attackers against them. They now say that all their past-neighbours were involved<sup>62</sup>. These re-framings are forwarded in light of alleged

recent attacks on Samburu by their old neighbours now residing elsewhere, including Sarima and Parkaati, “The only ones who attack us now are the ones living here (in Sarima and Parkaati), so they must have been involved all along”<sup>63</sup>. Samburu of Marti similarly blame their Turkana neighbours of always having conspired with distant Turkana raiders to attack them<sup>64</sup>.

Flat Rock re-framings of their old neighbours’ treachery are made alongside what they express as a recent realisation that Turkana livestock raids against Samburu have always been part of all Turkana people’s desires to push Samburu from ‘their land’. The increasing permanence of Turkana within Samburu District is further proof of Turkana desires to take Samburu land from them<sup>65</sup>. “We have come to realise that Turkana like our soil and water”<sup>66</sup>. “Turkana are no longer hiding that they want Samburu land ... at peace meetings they claim land west of the Baragoi road belongs to Turkana”<sup>67</sup> (see Maps 1 and 2).

Despite having lived together for generations, intermarrying, having Samburu and Turkana ancestors, and forging multiple relationships, people of Flat Rock, Marti and many other Samburu people of Samburu County, frame Turkana as not belonging in Samburu County, which is also pre-colonial Samburu ancestral land<sup>68</sup>. Many Flat Rock residents see their old Nkwamakats Turkana neighbours, like Turkana living elsewhere in Samburu District, as ‘recent guests’ on Samburu administrative and ancestral land<sup>69</sup>. Samburu of Flat Rock and Marti claim pre-colonial ancestral and administrative custodianship over places and water points used by Turkana in the past, and those currently inaccessible to Samburu because Turkana ‘occupy’ the places, such as to the north of Mt Nyiro up to Sarima, and to the west of the Baragoi road<sup>70</sup>.

Pre-colonial ancestral stories told by Flat Rock elders about past relationships with Turkana emphasise their belonging to land west of Sukuta Valley. In the past, Turkana (including Ilgira) who did live in Samburu District were few in number and ‘guests’ on Samburu land. Samburu accepted Turkana presence and allowed them to share their land and resources<sup>71</sup>.

Flat Rock residents accuse Turkana leaders of facilitating the permanence of Turkana communities within Samburu District since Kenyan independence through issuing them with food aid, government-funded schools, dams and dispensaries. The increasing permanence of Turkana in Baragoi and Sarima is of great concern to Flat Rock residents. They know that settlements and associated amenities and infrastructure enable permanence of communities, their sense of belonging to the area, and claims to custodianship over surrounding grazing land and water sources<sup>72</sup>. Flat Rock elders describe how the number of Turkana living in Samburu

District increased after independence because the Turkana public and their leaders took advantage of the first Kenyan president's policy of eradicating tribal boundaries and allowing people to live anywhere. Prior to independence, they say, the British administration ensured that different ethnic groups lived in their own territories (districts) where they belonged<sup>73</sup>.

At this point it is tempting to impose a causal framework which argues that these portrayals of ethnic exclusivity to places in pre-colonial times are strategic fabrications, part (and/or symptomatic) of political patronage politics and associated notions of exclusive territorialised ethnicity and belonging, concepts with roots in colonial times. However, this type of analysis would risk misrepresenting what place, belonging and custodianship mean to Flat Rock residents, and the ways these are associated with colonialism and politics - which was discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Instead, I will retain the focus on people's analyses of their own and others' portrayals, which may provide insights into how people are portrayed as being strategic and how this is associated with portrayals of ethnicity, belonging, colonialism, politics and changing violence, among other things, within the context of lives, and where possible - cosmologies.

Turkana of Marti, Baragoi and Sarima dismiss Samburu accusations of encroaching Turkana becoming permanent, having always united with distant Turkana to attack Samburu and changing the dynamics of conflict in order to exclude Samburu – as propaganda, incited by Samburu politicians in order to legitimise Samburu attacks on innocent Turkana<sup>74</sup>. Viewed in this light, Samburu portrayals of colonialism, conflict and expansionist Turkana are a tactical part of the violence.

Turkana of Marti, Baragoi and Sarima reiterate that they have always been victims of raids by distant Turkana and it is Samburu sponsored by their politicians who are trying to exclude Turkana from Samburu District, especially since the 1990s<sup>75</sup>. Turkana of Marti accuse their Samburu neighbours, like Samburu everywhere, of always having been untrustworthy and always having gone against agreements of peace<sup>76</sup>. "Samburu have always killed women and children and harboured the desire to chase us from Samburu District"<sup>77</sup>. "All Samburu, near and far are bad"<sup>78</sup>. Despite this, however, they assert that prior to what they refer to as the recent Samburu-induced upturn in violence, Turkana elders managed to persuade Samburu elders to curtail conflict, which is what enabled Turkana and Samburu to live alongside one another<sup>79</sup>. The succumbing of immoral and untrustworthy Samburu public to incitement from their Samburu patrons has ended this Samburu-Turkana co-existence<sup>80</sup>.

In a similar way to Samburu, Turkana of Marti and Sarima forward their identities as Turkana in tandem with ideas of living in, having custodianship over and belonging to places: a 'tribal homeland' where they have historical precedence over others. Many emphasise how their fathers and pre-colonial ancestors are buried in parts of Samburu District, making the place theirs. Many Turkana also portray themselves as Turkana, belonging to Samburu County through recollections of past events and stories rooted in places<sup>81</sup>. These recollections, along with being in 'their' place, deepen a sense of belonging.

Similar to Flat Rock informants who suggest that the colonial administration were implementing pre-existing territorial boundaries and conceptions of belonging, Turkana informants express belonging and custodianship over places in Samburu District based upon colonial administrative recognition of Turkana people's pre-colonial presence and rights in the area<sup>82</sup>. Land and water points to the west of the current Marti-Baragoi road belong to Turkana custodians, allocated to them by the British administration<sup>83</sup>. "The British gave the Samburu their land and the Turkana their pre-colonial land ... the road was the boundary"<sup>84</sup> (see Maps 1 and 2).

A Turkana elder from Marti contests Samburu pre-colonial claims to any land around Baragoi. "This land (around Baragoi) is for Turkana - the first to come to this land (after the Laikipiak) .... Samburus are lying ... this land was not for them"<sup>85</sup>. "Turkana pastoralists lived on land between Nyiro and Porro before Samburu arrived (see Maps 1 and 2). Laikipiak were the previous owners; Turkana fought them, stole their livestock and the Laikipiak fled, leaving the area to Turkana. This area is Turkana ancestral land; Samburu arrived later, helped by the British"<sup>86</sup>.

An ex-councillor of Marti ward promoted Turkana claims to places in Samburu County using archival colonial administrative correspondence. He interpreted the documents to prove Turkana antiquity within Samburu District and the colonial administration's official recognition of Turkana people's right to live there<sup>87</sup>. The correspondence delineates Turkana territory within Samburu District<sup>88</sup>.

Many Turkana say they willingly share their land and water sources with Samburu neighbours, resources they accuse their neighbours of now wrongfully claiming custodianship over and

enacting violence to exclude Turkana. Such behaviour is, they say, typical of untrustworthy Samburu<sup>89</sup>.

Turkana of Marti and Baragoi claim that such Samburu untrustworthiness also occurred in colonial times. Samburu Chiefs were successful in tricking/influencing the British administration into favouring the Samburu though limiting areas Turkana herders could settle, graze and water livestock within Samburu District<sup>90</sup>. Broch-Due (2000) and Lynch (2006) write that during the colonial administration people learned to manipulate histories so as to justify their ancestral presence in a place and negotiate access to grazing and water (through their patrons, such as chiefs) based upon the colonial-European idiom of certain ethnicities belonging to certain areas. The success of ethnic cohorts in legitimising their presence and access to resources depended upon where the colonial administration viewed them to belong and chiefs' ability to successfully lobby on their behalf. This left a colonial legacy of access to resources and control being heavily reliant on a co-ethnic patron.

It is interesting to observe how Turkana are applying this analysis in their accusations of Samburu colonial chiefs and present day Samburu strategically lying about their ancestral longevity in, and custodianship over, places in order to grab them; places that they claim are Turkana pre-colonial ancestral land, a concept that Turkana informants do not acknowledge as colonially-created. These Turkana accusations are made alongside their portrayals of Samburu people as always having been untrustworthy and exclusionary in nature. Thus, portrayals of Samburu inform/are informed by this discourse.

Archival documents reveal that the colonial administration only reluctantly accepted Turkana presence in Samburu District after multiple threats of deportation and after the 1921 deportation of Baragoi Turkana to Turkana District<sup>91</sup>. 'The Turkana Line' was demarcated which allocated Turkana of Samburu District land and water points to the west of Baragoi and Mt Nyiro; land adjoined to Sukuta Valley and Turkana District<sup>92</sup> (see Maps 1 and 2).

A Turkana elder of Marti who remembers the colonial times recalled how he was punished by the British for 'trespassing' on the Samburu side of the road during colonial times. The police confiscated his goats and distributed them among other Turkanas living 'lawfully' to the west of the boundary road. Despite this segregation, Turkana and Samburu communities co-operated and migrated together sharing pasture and water either side of the boundary<sup>93</sup>. Flat

Rock elders do not speak of such a line around Mt Nyiro; Samburu and Turkana used to live together<sup>94</sup>. Thus, it seems that 'the Turkana line' was not adhered to or enforced in that area.

Many Turkana portray their Samburu neighbours as exploiting the lifting of colonial grazing restrictions after Kenyan independence<sup>95</sup>. "Since the 1970's Samburu (including our neighbours) have tried to prevent us from grazing and watering at wells to the east of the boundary road by beating and killing Turkana"<sup>96</sup>. Since the 1990s increase in violence and fear of attacks, Turkana have rarely ventured to the east of the line to graze and water; Samburu rarely to the west<sup>97</sup>.

Many Samburu deny Turkana allegations of untrustworthy Samburu making strategic claims over land and enacting violence to exclude Turkana. Such claims are dismissed as lies and propaganda, used by Turkana to legitimise attacks on Samburu<sup>98</sup>. In this light, Turkana people's portrayals of Turkana ancestral land in Samburu District and Samburu people as untrustworthy and strategic are tactical and part of the conflict.

Rather, according to many Samburu, including Flat Rock, it is Turkana who are and have always been untrustworthy, harbouring desires to exclude Samburu from their land by helping distant Turkana raiders and strategically claiming Samburu territory<sup>99</sup>: a territory and notion of territory, not invented by the British<sup>100</sup> (see Chapter 5).

It is common for people of Flat Rock and elsewhere to accuse all Turkana of being aggressive and not knowing peace<sup>101</sup>, "Turkana cannot live peacefully; we are tired of continual Turkana aggression"<sup>102</sup>. This backs up claims of Turkana causing the change in conflict dynamics, and peace only being achievable if Turkana leave Samburu County<sup>103</sup>. These claims are forwarded despite people saying in different contexts that it is against 'Samburu morality' (*Ikerreti*: the way of the sheep) to exclude people from places<sup>104</sup>.

Flat Rock residents portray/stereotype Turkana people's character as always having been aggressive<sup>105</sup>. Some provide colonial evidence of this, "like us, the British realised the Turkana were the aggressive initiators of periods of insecurity between Samburu and Turkana, through raiding Samburu livestock"<sup>106</sup>. The British controlled this aggression by punishing Turkana, which made them afraid to attack and encroach on Samburu territory. This enabled Samburu and Turkana to live together peacefully in colonial times<sup>107</sup>.



Broch-Due (2000) suggests that colonial attitudes towards Turkana created this stereotype of Turkana as aggressive and used it as a reason to play down the rights of Turkana to reside in Isiolo, and as evidence to reaffirm the necessity of the colonial practice of administering 'tribes' within their own districts in order to reduce inter-tribal contact and conflict.

Punishment of 'aggressive' Turkana was enforced through punitive livestock raids on any Turkana communities, not necessarily the ones containing the raiders. The raiders were an alliance of the colonial police force and Samburu warriors. Through these actions, the colonial administration legitimised revenge raids and aggression and fostered the mentality that every Turkana is guilty (Broch-Due, 2000; Sobania, 1988; Spencer, 1973).

A Turkana elder from Marti recalled how the British administration disproportionately punished Turkana for livestock raiding and 'trespassing' in Samburu land, while Samburu raiders would often go unpunished. "The Samburu, Pokot and British collaborated to raid the Turkana"<sup>108</sup>. He continued, "the British raided the Turkana in order to scatter them; they chased Turkana from Baragoi to Lodwar, Lake Turkana, and Pokot-land, because they (the British) knew that Turkana were stronger than the other tribes like the Samburu, and would take over, expand to the Samburu side of the boundary (the 'Turkana Line')"<sup>109</sup>. A colonial DC of Samburu District wrote, "without the British administration, there would be no Samburu living north of the Uaso Nyiro River; Turkana feel restricted by the administration - they have nothing to gain from them – without them they would defeat the Samburu; Turkana seldom lose fights"<sup>110</sup>. These accounts add credence to Samburu stereotypes of 'aggressive' Turkana.

The idea that there is no innocent Turkana, an idea common among colonial law enforcers (Broch-Due, 2000; Sobania, 1988), is common in Flat Rock and among many other Samburu. People refer to Turkana as a homogeneous group, a common phrase being, "a Turkana is a Turkana"<sup>111</sup>. Turkana are looked down upon and 'othered', referred to as 'wild animals' and Turkana men are called 'uncircumcised boys'<sup>112</sup>.

Framings of Turkana as aggressive and 'different' from Samburu, citing that the colonial administration thought the same, and portrayals of all Turkana (even old neighbours) always having been complicit in violence against Samburu, is often used to legitimise so-called 'revenge' violence (from livestock raiding to killing individuals in towns) carried out by Samburu on any Turkana person, irrespective of whether they were involved in the incident

being revenged<sup>113</sup>. This shows how people's portrayals of colonialism and conflict are used by them to justify violence.

## **6.6 Perceptions of post-1990s violence**

This section draws upon three cases of violence to illustrate how Samburu and Turkana people portray so-called 'cultural', commercial and political dynamics of changing conflict, alongside portrayals of post-1990s (and post-devolution) escalations in ethnicised politics and associated violence. Again, focus is given to people's discourse and the way it is informed by and informs their portrayals of themselves and 'the other' ethnic group, belonging, and ethnicised politics. Insights are offered into how people's discourse may be part of the violence.

### **6.6.1 Violent episode 1**

Samburu and Turkana people's accounts of the forceful displacement of Turkana residents from a Turkana settlement (henceforth known by the pseudonym of Tall Tree) prior to the 2014 (devolution) election<sup>114</sup> illustrate how both Turkana and Samburu portray changing conflict and the political dynamics of conflict alongside 'timeless' portrayals of Samburu and Turkana character and belonging.

In 2013, Samburu of Nyiro attacked the Turkana settlement of Tall Tree, located in Samburu County. The settlement, including educational and religious buildings, were burned to the ground and the borehole was destroyed. The Turkana residents fled for their lives. Those displaced now live in a temporary settlement to the west of Baragoi, an area dominated by Turkana<sup>115</sup>. The Tall Tree 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs) accuse Samburu politicians and candidates for the 2014 elections of inciting and arming Samburu of Nyiro to displace them from Tall Tree in order to win popularity among their Samburu voters and prevent Turkana from registering to vote, because their identification papers were burned in the attack. Politicians compromised district administrators who wield control over the police, which not only enables themselves and the raiders to act with impunity, but inhibited Turkana ability to resist the attack. "Samburu politicians told the OCPD (head of police in the area) to visit Tall Tree and confiscate our guns; after one week we were raided"<sup>116</sup>. Scott-Villiers et al. (2014) note that members of the administration rely upon politicians to keep them in their positions and therefore fulfil their requests.

According to the Tall Tree victims, the nature of the attack, which was not about stealing livestock, is further evidence that Samburu public and politicians are changing conflict from a

focus on livestock raiding to exclusion of Turkana from Samburu District, which involves the killing of women and children<sup>117</sup>.

According to many Turkana, since multiparty-ism Samburu politicians have divided Turkana from their old Samburu neighbours by inciting Samburu public to attack and exclude Turkana from the district based upon spreading rhetoric (lies) of Turkana not belonging, being aggressive and wanting to exclude Samburu from the district<sup>118</sup>. Many say that aggressive, untrustworthy Samburu public are as much to blame as their inciting politicians for this change in conflict<sup>119</sup>.

A man of mixed Samburu and Turkana parentage suggests that since the 1990s, Samburu and Turkana politicians have divided communities by inciting their co-ethnics to fight 'the other' in order to win their favour and vote through being perceived as 'protecting' them from the enemy, who want to chase them from 'their' land<sup>120</sup>. He and many Turkana said that Samburu County politicians utilise and flame the fear of many Samburu public that an increasing Turkana permanence in Samburu County and their increasing political representation could result in land and resources from the county being preferentially given to Turkana via their elected patrons. This fear is used to unite and secure votes among their Samburu cohort through promises of protecting Samburu interests and to justify associated persecution of Turkana who live in the county, including inciting violence against them in order to inhibit them from voting, and/or from settling permanently and becoming established in an area (as is happening in Baragoi and Sarima), among other things. In order to divide the community and win favour among their co-ethnics, Samburu politicians promote discourses of Turkana as aggressors and sub-human, forward the message of peace only being possible without Turkana, and promote the idea that the benefits of government belong to Samburu people because they are the rightful custodians of the land<sup>121</sup>.

A rise in politically incited violence under the banner of exclusive ethnic territoriality has taken place across northern Kenya since multiparty-ism, especially prior to elections in order to disrupt voting blocks and to displace people so they cannot vote. Politicians and their co-ethnic cohorts frame certain ethnic groups as 'guests' who do not belong to 'their' district, play on the fears people have of the 'ethnic other', and split communities into voting blocs based upon ethnicity (Scott-Villiers et al. 2014; Schlee, 2012; Schlee and Watson, 2009; Schlee and Shongolo, 2013; Galaty, 2005; Boone, 2012; Cheeseman et al., 2014).

Turkana feel they have been politically marginalised in Samburu District since multiparty-ism<sup>122</sup>, a feeling that has grown since devolution in 2014<sup>123</sup>. This marginalism is because Turkana have fewer politicians and Members of County Assembly (MCAs) (previously called councillors) in the new 'County Assembly'<sup>124</sup>, partly because of a manipulation of ward boundaries in 2010 which reduced the number of wards in Turkana-dominated areas and resulted in less Turkana MCAs<sup>125</sup>. This act is seen by many Turkana as an attempt by Samburu leaders to ensure that Turkana do not gain political power in the devolved government. It draws on many Samburu people's fear of expansive Turkana wanting to usurp political power and thus power to distribute state resources, from Samburu. Thus, the changing of ward boundaries by leaders is not only a means to dilute the Turkana vote and ensure that fewer Turkana political candidates are elected, but it is a tactic which proves to be popular among Samburu because it demonstrates action against expansionist Turkana. Samburu leaders embark on such popular actions in order to secure votes from their Samburu co-ethnic public.

Feelings of increased marginalisation reflect what many Turkana refer to as a post-devolution increase in rhetoric of Turkana not belonging to the re-branded Samburu County and associated increases in politically incited violence against Turkana as Samburu politicians and public seek to exclude Turkana from the county by capitalising on their increased political power and thus impunity<sup>126</sup>. Some Turkana men of Baragoi said, "the county government are taking advantage of the majority of the population being Samburu ... they are dividing us from Samburu ... pushing us out (of the County)<sup>127</sup>". A Turkana man from Baragoi was quoted in a Kenyan national newspaper (*The Star*) accusing an MP candidate of Samburu ethnicity of incitement before the 2014 (devolution) elections: "the MP came to Baragoi where she held a public baraza and said all Turkana must leave Samburu North (constituency)" (Koross, 2012).

D'Arcy and Cornell (2016), Cheeseman et al. (2014) and Carrier and Kochore (2014) comment on similar scenarios across northern Kenya in light of devolution. Dominant ethnic groups occupy most of the new county government positions and perceive themselves as 'owners' of counties. As a consequence, devolution has increased the marginalisation of minority ethnic groups within many counties with no political patrons. The unprecedented high budgets available to county governments heightened the desire of candidates to gain access to them, and raised the desire of public to have a co-ethnic patron in power to facilitate their access. National politicians rely upon and perpetuate the violent ethnic-clientelism world of their regional allies in order to gain votes. Ethnic alliances and divides have deepened and the promotion of violence against 'the other', said not to 'belong', has increased. Samburu and

Turkana similarly express the need to have their co-ethnic leaders in power to ensure access to state resources. For example, many Samburu of the area who fear Turkana expansion and future political representation in Samburu County, frame Turkana as outsiders and aggressive in trying to exclude Samburu from Samburu land, and demand that the Samburu cohort are preferentially favoured by their co-ethnic politicians with state resources.

Flat Rock residents deny political incitement for any enactment of Samburu violence against Turkana<sup>128</sup>. Most spoke of the 2013 and previous attacks on Tall Tree as a revenge livestock raid, which is the 'normal' way to enact justice and compensation in light of previous Turkana aggression and livestock raids<sup>129</sup>. However, some admitted that the 2013 attack on Tall Tree was intended to chase away Turkana who do not belong in Samburu County, cannot live in peace and want to exclude Samburu<sup>130</sup>. They said that Tall Tree Turkana continually demonstrated their aggressiveness and desire to chase Samburu from Nyiro by harbouring outside Turkana raiders and joining these raiders in attacks on Samburu of Mt Nyiro<sup>131</sup>. "[Tall Tree] is Samburu land, Turkana presence and repeated attacks against Samburu of Nyiro shows us (Samburu of Mt Nyiro) Turkana people's desires to exclude us from our ancestral and administrative land"<sup>132</sup>. Such violence against Turkana is legitimised in this context: to protect Samburu in their own place - from aggressive and expansionist Turkana. These Flat Rock informants blamed Turkana public, incited by their Turkana politicians, for changing conflict from a focus on livestock raiding to killing of women and children and exclusion from place<sup>133</sup>. In light of this, Turkana are framed by Flat Rock residents as aggressive, unable to live in peace and as much to blame for the post-1990s rise in violence as their inciting politicians<sup>134</sup>.

### **6.6.2 Violent episode 2**

Samburu and Turkana portrayals of the 2012 infamous 'Lemelok massacre' of Kenyan police personnel illustrates how people combine discourse of so-called 'cultural', commercial and political dynamics of conflict, alongside portrayals of changing conflict and how this informs and is informed by portrayals of 'timeless' ethnic identities and belonging. Insights are offered into how people's discourse may be part of the violence.

The 2012 Lemelok event is recalled by many Turkana to illustrate their political and administrative (including police) marginalisation and oppression in Samburu County (and previously District)<sup>135</sup>. According to some Turkana informants, in October 2012 a police unit, which included some armed Samburu disguised as police, under the guidance of Samburu District leaders and the compromised Samburu District DC, and under the pretence of

retrieving stolen Samburu livestock, attempted to raid the Turkana settlement of Lemelok (see Map 2). There were no stolen livestock at Lemelok, rather the attack was a continuation of Samburu public's and politician's, administratively-backed, desire to intimidate and evict Turkana from Samburu District, and win favour among the Samburu electorate<sup>136</sup>. Tipped off about the attack by a young herder who saw the police approaching in the distance, Turkana lay waiting and killed the army of police and covert Samburu out of self-defence<sup>137</sup>.

Many Turkana agree that since the 1990's Samburu leaders have ensured that District Commissioners, District Officers, police and army personnel have sided with the Samburu public<sup>138</sup>. "When Samburu came and stole from us they were not punished, but we were punished if we stole from the Samburu"<sup>139</sup>. "The County Commissioner (previously DC) and OCPD (chief of police in the area) are manipulated by money from the Samburu County Government to favour Samburu over Turkana"<sup>140</sup>. "'Top police' are paid off by Samburu politicians to enable violence against civilians of Turkana ethnicity"<sup>141</sup>. "The government give *Imurran* from all over Samburu District ammunition; they even came with aeroplanes. When they (Samburu) come to raid, the Turkana say that it is the government that is coming ... we realised that the Samburu *Imurran* were being given uniforms to come and (attack) ... that has happened three or four times"<sup>142</sup>. Administrative backing enables Samburu leaders to incite the public with impunity and enables Samburu public (armed and encouraged by their popularity-seeking leaders) to attack Turkana with impunity<sup>143</sup>.

Many Samburu deny such talk of political incitement and administrative assistance in attacks against Turkana<sup>144</sup>. According to them, such rhetoric is propaganda, incitement even, forwarded by Turkana to disguise their politically incited violence against Samburu and associated desires to exclude Samburu from the county to take their land and state resources<sup>145</sup>. In this light, Turkana portrayals of conflict, political patronage, and portrayals of Samburu identity are tactical, discourse to legitimise their attacks on Samburu. Most admit to the existence of political incitement, but never in the context of their community and rarely in the context of a specific event; those of other communities who do succumb are portrayed as victims of politicians' games<sup>146</sup>.

Many Samburu explain that the police massacred at Lemelok were retrieving Samburu livestock that had been raided by Turkana. There were, they say, no Samburu disguised among the police<sup>147</sup> and such 'lies' and the killing of the police officers illustrates the

deceitfulness and aggressiveness of Turkana and reinforces the feeling that it is not possible to live peacefully with Turkana<sup>148</sup>.

Some Samburu accounts of the Lemelok massacre portray the event as part of a wider commercial-livestock raiding syndicate between Turkana politicians, businessmen, the Nakuru chief of police and Turkana raiders<sup>149</sup>. “For years, livestock stolen from Samburu during elite-sponsored Turkana raids has been sold at ‘down-country’ markets”<sup>150</sup>. Sending police into the Turkana settlement of Lemelok was supposedly staged by the Nakuru chief of police in order to ‘be seen’ as sanctioning Turkana for these elite-sponsored raids against the Samburu. But unbeknown to the young police recruits on their way to Lemelok to supposedly enforce the law, the chief of police had tipped off the Turkana of Lemelok (his ‘commercial raiding’ partners) that the police were coming.

According to these Samburu narrators, such commercial livestock raiding is part of state-sponsored Turkana violence against Samburu with the aim of chasing them from their land<sup>151</sup>. Without livestock, herders cannot herd and enact custodianship over places and Turkana herders fill the space<sup>152</sup>. Some suggest that commercially sponsored livestock raiding has been practiced by Turkana since the first Kenyan president: Kenyatta. Kenyatta allegedly set up an elaborate commercial livestock raiding syndicate involving ‘compromised’ district administrators, chiefs and police, and Turkana raiders (*nkoroko*) from Turkana District. Kenyatta also allegedly created an ‘anti-*nkoroko* unit’ (consisting of police and Samburu raiders) under the pretence of catching the *nkoroko* raiders (which he also sponsored), but the anti-*nkoroko* unit actually attacked ‘innocent’ Turkana. The livestock stolen by both *nkoroko* (Turkana) and anti-*nkoroko* (Samburu) raiders were then sold ‘down-country’<sup>153</sup>.

Many Turkana deny that Turkana of Samburu District are involved in political/elite/businessman-sponsored commercial livestock raiding syndicates against Samburu, and deny any validity in Samburu people’s Lemelok ‘conspiracy story’. They frame such accusations as lies and incitement, forwarded by Samburu and their leaders as an excuse to attack Turkana as part of their plan to make Turkana poor and evict them from the county<sup>154</sup>. In this light, Samburu portrayals of political and ‘commercial’ elements of conflict and Turkana desires to exclude Samburu are tactical, discourse to legitimise their attacks on Turkana, and thus a part of the violence.

Many Turkana informants admit to the existence of political incitement by Turkana, as well as Samburu politicians, but because of the smaller number of Turkana compared to Samburu leaders in Samburu District, Turkana are rarely incited by Samburu District leaders<sup>155</sup>. Many Samburu informants suggest that it is Turkana elites and politicians from Turkana County who incite their 'Turkana brothers'<sup>156</sup>. Attacks carried out by one's own community and specific Turkana attacks are very rarely spoken of by Turkana as incited politically. Those Turkana who do succumb to incitement are portrayed by their co-ethnics as victims of politicians' games<sup>157</sup>.

Like Samburu informants, many Turkana recognise that livestock raiding is a source of wealth for elites, politicians, and raiders of Samburu ethnicity. The selling of stolen Turkana livestock 'down-country' provides revenue for Samburu businessmen and politicians to fund their election campaigns. Thus, portrayals of this dimension of conflict are used to further demonstrate Turkana political and economic marginalisation in Samburu District<sup>158</sup>.

A man of mixed Samburu and Turkana parentage, who pledges no allegiance to either Samburu or Turkana, claims that Samburu and Turkana politicians and businessmen collaborate to sponsor livestock raids between Samburu and Turkana communities around Baragoi in order to sell the stolen livestock down country, and to divide people for their political gains. The guilty leaders attempt to hide their involvement as conflict inciters and profiteers from the stolen livestock, by publically framing these conflicts as 'cultural', between age-old Samburu-Turkana enemies<sup>159</sup>.

### **6.6.3 Violent episode 3**

An extended period of insecurity between Samburu and Turkana in the north of Samburu County in early 2015 illustrates the ways Samburu and Turkana people portray changing violence, including how discourse surrounding 'cultural', 'commercial' and political elements of conflict are combined, alongside portrayals of ethnic groups' characteristics and belonging. Insights are offered into how people's discourse may be part of the violence.

In the early months of 2015, there was an extended period of insecurity in the north of Samburu County, involving small and large-scale livestock raids, and killings of individuals in Baragoi Town.

The actual event cited as triggering the 2015 violence varies depending upon the informant. Turkana of Marti blame Samburu for initiating the period of insecurity. A Turkana herder was



shot dead while watering his cows at a well on the Samburu side of the Marti-Baragoi boundary road (the colonial 'Turkana Line') (see Map 2). According to Marti Turkana informants, such attacks against Turkana are carried out by Samburu with police impunity to intimidate them in order to stop them from accessing pasture and water and ultimately to chase Turkana from Samburu County<sup>160</sup>. Such 'new' violence aimed at exclusion and in which no livestock are stolen has been frequently committed by Samburu since the 1990s and has resulted in social and spatial divisions between Samburu and Turkana<sup>161</sup>. For example, it has prevented Turkana from moving peacefully to graze and water their livestock on the east side of the main road together with Samburu friends, as they have in the past<sup>162</sup>. Samburu places in Baragoi Town to the east of the boundary road are out of bounds to Turkana, as Turkana places are for Samburu<sup>163</sup>. A Turkana woman of Marti said, "A person cannot cross the road now, forget taking animals over there ... we cannot graze over there (to the east of the road) because we will be shot"<sup>164</sup>. According to Turkana of Marti, because of the killing of their herder, Turkana took revenge against Samburu stealing livestock in the 'normal' (apolitical, non-exclusionary) way of enacting justice<sup>165</sup>.



Figure 6.4 The main road through Baragoi town dividing Samburu and Turkana 'territories'.

Samburu of Marti narrate things rather differently: the herdsman was killed by Samburu from afar and the revenge attack carried out by Turkana on Marti Samburu was unwarranted<sup>166</sup>. According to Turkana of Marti, blaming distant Samburu attackers is a common lie used by 'dishonest' Samburu, who themselves carried out the attack<sup>167</sup>.

Many Samburu point to an even earlier Turkana attack on Samburu as triggering the 2015 violence. Samburu attacks on Turkana in early 2015 were in response to this - as revenge - the 'normal' (apolitical, non-exclusionary) way of enacting justice<sup>168</sup>. Turkana continued to carry

out violence against Samburu, raiding livestock and killing people in Baragoi town<sup>169</sup>. When discussing the spate of violence, a Flat Rock elder said, “A Samburu man was shot for crossing onto the Turkana side of Baragoi Town”<sup>170</sup>. The elder cited this individual act as evidence that all Turkana are aggressive, changing conflict from livestock raiding to just killing people, which reflects their desire to exclude Samburu from the county. Similar killings by Turkana have occurred since the 1990s<sup>171</sup>. Turkana informants similarly cite incidents of Samburu killing Turkana in Baragoi Town for being in the ‘wrong side’ of the town<sup>172</sup>.

After a brief hiatus, Samburu of Mt Nyiro, Ldonyo Mara and elsewhere joined forces to carry out multiple livestock raids on Turkana living in Sarima (Marsabit County), Samburu and Turkana Counties<sup>173</sup> (see Map 1). Young *Imurran* of Flat Rock living in mobile livestock camps to the north of Mt Nyiro were also involved in smaller-scale stealing goats and sheep belonging to Turkana herders from Sarima and elsewhere, grazing in nearby livestock camps<sup>174</sup>.

By default, nearly all Flat Rock informants said these raids on Turkana were apolitical, revenge for Turkana attacks on other Samburu and/or symptomatic of *Imurran*-ism – a demonstration of bravery, endurance, and an ability to defend their land from Turkana<sup>175</sup>. Some of the Flat Rock attackers cited wealth as their motivation<sup>176</sup>. Many Turkana also cited Samburu *Imurran*-ism and wealth accumulation (via keeping the loot or as part of politician or elite-driven commercial raiding syndicates) as causes of these raids against them; Samburu raiders took advantage of political support and impunity this afforded - to get rich, and push Turkana from grazing land. But for these Turkana informants, *Imurran*-ism is not framed as a positive thing, rather it is seen as a problem – a pressure young Samburu men are under to be aggressive<sup>177</sup>. These differing discourses from Samburu and Turkana informants offer different insights into how ‘cultural’ and ‘commercial’ aspects of conflict combine, play out in discourse alongside portrayals of political patronage and incitement.

Turkana of Marti accuse Samburu politicians and MCAs of inciting and sponsoring these 2015 Samburu livestock raids carried out against Turkana<sup>178</sup>. They, like other Turkana informants, also say that Samburu public are not victims of this incitement - they are as much to blame as their inciting leaders<sup>179</sup>. The attacks of 2015 are viewed by many Turkana as a continuation of politically incited violence enacted against them since multiparty-ism. The propaganda behind this Samburu political incitement, which labels all Turkana as aggressive, wanting to exclude Samburu from the county and state benefits by taking land and political power, is used by Samburu public and leaders in order to justify their intentions to attack in order to try and

exclude Turkana from the county, prevent Turkana from settling in the county permanently and/or inhibit them from voting<sup>180</sup>.

Nearly all Flat Rock residents denied these Turkana claims of Samburu political incitement, wanting to exclude Turkana. Some insightful people commented that these Turkana claims against Samburu and of Turkana marginalisation are strategic, forwarded to justify Turkana attacks on Samburu, and are thus a part of the conflict<sup>181</sup>.

For the sake of analytical completeness, it is necessary to question if Flat Rock people's emphasis on 'cultural' causes of the 2015 raids were forwarded in order to conceal political and 'commercial' dynamics of conflict. Perhaps, admitting to Turkana accusations of being sponsored and incited to attack Turkana would reduce the validity of Samburu ideas that such Turkana claims are a cover story to legitimise Turkana aggression against Samburu, and would reduce the power of Samburu rhetoric of being the victims of politically sponsored violence, not the perpetrators.

It is in people's interest to maintain the covert/fuzzy political and 'commercial' dynamics of conflict because people's access to state resources, county government jobs, and legitimacy over land and wells, depends upon maintenance of this ethnically segregated world of political patronage politics, of which incitement and exclusion through violence is central. However, one 'open' Flat Rock resident admitted that they were incited and provided ammunition by their MP, other Samburu politicians and elites – to attack Turkana<sup>182</sup>.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to explore inter-ethnic pastoral conflict between Samburu and Turkana by forwarding people's perspectives and analyses. This approach has facilitated insights into how people of the area portray their and others' agency in the changing dynamics of conflict – and how political, so-called commercial and cultural elements of conflict are combined as part of this discourse, alongside portrayals of ethnicised political patronage networks and colonialism.

Flat Rock portrayals of: past and present relations with Turkana, conflict, administration and politics are associated with their portrayals of 'timeless' identities of themselves and Turkana, and belonging to Samburu County. In particular, Samburu identities of themselves and

Turkana are in light of their portrayals of Turkana and their leaders attempting to violently exclude Samburu from the area.

These portrayals are embedded in Flat Rock lives and identities discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Furthermore, conflict is and has always been a part of Flat Rock lives and their identities. The ways that Flat Rock residents relate with places and meanings, and identities they attach to people and places, are inseparable from past and ongoing conflict with Turkana. For example, people's identities, especially *Imurran*, include protecting 'their' land from aggressive and invasive Turkana. Flat Rock experiences in 'their' territory, such as herding practices and land they can access, and thus places they and their livestock become familiar with and 'like', are influenced by the threat of conflict with Turkana. The colonial administration is portrayed as recognising this Flat Rock/Samburu territory and the aggressive nature of Turkana. Samburu aggression against Turkana has been provoked by the aggressive and expansive nature of Turkana.

Turkana informants dismiss Flat Rock and other Samburu claims of Turkana always harbouring desires to exclude Samburu from Samburu District as propaganda, incited by Samburu politicians, especially since multiparty-ism and devolution. Some informants propose that this Samburu discourse is strategically forwarded in order to legitimise Samburu attacks on Turkana. Viewed in this light, Samburu portrayals of colonialism, conflict and stereotypes of Turkana are a tactical part of the violence.

Turkana portray Samburu leaders since colonial times as having strategically promoted ideas of Samburu ancestral land and Samburu as the rightful benefactors of administrative resources, and falsely portraying an aggressive Turkana wanting to exclude Samburu. Such Samburu rhetoric has accelerated since multiparty-ism and again since devolution, alongside Samburu politically incited violence to attempt to exclude Turkana from Samburu District/County land and state resources. A stereotyped Samburu character of being untrustworthy, aggressive and exclusionary are forwarded by Turkana informants within this context.

Turkana claims of strategic, violent Samburu are dismissed by Samburu informants as propaganda, used by Turkana to strategically legitimise attacks on Samburu, and thus part of the conflict. As earlier chapters reveal, Flat Rock residents' relationships with people and places reflect an ontology in which they and non-human entities are inter-dependent agents interacting to determine 'goodness', including land productivity. This chapter shows how Flat

Rock informants' relationships with place and more-than-humans embody their timeless portrayals of ethnicity, belonging, politics and conflict, and how such portrayals and embodiment take meaning and emerge from competing claims by Turkana.

The relationships, divisions and conflict between Samburu and Turkana, revealed in this chapter, are considered further in the next chapter in light of investments in the area. The next chapter considers how the Lake Turkana Wind Power and the solar energy projects have become a part of Flat Rock (and to a lesser extent, Rendile, Turkana and other Samburu) people's lives. The dynamics of relationships between communities and investment companies, including the dynamics of changing divisions and alliances, associated patronage networks, and violence, are discussed. Complexity and context is taken from and added to previous chapters.

---

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> INT 3, 5, 6, 34, 40; GRO 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; CON 1, 2, 3, 10, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
- <sup>2</sup> INT 32, 40; GRO 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; CON 1, 2, 3, 16, 22, 25
- <sup>3</sup> INT 3, 5, 10, 19, 27, 40; GRO 9, 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 28, 30, 31; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 16, 18, 21, 23, 24
- <sup>4</sup> INT 40; GRO 10, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 26
- <sup>5</sup> INT 3, 5, 6, 34; GRO 3, 9, 11, 12, 15; CON 1, 2, 3, 10, 16, 22, 25, 27
- <sup>6</sup> CON 27
- <sup>7</sup> INT 40; GRO 10, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 26
- <sup>8</sup> INT 2, 4, 10, 33, 35, 40; GRO 1, 9, 11, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 28; 29; 30; CON 1, 2, 5, 10, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
- <sup>9</sup> INT 2, 4, 9, 6, 27; GRO 1, 3
- <sup>10</sup> GRO 28, 29, 31
- <sup>11</sup> INT 2, 4, 9, 6, 27; GRO 1, 3, 28, 29, 31
- <sup>12</sup> INT 26
- <sup>13</sup> INT 2, 4, 9, 6, 27; GRO 1, 3, 28, 29, 31
- <sup>14</sup> GRO 12, 13
- <sup>15</sup> INT 40
- <sup>16</sup> INT 40; GRO 12, 13, 14
- <sup>17</sup> INT 40; GRO 12
- <sup>18</sup> GRO 12
- <sup>19</sup> Lytton and Baden, 'The Samburu Question', 1933 Kenya Land Commission Report
- <sup>20</sup> Captain J. Bois (DC Baringo), safari notes, 1908, DC/MBT/5/1; Lytton 1925 Samburu District Handing over report, KNA/PC/NFD/1/9/1
- <sup>21</sup> INT 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 14; GRO 1, 3
- <sup>22</sup> INT 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 14; GRO 1, 3, 12
- <sup>23</sup> INT 40; GRO 14
- <sup>24</sup> INT 2, 10, 14; GRO 1, 3
- <sup>25</sup> INT 2
- <sup>26</sup> INT 3, 6, 9, 10, 27; GRO 2, 3
- <sup>27</sup> INT 3
- <sup>28</sup> INT 3, 6, 9, 10, 27; GRO 2, 3, 13

---

29	INT 3, 6, 9, 10, 27; GRO 2, 3, 13, 12, 14; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 21, 22
30	INT 3, 6, 9, 10, 27; GRO 2, 3, 7; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 21, 22
31	INT 2, 7, 9, 24, 19; GRO 2, 13; CON 21
32	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3
33	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
34	CON 1, 10
35	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19
36	INT 1, 6, 8, 10
37	INT 1, 7, 10, 11, 19
38	INT, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 26, 27; GRO 2, 3, 5; CON 1, 10
39	GRO 12
40	INT, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 26, 27; GRO 2, 3, 5; CON 1, 10
41	INT, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 26, 27; GRO 2, 3, 5; CON 1, 10
42	INT 5, 7, 8, 10; CON 1, 2, 4
43	GRO 10
44	INT 7, 8, 32; GRO 9, 10, 13, 14; CON 2, 4
45	GRO 12
46	GRO 12
47	GRO 12
48	GRO 13, 14, 16
49	INT 32; CON 3
50	INT 32; CON 3, 27, 10
51	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3
52	GRO 13, 14, 16
53	GRO 12, 13, 14, 16; CON 27
54	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31
55	INT 6, 7; GRO 4, 5; CON 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19
56	CON 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19
57	GRO 13, 14, 16
58	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3; CON 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19
59	INT 2, 5, 9, 10, 7, 26
60	INT 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23, 26, 27; GRO 2, 3, 7; CON 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 21, 10
61	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3
62	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3
63	INT 7
64	GRO 12
65	INT 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 27; GRO 2, 3
66	INT 13
67	INT 7
68	INT 1, 3, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27; GRO 1, 3, 5, 9, 12, 15; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 28, 29
69	INT 1, 3, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19; GRO 1, 3, 5; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 14
70	INT 1, 3, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 17, 18; GRO 1, 3, 5, 12
71	INT 2, 3, 10, 17, 14, 27; GRO 2, 3
72	INT 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12; CON 1, 10, 2
73	INT 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12; 32; CON 1, 10, 2, 18, 29
74	GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 31; CON 26, 23, 24, 32, 31, 33
75	INT 40; GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 31; CON 26, 23, 24, 32, 31, 33
76	INT 40; GRO 11, 13, 14; CON 23, 24
77	GRO 13
78	INT 40; GRO 11, 13, 14; CON 23, 24
79	INT 40; GRO 14
80	INT 40; GRO 11, 13, 14; CON 23, 24
81	INT 40; GRO 11, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31
82	INT 40; GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31; CON 25, 26, 24
83	INT 40; GRO 10, 11, 13

---

84	GRO 10
85	GRO 10
86	INT 40
87	GRO 11
88	'Resettlement of certain Turkana in NFD', 1922, KNA/PC/NFD/4/1/8
89	INT 40; GRO 10, 11, 14; CON 23, 24, 25
90	INT 40; GRO 10, 14
91	'Resettlement of certain Turkana in NFD', KNA/PC/NFD/4/1/8.
92	'The Turkana Line' passed through Baragoi River, Kuwop hill, between wells to the west of Mt Nyiro (which Turkana shared with Samburu), up to Lake Turkana. The colonial administration ruled that Turkana were not allowed to graze Nyiro and Kulal slopes. In addition to their land to the west of 'the Turkana line', Turkana were allowed to graze within a 2-hour circle around Baragoi. See: 'The Promised land' by Lt-Col J M Llewellyn, KNA/PC/NFD/1/9/1; 'Resettlement of certain Turkana in NFD', KNA/PC/NFD/4/1/8
93	INT 40
94	INT 2, 5, 10, 27; GRO, 1, 3
95	INT 40; GRO 10, 14, 11, 16
96	GRO 13
97	GRO 13
98	INT 3, 6, 10, 7, 26, 27; GRO 2, 5, 12, 15; CON 1, 2, 10, 29
99	INT 3, 6, 10, 7, 26, 27; GRO 2, 5, 12, 15; CON 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29
100	INT 3, 9, 27; GRO 3, 7
101	INT 3, 6, 10, 7, 26, 27; GRO 2, 5, 12, 15, 22, 23; CON 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29
102	INT 3
103	INT 3, 6, 10, 7, 26, 27; GRO 2, 5, 12, 15, 22, 23; CON 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29
104	INT 9, 10, 2; GRO 2, 6, 7; CON 10, 2
105	INT 3, 6, 10, 7, 27; GRO 2, 5; CON 1, 10
106	INT 9
107	INT 2, 5, 9, 7, 8, 26, 27; GRO 2, 5, 9, 12; CON 10, 2
108	INT 40
109	INT 40
110	Samburu District Annual Report, 1925, KNA/PC/NFD/1/9/1
111	CON 1, 10, 2, 4, 5, 6, 19, 16
112	INT 3, 5, 6, 7, 10; GRO 3; CON 1, 10, 2, 4, 5, 6, 19, 16, 21, 9
113	INT 6, 7, 8, 11, 19, 26, 27; GRO 2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 22; CON 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 9, 16, 19, 21, 22, 28,
114	GRO 10
115	GRO 10; CON 10
116	GRO 10
117	GRO 10
118	INT 40, 49 GRO 10, 13, 14, 16, 28, 30, 31, 44; CON 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36
119	INT 49 GRO 10, 13, 14; CON 23, 24, 26, 33, 35,
120	CON 27
121	INT 49; GRO 10, 11, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 33, 35
122	INT 40; GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 31, 44; CON 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 33
123	GRO 10, 11, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 25, 26, 33
124	GRO 10, 13, 16; CON 23, 24, 26, 27
125	GRO 10; CON 27
126	GRO 10, 11, 16; CON 23, 24, 25, 27
127	GRO 10
128	INT 3, 5, 7, 31; GRO 5; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
129	INT 3, 5, 31; GRO 6; CON 2, 6, 7, 8, 9
130	INT 7; GRO 5; CON 1, 4, 5, 10, 16
131	INT 7; GRO 5; CON 1, 4, 5, 10, 16
132	CON 10
133	INT 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 24, 26, 27, 31; GRO 1, 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 9, 14, 19, 21, 22

---

134	INT 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 24, 26, 27, 31; GRO 1, 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 9, 14, 19, 21, 22
135	GRO 10, 11, 13, 14; CON 23, 24, 26
136	GRO 10, 11, 14; CON 24, 26
137	GRO 10
138	INT 40, 49; GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 26
139	GRO 10
140	GRO 13
141	GRO 16
142	GRO 10
143	INT 40, 49; GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 26
144	INT 3, 5, 7, 9, 27, 31; GRO 5, 9, 12, 15; CON 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 28
145	INT 7, 5, 26; GRO 5, 15; CON 1, 2, 10, 28, 29
146	CON 2, 10, 28, 29
147	INT 5, 7, 10, 26, 31; GRO 5, 9, 12; CON 1, 2
148	INT 5, 7, 10, 26, 31; GRO 5; CON 1, 2
149	CON 1, 2, 10, 16, 28, 29
150	CON 10
151	CON 1, 2, 10, 16, 28, 29
152	CON 27
153	CON 27
154	GRO 10, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 26
155	INT 40, 49; CON 23, 24, 25
156	INT 5, 7, 9, 31; GRO 5, 9; CON 1, 2, 10, 28
157	INT 40, 49; CON 23, 24, 25
158	INT 49; GRO 10, 14, 16; CON 23, 24, 25, 26
159	CON 27
160	GRO 13, 14; CON 23, 24
161	GRO 11, 10, 13, 14; CON 23, 24, 25
162	GRO 10, 14; CON 23, 24, 25
163	GRO 10; CON 23, 24, 25
164	GRO 10
165	GRO 10, 14; CON 23, 24, 25, 26
166	GRO 12
167	GRO 14; CON 23, 24
168	INT 3, 8; GRO 9, 12; CON 2, 10, 28, 29
169	INT 3, 8; GRO 9, 12; CON 2, 10, 29
170	INT 3
171	INT 3, 8, 10, 6, 26; GRO 9, 12; CON 1, 2, 3, 16, 10, 28, 29
172	GRO 10, 11, 13, 14, 16; CON 25, 26
173	CON 1, 2, 4, 10, 16, 19, 26, 27, 41
174	INT 3, 7; GRO 28, 29; CON 1, 2, 3, 10, 16, 41
175	INT 3, 8, 31; GRO 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 9, 16, 19
176	CON 4, 19
177	INT 40, 49; GRO 10, 14; CON 23, 24, 15
178	INT 40; GRO 10, 13, 14, 16; CON 23, 24
179	INT 40; GRO 10, 13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 31, 32; CON 23, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36
180	GRO 10; CON 23, 24, 26, 35, 32, 25
181	INT 8; CON 1, 2, 10
182	GRO 41



## Chapter 7. Lives in the shadow of a wind farm

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter considers how people of Flat Rock (and to a lesser extent, Rendile, Turkana and other Samburu) attach identities and meaning to places and people in light of the ongoing construction of the Lake Turkana Wind Power Project, the largest private investment in Kenya's history, and a solar energy investment. By forwarding people's perspectives and analyses, the chapter foregrounds how relationships between people of different lineages and ethnicities, leaders and the investors, and conflict dynamics play out as a part of people's lives.

The Lake Turkana Wind Power project (henceforth often referred to as Wind Power) and a solar energy project planned for the area are part of the recent rise in renewable energy investments and other foreign and state investments said by many analysts to be occurring in pastoralist arid lands of east Africa, including northern Kenya (e.g. Catley et al., 2013; Galaty, 2013; Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010; Mosley and Watson, 2016; Kochore, 2016; Cormack, 2016; Greiner, 2016; Elliot, 2016).

These studies highlight how arid regions, which were previously marginalised and neglected, are undergoing a revaluation and are taking centre-stage in international and national development strategies. For example, the Kenyan Government's 'Vision 2030' development plan anticipates numerous projects in the arid north, driven by public-private partnerships between the state and trans-national companies and investors. These projects include renewable energy and oil extraction developments. Vision 2030 declares that pastoralism and people of the area will benefit from the investments which can exploit this new found value in the arid lands and will 'open-up' the region and incorporate it into global capitalist networks (Mosley and Watson, 2016; Kochore, 2016).

Lake Turkana Wind Power, located to the east of Lake Turkana in Marsabit County, northern Kenya, is a flagship project of Kenya's Vision 2030. It claims to be the largest single private investment in Kenya's history and with 365 wind turbines it aims to generate 20% of Kenya's own electricity<sup>1</sup> (see Map 4).

Other smaller renewable investments are also popping up across northern Kenya; for example, in 2014 rumours spread among residents of Flat Rock that a joint Kenyan and foreign company (henceforth known by the pseudonym of Solar Power) had acquired a land lease via Samburu

County Government to construct solar panels close to Mt Nyiro and Flat Rock. Wind Power's infrastructure will be used by Solar Power to transport the generated electricity to southern Kenya<sup>2</sup>. The Solar Power land lease was indeed signed at a meeting in Nairobi, attended by the Samburu County Governor, representatives of the National Lands Office and representatives of Solar Power. The signing was recorded live on Kenyan television news network KTN<sup>3</sup>.

Analyses of state rhetoric surrounding proposed investments in the arid lands of Kenya (e.g. Kochore, 2016; Cormack, 2016; Galaty, 2013) show pastoralism to be poorly valued, as it always has been, by state and non-state investors and development institutions. Pastoralism is framed as using rangelands unproductively, at least not as productively as the new investments.

Some recent works recognise the agency of pastoralists in the way developments and privatisation of land in northern Kenya play out between the state, private companies, civil society organisations, politicians and communities (e.g. Cormack, 2016; Greiner, 2016). Greiner (2016) and Cormack (2016) describe how people and their patrons strategically claim exclusive rights to benefit from projects in 'their place', where they belong, by claiming that their ethnic group have ancestral precedence in the location and custodianship rights over the land. People's strategic portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in order to secure their share of revenue and compensation from investments are explained as a continuation and amplification of historically ethnicised competition between different groups and their patrons for territory and resources. Accordingly, people's strategic portrayals of territorialised ethnicity are a symptom of Kenyan patronage politics which has its roots in colonial patronage systems in which 'rights' were aligned with ethnicities belonging to their own county. Such analyses subscribe to the notion that pastoralists' portrayals do not reflect their (pre-colonial) inclusive customary systems of land tenure and inclusive (fluid) notions of ethnicity and belonging.

Other works, such as Galaty (2013) and Nunow (2016), highlight pastoralists' agency in the commodification of their grazing lands, but portray them as victims of these changes. This is because, although pastoralists may secure compensation from investors taking their land or secure exclusive rights over pockets of land, they are losing their customary communal rights to a far greater area being enclosed, which they rely upon for livestock grazing – which is jeopardising the future of sustainable livestock herding in northern Kenya. On top of this Galaty (2013) explains that local brokers often secure land for investors and speculators

without even consulting pastoral communities, who therefore not only lose grazing land but are also not compensated for the lost land.

Galaty's argument is exemplified in the case of Lake Turkana Wind Power. In 2014, a group of members of the newly devolved Marsabit County Government's County Assembly (MCAs) and others, including the new Marsabit County Senator took Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd (and the now defunct Marsabit County Council, the Attorney General and the National Land Commission (NLC)) to court for the alleged illegal leasing by Marsabit County Council of 150,000 acres of land to Wind Power in 2009. This land within Marsabit County is framed by the plaintiffs as 'Trust land' and therefore under their stewardship as members of Marsabit County Assembly (previously Marsabit County Council). The court case was a fight on behalf of the Marsabit people who call this land theirs<sup>4</sup>.

The plaintiffs said that the accused did not follow the correct legal procedure outlined in the now-defunct 'Trust Land Act' when agreeing the land lease; the public were not adequately consulted. They said that the land lease is therefore illegal and should be terminated<sup>5</sup>.

Rumours surrounding Lake Turkana Wind Power entered the discourse of people living to the east of Lake Turkana around 2006, but conceptions of what Wind Power was and what it meant to people's current and future lives only really began to take shape in late 2014 when construction of the wind farm began. Sub-contractors arrived to construct new roads to provide better connections between the wind farm site and southern Kenya; other sub-contractors arrived to start constructing the wind farm at the Sarima site. At around the same time people also became aware of the alleged Solar Power land lease. While the Wind Power development is nearing completion as of 2017, nothing more has been heard of Solar Power<sup>6</sup>.



Figure 7.1 The first turbines installed by 'Vestas' at the Sarima wind farm site in 2016.

Most people living and herding around the land leased by Wind Power and Solar Power have concerns related to the distribution of Wind Power and Solar Power benefits, and the roles played by their leaders and people acting as brokers for Wind Power and Solar Power.

This chapter forwards these concerns by considering the ways that the investments have become a part of people's lives, including the dynamics of relations between the investment companies, brokers, leaders and the public. As is explained above, studies addressing similar concerns regarding investments and other land privatisation schemes in the region (e.g. Galaty, 2013; Greiner, 2016; Cormack, 2016) often explain current relationships and divisions between people, and people's strategic 'timeless' representations of ethnicity and belonging to places in order to claim benefits of investments - as being a symptom of ethnicised patronage networks between politicians and public, which has roots in colonially introduced notions of territorialised ethnicity and methods of patronage.

In this chapter I take an alternative approach. I foreground informants' analyses of others' discourse – to provide explanations for 'strategic' discourse associated with ethnicity, belonging, politics and conflict, among other things.

In particular, the ways people analyse and contest people's actions and discourse in light of Wind Power and the desire to benefit from it, are foregrounded. For example, analyses of the roles of certain leaders and brokers and associated patronage networks in orchestrating divisions and alliances between people of the area (including inciting violence), are considered. Also presented are people's accusations and analyses of how brokers, leaders and public are strategic in their representations of ethnicity and belonging in order to divide people and

access the investment benefits. This approach enables insights into what 'strategic discourse' is to informants.

Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) argue that to understand pastoralists' instrumental constructions and contestations over ethnicity and belonging, and the ways they portray and analyse history, an analysis is necessary that incorporates the embodied ways pastoralists interact and identify with, and attach meanings to, people and place.

As chapters 4 and 5 showed, people of Flat Rock relate with place and people through more-than-human relationships, guided by the moral institution of *Ikerreti*, which informs their (strategic) discourse regarding 'timeless' representations of ethnicity and belonging. Analyses which ignore such elements of people's lives risk misrepresenting those they study.

The considerable time spent with the Flat Rock community enabled me to gain insights into people's lives and understandings of (ethnic and lineage) identities, belonging and custodianship, and how these are inter-connected, emerge and are contested as a part of relationships and 'becomings' with other people, administrations and more-than-humans. These have been discussed in previous chapters and take on new meaning in light of the investments discussed in this chapter.

The chapter exemplifies how Flat Rock residents' ideas of timeless identities of people and place, custodianship and belonging (and associated *Ikerreti*), are embodied through experience, and are a part of contestations between people of different lineages and 'ethnicities' over belonging and custodianship to place in light of desires to claim benefits of investments.

In particular, the chapter exemplifies how people's embodied ideas of seniority, belonging and custodianship over places and people - based upon portrayals of lineage histories associated with places, familiarity of the area and livestock likes/needs, and conflict - are associated with portrayals of relationships with the colonial and more recent administrations, politicians, brokers, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory. Such portrayals and experiences emerge out of and inform contestations between people in light of the recent investments.

The chapter considers Flat Rock portrayals, analyses and accusations made against other Samburu in light of the Wind Power project. These analyses and accusations involve the ways

people navigate and manipulate relationships, including more-than-human relationships, and moral institutions which are central to embodied experiences of people, place and custodianship.

## **7.2 Disputes between Samburu lineages**

This section considers how Samburu of Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara contest portrayals of belonging to and custodianship over places in light of Wind Power benefits. Revealed are the ways that more-than-human elements of Samburu lives discussed in chapter 5 influence and are influenced by people's actions and discourse and analyses of others' actions and discourse in relation to ethnicity, belonging and custodianship – in light of Wind Power.

In 2015 there was a feeling among many residents of Flat Rock and other people of the area that their non-Marsabit County 'communities' and lineages were being excluded from Wind Power benefits, mainly by a Wind Power broker of Samburu ethnicity, who is from the area (henceforth referred to as the Samburu broker)<sup>7</sup>. The benefits they were being excluded from include Wind Power jobs with various sub-contractors, and compensation for the strip of wayleave land annexed by the Kenya Electricity Company (KENTRACO) for electricity pylons, which will transport electricity from the Wind Power site to southern Kenya. There was also anger among many Flat Rock residents that a place in Ldonyo Mara Mountain, which they consider to be theirs, was leased for use as a private camp by a senior employee of Wind Power, who is from southern Kenya<sup>8</sup>.

The Samburu broker is a 'Community Liaison Officer' (CLO) in charge of community involvement in the project. He is in charge of a team of less senior CLOs, and he is tasked, among other things, with job recruitment: assigning residents of the area jobs within the various Wind Power sub-contractor companies. Chiefs and assistant chiefs of various (sub-) locations of the area were also involved in the process of selecting those to be employed. According to a chief from the area, "we and the CLOs ensure that (Wind Power) jobs are evenly divided between all administrative sub-locations in the area, containing all people: Samburu, Rendile and Turkana. Rights to employment are based upon residency within this administrative sub-location"<sup>9</sup>.

This system of dividing jobs between people based upon area is appreciated by Flat Rock residents<sup>10</sup>. But many of them, along with people living in a variety of places, were unhappy because of allegations made against the Samburu broker, CLOs and (assistant) chiefs allocating

jobs ‘inequitably’ between sub-locations and lineages, favouring people of their own area, clans and family lineages, and even only giving jobs in return for money from prospective employees<sup>11</sup>. According to many, the benefits of Wind Power were under the control of the broker and he controlled the CLOs and chiefs<sup>12</sup>.

The generic ‘white-man’ behind Wind Power is frequently framed by people of Flat Rock and South Horr as wanting to spread its benefits equally among all people of the area, irrespective of ethnicity or lineage. The Samburu broker and some of the area chiefs belong to the Camel Clan (henceforth, known as the Camel Clan leaders). Some people of Flat Rock and South Horr accuse those of the Camel Clan and their Camel Clan leaders of intentionally preventing this from happening<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, some people portray the ‘white man’ behind Wind Power, too, as aware of Kenyan corruption and complicit in the way the Camel Clan leaders have applied this in their activities among communities<sup>14</sup>.

The alleged favouritism shown by the Camel Clan leaders is not surprising to many because of the common practice of leaders and politicians in favouring their clan, family lineage and/or people of their place with the spoils of government. In fact, their people demand such favouritism. People align with their lineage as a way to secure wealth via this political system of ethnic patronage<sup>15</sup>. Opportunities for favouring one’s own people and giving jobs for money have increased since devolution of county government with greater budgets at stake for those in power and for public to access this wealth via their leaders<sup>16</sup>. Access to Wind Power benefits are also playing out in this way: people are trying to fight for their rights through allying with their lineage, community and associated elites. Wind Power is thus playing into and shaping the dynamics of local politics, directed by local leaders.

Many Flat Rock residents, and others, accuse the Camel Clan of having a history of corrupt leaders, acting to favour their own cohort<sup>17</sup>. A colonial chief of the Camel Clan used to manipulate the colonial ‘white men’ to the benefit of his lineage<sup>18</sup>. Current generation Camel Clan leaders are accused by many Flat Rock residents of continuing this trend in light of Wind Power and favouring their own Camel Clan with the benefits. The Camel Clan leaders are accused of legitimising this favouritism by strategic claims that Ldonyo Mara and other places in Marsabit County, including Sarima – the epicentre of the LTWP project – belong to their Camel Clan and other residents – identification (ID) cardholders of Marsabit County. According to many Flat Rock residents and others, the Camel Clan leaders delegitimise non-Marsabit residents’ (living in sub-locations in Samburu County) legitimacy to claim Wind Power benefits,

by saying these others do not belong to Marsabit County, and that Ldonyo Mara and Sarima do not belong to non-Marsabit County residents<sup>19</sup>.

Flat Rock residents and others speaking out against the Camel Clan leaders, accuse them of tactically dividing the Samburu of Nyiro ('residents' and ID card holders of Samburu County) from their Marsabit County Samburu brothers through talk of belonging to separate counties and allocation of Wind Power benefits<sup>20</sup>. That identities of people, communities and lineages were being constituted through living in and belonging to an administrative district has only happened recently in light of Wind Power and the associated actions of the Camel Clan leaders<sup>21</sup>.

In light of their perceived exclusion, Flat Rock residents emphasise the communal nature of land tenure and sense of belonging, a land for all people living in the area, including nomadic pastoralists who regularly move across the supposed county boundary, which is irrelevant<sup>22</sup>. A Flat Rock elder said, "Since 'time immemorial' (pre-colonial times) we have lived and grazed across this whole area, up to Mt Marsabit; there has never been a question of boundaries"<sup>23</sup>.

Moreover, lowland to the east of Mt Nyiro, including part of Ldonyo Mara mountain, Sarima and part of the wind farm site 'belongs' to Flat Rock lineages and/or community. They claim to have custodianship over the area (including specific places on Ldonyo Mara) based upon ancestral presence, herding, familiarity and seniority. Chapters 4 and 5 detail Flat Rock people's and their livestock's familiarity and sense of belonging to this area they consider theirs. This familiarity and sense of belonging incorporates people's relationships with others and more-than-humans, including place. Lineage custodianship claims to places involve a morality in which those who are senior are the custodians and have certain responsibilities in seeking goodness (see chapter 5). To question this, for example members of the Camel Clan denying Flat Rock's Bull Clan custodianship of places in Ldonyo Mara, and thus Bull Clan's seniority, is to question *Nkai* (Divinity), *Ikerreti* (Samburu morals), and the nature and dynamics of relationships between lineages and people's more-than-human roles in securing goodness. Badness may follow such disregard for this Samburu institution. Some of Flat Rock's Bull Clan members' portrayals of Camel Clan as strategic and immoral can only be understood in light of this.

Many Flat Rock residents, especially the youth, claim rights over the area and therefore rights to get the benefits of Wind Power, because it is they who have bravely defended land around



Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara from Turkana enemies, while the cowardly people of Ldonyo Mara ran away<sup>24</sup>. A Flat Rock elder exclaimed, “[the Samburu broker] is saying Nyiro isn’t here ... that only ‘Marsabit people’ should benefit [from Wind Power]. It is wrong to leave out Mt Nyiro people because we have defended all this land [from Turkana] up to now. Ldonyo Mara people just ran away when they heard of Turkana; so we are surprised that now when there is peace these Ldonyo Mara people are claiming land they have never settled or fought for. Why are the people who defended this land not being employed?”<sup>25</sup>. Flat Rock residents are angry at the Camel Clan leaders and others of the Camel Clan (who are supposedly unfairly benefitting from Wind Power benefits) for ignoring the protection they have provided for Samburu of the area against Turkana aggression. As is discussed in Chapter 6, Flat Rock lives and lived experience on land they consider theirs is inseparable from conflict with Turkana. By claiming this land and excluding Flat Rock people from the benefits of Wind Power, the Camel Clan are denying this history and the existence of Flat Rock.

Furthermore, according to many people of Flat Rock, part of ‘Flat Rock territory’, including Ldonyo Mara Mountain and much of the Wind Power site, which the Camel Clan leaders are now saying is in Marsabit County, is in fact Samburu County (see Maps 3 and 4). As was highlighted in chapter 5, the ‘original’ Samburu administrative district respected and followed pre-colonial ancestral land which Flat Rock ancestors had custodianship over, where they are senior, a seniority given to them by *Nkai*. The county boundary claimed by the Camel Clan leaders and their Camel Clan co-ethnics implies that this land was never Flat Rock land. According to Flat Rock residents, to deny them of this custodianship goes against the wishes of *Nkai* and thus against *Ikeriti*; it questions Flat Rock people’s identity and history which is intimately tied with ‘their place’. Thus, the identity of place is also being called into question.

Based upon their portrayals of communal and administrative belonging and custodianship over the area they are now being told they do not ‘belong’ to by the Camel Clan leaders and their co-ethnic Camel Clan public, Flat Rock residents assert that they have as much right to Wind Power benefits as ‘supposed’ Marsabit County residents<sup>26</sup>. Youth of Flat Rock tried to force the Samburu broker to stop excluding them from Wind Power jobs and KENTRACO electricity pylon wayleave compensation by carrying out multiple roadblocks during 2015, during which they forwarded their community’s claims to land outside Samburu County.

This mode of resistance was new for the people of Flat Rock. They copied the method from other Samburu and Rendile who had blocked roads and halted Wind Power traffic in protests

over the distribution of Wind Power jobs and compensation for road construction in ‘their areas’. These protests against Wind Power were inspired by similar protests carried out by Turkana of Turkana County against oil companies.

Another way that Flat Rock residents, along with others nearby, attempted to force the unpopular brothers to consider their claims to the area and their legitimacy to KENTRACO compensation was through constructing a mock-village under the proposed KENTRACO electricity pylon line at a place at the foot of Ldonyo Mara, inside Marsabit County. Flat Rock residents copied the idea from other Samburu communities, who constructed similar mock villages in the area. The mock villages were built in response to KENTRACO (via the Camel Clan leaders) compensating those with houses which were found under the proposed pylon line at the time of a one-off survey. Even though Flat Rock residents, and builders of other mock villages, were not living under the pylon at the time of the survey and therefore not counted and compensated, they feel that because the pylon runs through ‘their land’ then they should be compensated. Flat Rock people claim that the place where they built their mock village is communal land where they and their ancestors have periodically lived with their livestock during times of insecurity and drought. Furthermore, the area is within ‘Flat Rock territory’<sup>27</sup>.

Some chiefs of the area dismiss Flat Rock land claims and the idea that communal land rights translate as right to compensation. They acknowledge communal land rights but only in relation to accessing pasture and water for livestock herding; only permanent plots (built on or farmed) have legal rights to land and thus to KENTRACO compensation claims<sup>28</sup>. This reinforces the idea that incorporation of mobile pastoralism into ‘development’ and land commodification involves sedentarisation and permanence, traits which ‘customary’ pastoralism lack.

Furthermore, the chiefs emphasise that all communities in the area practice nomadic pastoralism across the county boundary through communal land tenure agreements between communities, yet all have their own permanent residence, which they return to during the rains. They point out that Ldonyo Mara, located in Marsabit County, has been inhabited by many people, including members of the Camel Clan lineage for generations. People with their permanent homestead in another administrative area who migrate to Ldonyo Mara and Marsabit County periodically to graze and water livestock (e.g. Flat Rock) thus could have no legitimate claims to the place and activities occurring there (like the Wind Power electricity pylon wayleave)<sup>29</sup>. Regarding Flat Rock people’s mock-village, one chief from the area said,

“Flat Rock have no right to build and claim compensation on land outside of their sub-location and county”<sup>30</sup>. In reference to the allegation of Flat Rock residents that places on Ldonyo Mara Mountain, including the place allegedly acquired by a senior Wind Power employee from southern Kenya, belong to Flat Rock lineages, he asked, “why should ‘we’ [Camel Clan] consult Flat Rock about our land? As the resident, legal custodians of Ldonyo Mara, Camel Clan elders gave the land to [the senior Wind Power employee] to use”<sup>31</sup>.

A Samburu elder of the Camel Clan, also contested Flat Rock residents’ claims to places on Ldonyo Mara Mountain and the surrounding lowlands based upon nomadism and associated communal land tenure rights (i.e. returning to these places periodically to graze and water their livestock). Like some chiefs from the area, the Camel Clan elder claims Ldonyo Mara Mountain and the surrounding lowland belong to his lineage based upon their current and past permanence in the area. The elder told a story which portrays the identity of his lineage as tied with belonging to Ldonyo Mara Mountain because their hunter-gatherer (*ndorobbo*) ancestors were the original permanent inhabitants of Ldonyo Mara, while Bull Clan of Flat Rock belong to Nyiro, where they lived permanently as hunter gatherers. The elder said, “This ‘original division’ of places and concept of lineage places didn’t change when Samburu acquired livestock. People graze lowland *lkees* in wet times and return to their mountain area during rains; Bull Clan return to their places on Mt Nyiro and Camel Clan return to Ldonyo Mara ... Camel Clan share their places with Nyiro people; now Bull clan people of Flat Rock are claiming these places”. The elder questioned the morality of Nyiro people, who he said are claiming land they have never claimed before. Such claims over land go against *Ikerreti*. “We cannot refuse them, we will take them as brothers and live together, but we will remind them that Ldonyo Mara is for Camel Clan”<sup>32</sup>.

The Camel Clan elder spoke of what belonging to and custodianship over a place means in light of *Ikerreti*, which echoes those explanations provided by people of Flat Rock in chapter 5. The elder spoke of his Camel Clan as the most senior of those in Ldonyo Mara because they take the lead role in decision making, land and water point custodianship, and ceremonies that ensure all people of the area enjoy ‘goodness’ in the place/ensure the place is ‘good’ for people. Within the Camel Clan lineage, the elder sees his family lineage as the most senior<sup>33</sup>.

The Camel Clan elder also claims Ldonyo Mara Mountain and the surrounding lowlands belong to his lineage based upon the county boundary which he says follows the lineage boundary between Camel Clan people of Ldonyo Mara and people of Nyiro. As such, the identity of

Camel Clan is tied with Marsabit County; and Bull Clan is tied with Samburu County; much the same as their ancestors' identities were tied with Ldonyo Mara and Nyiro, respectively<sup>34</sup>.

A Bull Clan elder of Flat Rock disputed the Camel Clan elder's claims of seniority, their right to lead ceremonies and their land custodianship at Ldonyo Mara. The Flat Rock elder told a different version of the same story that portrays his Bull Clan lineage as more senior (older) than Camel Clan. In the story, there were four brothers, two of whom were the ancestors of the present day Bull Clan and Camel Clan. The Flat Rock elder portrays the brother in the story who is his ancestor (the first Bull Clan member) as the eldest brother and therefore most senior<sup>35</sup>.

This Flat Rock elder accused the Camel Clan elder of strategically claiming seniority (for example, by framing the Camel Clan brother in the story as the eldest) in order to aid Camel Clan custodianship claims over Ldonyo Mara, and its location in Marsabit County, and therefore their exclusive rights to benefit from Wind Power<sup>36</sup>.

Many Flat Rock residents say that this behaviour of Camel Clan is deceitful and immoral because it goes against *Ikerreti* by disrespecting ancestors who were senior and the most senior of all – *Nkai*. Yet many Flat Rock residents commented how this immoral behaviour is typical of Camel Clan, especially the family lineage of the Camel Clan leaders, who, since colonial times, have 'grabbed' seniority and land for their family lineage through their authoritative roles as administrators<sup>37</sup>. Leaders of this family have ensured that most state and non-state development, including Wind Power benefits, is for their area and people - their family and the wider Camel Clan<sup>38</sup>. According to some people of Flat Rock, the Camel Clan leaders use their positions and ability to manipulate the direction of inflow of outside resources to further their own and their lineage's seniority, status, power, and development relative to other lineages and people living in the area<sup>39</sup>. This nepotism began with the Camel Clan assistant-chief during colonial times. He allegedly accepted a bribe from a Marsabit District Rendile chief allowing Rendile camel herders from Marsabit District to access wells in the South Horr Valley<sup>40</sup>. Unbeknown to Nyiro people at the time and since, the actual district boundary is a line between these wells in the South Horr Valley<sup>41</sup>. People of Flat Rock blame the colonial Camel Clan chief for covertly agreeing to the eastward migration of the district boundary into the South Horr Valley<sup>42</sup>. But, as was made clear in chapter 5, the district boundary has always been the South Horr Valley (see Map 3).

Flat Rock residents say it is only now through Wind Power that they are realising/being told the exact location of this administrative boundary that was agreed all those years ago, which separates Ldonyo Mara from Nyiro<sup>43</sup>. Some people question if it is just a coincidence that it was the Camel Clan leaders' ancestor who allegedly moved the district boundary, the salience of which is only now being strategically used by the Camel Clan leaders and their co-ethnics to claim Wind Power benefits<sup>44</sup>.

In short, different lineages contest portrayals of belonging to and custodianship over places on Ldonyo Mara Mountain and surrounding lowlands including Sarima, based upon contested lineage histories, administrative rights, and the ability to fight and defend land from enemies. People's portrayals act to delegitimise others' claims to the contrary and act to question the perceived inequitable distribution of Wind Power benefits. Contestations and accusations of people being strategic and immoral in their quest for Wind Power benefits reaffirm and re-configure 'timeless truths' relating to identities of people and place, custodianship and belonging, which are embodied through ancestral stories, herding, performing ceremonies, and defending land from Turkana. These 'truths' and experiences are embedded in relationships with more-than-humans and the moral framework of *Ikerreti*. Portrayals of colonialism, ethnic clientelism, and territorialised ethnicity and their utilisation in 'strategic discourse' - are understandable within this framework of analysis.

### **7.3 Dividing leaders**

Leaders and brokers are accused by the public of creating divisions and alliances between and within groups of Samburu people in light of the Wind Power and Solar Power investments. Highlighted are the ways people accused leaders and brokers of achieving these divisions and alliances through navigating networks of relationships, including more-than-humans and the associated moral framework of *Ikerreti*. Comparisons and connections are made to Samburu County Government, which has become increasingly divided since devolution.

During 2014 and 2015, Wind Power was not the only investment in the consciousness of Flat Rock residents. Rumours circulated that Solar Power, a joint Kenyan and foreign solar energy company, had leased land close to Mt Nyiro, within the sub-Location Flat Rock is located in (within Samburu County) for the construction of solar panels. The exact area of land allegedly leased was never revealed but the land is claimed by Flat Rock residents to belong to them<sup>45</sup>. Some Samburu County politicians, businessmen brokers including the Samburu broker and

chief(s) from the area are suspected by many of involvement in annexing the land and personally benefitting from the investment<sup>46</sup>.

Some Samburu County MCAs and a few 'elites' from Mt Nyiro - working down country, aided and/or funded an investigation into the alleged Solar Power land lease<sup>47</sup>. Some residents of Flat Rock, most of whom belonged to *Lmeoli* and *Lmetili* age-sets allied themselves with these politicians and elites to protest the Solar Power land lease. Some of these protestors suspect, however, that their sponsors also probably used the Flat Rock land lease scandal as a way to win favour among the electorate so they may be (re-)elected in 2017; and trying to attack rivals within County Government who were alleged to be involved in the solar land lease<sup>48</sup>. This was a time when divisions and alliances were occurring between groups of politicians within Samburu County Government over issues of alleged corruption and nepotism, among other things<sup>49</sup>.

One Flat Rock protestor claims, "we, the Flat Rock community are not against the investors coming to 'develop' our area. We would be proud to have it [the Solar Power project] like the Camel Clan are proud to have Wind Power. Instead we are against corrupt leaders who illegally leased the land without consulting us [the Flat Rock community]"<sup>50</sup>. Other Flat Rock residents similarly claim that their community never gave permission for 'their' land to be given to the Solar Power company and signed a petition saying so<sup>51</sup>.

Most people of Flat Rock do not distinguish Wind Power from Solar Power (at least according to those who could distinguish between them), in part because of the lack of information they were given by leaders concerning the investments<sup>52</sup>. Many Flat Rock residents claim they were purposefully kept in the dark over the two investments by chief(s) from the area and the Samburu broker, who was allegedly a broker for Solar Power, as well as Wind Power. They only promoted the projects' potential benefits, such as the promise of jobs<sup>53</sup>. People exclaim disbelief that land can be leased/sold as there is no precedent of this occurring in the area<sup>54</sup>. Flat Rock residents repeated, "Samburu say there are two things that never go away: a son and the soil"<sup>55</sup>.

As chapters 4 and 5 showed, identities of Flat Rock Samburu are inseparable from place. Identities of, and relationships between, people and place, and other more-than-humans, are embedded in/emerge through herding, ceremonies, living and moving across the landscape. Concepts of custodianship are associated with these identities and relationships with more-

than-humans. To lease land would be to ignore such custodianship, seniority and relations between people, ancestors, *Ikerreti* and *Nkai*. This would call into question identities and agency of people, place, *Nkai* and other more-than-humans. Badness would inevitably follow.

According to their critics, the Samburu broker and local chiefs are aware of this anger and people's unwillingness (possibly inability) to comprehend 'their' land being sold or leased. The Samburu broker and local chiefs grew up in the area and are as much a part of this way of understanding and being in the landscape, and rely as much upon this way of being to achieve goodness, as those who criticise them. Despite this, in order to limit unrest, they have ensured that clear information about the Solar Power land lease did not become exposed<sup>56</sup>.

Through their understanding of the dynamics of relationships and moral codes which bind people together, their positions within networks of relationships between people of Flat Rock, more-than-humans and their associated moral obligations, the Samburu broker and local chiefs were in a strong position to manipulate people – to divide and unite them, influence their behaviour and stop them from protesting or making them stop others from protesting against the investments.

Many Flat Rock residents accuse the Samburu broker and a local chief of dividing the community in many ways<sup>57</sup>. For example, elders were divided; those loyal to the local chief were appointed as Flat Rock 'committee of elders' and given the responsibility of representing the community in 'official business'<sup>58</sup>. The chief's 'committee of elders' were loyal to him and contained influential elders among the Flat Rock community. Those members of the committee who belong to the same lineage as the chief are obliged to be loyal to him because they are kinsman and because they rely upon him for 'goodness'.

The Samburu broker and the local chief used their allies to confuse the community, play down and discredit allegations of land leases, such as the land in Ldonyo Mara that was given to the senior Wind Power employee, and the Solar Power land, and of alleged inequitable Wind Power job allocation<sup>59</sup>. The community are thus kept in the dark, guessing as to the truth of the Flat Rock protestors' and their elite patrons' accusations of land leases. Consequently, there was much confusion and suspicion surrounding the alleged investments, land leases, their leaders and the Flat Rock protestors.

The Samburu broker and the local chief were accused by critics to have secured the allegiance of their Flat Rock allies through a combination of money, alcohol and the promise of Wind Power jobs for their sons<sup>60</sup>. Some important allies of the chief were loyal to him because of past ceremonial bonds: tight life-long bonds meaning they cannot go against each other<sup>61</sup>. Such bonds are not simply a human-human relationship, but a relationship that is embedded within much more complex relations involving tangible and 'super-natural' forces, such as *Nkai* and *Ikerreti*. To go against these bonds would be to go against one's place within these relationships and to go against *Nkai*. Such behaviour would invite 'badness'. The local chief ensured support through such bonded relationships.

The young men of Flat Rock became increasingly angry with their elders who they perceived as deceiving the Flat Rock community, especially the local chief's committee of elders in Flat Rock<sup>62</sup>. It was the youth who spearheaded the roadblocks to protest against the inequitable distribution of Wind Power jobs, theft of Ldonyo Mara and Solar Power land and compensation for the KENTRACO electricity pylon wayleave land. These Flat Rock protestors accused the Samburu broker and the local chief, via their allied Flat Rock elders, of attempting to discredit their protesting group and their patrons, who they accused of spreading rumours and inciting the Flat Rock youth to protest<sup>63</sup>. According to a Flat Rock protestor, "this tactic was used to confuse the Flat Rock community because of their (Samburu broker and the local chief) fear that if the Flat Rock public found out that our land had been sold then their lives would be in danger"<sup>64</sup>. In fact, Flat Rock residents did make threats against these leaders at the roadblocks<sup>65</sup>.

In an attempt to quash the youthful uprising taking place in Flat Rock, the Samburu broker and the local chief were accused by Flat Rock protestors of using their knowledge of and positions within the community's network of relationships to manipulate various relationships between members of the Flat Rock community, using existing allegiances and divisions and also creating them (such as between generations, families, lineages) which left people facing a complex web of moral conundrums<sup>66</sup>. As stated above, relationships between people involve more-than-humans, including super-natural' elements. To go against these bonds, such as those between age-mates, family, clan, or those forged through ceremonies, would be to question one's 'rightful' place within society, and question the authority of *Ikerreti* and *Nkai*. Such behaviour would be disrespectful and invite badness<sup>67</sup>. Thus, people were silenced due to fear of speaking out against others, and incidences of protests reduced.



For example, an elder may not have felt able to argue against the local chief for fear of offending other age-mates who support him, disrespecting Samburu morals. Similarly, some elders would not argue against their sons who oppose the chief, but did not want to argue against the chief either because they were from the same family lineage or shared a ceremonial bond<sup>68</sup>. Because of obligations aligned with 'Samburu worlds', many educated Samburu elites suggested that 'illiterate', rural people were easily manipulated by leaders<sup>69</sup>. Such bonds between people are seen by many as a 'valid' reason to ally with one another. By acting out these Samburu moral codes, such ways of being and thinking are reinforced (constructed).

According to Flat Rock youth protestors, in another attempt to discredit them, the Samburu broker and the local chief, via their council of elders, attempted to convince Flat Rock community members to trust their elected elders of the *Lkiroro* age-set and older, and to ignore these young protestors, who, they said, are trying to take leadership from *Lkiroro*<sup>70</sup>. This rhetoric may or may not have been in light of a similar generational divide that was happening at the same time within Samburu County politics (one of the many divides occurring within the county government). After the first two years of devolved county governance, there was growing discontent with the Samburu County Governor, of *Lmeoli* age-set, and some of his allies within county government, who are accused of nepotism, embezzlement of county funds and poor leadership<sup>71</sup>.

A Flat Rock protestor claimed that their team of young protestors were also purposively divided by the Samburu broker and the local chief through the selective allocation of Wind Power jobs. *Lmeoli* and *Lmetili* age-set leaders, including those protesting and brothers of influential protestors, were given jobs in order to divide the united youthful resistance which had developed<sup>72</sup>.

The Samburu broker was also accused by some of his critics of using his position as a member of the *Lmeoli* age-set to divide the youthful protest and gain support. Age-set leaders are influential among their peers. They are chosen from childhood because of their popularity, leadership qualities and trustworthiness. An informer recalled how, during an *Lmuget* ceremony, "[the Samburu broker] bought the allegiance of his *Lmeoli* age-set leaders and secured their blessing in order to stop protests against himself, Solar Power and Wind Power"<sup>73</sup>. A blessing is the strongest gesture people can offer, and a blessing from one's age-mates is the strongest form of blessing, a bond is created between people and *Nkai*, making it

hard for them to go against each other. Therefore, by securing a blessing from many *Lmeoli*, the broker had received the backing from people who can influence their fellow age-mates who were protesting against Wind Power and the broker. The broker had thus used age-mate relationships guided by *Ikerriti* to his advantage.

Some educated Samburu elites sympathise with those who succumb to the Samburu broker and chiefs bribes and/or ceased protesting; people may do so to raise their own and/or their family's wealth (and status) in society, to open doors and enable future access to benefits via these patrons such as their son's employment or if young, their own employment. It is not wise to speak out against leaders because they are used for handouts of money and development<sup>74</sup>.

Some Flat Rock residents did, however, speak out against their age-mates and family members who accepted money from the cousins and tried to confuse their brothers<sup>75</sup>. In particular, the brother of a Flat Rock ally of the local chief was angry at his corrupted brother for working with the Samburu broker and the chief to deceive the community, to keep from them that their ancestral land had been leased. As has been explained, such leasing of land is unprecedented in the area and violates concepts of seniority, custodianship, relationships between lineage, and the moral code of *Ikerreti* which guides these ways of being and relationships. "These people including my brother, are greedy and do not follow *Ikerreti*"<sup>76</sup>.

The reason that the Samburu broker and the chief - who were accused of being instrumental in dividing Flat Rock community - have such a close alliance is explained by many as the result of kinship ties they share, which makes it hard for them to go against each other<sup>77</sup>. Some explained the deceitful nature of the alliance based upon their shared ties to the Camel Clan and its members' immoral character<sup>78</sup>. Some Flat Rock residents accuse the local chief of having a history of community theft and greed based upon his inherited immorality and greedy nature<sup>79</sup>. "The chief has become more corrupt under Wind Power because he has its money to give out to people to win their favour"<sup>80</sup>.

The chief, who is accused of being instrumental in dividing the Flat Rock community, has kinship ties to Goat Clan. To add another layer of complexity to Flat Rock alliances and divisions, some Flat Rock residents not belonging to Goat Clan accuse the chief of unifying the Goat Clan under him because he has disproportionately favoured them with Wind Power benefits<sup>81</sup>. As their 'brother', the chief is obliged to do this<sup>82</sup>; he also wants to divide the

united youthful Flat Rock resistance against himself, many of whom belong to Goat Clan<sup>83</sup>. Thus, the chief is accused of using his position within society (as a kinsman and leader of Goat Clan) and of using pre-existing divides and moral obligations within the community to achieve his goals of dividing cohorts in order to dissipate the united resistance against him. Such divisive tactics are common among politicians to gain popularity and reduce a potential united resistance against their candidacy/reign. Since devolution, these tactics among Samburu of Samburu County have heightened: the public have become increasingly reliant upon relationships between their unified lineage and patrons of that lineage to access the newly devolved wealth, which includes development projects, county government jobs, contracts, handouts, and education funds<sup>84</sup>.

Accusations by Flat Rock members of non-Goat Clan lineages of increased nepotism carried out by the Samburu broker and his allied chief, and their Camel Clan and Goat Clan cohorts, may have been made because of their perceived exclusion from Wind Power benefits. Indeed, another chief from the area said that Flat Rock residents belonging to Bull Clan made accusations of nepotism against him and the broker, and incited roadblocks, in order to tactically force the broker and chiefs to give them more Wind Power jobs<sup>85</sup>.

Allegations made against the chief of favouring his Goat Clan kinsmen with Wind Power benefits and excluding others resulted in more frequent divisive discourse between Flat Rock people of non-Goat Clan (especially Bull Clan lineage) and people of Goat Clan lineage. People of Goat Clan and Bull Clan lineages contested each other's claims relating to land, water custodianship and seniority<sup>86</sup>. Goat Clan members used examples of past events to frame Bull Clan as having a history of lying, carrying out immoral acts and making 'false' claims to places and seniority<sup>87</sup>; members of Bull clan framed members of Goat Clan in a similar way<sup>88</sup>. Competing claims are based upon being the original inhabitants of the area, custodianship of mountain wells and places, past livestock grazing practices in the lowlands, and being brave fighters<sup>89</sup>. By contesting the other lineage's morality in light of their seniority and custodianship claims of places around Nyiro, such concepts and the moral code of *Ikerreti*, which informs them, are reified. However, such exclusionary talk did not play out in the daily lives of the people here who live and graze places together<sup>90</sup>.

We have seen how people of Flat Rock portray the Samburu broker's and chiefs' roles in orchestrating various alliances and divisions between and within families, lineages, age-set generations and individuals in order to suppress allegations made against them of land leases

and inequitable distribution of Wind Power benefits. Highlighted are some of the ways the broker and chief(s) use their positions within society and take advantage of people's moral obligations associated with their network of relationships within this moral world, to form alliances and divide people.

People's portrayals/stereotypes of others as immoral in their 'false' framing of seniority and custodianship and/or for manipulating relationships and associated obligations in order to divide communities as part of people's quest to claim benefits of investments - further reinforces the significance of these relationships and the moral world surrounding them.

#### **7.4 Regional inter-ethnic divisions and alliances**

The chapter broadens to incorporate insights of Rendile and Turkana. Particular attention is given to portrayals of various leaders' and brokers' roles in orchestrating alliances and divisions within and between ethnic groups of the region. Ideas of land tenure and custodianship rights over places and associated rights to Wind Power benefits are brought to the fore.

Three Rendile MCAs of Marsabit County Assembly (henceforth the plaintiffs), who were part of the court case, alleged in an interview that in the issuing of the 150 000 acre land lease to Wind Power, Kenyan law (the 'Trust Land Act') was broken because, among other things, the custodians of the land were not consulted. According to them, the custodians of the Trust land are those (including mobile pastoralists) residing within Laisamis constituency, where the project is located. As customary and legal custodians, they have the right to prior-consultation and benefits from the land lease and to subsequent Wind Power benefits. People residing in another county are not rightful custodians of the project land and nor are they due benefits from the Wind Power development. Throughout the court case, they were fighting for the rights of all these rightful custodians, regardless of ethnicity<sup>91</sup>.

During separate interviews and conversations, these plaintiffs and many others of Rendile, Samburu and Turkana ethnicity, accused a selection of politicians and Wind Power brokers, including the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and the aforementioned Samburu broker, of acting like hustlers, using Wind Power resources to bribe, trick and form strategic alliances with key people, such as members of the old Marsabit County Council, various chiefs, and members of national government, in order to secure the illegal land lease for Wind Power, without involving the wider community (as is required per the Trust Land Act)<sup>92</sup>.

One of the leaders accused of involvement in the illegal lease, the Loiyangalani MCA, contested these court case allegations. During an interview, he asserted there were multiple consultations between Wind Power and the community of Loiyangalani Ward. He contested the plaintiffs' claims, too, that all people of Laisamis constituency are the custodians of the Wind Power site, as "only residents of Loiyangalani Ward are the rightful custodians of the leased land ... because the project is in 'our' administration area ... and 'we' gave Lake Turkana Wind Power the land"<sup>93</sup>. The Wind Power Company also claims to have carried out numerous community consultations<sup>94</sup>. The MCA accused the plaintiffs of strategically forwarding these claims of the Wind Power land lease and land custodianship in order to force Wind Power brokers into including them in the share of embezzled Wind Power funds, and to get Wind Power benefits for their Rendile cohort of voters<sup>95</sup>.

However, a few people of Loiyangalani and Sarima who attended the early Wind Power meetings in Loiyangalani reported that there was never any mention of the land lease, let alone its scale, just the project benefits, such as jobs for locals<sup>96</sup>. Most people of Loiyangalani and Sarima were completely unaware of such meetings, saying that they were never consulted by Wind Power<sup>97</sup>. Instead, people accused the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA of selecting a 'committee of elders' containing a few people from Turkana, Rendile and Samburu communities in Loiyangalani to attend and represent the community at private Wind Power-'community' meetings. The committee of elders mainly consisted of the Loiyangalani MCA's relations, who are easily manipulated and agree to whatever he tells them<sup>98</sup>.

In March 2015, the plaintiffs staged two rallies, one in Loiyangalani and the other the following day in South Horr. During these, they outlined the court case and revealed, as they put it to the assembled crowds, how Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd 'illegally' acquired a land lease from Marsabit County Council.

Wind Power, in documentation available from their website, perhaps in an attempt to legitimise their presence in the area and to suggest that they did not illegally acquire the land, state that those living on 'Trust land' are not the legal custodians of the land and do not therefore need to be consulted<sup>99</sup>. Wind Power make further claims that Turkana, Rendile and Samburu pastoralists who have been living and grazing the area for generations, are not indigenous to the area, as defined by (a manipulation of) international criteria<sup>100</sup>.

Perhaps to further legitimise Wind Power's annexing of the land, Wind Power documents frame the current pastoral occupants and the ability of pastoralism in general, of being unable to utilise the land for its 'economic potential'<sup>101</sup>. A senior employee of Wind Power echoed these sentiments in a conversation with me. He also framed pastoralists and pastoralism as causing a 'tragedy of the commons', overgrazing and degrading the land, which as a result is 'sick' and barren. He framed the Wind Power site as an empty wasteland where nobody lives<sup>102</sup>. In further documentation available from their website, Wind Power boasts that, through their presence, they will save the land from such unsustainable livestock practices, by educating pastoralists<sup>103</sup>. For decades, political ecologists have been battling against such narratives which date back to colonial times, linking colonialist claims to land rights to their supposed more sustainable use (e.g. Sullivan and Homewood, 2003; Ellis and Swift, 1988; Behnke et al., 1993; Scoones, 1995; 1996; Brockington and Homewood, 1996).

Pastoralists of all ethnicities, however, contested accusations of overgrazing, and the existence of degraded lands around Sarima. Instead, people said the land becomes green with the rains and provides nutritious fodder for livestock (see chapter 4).

Following the rallies, Turkana, Rendile and Samburu alike all expressed anger at 'their land' having been "grabbed" without their consultation; having their seniority ignored<sup>104</sup>. People fear that Wind Power will fence the 150 000 site<sup>105</sup> (see Map 4), a fear flamed by the plaintiffs during their rallies. They worry that such an action will have severe impacts upon livestock herding<sup>106</sup>. Many prophesise that those who stole the land will not live long because what they have done is sinful and invokes a curse from God/Divinity<sup>107</sup>. Rendile of Korr and Turkana of Sarima cursed people who stole their perceived seniority and excluded them from decisions regarding leasing land to Wind Power<sup>108</sup>. Rendile of Korr claim that their curse caused the Laisamis MP's car crash and accounts for his subsequent avoidance of the area<sup>109</sup>.

Despite stating otherwise, Wind Power documents recognise pastoralists' perceived customary rights. Possibly mindful of potential opposition from pastoralists based upon a loss of grazing land, representatives of Wind Power stated at 'community meetings' that the wind farm site will not be fenced and that pastoralism will be able to continue as normal<sup>110</sup>. People present at the meetings considered that Wind Power framed themselves as just another land user, like a pastoralist, as a way to deceive pastoralists, who do not have a concept of the selling/leasing of pastoralist land. There is no precedence of such land tenure arrangements in the area<sup>111</sup>.

Some people suggest that the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and other Wind Power supporters are cynically aware of pastoralists' inability to conceive land as sellable (commodifiable) which is why they bypassed the community when 'illegally' securing the lease via their partisan 'committee of elders' who would not ask questions. They suggested that if the wider community had been legally consulted it was very likely that the 150 000-acre land lease would not have been issued<sup>112</sup>.

Multi-ethnic supporters of the plaintiffs claim that once the plaintiffs had revealed that the land was leased and may be fenced, the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and other brokers worked hard to ensure that this message was not spread to the communities of the region, by discrediting the plaintiffs<sup>113</sup>. For example, they put it about that the rallies were politically motivated; that its organisers wanted to gain popularity among voters, and perhaps had desires to be 'paid off' by Wind Power to stop protesting; that they were inciting all communities against the project, but especially Rendile and Samburu – to get them to unite against Turkana and chase them from Sarima land so they could claim the benefits of the project for themselves. Some plaintiff supporters claimed that the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and brokers started this rumour in order to incite the Loiyangalani and South Horr communities and divide ethnic groups<sup>114</sup>.

Critics accused the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and Wind Power brokers also of disrupting the rallies by bribing people with alcohol and the promise of jobs to disrupt speeches, and of using Wind Power money to pay selected members of the public to take part in a counter-rally at Loiyangalani<sup>115</sup>. Supporters of the plaintiffs from South Horr accused the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and the aforementioned Samburu broker of trying to silence them with threats from compromised police and bribed members of the public. In particular, they accused the Samburu broker of bribing their relatives to be Wind Power allies, which divided their families<sup>116</sup>. These rally supporters claimed that educated locals were bribed by the Samburu broker to 'confuse' those gathered to listen to the speakers, telling them that the land has not been sold, but leased, without revealing what 'lease' means to people<sup>117</sup>. I was present at both rallies and heard bribed individuals accuse the plaintiffs of political incitement, and of wanting to hijack the Wind Power project for their Rendile cohort. Those involved in disrupting the rallies also de-legitimised pastoralist people's claims to the leased land by forwarding Wind Power's discursive framings of the leased land as empty, overgrazed, and the idea that pastoralists have no legal rights over Trust land. One such bribed man tried to convince me of these 'facts'<sup>118</sup>.

Many who attended the South Horr rally said the actions of the Samburu broker and his supporters revealed how he is guilty and trying to hide the illegal leasing of the land to Wind Power. They said he was angry that the community were now informed about his corrupt activities<sup>119</sup>. Many who gathered at the Loiyangalani and South Horr rallies said this was the first open community meeting about Wind Power; the first time they had been told about the concepts of 'Trust Land' and land lease, and how Wind Power had 'illegally' acquired the land lease. Previously, Wind Power, the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and brokers have kept meetings private and hidden the land lease from the public<sup>120</sup>.

Similarly to the Flat Rock community, those of Loiyangalani and South Horr were put in difficult positions (possibly intentionally by leaders): torn between family ties and other bond-relationships, and the promise of money and/or a Wind Power job. Money and jobs are hard to come by for most people of the area, so promises of these things are hard to turn down. At the chance to secure a job, many staunch opposers to the Samburu broker and Wind Power became his biggest supporter overnight.

Through my association with protestors of Flat Rock, South Horr and Loiyangalani, I was bracketed as supporting the plaintiffs. I, like others supporting them, feared for my safety. The Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and/or Samburu broker's spies were monitoring our every move at the rallies and occasionally threatened us in various ways in the days and weeks following the rallies. An atmosphere of suspicion, lack of trust, division between all and intimidation, at the South Horr and Loiyangalani rallies meant that most people did not forward an allegiance to either the plaintiffs or the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and Samburu broker. People were conscious not to ruin possible future relations, create enemies with their neighbours or with leaders. When talking in groups, most people did not reveal too much information, perhaps lightly criticising and/or praising leaders, to leave their listeners guessing as to their real opinions. The person questioning or a listener may be a spy or 'double-agent', fooling people as to their allegiance to extract information about people to report back to their patron. Such behaviour is respected and necessary if one wants to keep (possible future) allegiances open and workable with all people in the community. Similar behaviour within an atmosphere of suspicion is common in these towns when engaging with politics, but became more volatile in light of Wind Power during and after the rallies.



By forwarding various perspectives, insights have been gained into relationships between multi-ethnic public, leaders and investment brokers. Ideas of land tenure and custodianship rights and the ways these are strategically portrayed in order to gain Wind Power benefits have come to the fore through people's analyses, such as accusations made against dividing leaders and brokers, and the accused's responses to accusations made against them.

### **7.5 Inter-ethnic claims to Sarima**

This section considers contested claims between Turkana, Rendile and Samburu to custodianship rights over Sarima (site of the wind farm turbines), and rights to benefit from Wind Power.

People of Rendile, Samburu and Turkana ethnicity all claim that Sarima, site of the Wind farm turbines, and the surrounding Wind Power leased land belongs to them and comes under their custodianship based upon customary land tenure. These claims are based upon a mixture of past and present grazing practices and livestock requirements, permanence in the area, administrative claims, and fighting for the right to live and graze livestock in the area.

Each ethnic group insists that other ethnic groups' claims over Sarima are recent and strategic, in order to claim Wind Power benefits. These strategic claims are based on the idea that rightful custodians of the area should be the ones consulted and rewarded with Wind Power benefits<sup>121</sup>.

According to Flat Rock residents, the Wind Power site of Sarima, belongs to their community based upon pre-colonial and recent grazing in the area, the area being part of Samburu administrative land (see Map 3), and because of the bravery of Flat Rock residents in fighting Turkana for the right to wield custodianship over the area<sup>122</sup>. Flat Rock people's relationship with this area, how it is a part of their lives and ways of achieving goodness, has been discussed in chapters 4 and 5 and earlier in this chapter.

People of Flat Rock also claim Sarima belongs to Samburu based upon custodianship of a Sarima rain-fed well (*mugur*) that is part of a story of Samburu *Imurran* dying there in the 1860s. Most Samburu interpret the story to show that land surrounding Sarima belongs to the Samburu *Long'eli* clan, because it was their *Imurran* who drowned in the well. Because of this, they argue that Samburu, including those of Flat Rock, should be included in Wind Power benefits, such as jobs<sup>123</sup>.

The plaintiffs and their co-ethnic cohort - Rendile of Korr, located in Laisamis constituency, Marsabit County, dispute Flat Rock and other Samburu County residents' claims that Sarima is their land. Instead, those entitled to Wind Power benefits are people residing within Laisamis constituency, Marsabit County, who are the custodians of communal land rights in that area<sup>124</sup>.

Some people of Loiyangalani with mixed Samburu and Rendile heritage (henceforth Rendile/Samburu) agree that Samburu from outside Marsabit County cannot claim Sarima land to be theirs and have no right to benefit from Wind Power. They frame Sarima as their ancestral and administrative land; that they are and have always been custodians over communal grazing of land surrounding Sarima, which correlates with 'their' administrative area. According to them, Sarima is not the ancestral land of Rendile from Korr, nor is it the ancestral or administrative land of Samburu from Mt Nyiro<sup>125</sup>. "These outsiders can come and graze our land, before returning to their own places"<sup>126</sup>.

All Rendile (from Korr and Loiyangalani) frame the land leased by Wind Power as Rendile land based on the claim that Rendile pastoralists have migrated all over these warm dry lowlands since 'time immemorial' (pre-colonial times), land which is desired by their camel herds<sup>127</sup>. One Rendile man, like many others, suggested that "lowlands, including Sarima, are unsuitable for cattle herding because of the lack of water there. Samburu and their cattle like to remain close to mountain wells. As such, Samburu cannot claim the lowland"<sup>128</sup>. As is highlighted in chapters 4 and 5, Samburu of Flat Rock contest these claims. Rendile also claim Sarima as their ancestral land because they used to carry out ceremonies there.

All Rendile claim Sarima as their land based upon the custodianship of the Sarima rain-fed well (*mugur*) and an associated story, the same story forwarded by Samburu of the area. Their version claims the *Imurran* that drowned in the 1860's were from the Rendile *Ong'eli* clan, not the Samburu *Long'eli*. Poor Rendile camel herders of various Rendile lineages (including *Ong'eli*) joined Samburu to herd cattle, and created allied lineages within Samburu (including *Long'eli*). Because *Ong'eli* clan predates *Long'eli*, the Sarima well and surrounding land belongs to Rendile. Samburu say the opposite: Samburu *Long'eli* cattle herders joined Rendile and created the Rendile *Ong'eli* clan; because *Long'eli* predates *Ong'eli*, the Sarima well and surrounding land belongs to Samburu<sup>129</sup>.

Rendile/Samburu of Loiyangalani see Samburu and Rendile as one people, and that the Sarima rain-fed well and land belongs to both Samburu and Rendile. They assert that distinctions between groups are in the form of lineages not ethnicity; Sarima is both *Long'eli* and *Ong'eli* land – there is no difference<sup>130</sup>.

According to many Flat Rock residents, ceremonial claims of Rendile over Sarima land and claims of ancestral custodianship are tactical. They suggest Rendile were rarely present in the area, which reduces their ability to claim the place – they only passed through Sarima to water their camels at Lake Turkana<sup>131</sup>. Flat Rock residents also delegitimise Rendile claims to Sarima, like they do Samburu Camel Clan claims, based upon their inability to defend the land from Turkana who now live there<sup>132</sup>. A Flat Rock man said, “Rendile are cowards, they ran away from the area to Korr and Kargi in the 1970’s because they feared Turkana. Those able to rightfully claim Sarima are us [Flat Rock residents] who have fought the Turkana for the right to live and graze their livestock there, which we have done continuously until recently”<sup>133</sup>. Some explain Rendile people’s recent tactical claims over Sarima as a consequence of their character. For example, one Flat Rock resident said, “we are not surprised that Rendile now claim Sarima, they are selfish and frequently grab our grazing land and wells, for example they have encroached onto our land to graze and water their camels at Mt Nyiro since colonial times”<sup>134</sup>.

All Samburu and Rendile are unanimous in their conviction that Sarima is not Turkana land because Turkana have settled at Sarima only recently. The rightful custodians of a place are those who originally lived, grazed and watered there, even if they no longer do so<sup>135</sup>.

According to Turkana of Sarima and Loiyangalani, these Rendile and Samburu claims over Sarima are recent and strategic in order to legitimise their rights to benefit from Wind Power, while excluding Turkana from benefits<sup>136</sup>. Many Turkana describe land between Moite in the north and Baragoi in the south as belonging to and under custodianship of Turkana because they and their forefathers practiced nomadic pastoralism across this land<sup>137</sup>. Their custodianship over Sarima is further legitimised through claims of a permanent Turkana settlement at Sarima, which has existed for generations and is proved through many ancestral graves<sup>138</sup>.

Samburu and Rendile histories contest these Turkana claims to permanence east of Lake Turkana and Sarima in particular and thus their right to claim the place and Wind Power

benefits. Many Samburu and Rendile suggest that Turkana permanence at Sarima village and their subsequent claim to the land is recent because they want to benefit from Wind Power and has also been made possible by Wind Power giving them water<sup>139</sup>. A Flat Rock elder claims, “Turkana permanence at Sarima and their capacity to claim the place has been made possible by Wind Power and the Laisamis MP who have provided them with a borehole at Sarima village. Prior to this, when water at Sarima rain-fed well dried up they had to migrate away”<sup>140</sup>.

Histories narrated by both Samburu and Rendile serve to further delegitimise Turkana claims to longevity and permanence east of Lake Turkana and Sarima in particular. Accordingly, the first Turkana (known as Nkabong’ok) who arrived in the area of Sarima from Turkana District came during the British administration and lived with Samburu and Rendile. Similarly to Ilgira of Samburu District (discussed in the chapter 6), many of these Turkana became assimilated into Samburu and/or Rendile communities. Land custodianship remains with Samburu/Rendile; assimilated and non-assimilated Turkana are, and always have been, guests on their land<sup>141</sup>.

These Samburu and Rendile accounts describe that the Turkana constituting the majority of the population at Sarima came more recently. Known as Nkwamakats, they arrived to the area of Sarima after independence, when colonial restrictions on movement of people between districts were relaxed. They regularly stole livestock and chased Rendile herders away to Korr and Turkana Nkabong’ok north of Loiyangalani<sup>142</sup>. Some original Turkana Nkabong’ok ‘became’ Nkwamakats to avoid being attacked; they remained at Sarima<sup>143</sup>.

The Samburu and Rendile accounts also report that since the 1990s, when the Samburu-Turkana conflict escalated around Baragoi, there has been a large influx of more Nkwamakats Turkana to the Sarima and Loiyangalani area from Samburu District (including IDPs from around Flat Rock)<sup>144</sup>. Loiyangalani people of all ethnicities blame these Nkwamakats immigrants for bringing the Baragoi conflict north to their town and dividing the once unified Samburu/Rendile - Turkana community<sup>145</sup>.

Interestingly, contrary to Samburu, Rendile and some other Turkana accounts, descendants of the first Turkana who came to Sarima claim to have never been Nkabong’ok, rather they have always been Nkwamakats<sup>146</sup>. Some Samburu suggest that these claims are strategic to bolster all Nkwamakats claims to permanence and longevity in the Sarima area, claims which have only

appeared in light of desires to claim Wind Power benefits<sup>147</sup>. One Samburu man suggests that Nkabong'ok claims of always having been Nkwamakat have been made because Nkwamakat used to attack Nkabong'ok, "Nkabong'ok became Nkwamakat so that they were no longer attacked by them"<sup>148</sup>.

According to the 'original' residents of Sarima, descended (or not descended) from Nkabong'ok, Sarima is divided between them and a recent influx of Turkana immigrants – some of whom were brought in by the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and brokers to represent the Sarima community and bypass them, the 'real locals' – in discussions with Wind Power<sup>149</sup>. The other immigrants are Turkana Wind Power job seekers from places far and wide, including Lodwar, Isiolo, Maralal and Baragoi<sup>150</sup>.

The recent immigrants allegedly put in place by the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA to represent the 'community' in matters concerning Wind Power, deny their 'outsider' status; they frame themselves as related to the 'original' Sarima residents because their ancestors come from Sarima. Even though they have been living to the south in places such as Parkaati and Baragoi until recently, they claim to be nomadic pastoralists and so they have lived in Sarima before, like their ancestors did<sup>151</sup>. Sarima supporters of the plaintiffs deny these recent immigrants' claims – which are tactical, a ploy to try to legitimise their presence in Sarima and status of representing the Sarima community to Wind Power<sup>152</sup>.

Wind Power relocated the settlement of Sarima in June 2015, for the 'safety' of its inhabitants, according to Wind Power documentation<sup>153</sup>. There was much protest by the 'original' inhabitants because they did not want to move; they say they preferred their original roadside site because it enabled roadside trade, among other things. They also resisted to be moved because they were waiting for compensation they say they had been promised by Wind Power brokers and a senior Wind Power employee<sup>154</sup>. The plaintiffs supported the protest not to relocate<sup>155</sup>.



Figure 7.2 The new Sarima village built by Wind Power. A perimeter wire fence encloses the settlement.



Figure 7.3 The previous Sarima village located next to the South Horr-Loiyangalani road. The houses were removed in June 2015. The new village is visible in the distance.

In August 2015 the 'original' Sarima residents were not residing in the new settlement, they were living in a nearby dried river bed with their livestock. The reason they chose not to live in the new settlement is because it is too small: each Sarima resident has been allotted a plot, which is not large enough to live in with their livestock and there is no room to expand because Wind Power have enclosed the settlement with a wire fence<sup>156</sup>.



Figure 7.4 Site of 'original' Sarima resident's riverbed settlement, located about a kilometre from the new Sarima village.

In light of the protest, the 'original residents' and Turkana supporters of the plaintiffs accused the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and brokers of using their immigrant puppet-leaders (who represent the Sarima 'community'), to covertly consent to the relocation of Sarima, bypassing and deceiving the 'original' community in the process and foregoing their rights to compensation<sup>157</sup>. The original Sarima residents are angry that their seniority has been ignored in decision-making surrounding the village relocation and the absence of compensation that they were promised<sup>158</sup>. Immigrant supporters of the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA claim that this anti-Wind Power rhetoric has been incited by the plaintiffs, to turn Sarima residents against the project, because they want to claim the land and all Wind Power benefits for their Rendile ethnic cohort<sup>159</sup>. Turkana supporters of the plaintiffs deny this claim, rather – the plaintiffs' support of the 'original' Turkana residents of Sarima in their fight for compensation proves they are trying to ensure all ethnicities and communities benefit from Wind Power, not just their Rendile cohort<sup>160</sup>.

The original Sarima residents are also angry that representatives of 'Samburu-dominated' Wind Power never came to consult them about the project, which is happening on 'their land'. They are angry that the majority of jobs, from leadership roles to labourers have gone to Samburu and not Turkana - the custodians of this land<sup>161</sup>. One 'original' Sarima Turkana elder complained, "Samburu are demonstrating that they think they are the owners of this land and that Turkana do not exist"<sup>162</sup>. Original Sarima residents portray Samburu claims to Sarima as strategic in order to exclusively claim their rights to jobs<sup>163</sup>.

A focus on people's perspectives and analyses has offered insights into inter-ethnic contestations over place and right to benefit from Wind Power. In particular, insights are offered into how people accuse others of forwarding tactical, 'timeless' representations of lineage, ethnicity and belonging in light of investments. Based on their analyses of others being strategic in order to claim belonging to Sarima and thus legitimise their claims to Wind Power benefits, people often forward their portrayals of lineage and/or ethnicity as self-interested and immoral. It is within this context that people's portrayals of colonial and post-colonial administrative history, political patronage and territorial ethnicity are combined with ideas of ethnicity, ancestral precedence and belonging.

### **7.6 Inter-ethnic violence**

The chapter now turns to consider how Rendile, Turkana and Samburu discuss and associate conflict with the Wind Power investment. A focus on people's framings of violence enables insights into the ways different 'types' of violence combine and are associated with divisions within society and 'timeless' representations of ethnicity and belonging.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2015, Sarima village was attacked by over 100 Samburu men. Those present during the attack recalled that many Turkana, including women and children, were injured and killed<sup>164</sup>. Different rumours circulated about who sponsored Samburu to attack Sarima, and subsequent Turkana ('revenge') attacks on Rendile/Samburu and Rendile/Samburu ('revenge') attacks on Turkana, which caused much confusion. Allegations were made against Samburu County politicians, the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA, Wind Power brokers, and the plaintiffs. People's allegations reveal alliances or sympathies with either the plaintiffs or the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA. Yet despite these alliances, people's framings of conflict often reveal a loyalty to their own ethnic group and invokes divisive rhetoric between ethnic groups.

The Loiyangalani MCA and his Turkana supporters portray the Sarima attack as a new type of conflict - incitement of Samburu/Rendile by plaintiffs to exclude Turkana from Sarima and Wind Power benefits. This opportunistic incitement is strategic in order to divide once-united inter-ethnic communities of the area for popularity/political gains<sup>165</sup>.

Supporters of the plaintiffs blame the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA for making up stories of the plaintiffs inciting and instigating the Sarima attack; such accusations are a tactical ploy to disguise the fact that they incited and provided ammunition for Samburu of Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara to attack Sarima, telling them that Turkana want to exclude Samburu from 'their'



land and Wind Power benefits<sup>166</sup>. Non-Turkana plaintiff supporters also claim that the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA incited Turkana to attack Samburu/Rendile near Loiyangalani and Mt Kulal, lying to them – saying that Samburu and Rendile (sponsored by the plaintiffs) want to exclude Turkana from ‘their’ land and Wind Power benefits<sup>167</sup>.

Promoters of this perspective accuse the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and the aforementioned Samburu broker of liking conflict because people become pre-occupied with protecting their families and livestock from revenge attacks, which stopped the regular protests against Wind Power. Furthermore, such sponsorship enables the politicians to gain popularity among Samburu<sup>168</sup>. Some Turkana of Sarima allied with the plaintiffs accused the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA of sponsoring the attack on Sarima to stop their protests against the Sarima village relocation and force them to move to the new settlement without compensation<sup>169</sup>.

Supporters of the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA deny accusations of incitement, and instead frame their accusers of being tactical in order to disguise the plaintiff’s own desires to exclusively claim the land and Wind Power benefits for their ethnic cohort and of inciting the conflict<sup>170</sup>.

The Laisamis MP is uniquely accused by people of every ethnicity, except his bribed supporters, of having a history of inciting and facilitating all ethnicities to fight each other. This he does for popularity and votes, by creating the illusion among each ethnic cohorts that he is on their side in their struggle to fight against ‘the other’ who are trying to exclude them from the area and state benefits. He spreads fear, division and animosity among Turkana, Samburu and Rendile; he tells Turkana that Samburu and Rendile want to exclude them from ‘their’ land; while propagating to communities of Rendile and Samburu the notion of Turkana as aggressive expansionists trying to exclude them from ‘their’ land. His alleged involvement in the 2015 attack on Sarima and subsequent Turkana attacks on Samburu and Rendile proves to many of all ethnicities that he is now applying the ethnicity dividing game in light of Wind Power benefits<sup>171</sup>.

Superimposed over people’s portrayals of the elite-sponsored dimensions of the attacks (blaming either the Laisamis MP, Loiyangalani MCA and Samburu broker or the plaintiffs, and the unique inciting tendencies of the Laisamis MP) are people’s ethnic allegiance.

All Turkana, no matter their allegiance with either the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA or plaintiffs blame Samburu/Rendile and their inciting patrons as equally culpable for the violence, with its focus on exclusion, for the subsequent break-down of peace in the area, and inability of Wind Power benefits to be shared equitably between people of all ethnicities<sup>172</sup>. For example, the 'original residents' of Sarima (supporters of the plaintiffs) accused the Laisamis MP (a Rendile/Samburu man), the Samburu broker and Samburu County leaders for sponsoring the attack on Sarima. They did not implicate the MCA of Loiyangalani because he is Turkana. According to these people, the accused leaders took advantage of escalating conflict between Samburu and Turkana in Samburu County in early 2015 (see chapter 6) to sponsor Samburu to attack Sarima, to try and chase them from the area so Samburu can exclusively gain Wind Power benefits<sup>173</sup>. One 'original' Sarima Turkana elder said, "They [Samburu and their inciting leaders including the Samburu broker] have brought the Baragoi conflict north"<sup>174</sup>. According to these 'original' residents of Sarima, this attack was a continuation of the post-1996 'new' violence aimed at excluding Turkana from Samburu District, under the 'false' pretence of 'saving' Samburu/Rendile from Turkana who want to chase them from their land<sup>175</sup>. The 'original' Sarima residents said they fled to Sarima from Nyiro (Samburu District) in the 2000s<sup>176</sup>. They suggest that since devolution, this violence designed to exclude Turkana has heightened and now, in order to gain benefits of Wind Power, the conflict has spread to Sarima and Marsabit County. The lack of livestock stolen in the Sarima attack is further proof to the residents of Sarima that Samburu are changing the dynamics of conflict and are now fighting to exclude them from the place and Wind Power benefits<sup>177</sup>. "Samburu and Wind Power are trying to chase us to Turkana County, but we have never lived there, this is our home"<sup>178</sup>.

'Original' Sarima residents portrayed subsequent Turkana attacks on Samburu/Rendile near Kulal and Loiyangalani as revenge, not politically incited<sup>179</sup>. Some Turkana of Loiyangalani admitted that Turkana were sponsored by politicians, but still framed the Turkana as victims of incitement; at the mercy of deceitful politicians like the Laisamis MP who pretends to support them while also inciting and providing ammunition to Rendile and Samburu communities<sup>180</sup>.

The *Imurran* of Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara were involved in the attack on Sarima. It is rare to admit political sponsorship: Flat Rock attackers and nearly all residents claimed they were not incited by leaders to attack Sarima, instead they portrayed the attack as a livestock raid, revenge for the killing of a woman near Mt Nyiro by Turkana men, who they allege came from Sarima. No livestock were stolen in this killing. Such Turkana barbarity is further proof that

Turkana are the ones changing conflict dynamics and are trying to chase Samburu from their land<sup>181</sup>.

All Turkana deny these Flat Rock claims that the attack on Sarima was driven by 'cultural' causes, as strategic lies in order to disguise the fact that they were incited by leaders to attack Sarima in order to exclusively claim land and Wind Power benefits. They say that such tactics are common among untrustworthy Samburu<sup>182</sup>. Turkana claim the Nyiro woman-killers came from Baragoi: the attack involved the stealing of livestock and was revenge for previous Samburu attacks on Turkana (a continuation of the Samburu-Turkana violence in early 2015 - see chapter 6). Therefore, the attack was not an example of 'new' violence, rather it was 'normal'<sup>183</sup>.

Two rare Samburu residents from the Nyiro area admitted that Samburu of Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara were given ammunition and incited by Samburu County politicians and the Laisamis MP via the Samburu broker to attack Sarima<sup>184</sup>. Some Samburu/Rendile of Loiyangalani also admitted that Samburu were sponsored to attack Sarima. They were shocked by the attack, which seemed not to be focused on livestock stealing. However, they framed Samburu attackers as victims of political incitement and manipulation. Like Flat Rock residents, Samburu/Rendile of Loiyangalani blame Turkana for bringing the Baragoi conflict north into their region. Aggressive, expansionist Turkana from Baragoi, incited by leaders from there and by the Laisamis MP and Loiyangalani MCA are corrupting Loiyangalani Turkana, spreading the desire to exclude Samburu/Rendile from their land, dividing the once-united community<sup>185</sup>. "Many outside Turkana are settling in Sarima, attacking and excluding us [Rendile/Samburu] ... this has only started since Wind Power ... this is preventing an equitable share of Wind Power benefits among all ethnicities and communities"<sup>186</sup>.

These accounts show, among other things, how combinations of 'types' of conflict (e.g. 'political' and 'cultural') are combined by people as part of their portrayals of violence enacted by themselves and 'the other' and as part of their portrayals of themselves as victims and 'the other' as aggressive and exclusionary. Such accounts show how conflict dynamics discussed in the chapter 6 play out in light of Wind Power.

The privileging of Turkana, Rendile and Samburu people's contrasting portrayals of conflict in Sarima has shed further light on relationships between people of the region in light of Wind Power. In particular, a focus on discourse surrounding conflict has highlighted ways the inter-

ethnic cohorts portray and offer representations of each other, inciting leaders, and belonging, and how these relate to divisions in the area, historical and region-wide conflict dynamics, and desires to benefit from Wind Power.

### **7.7 Conclusion: insights gained into the study of large-scale investment in northern Kenya**

This chapter has considered the ways that recent large-scale investments in northern Kenya have become a part of people's lives, including the dynamics of relations between the investment companies, brokers, leaders and the public. Like Cormack (2016) and Greiner (2016), the chapter has exemplified how politicised ethnic competition between different groups for territory and resources are re-played and amplified in the context of investments in order for public and politicians to benefit. In particular it has shown how public and their co-ethnic (political) patrons (instrumentally) claim exclusive rights for their ethnic cohort to benefit from projects in 'their place', where they belong, by constructing/portraying their ethnic group having ancestral precedence in, and custodianship rights over, place. 'Other' ethnic groups are portrayed as guests.

Cormack and Greiner explain that such strategic 'territorialised' depictions of pastoralism are a part of Kenyan patronage politics which has its roots in colonial patronage systems in which 'rights' were aligned with ethnicities belonging to their own administrative territories. Such academic analyses offer valuable insights into informants' discourse.

The approach taken in this thesis differs: explanations for 'strategic' discourse associated with ethnicity, belonging, politics, investments and conflict, among other things, rely upon informants' analyses of others' discourse. This approach gives alternative insights into how past and present politics and conflict are a part of people's lives in light of recent large-scale investments. I am conscious not to explain people's (strategic) discourse using my interpretations of historical context, which could risk misunderstanding informants' lives.

This chapter has shown how Samburu, Rendile and Turkana and other informants' discourse surrounding politics, ethnic territoriality, colonial administration and conflict are associated with their portrayals of identities and belonging (of themselves and others) in light of the wind farm development. The chapter foregrounds how people's portrayals of such things involve their analyses of others being strategic in claiming belonging and custodianship and in their discourse relating to violence, in relation to desires to benefit from Wind Power. For example, people's portrayals of their cohort's identity and belonging to Sarima were often forwarded

alongside accusations of other cohorts strategically claiming exclusive belonging to, and land tenure rights over, Sarima in order to legitimise their claims to Wind Power benefits. People often accused other cohorts and their inciting patrons of using violence to try to chase others away from the area so they can benefit exclusively from the wind farm development.

Thus, through forwarding people's claims and counter-claims of others being strategic and inciting/being incited, and their associated portrayals of ethnicity, belonging and history, the chapter has shown what incitement and what being strategic is within the context of people's lives. It has also shown how such portrayals and accusations are a part of the divisions, incitement and violence. Meanings of people's (strategic) actions and discourse in light of investments emerges through this engagement with people's analyses.

Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) advocate analyses of Kenyans' instrumental constructions and contestations over ethnicity and belonging, and the ways they portray and analyse history, which incorporate the embodied ways they engage with, and attach meanings to, people and place.

In order to achieve this with Flat Rock informants, the approach taken in this thesis draws upon anthropocentric multispecies ethnographies (e.g. Archambault, 2016; Galaty, 2014). These ethnographies, like other proponents of multispecies ethnography, encourage the questioning of researchers' own analytical framework to consider co-agency of more-than-humans. In particular, this thesis (especially chapters 4 and 5) has exemplified embodied ways that people of Flat Rock interact and identify with, and attach meanings and agency to people, place and other more-than-humans (including the 'supernatural') as a part of everyday lives. We have seen how these relationships and agency are bound up in the cosmological ways of *Ikerreti*.

The chapter shows how people's embodied ideas of seniority, belonging, relationships between and custodianship over places and people, inform and are informed by contestations between people (based on lineage and/or ethnicity) in light of the recent investments. These contestations over lineages' rights to claim benefits from the investments are based upon 'timeless' representations of belonging and custodianship, and have created divisions and alliances (commonly along lines of lineage). These embodied and contested ideas over seniority and belonging involve relationships between people and more-than-humans, and the moral framework of *Ikerreti*.

The ways people align with their lineage, community and associated elites to forward their collective rights to benefit from investments is exemplified through contestations between Samburu of Nyiro (including Flat Rock) and Ldonyo Mara. Both parties accuse the other of being strategic and immoral in their portrayals of belonging to and custodianship over places in their quest for Wind Power benefits. Flat Rock residents accuse the Samburu broker and chief(s) of tactically dividing Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara 'brothers' through conceptions of custodianship based upon territorialised ethnicity and lineage. In particular, they accuse people of Camel Clan and their broker and chief patrons of forwarding the idea of Nyiro and Ldonyo Mara belonging to separate counties. Only residents of Marsabit County are the rightful custodians of development that takes place there, therefore only they may rightfully benefit from the wind farm in Marsabit County. Flat Rock also accuse members of Camel Clan of forwarding tactical 'timeless' representations of lineage, ethnicity and belonging in order to claim exclusive ancestral precedence and thus seniority over Ldonyo Mara and the wind farm site (Sarima). This current 'immoral' behaviour of Camel Clan, including their patrons, is forwarded alongside portrayals of past divisions, alliances, events and associated immoral behaviour of Camel Clan, one of whom was a colonial administration headman.

Flat Rock people's portrayals of 'timeless truths' regarding lineage, ethnicity, belonging and custodianship over the wind farm area, and the ways they portray and analyse history, are in light of such perceived injustices and divisive tactics of the Camel Clan. Flat Rock 'timeless truths' are based upon lineage ancestral presence and seniority in the area, which are embodied through ancestral stories, herding, ceremonies, living and moving across the landscape, and defending land from Turkana. Identities of, and relationships between, people and place, and other more-than-humans (discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5), and the associated cosmological ways of *Ikerreti* emerge as part of (and inform) these experiences. As we have seen, identities of people (including their lineage) and place are inseparable.

People's roles as custodians and in seeking goodness, such as through ceremonies, involves recognition of people's part of these relationships, including their seniority. Camel Clan members questioning Flat Rock Bull Clan's custodianship of 'their land', thus questions these relationships and seniority, and the agency and identities of *Nkai*, *Ikerreti*, people and place. Portrayals/stereotypes of Camel Clan, including the Samburu broker and chief(s), as strategic and immoral are understood within this context. Protests orchestrated by some Flat Rock

residents against the Samburu broker and chiefs for inequitable distribution of Wind Power benefits must also be understood within this context.

People's portrayals of relationships with the colonial and more recent administrations, (political) patronage, investment brokers, and related ideas of lineage/ethnic territory are salient in light of this contested discourse. For example, Flat Rock ideas that the colonial administrators recognised Flat Rock and Samburu ancestral land, creating Samburu District, which incorporates part of the wind farm site, take meaning in this context.

This chapter thus exemplifies how brokers and leaders were accused of creating divisions and alliances between people of the area (including inciting violence) through encouraging strategic and 'immoral' representations of lineage, ethnicity and belonging, in order to limit certain cohorts' access to investment benefits. The chapter also exemplifies how divisions and alliances among and between communities were used by brokers and leaders to thwart Flat Rock resistance to perceived inequitable distribution of Wind Power benefits and rumours of land leased for Solar Power. The Samburu broker and a local chief were accused by some people of Flat Rock of using existing relationships and/or forging new ones in order to pressure people into not dissenting against them, the Wind Power project and the Solar Power project. Divides and alliances that were exploited and/or created were often along lineage lines, but also involved other 'social' bonds. The power such bonds between people and associated 'societal norms' have in silencing people rests in the ways they are embedded in relationships between people, place and other more-than-humans, including *Nkai* and the moral framework of *Ikerreti* (which are central to embodied experiences of people, place and custodianship). To disrespect such bonds would be to question *Nkai*, and the identities of oneself and place.

This can be exemplified through considering the local chief's relationship with a few influential elders. The chief's support from these elders, who worked hard to discredit the Flat Rock protestors, is guaranteed because of the relationship they share. The elders (and their loyalty) are bonded to the chief for life because of relationships forged during ceremonies. In another example, the Samburu broker was accused by observers of securing the support of his age-mates, including age-set leaders - via a blessing - at their *Lmuget* ceremony. The broker allegedly did this to gain the backing of influential people who can press-gang their fellow age-mates into supporting the broker, and/or into not protesting against him or Wind Power. These bonds between people involve a bond with *Nkai*. To go against this would be to

question people's 'rightful' place/seniority within society, and question the authority/seniority of *Ikerreti* and *Nkai*. Such behaviour would be disrespectful and invite badness.

To sum up, the approach taken in this chapter and thesis more generally has enabled an engagement with how historical context, the contest-riven nature of identities (including 'timeless' notions of lineages and ethnicities) and ontologies are inter-connected, emerge and are contested as a part of relationships between communities, the state and investments, which involve relationships and 'becomings' between people and more-than-humans. Similarly to Li (2001), this chapter exemplifies how developments 'imposed' on communities are complex, because development officials and brokers, and the public are already enmeshed in sets of relationships in which their own identities, desires, and practices are deeply implicated. The chapter has shown how these relationships, which involve entanglements with more-than-humans and *Ikerreti* (and associated identities of people and place), have influenced the way that the Wind Power development is playing out.

---

## Notes

- 1 Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd website: [ltwp.co.ke](http://ltwp.co.ke)
- 2 CON 29
- 3 The video was available on YouTube ([www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)) but has since been removed from the website
- 4 INT 48; GRO 21; CON 20
- 5 INT 48; GRO 21; CON 20
- 6 CON 10
- 7 INT 7, 8, 9, 18, 33, 34, 35; GRO 2, 4; CON 2, 4, 10, 29, 41
- 8 INT 7, 8, 9, 18, 33, 34, 35; GRO 2, 4; CON 2, 4, 10, 29
- 9 INT 30
- 10 INT 3, 5, 7, 9, 29; GRO 1, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, 16, 19
- 11 INT 7, 9, 16, 18, 19, 32, 33, 35; GRO 1, 4, 5; CON 2, 4, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29, 41
- 12 INT 7, 9, 16, 33, 34, 35; GRO 1, 4, 5; CON 2, 4, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29, 41
- 13 INT 7, 9, 16, 34, 35; GRO 1, 4, 5; CON 4, 16, 19, 41
- 14 INT 33; CON 2, 10, 28, 29
- 15 INT 7, 9, 16, 33, 34, 35; GRO 1, 4, 5; CON 2, 4, 10, 16, 19, 28, 29, 41
- 16 CON 10, 26, 27
- 17 INT 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 27, 33, 34; GRO 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 10
- 18 INT 3, 9, 11; CON 2
- 19 INT 3, 7, 9, 11, 17, 27, 33, 34; GRO 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 10
- 20 INT 3, 7, 9, 11, 17, 26, 27, 33, 34; GRO 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 10
- 21 INT 3, 7, 9, 11, 17, 33, 34; GRO 4; CON 2, 4, 10
- 22 INT 2, 7, 8, 11, 16, 26, 27, 34, 35; GRO 4, 5
- 23 INT 7
- 24 INT 7, 8, 11; GRO 4, 5; CON 1, 2, 4, 10, 14, 19
- 25 INT 7
- 26 INT 3, 7, 9, 11, 17, 26, 27; GRO 2, 4; CON 1, 2, 4, 10
- 27 INT 3, 10, 26; GRO 2, 4, 7; CON 1, 2, 4, 5



---

28	INT 29, 30
29	INT 29, 30
30	INT 29
31	INT 29
32	INT 28
33	INT 28
34	INT 28
35	INT 11
36	INT 11
37	INT 3, 9, 11; CON 2
38	INT 7, 9, 16, 34, 35; GRO 1, 4, 5; CON 4, 16, 19, 41
39	INT 7, 11, 18, 33, 34, 35; CON 2, 10
40	INT 3, 9, 11; CON 2
41	CON 2
42	INT 3, 9, 11; CON 2
43	INT 3, 7, 8, 9, 11; GRO 4; CON 1, 2, 10, 14
44	INT 34, 35; GRO 4; CON 2, 10
45	INT 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 26, 27; GRO 3, 5, 7; CON 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 19, 28
46	INT 33, 34, 35; CON 2, 10, 28, 29
47	CON 2
48	CON 2
49	CON 2, 10, 27, 29
50	CON 2
51	INT 2, 8, 9, 11, 18, 27; GRO 3, 4, 5; CON 1, 2, 4, 8, 14, 16
52	CON 1, 2, 10, 16
53	INT 8, 33, 34, 35; CON 1, 2, 10, 16, 29, 41
54	INT 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 18, 26, 27, 24; GRO 3, 4; CON 4, 8, 16, 19
55	INT 3, 7, 11, 27; GRO 3, 4
56	CON 1, 2, 10, 16
57	INT 3, 7, 10, 18, 27, 33, 34, 35; GRO 6; CON 1, 2, 10, 29
58	INT 3, 7, 10, 18, 27; GRO 6; CON 1, 2, 10
59	INT 3, 7, 10, 18, 27, 33, 34, 35; GRO 6; CON 1, 2, 10, 29
60	INT 7, 8, 10, 18, 27, 33, 34, 35; GRO 6, 7; CON 1, 2, 10
61	INT 3, 10; CON 2, 10
62	INT 8; GRO 5; CON 2, 4, 8, 10, 14
63	INT 33, 34, 35; CON 2, 10, 29
64	CON 2
65	CON 2
66	INT 8; GRO 5; CON 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 16, 29
67	INT 2, 9, 17, 27, 34; GRO 2, 4; CON 1
68	CON 1, 10
69	CON 2, 10, 28, 29
70	CON 2, 4, 8, 10, 16, 42
71	CON 2, 10, 27, 29
72	CON 2
73	CON 10
74	CON 27, 28, 29, 33
75	INT 11, 7, 17; GRO 5; CON 2
76	INT 11
77	INT 3, 10, 27; GRO 3; CON 2, 10, 16
78	INT 3, 10, 18, 27; GRO 3; CON 2, 10, 16
79	INT 3, 10, 27; GRO 3; CON 2, 10, 16
80	CON 2
81	INT 2, 8, 9, 11, 27; GRO 3, 5; CON 2, 4, 10, 16, 29
82	CON 2, 10
83	CON 2, 10, 16

84	CON 2, 10, 27
85	INT 29
86	INT 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 19, 26, 27; GRO 3; CON 1, 2, 10, 16
87	INT 19, 26; CON 1, 6, 7
88	INT 9, 10, 11, 27; GRO 3; CON 2, 10, 16
89	INT 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 19, 26, 27; GRO 3; CON 1, 2, 10, 16
90	INT 3, 9, 11, 19, 26; CON 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 18, 19
91	INT 48; GRO 21
92	INT 23, 33, 35, 44, 48, 49; GRO 21; CON 20, 26, 30, 35
93	INT 47
94	See the LTWP document: Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Study Report</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
95	INT 47
96	INT 49, 22; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
97	GRO 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31
98	INT 49, 22; GRO 23, 25, 26, 27; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
99	See the LTWP documents: Log Associates (2012) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Indigenous Peoples Policy Framework</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a> . Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Resettlement Action Plan (RAP): Lake Turkana Wind Power. Sirima [sic] Nomadic Pastoralist Relocation of the Community Encampment</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
100	See the LTWP document: Log Associates (2012) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Indigenous Peoples Policy Framework</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a> .
101	See the LTWP document: Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Study Report</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
102	CON 38
103	See the LTWP document: Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Study Report</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
104	INT 3, 7, 11, 17, 33; GRO 22, 23, 25, 26, 27; CON 2, 10, 32, 33, 36, 37, 42
105	INT 3, 7, 33; GRO 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31; CON 2, 10, 32, 33, 36, 37, 42
106	INT 3, 7, 33; GRO 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31
107	INT 3, 8, 11, 27, 41, 45; GRO 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29
108	GRO 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29; CON 20, 30
109	GRO 18, CON 20, 30
110	See the LTWP document: Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Study Report</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
111	CON 26, 35, 37
112	INT 33, 49; GRO 21; CON 26, 34, 35
113	INT 33, 35, 44, 48, 49; GRO 21, 23, 26; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45
114	INT 44, 48, 49; GRO 21, 23; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
115	INT 33, 35, 44, 48, 49; GRO 21, 23, 26; CON 1, 10, 20, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45
116	CON 43, 44, 45
117	CON 43, 44, 45
118	CON 39
119	INT 35, 49; GRO 22, 25, 27; CON 2, 10, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45
120	INT 49; GRO 22, 25, 27; CON 10, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 45
121	INT 3, 7, 8, 11, 18, 32, 41, 48; GRO 6, 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 44; CON 1, 2, 3, 10, 20, 26, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36
122	INT 3, 7, 8, 11, 18; GRO 6, 7; CON 1, 2, 10
123	INT 3, 7, 8, 11, 18; GRO 6, 7; CON 1, 2, 10, 16
124	INT 41, 43, 48; GRO 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; CON 30
125	GRO 22, 23
126	GRO 23

---

127	INT 41, 43, 48; GRO 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; CON 20, 30, 34
128	CON 20
129	INT 41, 43, 48; GRO 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; CON 20, 30
130	GRO 22, 23
131	INT 3, 7, 8, 11, 18; GRO 6, 7; CON 1, 2, 10
132	INT 7, 8, 11, 18; GRO 7, 8; CON 1, 2
133	INT 8
134	GRO 7
135	INT 7, 8, 11, 18, 41, 43, 48; GRO 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; CON 1, 2, 20, 30
136	INT 49, 50; GRO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34; CON 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36
137	GRO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34; CON 26
138	GRO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34; CON 26
139	INT 3, 7, 8, 9, 11; GRO 5, 7, 8, 17, 22, 23; CON 1, 2, 10
140	INT 11
141	INT 11, 27, 32; GRO 3, 22, 23; CON 20
142	INT 11, 27, 32; GRO 3, 22, 23; CON 20
143	INT 32
144	INT 11, 27, 32; GRO 3, 22, 23
145	INT 49; GRO 22, 23, 25, 27; CON 26, 34, 35, 36
146	GRO 28, 30, 31, 32
147	INT 3, 7, 18, 34; CON 1, 2, 10
148	INT 32
149	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
150	CON 31, 32, 33
151	GRO 33, 34
152	CON 32, 33
153	See the LTWP document: Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) <i>Resettlement Action Plan (RAP): Lake Turkana Wind Power. Sirima [sic] Nomadic Pastoralist Relocation of the Community Encampment</i> . Available at <a href="http://www.ltwp.co.ke">http://www.ltwp.co.ke</a>
154	GRO 28, 31, 34; CON 32, 33, 34, 35
155	CON 24
156	GRO 28, 31
157	GRO 28, 29, 31, 34; CON 32, 33, 34, 35
158	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
159	GRO 33; CON 31
160	INT 49; CON 26, 32, 33, 35
161	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
162	GRO 30
163	GRO 28, 29, 30
164	INT 50; CON 32, 33, 35
165	INT 47; GRO 24, 32, 33; CON 31
166	INT 49; GRO 22, 23, 25; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
167	GRO 22, 23; CON 34
168	INT 33, 49; GRO 22, 23, 25; CON 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
169	CON 32, 33, 35
170	GRO 24, 32, 33; CON 31
171	INT 7, 11, 17, 33, 35, 43, 49; GRO 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31; CON 1, 2, 10, 20, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45
172	INT 49, 50; GRO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; CON 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36
173	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
174	GRO 30
175	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
176	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
177	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31
178	GRO 30
179	GRO 28, 29, 30, 31

---

180 INT 49; CON 36  
181 INT 8, 11, 19, 26; GRO 3, 5, 6; CON 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 14, 19  
182 INT 49, 50; GRO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; CON 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36  
183 CON 26, 32, 35, 36  
184 INT 33; CON 41  
185 GRO 22, 23  
186 GRO 23

## Chapter 8. Conclusion

### 8.1 Summary of findings

This section of the chapter draws together the ways that the approach taken in this thesis has provided insights into the lives of Samburu, especially Flat Rock residents, (and to a lesser extent, Rendile and Turkana) living to the south and east of Lake Turkana.

The insights gained in chapters 4 and 5 enable a nuanced understanding of how conflict between Samburu and Turkana discussed in chapter 6, and the international investments discussed in chapter 7, are a part of people's lives. This section of the conclusion considers how the approach taken in this research project differs from and builds on existing works that address similar themes.

Chapter 4 considered how the lives of Samburu pastoralists of Flat Rock are entwined with the landscapes that they live in and shape; how they manage their livestock, secure goodness and avoid badness, as part of their more-than-human relationships in which they and non-human entities are inter-dependent agents.

Kratli (2008), Kratli and Schareika (2010) and Roba and Oba (2008; 2009) discuss how Woodabe and Rendile pastoralists, respectively, understand the landscape relationally through their livestock.

These studies work to discredit earlier, often-colonial portrayals of pastoralists as irrational, overstocking, overgrazing and degrading the arid rangelands. Instead, they demonstrate how pastoral customary institutions are rational and enable sustainable, non-degrading, mobile ways of managing livestock and accessing pasture, and how this is well suited to non-equilibrium dryland ecosystems with variable rainfall. They argue that rainfall variability is the main factor determining vegetation dynamics, not livestock numbers.

In light of Nadasdy's (1999; 2007), Agrawal's (2002) and Duvall's (2008) concerns over analyses which separate ecology from other aspects of people's lives which give them meaning, chapter 4 exemplifies how Flat Rock people's relations with livestock and livestock management, and understandings of pasture and rainfall, are a part of their relations with other people and more-than-humans.

The chapter discusses how Flat Rock residents understand and live as part of the landscape in relation to seeking goodness for themselves, their livestock, the land, among other things, through complex networks of relations in which human and non-human entities (including livestock, 'variable' rainfall, soil, vegetation, wild animals) are inter-dependent agents, overseen and guided by *Ikerreti* which is *Nkai* (Divinity).

Familiarity and belonging of people and their livestock to places builds through experiencing, living and interacting with all (visible, non-visible and 'supernatural') elements of the more-than-human landscape and world. People, livestock and *Nkai* are co-agents who influence the goodness of place. Conceptions of and ways of relating with the human, more-than-human, visible, non-visible and 'supernatural' world are continually 'made real' through being part of interactions. People's experiences, feelings and sense of belonging, which emerge through these relationships, are embedded in *Ikerreti*.

Put another way, people's (intimate) relations and embodied experiences with livestock, land and *Nkai*, and associations with *Ikerreti*, are embedded in such ways of being and conceiving the world. This determines how people live as *part of* the landscape.

Understandings of such ways of being in the world are crucial if we are to appreciate how people's relations with place and ideas of belonging play out in light of ethnicised politics, conflict and investment in the region, as discussed in later chapters.

Like chapter 4, chapter 5 also foregrounds how the lives of Samburu pastoralists of Flat Rock are entwined with the landscape to secure goodness and avoid badness.

Analyses of Kenyan ethnicity frequently explain people's 'instrumental' constructions of ethnicity and belonging through manipulations of lineage histories - as emerging from colonially introduced territorialised ethnicity and subsequent ethnic clientelism politics. These constructions are forwarded in order to legitimise an ethnic group's territorial claims over an administrative area and associated rights to governance and state resources (Lynch, 2010; Jenkins, 2012).

Lynch (2010) and Jenkins (2012) call for academic analyses to situate politically motivated instrumental constructions of ethnicity, belonging and place alongside people's lived

experiences and embodied sense of identities and belonging, within which instrumental discourse is embedded and holds meaning.

This chapter takes an approach which analyses ways people of Flat Rock are a part of place through their part in relationships, which go beyond human. People's portrayals of 'timeless' identities, belonging and custodianship (over *Ikerreti*, lineages and place), their portrayals of history, including relationships with the colonial administration, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory, emerge from and inform embodied ways of being a part of the landscape.

Places are constituted in relation to people's lives, which involve an array of entanglements with more-than-humans. For example, ceremonies involving sacred sheep and plants make a place sacred. People's identities, such as seniority and custodianship and their corresponding ability to secure goodness for people and place involving interactions with *Nkai*, propitious sheep and plants, emerge through their participation in ceremonies; they are inseparable from place. Places are *real* and take meaning through these relationships and interactions between people, lineages, *Nkai* and other more-than-humans.

The chapter exemplifies how Flat Rock residents and their neighbours contest 'timeless truths' surrounding seniority, belonging and custodianship based upon their personal and lineage's connections to place in order to claim (exclusive) custodianship over places, or lead roles in securing goodness through ceremonies. Contestations over seniority, belonging and custodianship involve portrayals of: lineage origin stories which connect past and present people and lineages to places; connections to place based upon people's and livestock's familiarity - through living, herding and moving through them; certain practices performed in certain places (such as ceremonies) which are linked to stories of past events in these places and which build an individual and collective sense of connection to the event, place and ancestors (who *are* place). Through recalling and partaking in these experiences with place, they become embodied as a part of people's (and livestock's) lives and (collective) identities.

Contestations over seniority and custodianship, over who has the Divine agency in making a place 'good' (such as through a role in a ceremony) are contestations over what constitutes a place and over one's identity. Such 'strategic' contestations involve questioning *Nkai*, what a place is and what people are in relation to place and *Nkai*.

'Timeless truths' surrounding lineage seniority, custodianship and belonging, and people's embodied experiences and identities in relation to lineage, place and other more-than-humans are re-shaped and reified through competing claims. Identities and agency of certain places, plants and animals 'become' through their relationships with people, such as during ceremonies, and associations with *Ikerreti* and *Nkai*. Furthermore, concepts of seniority, lineage and *Ikerreti* are embodied (and reified as a timeless 'truths') through such enactments and relations.

The chapter forwards an analysis of how 'timeless truths' relating to identity, belonging and custodianship are instrumentally/strategically forwarded in order to claim rights to places - by forwarding informants' analyses of others being strategic. Analyses of the ways that people's relationships with the colonial administration and ethnic territoriality are associated with people's 'timeless' notions of identity, belonging and custodianship, are forwarded as a part of informants discourse and analyses. People's (accusations of others' strategic) portrayals of history, including lineage origins, their relationships with and agency of the colonial administration, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory, are understandable as a part of people's embodied ways of being a part of the landscape - which include relationships with more-than-humans, and 'timeless' notions of identities, belonging and custodianship.

For example, the colonial administration's annual eviction of Samburu from Mt Nyiro followed pre-colonial grazing practices in which people migrated between Mt Nyiro and the lowlands, which the administration recognised as belonging to Samburu through the designation of 'the original' Samburu District. Flat Rock people's identities of themselves and their ancestors (including their lineage histories) involves them having always been the senior custodians of this land (a Flat Rock territory within a Samburu District) - a claim recognised by the British. As custodians, Flat Rock residents have always secured goodness for people and the area through everyday practices, including ceremonies. This involves interactions with *Nkai* and other more-than-humans. Through securing goodness, living and moving across the land with their livestock, people and their livestock become familiar with and belong to the place.

Flat Rock's current herding practices of moving between Mt Nyiro and the lowlands, and means of enacting (and contesting) custodianship to secure goodness in their 'Flat Rock territory' which coincides with the 'original' Samburu District, are understandable within the context of portrayals of past interactions with the colonial administration and within the context of people's ways of experiencing and securing goodness in their more-than-human



world. People's analyses of others being strategic/instrumental in claims of belonging and custodianship are also understandable within these contexts.

Explanations of people's strategic claims to belonging based on ethnicity through manipulations of lineage histories in light of colonial and subsequent politically fuelled ideas of exclusive ethnic territoriality can be enhanced through engagement with people's lives, their analyses of 'others' strategic portrayals of identities, belonging and custodianship, and their associated portrayals of history in the way undertaken in chapter 5.

In chapter 6, the analysis broadens to show how Flat Rock lives are associated with other Samburu, Turkana, national and regional politics and networks of patronage. In order to achieve this, the discussion forwards people's perspectives of changing inter-ethnic conflict between Samburu and Turkana. Special attention is given to how violence is part of Flat Rock lives, and the identities and meanings they attached to people and places.

In an attempt to explain the complex nature of changing inter-ethnic pastoral conflict dynamics in northern Kenya, many scholars promote analyses of the ways that drivers of conflict (e.g. cultural, political and commercial) combine and mutually produce one another within wider historical, economic, social and political contexts (e.g. Greiner, 2013; Kratli and Swift, 2003; Lind, 2007).

Lind (2007), Sobania (1991) and Greiner (2013) propose that current conflict dynamics are a symptom of the colonial administration, in particular the breakdown in flexible inter-ethnic relationships and separation of mobile pastoralist 'tribes' to their own territories, weakening the capacity of once-connected groups to resolve conflicts. Inter-ethnic conflict changed to become about the exclusive right of ethnic groups to gain access to resources in 'their' territory through ethnically oriented patronage networks.

Many academics dealing with recent changes in pastoral conflict in East Africa (and northern Kenya in particular) have concentrated on the political undertones: in particular - how pastoral conflict dynamics has played into patronage politics since the introduction of multiparty-ism in 1990s (e.g. Schlee, 2012; Schlee and Shongolo, 2013; Broch-Due, 2005; Straight, 2009; Greiner, 2013; Boone, 2012; Scott-Villiers et al., 2014) and since devolution in 2014 (e.g. D'Arcy and Cornell, 2016; Cheeseman et al., 2014; Kochore, 2016). These analyses show how colonially introduced ideas of particular ethnic groups belonging exclusively to and having rights over

their own administrative district are promoted by modern politicians who seek power through ethnic alliances and incite their ethnic cohort to enact violence against, and expel, 'the other' ethnic group said not to 'belong'. Equally, these works show how the public similarly forward exclusive notions of ethnicity and belonging and condone violence against 'the other' in order to ensure that they have access to land and government resources via their own co-ethnic political patron.

Such analyses explain people's discourse surrounding ethnic identities, belonging and conflict, as politically strategic, a symptom of colonial interference of a pre-colonial pastoral system and a symptom of ethnic patronage politics of which conflict is a major element (e.g. Lind, 2007; Broch-Due, 2005; Greiner, 2013).

For example, when people emphasise apolitically how pastoral conflict has 'cultural' drivers (such as the imperatives of being *Imurran*) these are frequently explained by academics as strategic in an attempt to conceal (and/or are a symptom of) political drivers and associated ideas of exclusive ethnic territoriality, and commercial dimensions of conflict.

Lynch's (2010) and Jenkins' (2012) concerns may be applied to academics' analyses of people's instrumental portrayals of ethnicity, belonging and violence as symptomatic of ethnic clientelism politics and territorialised ethnicity with roots in colonialism, which do not engage with people's deeper, more embodied ways of experiencing place and conflict.

As chapters 4 and 5 show, Samburu of Flat Rock's portrayals of experiences and relationships with the colonial administration and leaders, and concepts of belonging and custodianship reflects an ontology in which people and non-humans are inter-dependent agents existing within a moral framework of *Ikerreti*, which determines goodness.

Analyses of conflict which do not engage with such ways of experiencing the world risk misunderstanding the ways people and politicians ('strategically') act and portray people, place, custodianship and belonging in order to gain benefits - and the associations with conflict.

For example, Flat Rock ways of understanding the relationship between people and place revealed in chapters 4 and 5, are a necessary context required to understand how the ways people of Flat Rock relate with places, and how meanings, identities and a 'timeless' sense of

belonging they attach to people and places, are inseparable from past and ongoing conflict with Turkana. Furthermore, this context is important in order to understand people's understandings of past and 'new types' of conflict, and portrayals/stereotypes of aggression and immoral 'land grabbing' tendencies of Turkana in order to strategically claim land which isn't theirs and exclude Samburu from Flat Rock/Samburu land and government resources.

Chapter 6 forwards people's portrayals and analyses of changing conflict dynamics in relation to Samburu and Turkana people's strategic manipulations/portrayals of 'timeless truths' surrounding identities and belonging in light of colonialism and patronage politics. It foregrounds how people attribute agency to people and processes, and how 'strategic' discourse regarding ethnicity, belonging, custodianship, politics, present and past relations between communities, colonial times, and past and present types of conflict, among other things, are assembled. This approach reveals how these things acquire salience and meaning to people through such discourse.

I spent less time with Turkana and was therefore unable to engage fully with the ontological undertones of their discourse surrounding people, place, politics and conflict. However, as with Samburu informants, I endeavoured to situate experiences and discourse surrounding conflict within people's own analyses of ('the other' being strategic in their) instrumental constructions of ethnicity and belonging, and the mutually reinforcing nature of various conflict drivers, in light of their portrayals of ethnicised politics and colonialism.

For example, Turkana informants portrayed Samburu leaders since colonial times as having strategically promoted ideas of Samburu ancestral land and Samburu as the rightful benefactors of administrative resources, and falsely portraying an aggressive Turkana wanting to exclude Samburu. Such Samburu rhetoric has accelerated since multiparty-ism and again since devolution, alongside Samburu politically incited violence to attempt to exclude Turkana from Samburu District/County. This has enabled Samburu *Imurran* to raid Turkana and enact '*Imurran*-ism' with impunity and shows how political and 'cultural' conflict drivers combine. In the face of Samburu claims to the contrary, many Turkana explained how they belong to Samburu County and narrated colonial times in light of these claims. They stereotyped Samburu people as aggressive and obsessed with excluding Turkana from Samburu County: such portrayals of Samburu explain Samburu past and present discourse and violent behaviour towards Turkana.

Many Turkana informants framed Samburu discourse of Turkana wanting to exclude Samburu from the county as strategic lies – incitement to create the illusion of an aggressive Turkana enemy in order to legitimise Samburu attacks on Turkana. Viewed in this light, Samburu portrayals of colonialism, conflict and stereotypes of Turkana are a tactical part of the violence.

Forwarding people's analyses has enabled insights into how changing relations, including conflict, between Samburu and Turkana, and ideas of politics and colonialism take form and meaning, and are related with people's 'timeless truths' surrounding identities, belonging and custodianship (and associated embodied experiences), which also becomes part of the violence.

Contextualised by the insights gained in chapters 4, 5 and 6 into lives of Flat Rock and other Samburu and Turkana communities, chapter 7 considers how the Lake Turkana Wind Power and Solar Power projects have become a part of Flat Rock, other Samburu, Rendile and Turkana people's lives. The insights gained in previous chapters take on new meaning in light of the investments discussed in chapter 7. Through attempting to forward people's perspectives and analyses, the chapter offers insights into the dynamics of relationships between communities and investment companies - including the dynamics of changing divisions and alliances, associated networks of (political) patronage, and violence.

Recent works analyse ways that the surge in state and non-state investments in northern Kenya, associated with the government's 'Vision 2030' development plan, play out between the companies, state and communities (e.g. Cormack, 2016; Greiner, 2016). They highlight the complexities of relationships between investors, politicians and communities, which form the interface of development projects/land privatisation and 'communities' in northern Kenya.

Greiner (2016) and Cormack (2016) describe how ethnic groups and their co-ethnic brokers strategically contest their right to benefit from investments and/or land privatisation in 'their place', where they belong, by forwarding versions of communal histories which frame their ethnic groups as having ancestral precedence in the location and custodianship rights over the land. People's strategic portrayals of ethnicity and belonging in order to secure their share of revenue and compensation from investments and other land privatisation initiatives are explained by the analysts as a symptom and continuation of colonial and post-colonial patronage networks and competition between ethnicities over land and resources. Thus,

these recent investments and other land privatisation initiatives are the newest dynamic of the political patronage game based upon ethnic exclusivity, rights and ability to benefit from state and non-state development.

The approach taken in chapter 7 differs. In line with the rest of the thesis, it attempts to forward informants' perspectives and analyses, including accusations of others being strategic, and their portrayals of past and present politics, administrations and conflict. I am conscious not to explain people's (strategic) discourse using my interpretations of historical context, which could risk misunderstanding informants' lives.

The approach taken in chapter 7 shows how Flat Rock people's portrayals of 'timeless truths' regarding lineage, ethnicity, belonging and custodianship, their stereotypes of 'others', and the ways they portray and analyse history, are in light of counter-versions by others based on lineage and ethnicity in order to claim benefits of investments. These portrayals are embodied through (recollections of) experiences and relationships with people, place and other more-than-humans as a part of the cosmology of *Ikerreti*. Through these experiences - identities and meanings of people, place, more-than-humans and *Ikerreti* are forged.

For example, Flat Rock Samburu accuse Samburu of Camel Clan from Ldonyo Mara of strategically manipulating communal histories and claiming custodianship of places in order to gain Wind Power benefits. Such behaviour is immoral. In light of these portrayals, Flat Rock informants forward 'timeless truths' concerning seniority, belonging and custodianship over places and people – which are based upon (and embodied through) portrayals of lineage histories associated with places, familiarity of the area and livestock likes/needs, and defending 'Samburu/Flat Rock territory' from Turkana. Such embodied experiences of people, place and custodianship involve more-than-human relationships and *Ikerreti*. People's portrayals of relationships with the colonial and more recent administrations, politicians, brokers, and related ideas of a Flat Rock/Samburu territory, must be understood within this broader context.

Flat Rock people's analyses of injustices and immoralities also involved accusations of Samburu leaders and brokers strategically navigating and manipulating relationships, including more-than-human relationships and the associated moral framework of *Ikerreti* (which are central to embodied experiences of people, place and custodianship), to divide and create alliances between people (the reader's understanding of which relies upon chapters 4-6). Accusations

of strategic claims to belonging to claim investment benefits and accusations of leaders dividing are only comprehensible within this Samburu 'social' world.

Even though less in-depth insights into the ontological worlds of Turkana and Rendile speakers were achieved, like Samburu - their perspectives were foregrounded, which has enabled insights into the way the Wind Power project is portrayed by those who live in the area, as being a part of their lives, including their relationships with others. I foregrounded the ways they (re)negotiate, 'create' and portray (their (past) relationships with) (political) patrons, 'the other', ethnicity, lineage, belonging, and how this fits with people's involvement in, and explanations of, the Wind Power Project. Privileging these perspectives enabled insights into the ways Rendile, Turkana and Samburu speakers analyse (and contest) their own and others' actions and (strategic) discourse of, for example, their lineage, ethnicity and belonging to Sarima and their rights to benefit from Wind Power. Various types of land tenure become salient through people's discourse of belonging. Concepts of custodianship developed in the previous chapters come to the fore in light of people's discourse about the Wind Power project. This enables a nuanced understanding of what 'customary' custodianship entails for different people and how and why it was (strategically) forwarded in different situations, such as claiming belonging and rights to Wind Power jobs.

Similarly to Flat Rock residents, many other people's portrayals of 'timeless' identities and their cohort belonging to the wind farm site were presented in light of their accusations that 'the other' (lineage or ethnicity), sometimes incited by their patron, had taken a more exclusive stance to belonging to places. Accusations of 'the other' taking an exclusive stance rested upon 'the other's' discourse, their access to a high number of Wind Power jobs and/or violence. For example, many Turkana speakers accused Samburu and Samburu patrons of being strategic in their portrayals of belonging, custodianship and land tenure rights in order to legitimise Samburu claims to Sarima and Wind Power benefits, and delegitimise Turkana claims to these things. In the face of such perceived strategic discourse, Turkana speakers forwarded their portrayals of ethnicity, belonging and land tenure rights. Many Samburu speakers also forwarded their counter-claims of custodianship over, and belonging to, Sarima in light of Turkana claims. They accused Turkana of tactically claiming custodianship and belonging to Sarima in order to claim the exclusive right to benefit from the project. Through paying attention to people's perspectives, what it is to be strategic and how people achieve this is nuanced within the context of people's lives.

People differently analysed leaders' and brokers' roles in strategically navigating people's complex networks of relationships (including Samburu more-than-human moral worlds) and what constitutes belonging in order to divide communities along various 'fractures'. For example, the Samburu broker and a local chief were accused by some Flat Rock people of dividing their youth (*Lmeoli* and *Lmetili* age-sets) in order to silence their protesting. In order to divide the youth, the broker used his position as an *Lmeoli* to gain the support of key *Lmeoli* players in the area who could influence the rest of the youth, including those protesting against him; he also secured the blessing of some of his age-mates (blessings form a strong bond between people and *Nkai* making it hard for them to argue for fear of going against *Ikerreti* and thus inviting badness). This thus restricted people's ability to protest against him. Some Flat Rock residents accused the chief of dividing the youth by encouraging those belonging to the Goat Clan, which he has kinship ties with, to side with him.

People analysed the ways that leaders' and brokers' strategizing involved propagating exclusive rhetoric of ethnicity and belonging, and inciting violence. According to people's analyses, incitement involves telling separate cohorts (ethnicities) that they should benefit from the project based upon ideas of belonging; and that 'the other' (who do not belong) want to exclude them from the area and benefits of the project. People's framings of ethnicity, belonging and portrayals of changing conflict dynamics are inseparable from such notions they forward of others being strategic. Allegations of incitement and division, alongside stereotypes of lineages, ethnicities and belonging, among other things, are part of the divisions, every day suspicions, tense atmosphere, incitement and violence which ensued.

For example, the dynamics of recent violence in the region between Turkana and Samburu/Rendile were portrayed by many informants (Samburu, Turkana and Rendile) alongside portrayals/stereotypes of 'the other' as aggressive, exclusionary in their claims to belonging, and their sponsorship by patrons because they want to gain exclusive benefits from the Wind Power Project. The Sarima attack was portrayed by many as an extension of wider Samburu-Turkana conflict in region, and differentially incorporated in people's framings of the nature and history of this conflict and its protagonists. Furthermore, in order to more fully understand such framings of conflict in light of Wind Power, the reader must consider the ways that conflict is a part of people's everyday lives and the ways they attach meaning to people and places – which are discussed in chapter 6.

Chapter 7 attempted to foreground people's perspectives, analyses and where possible engage with the ontological worlds which constitute people's lives and discourse, which enabled insights into the ways people relate with places and people, and their (analyses of others') 'strategic' representations of ethnicity, belonging and custodianship in light of the Wind Power investment. The chapter has attempted to show how identities, historical context and ontologies are interconnected and contested through relationships between communities, the state and investments, which involve relationships and 'becomings' between people and more-than-humans. It is hoped that this has offered a fresh understanding of the dynamics of relationships between northern Kenyan communities and investment companies, including the dynamics of changing divisions and alliances, associated networks of (political) patronage, and violence.

## **8.2 Critique of the approach developed in this thesis**

During fieldwork in Flat Rock I became increasingly concerned with how I related with people and the ethics of representation. I was particularly conscious not to fit people's ideas, lives and discourse into my pre-fieldwork worldview and ideas of 'what is possible' – which may misrepresent them. Over time, living in Flat Rock, I developed alternative ideas of 'what is possible', and began to understand the world in ways that were once alien to me. Through my experiences and transformations in Flat Rock, my way of understanding and being a part of the world changed; I reevaluated my 'UK scientific'-informed worldview. My conceptions of Flat Rock people's lives and their relations with people and more-than-humans are a part of this process.

The approach taken in this thesis, which attempts to understand people's lives and actions from their perspective, has emerged from these fieldwork experiences. In particular, I have tried to foreground how Samburu, Turkana and Rendile people's engagement with (and their portrayals of) past and present politics, conflict, and the Lake Turkana Wind Power project, are associated with their (accusations of others' strategic) portrayals of identities of people and place, belonging, claims to place, and divisions and alliances between communities (and allied patrons). With people of Flat Rock, care was taken to understand their experiences, relationships, portrayals and analyses as a part of their relationships with more-than-humans and cosmological ways of *lkerreti*.



The rationale behind this approach resonates with the political quest of the ontological turn, which expresses concern over academics' analytical frameworks that risk misunderstanding the way informants understand the world (Candea 2010a).

Candea (2010a) and Killick (2014), however, have concerns with the ontological turn for creating 'purified' versions of 'western' and 'the other' in terms of ontologies. I have been conscious not to portray an incommensurable, static Samburu ontology, isolated from 'external forces'. Rather, the thesis has attempted to show for different people of Flat Rock how *Ikerreti* and embodied ways of experiencing place and relationships between people, place and more-than-humans are a part of contestations over 'timeless truths' surrounding lineage, ethnicity and belonging in light of political and economic processes.

Like the ontological turn, multispecies ethnography and more-than-human geography question the researcher's categories of analysis. In particular, they raise questions concerning what humans and more-than-humans are, and possible relationships between them. They are creative projects, which attempt to give voice, agency and subjectivity to more-than-humans (Kirksey and Helmreich, 2010).

The novelty of the ontological and multispecies 'turns' has been questioned. For example, in reference to the ontological turn, Candea (2010a) writes that anthropologists and human geographers have always attempted to understand people's embodiment, world-making activities and perspectives, and have always been reflective in their use of analytical frameworks so as not to misunderstand informants' lives. I chose to engage with the ontological turn because it continues, and shines new light on, this social scientific endeavour. It challenges researchers to continue to question their positionality and analytical frameworks, and to creatively engage with different ways of experiencing and understanding the world.

The analysis of relationships between humans and more-than-humans (including the 'supernatural') is also nothing new for anthropologists and human geographers. For example, classic twentieth century ethnographies by Evans-Pritchard (1940), Douglas (1966) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952) foreground the roles of animals in human economic, livelihood, cultural and religious practices (Aisher and Damodaran, 2016). Multispecies ethnography is not a singular new approach or one with a monopoly of insight; it uses new vocabulary to re-work familiar ideas (Whatmore, 2002). For example, Haraway (2008) promotes moving beyond using non-humans as symbols for human world-making, and tracing "the mutually

entangled ‘worlding’ projects of humans and other species” (Aisher and Damodaran, 2016, p. 298).

Based on my transformative experiences in the field, I chose an analytical approach which draws on elements of multi-species species ethnography because of the emphasis it gives to engagement in the ways humans and non-humans are entangled.

In particular, the anthropocentric multispecies ethnographic approach developed in this thesis encourages engagement with agencies of more-than-humans (including the ‘supernatural’) as a part of people’s world-making activities. The thesis has demonstrated how Flat Rock residents’ relational ways of conceiving place, including belonging and custodianship, involve relationships between people and more-than-humans, and the associated cosmological ways of *lkerreti*. Identities of people, place and other more-than-humans emerge through these entanglements. Relationships between people are rooted in conceptions of place, which involve interactions with more-than-humans.

Thus through a multispecies lens, people have an embodied, entangled relationship with place in which they are not the only agents. People’s relationships with others (including leaders and brokers) in light of politics, conflict and investments, and people’s (strategic) (contested) portrayals of lineage/ethnicity and belonging cannot be understood outside of these embodied more-than-human dimensions. The thesis has shown how such embodied ways of experiencing place emerge as a part of (and inform) these contestations and relationships in light of political and economic processes.

Watson (2016), in a critique of multispecies animal ethnography, is concerned that its proponents do not acknowledge the anthropocentric nature of their research. Using examples, Watson argues that the ‘voice’ given to non-humans comes from the human researcher. Therefore, instead of challenging human exceptionalism, researchers reaffirm it by implicitly constructing the animal other in terms of the human self. The anthropocentric approach taken in this thesis, similarly to Archambault (2016), foregrounds how people perceive non-humans to be agents in their lives.

Although the anthropocentric multispecies ethnographic approach developed in this thesis has encouraged engagement with informants’ ways of experiencing and understanding the world, an approach which may be termed emic analysis, it is based on my interpretations of people’s

lives, which emerged as a part of my experiences and transformations in the field. Thus, like all social scientific encounters and research, the approach is *etic*.

Finally, my approach of forwarding people's portrayals of historical context alongside accusation of others being strategic in their portrayals of identities, belonging and custodianship could be criticised as downplaying or failing to engage with the impact of the colonial administration and post-colonial administrations and politicians on people's lives. Such a criticism would remind us that people and their portrayals of violence, politics and belonging are a product of history. The approach taken here is not denying such agency of 'external forces' on their lives. Rather, the thesis has tried to show how causality associated with colonial and post-colonial political and economic contexts were and are (portrayed as being) a part of people's lives in association with their interactions with current politics and investments, their identities, ideas of belonging and world-making practices.

## References

- Adano, W. R., Dietz, T., Witsenburg, K. and Zaal, F. (2012) 'Climate change, violent conflict and local institutions in Kenya's drylands', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1), pp. 65–80.
- Agrawal, A. (2002) 'Indigenous knowledge and the politics of classification', *International Social Science Journal* 54(3), pp. 287-297.
- Aisher, A. and Damodaran, V. (2016) 'Introduction: Human-nature Interactions through a Multispecies Lens' *Conservation and Society* 14(4), pp. 293-304.
- Archambault, J. S. (2010) 'Taking love seriously in human-plant relations in Mozambique: towards an anthropology of affective encounters' *Cultural Anthropology* 31(2), pp. 244-271.
- Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA) (2011) *Ethical Guidelines for good research practice*. Available at:  
<https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf>
- Behnke, R. H., Scoones, I. and Kerven, C. (eds.) (1993) *Range Ecology at Disequilibrium: New Models of natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas*. Overseas Development Institute, London.
- Berman, B. J. (1998) 'Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism', *African Affairs* 97(388), pp. 305-341.
- Bollig, M. and Osterle, M. (2007) "'We turned our enemies into baboons": warfare, ritual and pastoral identity among the Pokot of northern Kenya', in Rao, A., Bollig, M. and Bock, M. (eds), *The Practice of War: Production, reproduction and communication of armed violence*. New York: Berghahan Books, pp. 23-51.
- Bollig, M. and Schulte, A. (1999) 'Environmental Change and Pastoral Perceptions: Degradation and Indigenous Knowledge in two African Pastoral Communities', *Human Ecology* 27(3), pp. 493-514.
- Boone, C. (2012) 'Land Conflict and Distributive Politics in Kenya', *African Studies Review* 55(1), pp. 75-103.
- Broch-Due, V. (1990) 'Cattle are companions, goats are gifts: animals and people in Turkana thought' in Palsson, G. (eds) *From water to world-making: African models and arid lands*. Uppsala: Sweden.
- Broch-Due, V. (2000) 'A proper Cultivation of Peoples: The Colonial Reconfiguration of Pastoral Tribes and Places in Kenya', in Broch-Due, V. and Schroeder, R. A. (eds), *Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa*. Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 53-93.

- Broch-Due, V. (2005) 'Violence and belonging: Analytical reflections', in Broch-Due, V. (eds), *Violence and Belonging: The quest for identity in post-colonial Africa*. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 1-40.
- Brockington and Homewood (1996) 'Wildlife, pastoralists and science: debates concerning Mkomazi game reserve Tanzania', in Leach, M. and Mearns, R. *The lie if the land: challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Candea, M. (2010a) "'I fell in love with Carlos the meerkat": Engagement and detachment in human-animal relations' *American Ethnologist* 37(2), pp. 241-258.
- Candea, M. (2010b) 'For the Motion', in 'Ontology Is Just Another Word for Culture: Motion Tabled at the 2008 Meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester'. *Critique of Anthropology* 30(2), pp. 152-200.
- Carrier, N. and Kochore, H. H. (2014) 'Navigating Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Northern Kenya: The Case of the 2013 Election', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(1), pp. 135–152.
- Carrithers, M. (2010) 'For the Motion', in 'Ontology Is Just Another Word for Culture: Motion Tabled at the 2008 Meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester'. *Critique of Anthropology* 30 (2), pp. 152-200.
- Catley, A., Lind, J. and Scoones, I. (2013) 'Development at the Margins: Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa', in Catley, A., Lind, J. and Scoones, I. (eds.) *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins*. London: Routledge.
- Cheeseman, N., Lynch, G. and Willis, J. (2014) 'Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(1), pp. 2-24.
- Cormack, Z. (2016) 'The Promotion of Pastoralist Heritage and Alternative 'Visions' for the Future of Northern Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10(3), pp. 548–567.
- Cotula, L. and Vermeulen, S. (2009) 'Deal or no deal: the outlook for agricultural land investment in Africa', *International Affairs*, 85(6), pp. 1233–1247.
- Dahl, G. 'Mats and milk pots: the domain of Borana women' in Jacobson-Widding, A. and van Beek, W. (eds) *The creative communion: African folk models of fertility and the regeneration of life*. Uppsala: Sweden.
- Dahl, G. and Megerssa, G. (1990) 'The sources of Boran concepts of wells and water' in Palsson, G. (eds) *From water to world-making: African models and arid lands*. Uppsala: Sweden.

- D'Arcy, M. and Cornell, A. (2016) 'Devolution and corruption in Kenya: Everyone's turn to eat?', *African Affairs*, 115(459), pp. 246-273.
- Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Elliott, H. (2016) 'Planning, Property and Plots at the Gateway to Kenya's 'New Frontier'', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10(3), pp. 511-529.
- Ellis, J. E. and Swift, D. M. (1998) 'Stability of African pastoral ecosystems: alternative paradigms and implications for development', *Rangeland Ecology and Management* 41(6), pp. 450-459.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1940) *The Nuer: a description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford University Press.
- Fleisher, M. L. (2002) "'War is good for thieving!' The symbiosis of crime and warfare among the Kuria of Tanzania', *Africa* 72(1), pp. 131-49.
- Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) (2016), *Grassland Index by Latin names*. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/ag/agp/agpc/doc/gbase/latinsearch.htm>.
- Fratkin, E. (1997) 'Pastoralism, governance and development issues', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26(23), pp. 235-261.
- Fratkin, E. (2001) 'East African Pastoralism in Transition: Maasai, Boran, and Rendile Cases', *African Studies Review*, 44(3), pp. 1-25.
- Fratkin, E. and E.A. Roth (eds.) (2005) *As Pastoralists Settle: Social, Health, and Economic Consequences of Pastoral Sedentarisation in Marsabit District, Kenya*. New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Fukui, K. and Markakis, J. (1994) 'Introduction', in Fukui, K. and Markakis, J. (eds.), *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. James Currey: London.
- Galaty, J. (2005) 'Double-voiced violence in Kenya' in Broch-Due, V. (eds.), *Violence and Belonging: The quest for identity in post-colonial Africa*. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 173-194.
- Galaty, J. (2013) 'Land Grabbing in the Eastern African Rangelands' in Catley, A., Lind, J. and Scoones, I. (eds.) *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins*. London: Routledge.
- Galaty, J. (2014) 'Animal spirits and mimetic affinities: the semiotics of intimacy in African human/animal identities' *Critique of Anthropology* 34(1), pp. 30-47.

- Galaty, J. (2016) 'Boundary-Making and Pastoral Conflict along the Kenyan-Ethiopian Borderlands', *African Studies Review* 59 (1), pp. 97-122.
- Goldman, M. J., Nadasdy, P. and Turner, M. D. (eds.) (2011) *Knowing Nature: conversations at the intersection of political ecology and science studies*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Goldsmith, P. (1997) *Cattle, Khat, and Guns: Trade, Conflict, and Security on Northern. Kenya's Highland Lowland Interface*, Isiolo, Kenya: Appeal-Kenya, Conflict and Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa Case Study.
- Greiner, C. (2012) 'Unexpected Consequences: Wildlife Conservation and Territorial Conflict in Northern Kenya', *Human Ecology*, 40, pp. 415-425.
- Greiner, C. (2013) 'Guns, land, and votes: cattle rustling and the politics of boundary (re)making in northern Kenya', *African Affairs*, 112(447), pp. 216-237.
- Greiner, C. (2016) 'Land-use Change, Territorial Restructuring, and the Economies of Anticipation in Dryland Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10 (3), pp. 530-547.
- Haraway, D. (2008) *When species meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hardin, G. (1968) 'The tragedy of the commons', *Science*, 162, pp. 1234-1248.
- Hartigan, J. (2017) *Species* <http://www.multispecies-salon.org/species/>.
- Heine, B., Heine, I. and König, C. (1988) *Plant Concepts and Plant Use: An Ethnobotanical Survey of the Semi-Arid and Arid Lands of East Africa, Part V: Plants of the Samburu (Kenya)*. Breitenbach: Fort Lauderdale.
- Holbraad, M. (2010) 'Against the Motion', in 'Ontology Is Just Another Word for Culture: Motion Tabled at the 2008 Meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester', *Critique of Anthropology* 30(2), pp. 152-200.
- Holbraad, M. and Pedersen, M. A. (2017) *The Ontological Turn: And Anthropological Exposition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Holmgren, M. and Scheffer, M. (2001) 'El Nino as a window of opportunity for the restoration of degraded arid ecosystems', *Ecosystems* 4, pp. 151-159.
- Homewood, K. and Rogers, W. A. (1987) 'Pastoralism, conservation and the overgrazing controversy', in Anderson, D. and Grove, R. (eds.), *Conservation in Africa: people, policies and practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hjort, A. (1980) 'Ethnic Transformation, Dependency and Change' *Journal of Asian and African Studies* XVI (1-2), pp. 50-67.

- Igoe, J. (2006) 'Becoming indigenous peoples: difference, inequality, and the globalisation of east African identity politics', *African Affairs*, 105, pp. 399-420.
- Ingold, T. (2007) 'Earth, sky, wind and weather' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, pp. S19-S38.
- Jenkins, S. (2012) 'Ethnicity, violence, and the immigrant-guest metaphor in Kenya' *African Affairs* 111(445), pp. 576-596.
- Kenya Vision 2030, Government of Kenya. Available from <http://www.vision2030.go.ke>.
- Killick, E. (2014) 'Whose truth is it anyway?' *Anthropology of this century* 9. Available at: <http://aotcpress.com/articles/truth/>.
- Kirksey, S.E. and Helmreich, S. (2010) 'The emergence of multispecies Ethnography', *Cultural Anthropology*, 25(4), pp. 545-576.
- Klopp, J. M. (2000) 'Pilfering the Public: The Problem of Land Grabbing in Contemporary Kenya', *Africa Today*, 47(1), pp. 7-26.
- Kochore, Hassan H. (2016) 'The Road to Kenya? Visions, Expectations and Anxieties Around New Infrastructure Development in Northern Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10(3), pp. 494-510.
- Koross, K. (2012) 'Baragoi massacre: The untold story'. The Star Newspaper, 6<sup>th</sup> December. Available at: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-98557/baragoi-massacre-untold-story>.
- Kratli, S. (2008) 'Cattle breeding, complexity and mobility in a structurally unpredictable environment: the Wodaabe herders of Niger', *Nomadic Peoples*, 12(1), pp. 11-41.
- Kratli, S. and Schareika, N. (2010) 'Living off Uncertainty. The Intelligent Animal Production of Dryland Pastoralists', *European Journal of Development Research*, 22(5), pp. 605-622.
- Kratli, S. and Swift, J. (2003) 'Understanding and making pastoral conflict in Kenya: a literature review' DFID.
- Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. Available at: <http://www.ltwp.co.ke>.
- Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) *Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Study Report*. Available at: <http://www.ltwp.co.ke>.



- Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd. (2009) *Resettlement Action Plan (RAP): Lake Turkana Wind Power. Sirima [sic] Nomadic Pastoralist Relocation of the Community Encampment*. Available at: <http://www.ltwp.co.ke>.
- Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia (LAPSSET) Corridor Development Authority (LCDA). Available at: [www.lapsset.go.ke](http://www.lapsset.go.ke).
- Latour, B. (2008) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leach, M. and Mearns, R. (eds.) (1996) 'Environmental change and policy: challenging received wisdom in Africa', in *The lie if the land: challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Lentz, C. (1995) 'Tribalism' and ethnicity in Africa: a review of four decades of Anglophone research', *Cahiers des sciences humaines*, 31(2), pp. 303-328.
- Lesorogol, C. K. (2008) *Contesting the Commons: Privatising Pastoral Lands in Kenya*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Li, T. M. (2001) 'Relational histories and the production of difference on Sulawesi's upland frontier' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60(1), pp. 41-65.
- Lind, J. (2007) *Fortune and loss in an environment of violence: living with chronic instability in south Turkana, Kenya*, PhD Dissertation, University of London.
- Lindblad, J. E. and Furmage, S. "Anna Tsing on Landscapes and the Anthropocene." AnthroPod: The SCA Podcast, Cultural Anthropology website, July 6, 2016. Available at: <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/908-anna-tsing-on-landscapes-and-the-anthropocene>.
- Log Associates (2012) *Lake Turkana Wind Power Project: Indigenous Peoples Policy Framework*. Available at: <http://www.ltwp.co.ke>.
- Lynch, G. (2006) 'Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity politics in contemporary Kenya', *Review of African Political Economy* 33, pp. 49-65.
- Lynch, G. (2010) 'Histories of association and difference: the construction and negotiation of ethnicity' in Branch, D., Cheeseman, N. and Gardner, L (eds) 'Our turn to eat: politics in Kenya since 1950' Transaction Publishers. London.
- Massey, D. (2006) 'Landscape as a provocation: reflections on moving mountains' *Journal of Material Culture* 11(1/2), pp. 33-48.
- Mkutu, K. A. (2008) *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist conflict and small arms*. James Currey: Oxford.

- Mosley, J. and Watson, E. E. (2016) 'Frontier transformations: development visions, spaces and processes in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10(3), pp. 452-475.
- Nadasdy, P. (1999) 'The Politics of TEK: Power and the "Integration" of Knowledge', *Arctic Anthropology*, 36(1-2), pp. 1-18.
- Nadasdy, P. (2007) 'The gift in the animal: the ontology of hunting and human-animal sociality', *American Ethnologist*, 34(1), pp. 25-43.
- Niamir-Fuller, M. (1999) 'Towards a Synthesis of Guidelines for Legitimizing Transhumance', in Niamir-Fuller, M. (ed.) *Managing Mobility in African Rangelands: The Legitimization of Transhumance*. IT Publications and FAO: London and Rome.
- Norfund: The Norwegian Investment Fund for Developing Countries, *Lake Turkana Wind Power Limited*. Available at: <https://www.norfund.no/investmentdetails/lake-turkana-wind-power-limited-article11926-1042.html>.
- Nunow, A. A. (2013) 'Land Deals and the Changing Political Economy of Livelihoods in the Tana Delta, Kenya', in Catley, A., Lind, J. and Scoones, I. (eds.) *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins*. London: Routledge.
- Panelli, R. (2010) 'More-than-human social geographies: posthuman and other possibilities', *Progress in Human Geography* 34(1), pp. 79-87.
- Peterson, D. R. (2008) 'Miracles and Extraordinary Experience in Northern Kenya. By Belinda Straight, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 76(1), pp. 225-228.
- Pkalya, R., Adan, M. and Masinde, I. (2003) Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims in Northern Kenya. ITDG-EA.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1952) *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. Cohen and West Ltd.: London.
- Ranger, T. (1994) 'The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa' in Kaarlsholm, P. and Hultin, J. (eds) *Inventions and boundaries: historical and anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity and nationalism*. Roskilde University, Roskilde.
- Roba, H. G. and Oba, G. (2008) 'Integration of herder knowledge and ecological methods for land degradation assessment around sedentary settlements in a sub-humid zone in northern Kenya', *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, 15(3), pp. 251-264.

- Roba, H. G. and Oba, G. (2009) 'Efficacy of Integrating Herder Knowledge and Ecological Methods for Monitoring Rangeland Degradation in Northern Kenya', *Human Ecology*, 37, pp. 589-612.
- Sandford, S. (1983) *Management of Pastoral Development in the Third World*. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester: England.
- Schlee, G. (1992) 'Ritual topography and ecological use: the Gabbra of the Kenyan/Ethiopian borderland' in Croll, E. and Parkin, D. *Bush base: forest farm. Culture, environment and development*. Routledge: London.
- Schlee, G. (2010) 'Territorialising ethnicity: the political ecology of pastoralism in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. Working Paper 121, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale.
- Schlee, G. and Shongolo, A. A. (2012) *Pastoralism & Politics in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia*. UK: James Currey.
- Schlee, G. and Watson, E. E. (eds.) (2009) *Changing Identifications and alliances in north-east Africa. Volume 1: Ethiopia and Kenya*.
- Scoones I. (ed.) (1994) *Living with Uncertainty: New Directions in Pastoral Development in Africa*. Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd: London.
- Scoones, I. (1995) 'Exploiting heterogeneity: habitat use by cattle in dryland Zimbabwe', *Journal of Arid Environments*, 29, pp. 221-237.
- Scoones I. (1996) 'Range management science and policy: politics, polemics and pasture in southern Africa', in Leach, M. and Mearns, R. *The lie if the land: challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Scott-Villiers, P., Ondicho, T., Lubaale, G., Ndung'u, D., Kabala, N. and Oosterom, M. (2014) *Roots and Routes of Political Violence in Kenya's Civil and Political Society: A Case Study of Marsabit County, Addressing and Mitigating Violence*, Evidence Report, No 71. Brighton: IDS.
- Sobania, N. (1980) *The Historical Tradition of the Peoples of the Eastern Lake Turkana Basin c. 1840-1925* PhD Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Sobania, N. (1988) 'Pastoralist migration and colonial policy: a case study from northern Kenya', in Johnson, D. H. and Anderson, D. M. (eds.), *The Ecology of Survival*. London: Lester Crook.

- Sobania, N. (1991) 'Feasts, Famines and Friends: Nineteenth Century Exchange and Ethnicity in the Eastern Lake Turkana Region', in Galaty, J. G. and Bonte, P. (eds.), *Herders, Warriors, and Traders: Pastoralism in Africa*. USA: Westview Press, pp. 118-142.
- Southall, R. (1970) 'Reforming the state? Kleptocracy and political transition in Kenya' *Review of African Political Economy* 79(26), pp. 93-108.
- Spencer, P. (1965) *The Samburu: A Study of Geocentracy*. Routledge.
- Spencer, P. (1973) *Nomads in Alliance: Symbiosis and growth among the Rendile and Samburu of Kenya*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Straight, B. (2007) *Miracles and extraordinary experience in northern Kenya*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.
- Straight, B. (2009) 'Making Sense of Violence in the "Badlands" of Kenya', *Anthropology and Humanism* 34(1), pp. 21-30.
- Straight, B., Lane, P., Hilton, C. and Letua, M. "'Dust people": Samburu perspectives on disaster, identity, and landscape' *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 10(1), pp. 168-188.
- Strathern, M. (1988) *The gender of the gift: problems with women and problems with society in Melanesia*. University of California Press: London.
- Sullivan, S. and Homewood, K. (2003) 'On Non-Equilibrium and Nomadism: Knowledge, Diversity and Global Modernity in Drylands (and Beyond...)' CSGR Working Paper No. 122/03.
- Swift, J. (1996) 'Desertification: narratives, winners and losers', in Leach, M. and Mearns, R. *The lie if the land: challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Theisen, O. M. (2012) 'Climate clashes? Weather variability, land pressure, and organized violence in Kenya, 1989–2004', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1), pp. 81–96.
- Trollope, W. S. W. et al. (1990) 'Veld and pasture management terminology in southern Africa', *Journal of the Grassland Society of South Africa* 7(1), pp. 52-61.
- Tsing, A. L. (2015) *The mushroom at the end of the world: on the possibility of life in capitalist ruins*. Princeton University Press.
- Vermeulen, S. and Cotula, L. (2010) 'Over the heads of local people: consultation, consent, and recompense in large-scale land deals for biofuels projects in Africa', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 37(4), pp. 899-916.

- Viveiros de Castro, E. (1998) 'Cosmological deixis and Amerindian perspectivism', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 4, pp. 469–488.
- Viveiros de Castro, E. (2004) 'Perspectival anthropology and the method of controlled equivocation', *Tipiti*, 2(1), pp. 3-22.
- Viveiros de Castro, E. (2012) *Cosmological perspectivism in Amazonia and elsewhere*, four lectures delivered at the Department of Social Anthropology. University of Cambridge: Hau Masterclass Series.
- Watson, E. E. (2010) 'A "hardening of lines": landscape, religion and identity in northern Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 4(2), pp. 201-220.
- Watson, M. C. (2016) 'On multispecies mythology: a critique of animal anthropology', *Theory, Culture and Society* 33(5), pp. 159-172.
- Whatmore, S. (2006) 'Materialist returns: practising cultural geography in and for a more-than-human world', *Cultural geographies*, 13(4), pp. 600-609.
- Wright, K. (2017) *Becomings*. Available at: <http://www.multispecies-salon.org/becomings/>.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1

Table A1. Interview informant details

Code	Informant details	Location
Samburu informants of Flat Rock and other places in the area		
INT 1	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 2	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 3	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 4	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 5	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 6	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 7	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 8	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 9	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 10	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 11	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 12	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 13	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 14	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 15	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 16	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 17	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 18	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 19	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 20	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 21	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 22	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 23	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 24	Elderly female	Flat Rock
INT 25	Elderly female	Flat Rock
INT 26	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 27	Male elder	Flat Rock
INT 28	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 29	Chief from the area	Mt Nyiro area
INT 30	Chief from the area	Mt Nyiro area
INT 31	Chief from the area	Mt Nyiro area
INT 32	Male elder from town	Mt Nyiro area
INT 33	Male elder from town	Mt Nyiro area
INT 34	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
INT 35	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
Turkana informants of Marti		
INT 40	Male Turkana elder	Marti
Rendile informants of Korr		
INT 41	Male Rendile community leader	Korr
INT 42	Rendile chief from the area	Korr
INT 43	Male councillor	Korr
INT 44	Korr business man	Korr

INT 45	Male Rendile/Samburu elder	Korr
INT 46	Male Rendile elder, CLO for LTWP	Korr
Politicians of Marsabit County Assembly		
INT 47	MCA Loiyangalani ward (Turkana man)	Marsabit Town
INT 48	MCA for a ward in Laisamis constituency (Rendile man)	Marsabit Town
Informant from Loiyangalani		
INT 49	Male Turkana elder	Loiyangalani
Informants of Sarima		
INT 50	Male Turkana elder, LTWP employee	Sarima

## Appendix 2

Table A2. Group interview informant details

Code	Informant details	Location
Samburu informants of Flat Rock and the surrounding area		
GRO 1	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 2	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 3	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 4	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 5	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 6	Two male elders	Flat Rock
GRO 7	Many elders	Flat Rock
GRO 8	Male elders	Mt Nyiro area
Samburu informants of Baragoi		
GRO 9	Male Samburu elders	Near Baragoi
Turkana informants of Baragoi		
GRO 10	Tall Tree IDPs	Near Baragoi
GRO 11	Ex-Marti Councillor and another elder man	Baragoi
Samburu informants of Marti		
GRO 12	Men of the separate Samburu manyatta	Marti
Turkana informants of Marti		
GRO 13	Women of the separate Turkana manyatta	Marti
GRO 14	Turkana men	Marti
Samburu informants of Maralal		
GRO 15	Samburu Marti IDPs	
Turkana informants of Maralal		
GRO 16	Turkana Marti IDPs	
Rendile informants of Korr		
GRO 17	Two male Rendile elders	Korr
GRO 18	Rendile elders	Settlement near Korr
GRO 19	Two Rendile women	Korr
GRO 20	Four male Rendile elders	Korr
Politicians of Marsabit County Assembly		
GRO 21	The court case plaintiffs	Marsabit Town
Informants of Loiyangalani		
GRO 22	Male Samburu/Rendile elders	Loiyangalani
GRO 23	Male Samburu/Rendile elders	Loiyangalani
GRO 24	Two Turkana women and one man	Loiyangalani
GRO 25	Turkana men	Loiyangalani
GRO 26	Turkana men	Loiyangalani
GRO 27	Turkana women	Loiyangalani
Turkana informants of Sarima		
GRO 28	'Original' Sarima residents: Turkana men	Homestead with livestock, Sarima
GRO 29	'Original' Sarima residents: Turkana men	Homestead with livestock, Sarima
GRO 30	'Original' Sarima residents: Turkana men	Homestead with livestock, Sarima



GRO 31	'Original' Sarima residents: Turkana women	Homestead with livestock, Sarima
GRO 32	A group of women in Sarima (pro-wind power)	New Sarima village
GRO 33	Two men from Sarima committee of elders (pro-wind power)	New Sarima village
GRO 34	Turkana chief from the area and some other men	New Sarima village

### Appendix 3

Table A3. Conversation informant details

Code	Informant details	Location
CON 1	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 2	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 3	<i>Lmurrani</i> from town	Mt Nyiro area
CON 4	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 5	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 6	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 7	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 8	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 9	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 10	Educated male elder	Mt Nyiro area
CON 11	Male elder	Mt Nyiro area
CON 12	Educated male elder	Samburu County
CON 13	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 14	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 15	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Mt Nyiro area
CON 16	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 17	Educated <i>Lmurrani</i>	Baragoi
CON 18	Male elder	Flat Rock
CON 19	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 20	Educated male elder	Southern Kenya
CON 21	Woman of Flat Rock	Flat Rock
CON 22	Educated woman	Mt Nyiro area
CON 23	Educated Turkana youth from town	Marti
CON 24	Educated Turkana youth from town	Marti
CON 25	Turkana businessman	Baragoi
CON 26	Educated Turkana youth from Loiyangalani	
CON 27	Educated man of mixed Samburu and Turkana parentage	Maralal
CON 28	Educated son of Flat Rock	
CON 29	Educated Samburu man	
CON 30	Educated Rendile man	Korr
CON 31	Turkana business woman	Sarima
CON 32	Turkana LTWP employee	Sarima
CON 33	Turkana LTWP employee	Sarima
CON 34	Educated Rendile man	Loiyangalani
CON 35	Educated Turkana man	Loiyangalani
CON 36	Educated Turkana man	Loiyangalani
CON 37	Turkana man	Loiyangalani
CON 38	Senior Wind Power employee from southern Kenya	Phone conversation
CON 39	Samburu man pro-LTWP at the South Horr Rally	Mt Nyiro area
CON 40	Samburu man pro-LTWP at South Horr Rally	Mt Nyiro area
CON 41	<i>Lmurrani</i>	Flat Rock
CON 42	Educated Samburu elder	Mt Nyiro area
CON 43	Educated town youth	Mt Nyiro area

CON 44	Educated town youth	Mt Nyiro area
CON 45	Educated town youth	Mt Nyiro area

#### Appendix 4

Table A4. Samburu and Latin names for vegetation

Samburu name	Latin name	<i>Nkujit</i> (grass) or <i>Lkeek</i> (tree, shrub, herb). Grass = G; Shrub = S; Tree = T; Herb = H
Nyaput	Either <i>Sporobolus nervosus</i> or <i>S. pellucidus</i>	G
Rumoto	Either <i>Eragrostis macilenta</i> , <i>E. minor</i> , <i>E. cilianensis</i> , <i>E. porosa</i> , or <i>Eriochloa fatmensis</i>	G
Ntalankweni	Probably <i>Aristida adscensionsis</i>	G
Lanana	Probably <i>Setaria verticillata</i>	G
Lorrokue	Probably <i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i>	G
Loipuu	Probably <i>Stipagrostis hirtigluma</i>	G
Lonoro	Probably <i>Leptothrium senegalense</i>	G
Lkauwa	Probably <i>Chrysopogon plumulosus</i>	G
Lterien	Probably <i>Paspalidium desertorum</i>	G
Ltilimani	Probably <i>Euphorbia cuneate</i> or <i>E. candidula</i>	S/T
Samanderi	Probably <i>Commiphora candidula</i>	S/T
Larapasi	Either <i>Echinochloa haploclada</i> or <i>Echinochloa colona</i>	G
Ldurkoronyanto	<i>Duosperma eremophilum</i>	S
Lchurai	<i>Acacia reficiens</i>	T
Raragi	<i>Peponium vogelii</i>	S
Lcheni Nyiro	<i>Commifora africana</i>	T
Masai	Probably <i>Potamogeton trichoides</i>	H

Source of translations for Samburu names of vegetation: Heine et al. (1988)

## Appendix 5

Table A5. List of the years in which each Samburu age-set was circumcised

Age-set	Year in which the first group of boys were circumcised
<i>Lmetili/Lkishami</i>	2005
<i>Lmeoli</i>	1990
<i>Lkiro</i>	1976
<i>Lkishili</i>	1906
<i>Lkimaniki</i>	1948
<i>Lmekuri</i>	1936
<i>Lkileku</i>	1921
<i>Lmerisho</i>	1912
<i>Lterito</i>	1893
<i>Lmarikon</i>	1879
<i>Ltarigrig</i>	1865
<i>Lkiteku</i>	1851
<i>Lkipiku</i>	1837
<i>Lkipayang</i>	1823
<i>Lpetaa</i>	1809
<i>Lkurukwa</i>	1795
<i>Lmeishopo</i>	1781
<i>Lpepeet</i>	1767
<i>Lngerejon</i>	1753
<i>Lsakanya</i>	1739
<i>Lchingeo</i>	1724
<i>Lwantaro</i>	1709
<i>Lkipilash</i>	1694

Source: Schooled and 'un-schooled' Samburu. The order of the age-sets and dates prior to *Lkipayang* vary between people – the order given here is a best estimate. The age-sets and dates from *Lkipayang* to the present-day correspond with Spencer (1973). Spencer does not offer names and dates for age-sets older than *Lkipayang*.

## Appendix 6

A copy of the letter dated 14.08.2007, sent by Marsabit County Council to the national commissioner of lands granting permission for LTWP Ltd to lease 150 000 acres of land in Marsabit County.

### OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Telegrams: "DISTRICTER", Marsabit  
Telephone: Marsabit 069 -2001  
Fax 069 - 2436  
Email: dcmarsabit@yahoo.com  
When replying please quote.



THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
MARSABIT, EASTERN PROVINCE  
P.O. Box 1  
MARSABIT

LG 5/1. VOLII/53

24<sup>TH</sup> August 2007

THE COMMISSIONER OF LANDS  
P.O BOX 30089  
NAIROBI

RE: LAKE TURKANA WIND POWER

The above has come to us requesting for land generation of wind power. The council has granted them a lease for 99 years for 150,000 acres (one hundred and fifty thousand acres)

Their request (investors) was that the land be set aside and the council should not allow any development on the said land. To this extent the council has no objection.

I therefore request you to set aside the said land for that purpose and not to allow any development on it.

Attached find council resolution and survey plan for your perusal.  
Kindly assist them accordingly.

Yours faithfully,


  
NJENGA MURI  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
MARSABIT

Cc  
The Clerk  
Marsabit County Council  
P.O BOX 29  
MARSABIT

The Director  
Lake Turkana Wind Power  
P.O BOX 63716  
NAIROBI


## Appendix 7

A copy of the letter dated 26.11.2008, sent by the commissioner of lands to Marsabit County Council giving the Department of Land's approval for the leasing of land to LTWP Ltd.

<p>Telegrams: "AUTHORITY"          Telephone: Nairobi 217475          Fax: 217869          E-mail: moig@mbnet.co.ke          When replying please quote          Ref. No. <b>C/114270/(60)</b>          and date</p>		<p>JOGOO HOUSE "A"          TAIFA ROAD          P.O. Box 30004-00100          NAIROBI  <b>November 26, 2008</b>, 20.....</p>
--	---	--

The Commissioner of Lands  
 Ardhi House  
 P O Box 30450  
**NAIROBI**




**RE: ISSUANCE OF LEASE  
COUNTY COUNCIL OF MARSABIT**

The Hon. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Local Government has given approval for the issuance of lease to Lake Turkana Wind Power Limited at Loiyangalani for a period of 33 years.

The council gave approval under the Town Planning Committee meeting held on 13<sup>th</sup> August 2007 vide Minutes No. 11/TP/8/2007 and adopted by Full Council meeting held on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2008. The council further in a Full Council meeting held on 17<sup>th</sup> July 2008 ratified the same.

Please process the necessary documents.



**E. N. Torome**  
**For: PERMANENT SECRETARY**

C.C. County Clerk  
Marsabit County Council  
P O Box 20  
**MARSABIT**

The Land Registrar - **MARSABIT**

The Managing Director  
Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd  
**NAIROBI**

## Appendix 8

A copy of the 'Letter of Allotment' dated 18.03.2009, from the Department of Lands which grants LTWP Ltd. 60 705 hectares (150 000 acres) in Marsabit County.

Page 1:

TL/09/97  
 Telegram: "Land", Nairobi  
 Telephone: Nairobi 7182500  
 Lake Turkana Wind Power Ltd  
 P.O. Box 63716  
 NAIROBI  
 Ref. No. 19870/IX/145

REPUBLIC OF KENYA  
 REGISTERED  
 DEPARTMENT OF LANDS  
 P.O. Box 30089  
 NAIROBI  
 18th March, 2009.

SIR(S)/MADAM,  
 RE: MARSABIT DISTRICT LR 28031 FOR WIND POWER GENERATION PLANT

**LETTER OF ALLOTMENT**

I have the honour to inform you that the Government, on behalf of MARSABIT County Council, hereby offers you a grant of the above plot shown edged red on the attached plan No. subject to your formal written acceptance of the following conditions and to the payment of the charges as prescribed hereunder:

AREA: 60,705 hectares (approximately).  
 TERM: 33 years from the 1/3/2009  
 STAND PREMIUM: Sh. 15,600,000  
 ANNUAL RENT: Sh. 390,000

Subject to adjustment on survey, but there is no claim for reduction in area on survey.

GENERAL: This Letter of Allotment is subject to, and the grant will be made under the provisions of, the Government Lands Act (Cap. 280 of the Revised Edition the Laws of Kenya) and title will be issued under the Registration of Titles Act (Cap. 281) or the Registered Land Act (Cap. 300).

SPECIAL CONDITIONS: See attached.

2. I should be glad to receive your acceptance of the attached conditions together with banker's cheque for the amount as set out below within thirty (30) days of the postmark:

Stand Premium	Sh. 15,600,000.00	M.C.C.
Rent from 1/3/2009 to 31/12/09	325,000.00	M.C.C.
Conveyancing Fees	1,250.00	
Registration Fees	250.00	C.L.A.
Kates	631,800.00	
Stamp Duty		
Survey Fees On demand	2,000.00	
Road and Road Drains	450,000.00	C.L.
Others		
Approval fee		
Planning fee		
Receipt No. Less Deposit		
TOTAL	Sh. 17,010,300/-	

[P.T.O.]

\*Delete as appropriate.



Page 2:

If acceptance and payment respectively are not received within the said thirty (30) days from the date hereof the offer herein contained will be considered to have lapsed.

If the above plot is still unsurveyed at the time you commence building you should exercise the greatest care to ensure that any building or other works are contained within the boundaries of the plot for should you inadvertently overstep the aforesaid boundaries the cost of removal and reconstruction must be borne by you.

The issue of the Government grant or lease will be undertaken as soon as circumstances permit.

Your full name(s) in BLOCK LETTERS should be given for the purpose of the grant which will be submitted later to you. The attached special conditions form part of the offer which should be accepted in writing. The Government shall not accept any liability whatsoever in the event of prior commitment or otherwise.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir(s)/Madam,  
Your obedient servant,

Authority: Govt.  
19870/IX/142

P. K. KAHUHO

for Commissioner of Lands

ENCL.

TO: P/S Ministry of Lands and Settlement, Nairobi

The Director of Surveys, Nairobi.

The Town Clerk.

The Clerk to the Council, County Council of MARSABIT

The District Commissioner. MARSABIT

The Director of Physical Planning, Nairobi.

District Land Officer. Isiolo

O/C Land Rents.

Rates Assistant.

The Accountant.

O/C Records.

Senior Plan Record Officer.

Plot File.

All to note.

GPK (L)