Index

Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC), 95–96, 122–123, 125–126, 154
ahoi (landless men), 73
AL (Awami League), 289–290
allotment letters, 127–128
Al-Shabaab, 237–238
ancestral land claims in Mauche, 160–163
in Ogilgei, 150–152
title deeds versus, 227–231
anti-outsider narrative, 111, 124, 184–186, 232 See also fear of ethnic others
Arab land owners, 99–101
Arab-Swahili slave trade, 73
autochthones in Côte d’Ivoire, 288–289
Awami League (AL), 289–290
Bangladesh, 289–290
Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), 289
Belbar, 117–120
between-group inequality. See group inequality
BNL (political party in Bangladesh), 289–290
British colonial rule, land politics during, 72–76
Burundi, 285–288
campaign appeals. See electoral violence, mobilization of case selection, 64–69, 141–144 See also paired case comparisons
causal mechanism, defined, 35
caveats on title deeds, 183, 187
Cheboi, Moses, 223
CIPEV report (Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence), 204
civic engagement, 265–267, 269, 277–278, 281
civil war, as joint violence, 5–6
class-based inequality, ethnic-based inequality versus, 138–139
climate change, 28
CNTB (National Land Commission), 287
Coast region
electoral violence versus Rift Valley, 213–214
fear of ethnic others, 267, 273
group size in logic of violence, 232–233
history of violence, 216–218
insider-outsider narrative, 215
Kenyatta as landlord, 70
Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
land distribution versus Rift Valley, 64–65
land inequality, 215
land patronage in, 223–227
land politics versus inland region, 71–72, 98–102, 212–213
land reform, 79–80, 98–102
Land Title Ordinance of 1908, 74–76
logic of violence in, 218–219
mobilization of electoral violence, 215–216
new forms of violence, 241
outsiders in, 233–237
political trust, 269
Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138
secessionist movement in, 241
similarities with Rift Valley, 214–216
Tana River and Lamu county violence, 237–240
Ten Mile Strip, 73–74

title deeds versus ancestral land claims, 227–231

Colombia, 285, 294–296

Colonial Development Corporation, 86 colonial rule, land politics during, 72–76

Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV report), 204

Commonwealth Development Corporation, 86

comparative case study, 60–62

competition in political campaigns

alternative measures, 315
electoral violence and, 252, 256–259
contentious land narratives

causal role of, 111
in Coast region, 215
criteria, 109
defined, 37–39, 141
electoral violence and, 108, 176–178

Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135

land inequality and, 141, 144–147, 283

Likia and Mauche paired case comparison, 121

in Mauche, 160–163

moderate land inequality and, 47–48

Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 125–129

Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138

significant land inequality and, 48–49

variation within, 111–112

widespread nature of, 111

corruption, electoral violence and, 17–18

Côte d’Ivoire, 288–289

Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, 74

Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, 76
defense (as reason for violence), 199–204

Delamere family, 130
democratization, violence of, 16–17
demographic variables, 253–254
direct exposure to violence, 269–271
divisive land appeals. See electoral violence, mobilization of

Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), 193, 194
electoral contention, defined, 11
electoral violence. See also joint violence; local electoral violence after Kibaki election, 173
categories of, 12
Coast region versus Rift Valley, 213–214
in Colombia, 294–296
contentious land narratives and, 108, 176–178
cost of, 57, 59
defined, 9–13
degrees of land inequality and, 43–44, 49
detailed view, 45
direct exposure to, 269–271
elite logic of, 55–57
existing studies, 34–35
in Hell’s Gate, 132
history in Coast region and Rift Valley, 216–218
history in Kenya, 13–15
identity politics and, 21–23
indirect exposure to, 247–248, 257
individual predictors of, 245, 246–257, 316
institutionalist accounts, 16–19
instrumentalist accounts, 19–21
interview questions, 302–303
joint production of, 57–59
justification of, 52
local leadership and, 158–160
logics of, 174–175, 209
material and ideational accounts, 23–26
national-level data, 317–319
political competition and, 252, 256–259
prevalence of, 9–10
reasons for participation, 197
role of land in, 27–30, 35
summary view, 36
timeframe for, 11
electoral violence, effect of, 245–246, 261–267, 279–281
analysis, 271–278
electoral violence, effect of (cont.)
fear of ethnic others, 263–264, 267–268, 271–275, 280
inter-ethnic civic engagement, 263–267, 269, 277–278, 281
measurement of, 267–271
in Coast region, 215–216
generalization of theory, 284–296
in Ghana, 293–294
implications for studying, 296–297
individual exposure to, 248–251, 255, 279
injustice narratives, 182–187
insecurity narratives, 187–193
interview questions, 303–304
electoral violence, stages of, 175–176, 209–210
local escalation, 199–204
methodology, 179–181
mobilization of electoral violence, 181–193
scale shift, 204–209
trigger events, 193–199
elites. See also landed elites; political elites
bargaining power from land narratives, 51–52
Coast versus inland region land politics, 71–72
electoral violence organization by, 7–8
land patronage via settlement schemes, 90–91
origin of wealth, 46–47
theories of electoral violence, 19–21
escalation of violence
local escalation, 176, 199–204, 283
scale shift, 176, 204–209
Ethiopia, 284
ethnic citizenship, national citizenship versus, 110
ethnic outsiders, 13–14 See also fear of ethnic others; insider-outsider narrative
ethnicity. See also group inequality
class-based inequality versus, 138–139
fear of ethnic others, 263–264, 267–268, 271–275, 280
inter-ethnic civic engagement, 265–267, 269, 277–278, 281
in Tanzania, 290–292
Umoja and Belbar paired case comparison, 117–120
ethno-linguistic fractionalization index (ELF), 21, 252–253, 259–261
FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), 294
fear of ethnic others, 263–264, 267–268, 271–275, 280 See also anti-outsider narrative
focus groups
list of, 305–306
methodology, 179–181, 298–299
“free” land, campaign appeals for, 251, 256 See also injustice narratives
fuata nyayo, 93–94
Gbagbo, Laurent, 289
GEA Holding Corporation, 91
generalization of theory, 284–296
Bangladesh, 289–290
Burundi, 285–288
Colombia, 294–296
Côte d’Ivoire, 288–289
Ghana, 292–294
Tanzania, 290–292
Ghana, 292–294
Gini coefficient, 42
“grants from above”, 101
greed, electoral violence and, 23–26
grievances
electoral violence and, 23–26
narratives versus, 38–39
shaping by group inequality, 43
group inequality, 41–42
class-based versus ethnic-based, 138–139
land equality, 44
moderate land inequality, 44–46
qualitative measurement, 115–116
shaping of grievances, 43
significant land inequality, 46–47
socialization via land narratives, 50–51
group size, logic of violence and, 219, 231–233
Gurr, Tedd, 40

_hakuna cha bure_ ("nothing is for free"), 81–84
Haraka schemes, 98
Hell’s Gate
anti-outsider narrative, 186–187
Naivasha flower farms paired case comparison, 129–132
scale shift in violence, 205–206
history of electoral violence in Coast region and Rift Valley, 216–218
history of Kenyan land politics
British colonial rule, 72–76
independence, 80–84
land reform in Coast region, 98–102
LBCs (Land Buying Companies), 91–93
Mau Mau civil war, 76–80
settlement schemes, 84–91
under Moi, 93–97
history of landlordism, 70–71
horizontal inequality, 41
Houphouët-Boigny, Félix, 288
household-level survey methodology, 62–63
sampling strategy, 313–314
tables, 307–313
Hutchinson, Sharon, 229
Hutus, 286–287

ICC (International Criminal Court), 181, 189
ideational accounts of electoral violence, 23–26
identity politics
electoral violence and, 21–23
land and, 29
independence
land politics during, 80–84
settlement schemes after, 84–91
indirect exposure to violence, 247–248, 257
individual inequality, 40–41

individual-level violence
direct exposure to, 269–271
indirect exposure to, 247–248, 257
predictors of, 245, 246–257, 316
individuals, exposure to campaign appeals, 248–251, 255, 279
inequality
degrees of, 43–44
group-level, 41–42
individual-level, 40–41
measurement of, 40–43
types of, 42–43

injustice narratives
defined, 39
“free” land appeals, 251, 256
logic of violence and, 53, 182
in Mauche and Likia, 181, 182–187
inland region. See also Rift Valley
land patronage, 70
land politics versus Coast region, 71–72, 98–102, 212–213

insecurity narratives
campaign appeals and, 251, 256
defined, 40, 181–182
logic of violence and, 53, 182
in Mauche and Likia, 187–193
insider-outsider narrative, 38, 54–55
in Burundi, 287–288
in Coast region, 215
in Côte d’Ivoire, 288–289
in Ghana, 292–294
logic of violence and, 231–233
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 128–129
institutionalist accounts of electoral violence, 16–19
instrumentalist accounts of electoral violence, 19–21
inter-ethnic civic engagement, 265–267, 269, 277–278, 281
in-group inequality. See group inequality
International Criminal Court (ICC), 181, 189
_interviews_
list of, 304–305
methodology, 180, 298–299
questions, list of, 299–304
invader narrative, 110–111
Iran, 284
Index

Jamaat-e-Islami, 289–290
joint violence, 2
civil war as, 5–6
defined, 12
production of, 57–59
Jubilee Alliance, 181
Jubilee Party, 108

KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union), 80–81
Kaggia, Bildad, 82
Kalenjin. See also Moi, Daniel arap
fear of ethnic others, 273
incentives for violence, 175
injustice narratives, 181, 182–187
insecurity narratives, 187–193
Jubilee Alliance, 181
LBCs (Land Buying Companies) and, 92
logic of violence, 182
in Nakuru County, title deeds held, 114–115
national versus ethnic citizenship, 110
Ogiek, 142
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 125–129
population percentage, 65
"uprooting the weeds," 52

Kalenjin, in Mauche
contentious land narratives, 160–163
description of, 140
insider-outsider narrative, 38
land acquisition processes, 163–165
land insecurity, 165–166, 168–169
local escalation of violence, 199–204
paired case comparison, 121, 141–144, 160–168
reaction to 2007 election, 1–2, 3
reaction to Kibaki election victory, 173
trigger events for violence, 193–199

Kalenjin, in Ogilgei
description of, 140
land acquisition processes, 152–155
land security, 156–158, 168–169
local leadership, 158–160
paired case comparison, 117, 141–142, 149–160
reaction to 2007 election, 2, 3

Kalenjin Enterprise, 152–154
KANU. See Kenya African National Union (KANU)
Kariuki, G.G., 92
Kaya Bombo, 217–218
Kenya
history of electoral violence, 13–15
national versus ethnic citizenship, 110
relationship between land and electoral violence, 29–30
themes of land narratives, 38
Kenya, history of land politics
British colonial rule, 72–76
independence, 80–84
land reform in Coast region, 98–102
LBCs (Land Buying Companies), 91–93
Mau Mau civil war, 76–80
settlement schemes, 84–91
under Moi, 93–97
Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), 80–81
Kenya African National Union (KANU)
anti-outsider narrative, 232
electoral violence in 1990s, 13–15, 217–218
during independence, 80–81
violence and land politics, 96–97
Kenya People’s Union (KPU), 82
Kenyatta, Jomo, 125, 126
KANU versus KADU, 80–81
land acquisition in Mauche, 163
land acquisition in Ogilgei, 153, 155
Moi transition from, 93–95
“nothing is for free,” 81–84
settlement schemes, 86, 87–88, 98
sons-of-the-soil conflict, 120
violence under, 96

Kenyatta, Uhuru, 15, 70
distribution of title deeds, 108
Kikuyu-Kalenjin alliance, 162
trial of, 181

Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), 194

Kerma
description of, 142
Ogilgei paired case comparison, 117, 141–142, 149–160
Kibaki, Mwai, 2, 15, 162
caveats on title deeds, 183, 187
Index

electoral violence in Mauche, 173
Mauche land rights, 143
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 127
patronage politics of, 220
Ruto speech about, 188–189
settlement schemes, 86, 88
sugar plantations, 137
trigger events for violence, 193, 194–197
KICC (Kenya International Conference Centre), 194
Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
Kikuyu. See also Kenyatta, Jomo in Coast region, 98
as ethnic outsiders, 14, 38
fear of ethnic others, 273
history of land patronage, 73
independence, 80–81
injustice narratives, 181, 182–187
insecurity narratives, 187–193
Jubilee Alliance, 181
logic of violence, 182
Mau Mau civil war and, 76–78
Mungiki and, 206–208
Naivasha flower farms paired case comparison, 129–132
in Nakuru County, title deeds held, 114–115
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 125–129
population percentage, 65
settlement schemes, 88–90
Tipis and Mwisho wa Lami paired case comparison, 121–125
“uprooting the weeds”, 32
Kikuyu, in Mauche contentious land narratives, 160–163
description of, 140
land acquisition processes, 152–155
land security, 156–158, 168–169
local leadership, 158–160
paired case comparison, 117, 141–142, 149–160
reaction to 2007 election, 2, 3
Kilifi County electoral violence in, 213–214
group size in logic of violence, 232–233
Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
land insecurity in, 233
similarities with Rift Valley, 214–216
Kimani, Kihika, 91–92, 121, 144, 154
Koinage, Mbiu, 122
Komen, Kibowen, 152–154
Koros, David Kiptanui, 223
KPU (Kenya People’s Union), 82
Kwale County electoral violence in, 213–214
group size in logic of violence, 364–66,
Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138
similarities with Rift Valley, 214–216
Kwale International Sugar Company (KISCOL), 137
Lake Kenyatta Settlement Scheme, 98
Lamu County, violence in, 237–240
land identification with, 29
as livelihood source, 27–28
state building and, 29
as territory, 28–29
land acquisition processes contentious land narratives and, 144–147
“free” land, 145–146
local leadership and, 148–149
in Mauche, 163–165
in Ogilgei, 152–153
purchasing land, 145
relational land security, 147–148
Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya, 90
Land Buying Companies (LBCs) defined, 8, 60
land patronage via, 91–93
Land Buying Companies (LBCs) (cont.)
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 125–129
Land Development and Settlement Board (LDSB), 85
land equality, 44, 48
non-contentious land narratives and, 107
qualitative measurement, 115–116
Umoja and Belbar paired case comparison, 117–120
land inequality, 6
in Coast region, 215
costentious land narratives and, 141, 144–147, 283
degrees of, 43–44, 49
electoral violence and, 108
in Ghana, 292–294
in Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
at local level, 113–115
moderate. See moderate land inequality
at national level, 112–113
qualitative measurement, 115–116
in Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138
significant, 6, 46–47, 48–49, 283
in Tanzania, 290–292
Tipis and Mwisho wa Lami paired case comparison, 121–125
land insecurity
in Kilifi County, 233
in Mauche, 165–166, 168–169
land institutions, interview questions, 301–302
land narratives. See also anti-outsider narrative; contentious land narratives; injustice narratives; insecurity narratives; non-contentious land narratives
bargaining power from, 51–52
correlation with electoral violence, 176–178
defined, 36–37, 141
defining and measuring, 109–112
discourse provided by, 51
in electoral violence theories, 18–19
generalization of theory. See generalization of theory
land insecurity in Kili County, 233
in Mauche, 165–166, 168–169
land institutions, interview questions, 301–302
land narratives. See also anti-outsider narrative; contentious land narratives; injustice narratives; insecurity narratives; non-contentious land narratives
bargaining power from, 51–52
correlation with electoral violence, 176–178
defined, 36–37, 141
defining and measuring, 109–112
discourse provided by, 51
in electoral violence theories, 18–19
generalization of theory. See generalization of theory
land patronage
bargaining power from, 51–52
claim-making strategies, 227–231
in Coast region, 223–227
contentious land narratives and, 47–48
defined, 47, 221
electoral violence and, 17–18
in inland region, 70
of Kikuyu elders, 76–78
LBCs (Land Buying Companies) and, 91–93
in Mauche, 163–165
mobilization of electoral violence, 54
moderate land inequality and, 283–284
in Rift Valley, 221–223
settlement schemes and, 84–91
strength of, 219, 220–231
land politics. See also land patronage; landlordism
during British colonial rule, 72–76
Coast versus inland region, 71–72, 98–102
during independence, 80–84
during Mau Mau civil war, 76–80
under Moi, 93–97, 145
land reform
in Coast region, 79–80, 98–102

group socialization via, 50–51
implications for studying, 296–297
interview questions, 300–301
invader narrative, 110–111
justification of violence, 52
land security and, 168–169
local electoral violence and, 2–3, 6–7
local leadership and, 158–160
logic of violence and, 32–53, 182, 218–219
material and ideational elements, 26
mobilization of electoral violence. See electoral violence, mobilization of national versus ethnic citizenship, 110
outsiders in Coast region, 233–237
paired case comparisons. See paired case comparisons
role in electoral violence, 27–30, 35
scenarios of, 6
title deeds in, 107–108
Index

“nothing is for free,” 81–84
Swynnerton Plan, 78–79
land security
interview questions, 300
land narratives and, 168–169
in Ogilgei, 156–158
relational, 147–148
Land Title Ordinance of 1908, 74–76
landed elites, 46–47, 224–225
landlordism, 108
in Coast region, 70, 99–101
contentious land narratives and,
48–49
defined, 46–47
history of terminology, 70–71
Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
mobilization of electoral violence, 54
Naivasha flower farms paired case comparison, 129–132
LBCs. See Land Buying Companies (LBCs)
LDSB (Land Development and Settlement Board), 85
Likia
description of, 142–144
injustice narratives, 181, 182–187
insecurity narratives, 187–193
local escalation of violence, 199–204
Mauche paired case comparison, 121, 141–144, 160–168, 179
Likoni, violence in, 217–218
local electoral violence
argument summary, 5–8
escalation of, 176, 199–204, 283
examining reasons for, 2–5
joint production with political elites, 57–59
in Kenya 2007 election, map of, 3–5
land narratives and, 2–3, 6–7
organization of, 7–8
trigger events, 197–199
local leadership
in land acquisition process, 148–149
land security and, 168–169
in Mauche, 166–168
in Ogilgei, 158–160
local-level inequality, 113–115
logic of violence
group size and, 231–233
land narratives and, 52–53, 182, 218–219
participation in violence and,
174–175, 209
political elites and, 55–57
Luhya, 156–157
Luo
anti-outsider narrative, 186–187
Naivasha flower farms paired case comparison, 129–132
Maasai, 121–125
majimboism
defined, 14
in independence land politics, 80–81
national citizenship versus, 110
majoritarian institutions, electoral violence and, 17
MAS (Million-Acre-Scheme), 85–86
material accounts of electoral violence, 23–26
Mathenge, Isaiah, 100, 125, 164
Mau Forest Complex, 165–166
Mau Mau civil war, 76–80, 88–90
Mauche
contentious land narratives in, 160–163
description of, 140, 142–144
injustice narratives, 181, 182–187
insecurity narratives, 187–193
insider-outsider narrative, 38
land acquisition processes in, 163–165
land insecurity in, 165–166, 168–169
Likia paired case comparison, 121, 141–144, 160–168, 179
local escalation of violence, 199–204
local leadership in, 166–168
national versus ethnic citizenship, 110
reaction to 2007 election, 1–2
reaction to Kibaki election victory, 173
trigger events for violence, 193–199
methodology, 59–69
case selection, 141–144
comparative case study, 60–62
household-level survey, 62–63
interviews and focus groups, 179–181, 298–299
methodology (cont.)
paired case comparisons, list of, 116–117
research design and case selection, 64–69
socio-economic and demographic variables, 253–254
summary of, 8–9
Mijikenda
Arab-Swahili slave trade, 73
fear of ethnic others, 273
history of land patronage, 107, 110–113
insider-outsider narrative, 273–278
history of land acquisition, 140
Moi, Daniel arap, 81
land acquisition in Ogilgei, 142
land equality and, 107
patronage politics and, 132–138
majebehoism, 81
outsider land narratives, 215
Mungiki, 279–281
Mwambao (Ten Mile Strip), 73–74
Naivasha flower farms paired case comparison, 129–132, 205–207
Naivasha, 117, 121, 140–142
Nakuru County
description of, 140
electoral constituencies, 142
Nakuru County, paired case comparisons
Likia and Mauche, 121, 141–144, 160–168, 179
Naivasha flower farms, 129–132
Ogilgei and Kerma, 117, 141–142, 149–150
Oljorai and Nyakinyua, 125–129
Narratives. See also land narratives defined, 36
grievances versus, 38–39
injustice narratives, 39
insecurity narratives, 40
National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC), 15, 127
national citizenship, ethnic citizenship versus, 110
National Land Commission (CNTB), 287
national-level electoral violence, 317–319
national-level inequality, 112–113
Ndadye, Melchior, 286
Ndorobo. See Ogiek
neighboring, defined, 107
Ngala, Ronald, 81
Ngawataniro Land Buying Company, 91
Ndżydzy, Pierre, 287
non-contentious land narratives, 39, 48
criteria, 109
defined, 141
land equality and, 107
in Ogilgei, 150–152
“nothing is for free,” 81–84
Ntirama, William Olo, 107, 190, 222–223
Nyakinyua Co-operative Society (Ltd), 125–129
Nyerere, Julius, 291
Odinga, Oginga, 82
Odinga, Raila, 1, 131, 192, 194, 223
Ogiek, 142, 164, 167
Ogilgei
description of, 140
Index

Kerma paired case comparison, 117, 141–142, 149–160
land acquisition processes in, 152–155
land security in, 156–158, 168–169
local leadership in, 158–160
non-contentious land narratives in, 150–152
reaction to 2007 election, 2, 3
Oljorai
local trigger events for violence, 197–198
Nyakinyu paired case comparison, 125–129
scale shift in violence, 205
Operation Linda Nchi, 237
Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party, 1, 15, 188
Orma, 237
outsiders. See also insider-outsider narrative
in Coast region, 233–237
scale shift in violence, 206
paired case comparisons
Kijipwa Settlement Scheme, 132–135
Likia and Mauche, 121, 141–144, 160–168, 179
list of, 116–117
Naivasha flower farms, 129–132
Ogildei and Kerma, 117, 141–142, 149–160
Oljorai and Nyakinyu, 125–129
Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138
Tipis and Mwisho wa Lami, 121–125
Umoja and Belbar, 117–120
parastatals, 95–96
parochial altruism, 265
participation costs of electoral violence, 25
Party of National Unity (PNU), 1, 15
patronage. See land patronage
Pokomo, 237, 238
police bias, 202–203
political competition
alternative measures, 315
electoral violence and, 252, 256–259
political elites, 47
joint production of violence, 57–59
logic of violence and, 55–57
predictors of violence. See individual-level violence, predictors of private violence, defined, 12
questions for interviews, list of, 299–304
Ramisi Settlement Scheme, 135–138
Ramisi Sugar Factory, 136–137
relational land security, 147–148
research design, 64–69
revenge (as reason for violence)
local escalation, 199–204
scale shift, 204–209
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 294
Rift Valley
electoral violence versus Coast region, 213–214
fear of ethnic others, 267, 271–273
group size in logic of violence, 232
history of violence, 216–218
land distribution versus Coast, 64–65
land patronage in, 221–223
land politics versus Coast region, 212–213
political trust, 269
similarities with Coast region, 214–216
title deeds versus ancestral land claims, 227–231
Ruto, William
alliance with Uhuru Kenyatta, 162
land patronage in Coast region, 223
mobilization of electoral violence, 250
speech about Kibacki, 188–189
title deeds, 191
trial of, 181
in 2007 election, 1, 194
voter suppression, 195
Rwandan genocide, 202
Sang, Joshua Arap, 249
scale shift in violence, 176, 204–209
secessionist movement in Coast region, 241
selective violence, 58–59
Settlement Fund Trustees (SFT), 86
settlement schemes after independence, 84–91
in British colonial rule, 74
in Coast region, 98–102
data on, 319
defined, 60
Kijipwa paired case comparison, 132–135
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 125–129
Ramisi paired case comparison, 135–138
significant land inequality, 6, 46–47, 48–49, 283
sisal estates, 133
slavery, 73
social engagement, 263–267, 269, 277–278, 281
socio-economic variables, 253–254
Somalia invasion, 237
sons-of-the-soil conflict, 39, 120
squatter settlement schemes, 98–99
Kijipwa, 132–135
Ramisi, 135–138
stages of violence list of, 175–176, 209–210
local escalation, 199–204
methodology, 179–181
mobilization of electoral violence, 181–193
scale shift, 204–209
trigger events, 193–199
state-sponsored violence, defined, 12
Straus, Scott, 202
strength of land patronage, 219, 220–231
in Coast region, 223–227
in Rift Valley, 221–223
title deeds versus ancestral land claims, 227–231
sub-national groups, defined, 37
sugar plantations, 135–138
Sultan of Zanzibar, 73–74, 75
Sultan Palace, 133
Swynnerton, J. M., 78–79
Swynnerton Plan, 78–79
Tana River County, violence in, 237–240
Tanzania, 290–292
Ten Mile Strip, 73–74
Tipis and Mwisho wa Lami paired case comparison, 121–125
Tipis, Justus Ole, 121
title deeds ancestral land claims versus, 227–231
campaign appeals for, 250–251, 255–256
caveats on, 183, 187
fear of ethnic others and, 274
in land narratives, 107–108
Likia and Mauche paired case comparison, 121, 160–163
in Nakuru County, 114–115
in Ogilgei, 150–152, 156–158
Oljorai and Nyakinyua paired case comparison, 127–128
Tipis and Mwisho wa Lami paired case comparison, 121–125
Umoja and Belbar paired case comparison, 117–120
tourism, 225
trigger events for violence, 176, 193–199
defined, 193
Kibaki election, 194–197
local events, 197–199
Tutsi, 286–287
Ujamaa policy, 291–292
Umoja, 117–120
“uprooting the weeds,” 52
vertical inequality, 41
villagization, 291–292
violence. See also electoral violence appeal to, 248–250, 255, 279
under Kenyatta, 96
under Moi, 96–97
new forms in Coast region, 241
in Tana River and Lamu counties, 237–240
Index 357

Vipingo Ridge, 134
Vipingo Settlement Scheme, 98
voter suppression, 55–56, 195–196
witches, 188–189

Wood, Elisabeth, 196
World Bank, 86
Zanzibar, 291