

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK**

**EFFECTIVENESS OF CATTLE RUSTLING MITIGATION STRATEGIES AMONG  
PASTORAL COMMUNITIES: A CASE OF LOIMA SUB COUNTY, TURKANA  
COUNTY**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project paper is my original work and has not presented for a degree in this university or for any other award.

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## APPROVAL

This project paper is submitted for the award of Master of Arts degree in Sociology (Disaster Management) with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Pastoralism is an activity of raising herds of animals for economic production that is done mostly in the Northern parts of Kenya and is within the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). The communities who live there have a long history of conflicts which revolves around natural resources like water, pasture and land. The limited resources and availability of arms has led to raiding which has become violent in the recent years. As such the study sought to understand the effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation strategies among pastoral communities, a case of Loima Sub County in Turkana County. The study was guided by the following objectives: to assess the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County over the past five years; to determine the values attached to cattle rustling by the Turkana and Pokot communities; to assess the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling and to assess the effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation efforts put in place over the past five years. The study adopted a descriptive survey with a study population comprising of 27 Key Informants and 112 members of the youth through focus group discussions. The data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and results presented in form of paragraphs, frequency tables, charts, graphs and narratives. The key findings of the study are that poverty is one of the reasons as to why conflict persisted in Loima Sub County. It was further established that changes in cultural settings which had been caused by a multiple of factors affecting these pastoralists had contributed to the prolonged and continued conflict. Revenge emanating from constant raids and violence was identified as a factor sustaining conflict in Turkana, while uneven disarmament initiatives by the government was also seen as encouraging acquisition of more and more arms in Loima Sub County. Proliferation of small arms and their availability in Loima prolonged and sustained conflict, as revealed by this study. Issues of governance were isolated by the residents of Loima to have led to the sustenance of the conflict. Complaints of forceful and indiscriminate disarmament, inadequate security personnel to combat cattle rustlers, insecurity were also pointed out as contributing to the protracted conflict, as well as poor infrastructure. Lack of development was seen to be caused by insecurity which had led to lack of investments and low trade, hence lack of development in the area. The study recommends that the Government should take a more positive approach by involving proper, investigative policing when dealing with reports of cattle thefts; and to respond urgently to pastoralist conflict replacing its reactive strategy with a more proactive one that seeks to equip its security forces. Further, it is recommended that the government, civil society and religious organizations should ensure that educational facilities are expanded in Loima Sub County. At policy level, the government should rethink its strategy of arming KPR as a counter force to armed cattle rustlers. The government and other stakeholders, including NGOs, CBOs and FBOs can make a huge difference in the development of Loima Sub County through increased funding of infrastructure.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Nomads, also commonly referred to as pastoralists are found in over 20 countries across Africa. According to Bevan (2007) the pastoralist communities mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Sahel region have been subjected to conflict, mainly resource-based, which further impacts their livelihoods, safety and security. Pastoralism in nature has been a main source of economic livelihoods in the arid and semi-arid areas, predominantly through herding of animals both for subsistence as well as commercial use. The Kenya National Bureau of Standards (KNBS 2010) reports that Kenya alone consists of more than 80% of arid and semi-arid areas, also known as the 'ASALs', whereby roughly a third of the Kenyan population reside. Further, it is believed that about 70% of the national livestock herd comes from the ASAL region of Kenya, with an estimated 15 million sheep, over 25 million goats, 14 million cattle and 3 million camels are found in these regions.

Furthermore, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) states that the livestock sector contributes to provision of employment for over 90% of the Kenyan population, and supports 95% of the income in the ASAL regions alone. The possession of livestock holds significant roles that contribute to pastoral livelihoods, such as economically through the provision of food in form of meat and milk for subsistence and commercial use- which further helps to generate income to meet basic and essential services in the households. Additionally, livestock also holds cultural values- as in most pastoralist communities, livestock is used as a means of dowry payment or bride price, and also considered as a symbol of fortune, stature and wealth. As such, Behnke (2008) considers livestock an essential source of pastoral income, due to the various

benefits it contributes to in the household as well as the promotion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country.

The North- Western region of Kenya is believed to have the highest livestock numbers, mainly among the Turkana and Pokot ethnic groups (GoK 2010). The practice of pastoralism among the Pokot and Turkana communities is considered to be a complex mechanism, which entails frequent mobility, varied and large herds compounded by separation of herds, and communal land ownership (Opiyo et. Al. 2011).

### **1.1.1 Cattle rustling in Kenya**

Cattle rustling is an activity that is defined as forceful livestock raiding from one community to another; through the use of harmful weapons that causes destruction of property and loss of human lives (Cheserek, Omondi & Odenyo, 2006). Particularly in the north-western part of Kenya, the pastoralist communities have witnessed and been subjected to protracted conflict due to the act of cattle rustling. Conflict in this context can be further defined as vigorous interaction, mainly due to differing perspectives or opinion (Mwangi, 2006). The conflicts around livestock among the pastoralist population, also known as cattle rustling, is mainly related to the raiding of livestock and the resources associated with it - such as land, pasture and water, which further contributes to and aggravates the nature of the conflict. As such, cattle rustling results to skepticism and mistrust among the pastoralist communities- which on its own is a precursor to conflict.

In the traditional sense, the raiding of livestock involved the theft of high breed livestock and to replenish animals lost during drought or disease outbreak, and the violence was moderate with little impact. In the event of calamities such as loss of human lives during cattle raids, the

affected communities were paid compensation in the form of livestock (Mtuku 2008). However recently, the act of cattle rustling has evolved to the articulation of hostility between opposing communities. For instance, in the past, violent cattle rustling was used as a method to boost social status, replenish herds, acquire more access to pasture and water and increase grazing lands among the Pokot and Turkana pastoralist for over 9,000 years (Eaton 2008). However, due to the commercialization of the theft of livestock, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and continued dispute over land tenure rights, cattle rustling has now become a more violent, complex, and disparaging act amid the pastoral communities (Mtuku 2008). These factors have further contributed to the magnitude and negative effect of violent cattle rustling and has affected the pastoral livelihoods among the pastoralist population in Northern Kenya.

### **1.1.2 Types of livestock raiding**

Livestock raids can be classified according to three types, which is usually based on the number of people partaking in the raid. The first is seen in mass raids which are usually very well organized in nature, whereby hundreds or up to thousands of raiders attack a nearby community. Secondly, there are instances whereby a group of people from neighboring villages group together to raid one village of a rivaling community. The third type of raids is the smallest with mostly a handful to less than 15 participating raiders- with the target normally being a herd of animals which are not sufficiently protected or attended to by one pastoralist (Wamuyu 2005).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The purpose of this study is to understand the causes of violent conflict in cattle rustling between the Turkana and Pokot communities in Loima Sub County.

The cattle-rustling phenomena remain as one of the main causes of conflicts and insecurity amongst the pastoralist communities that live in Northern Kenya. Many of these communities are mainly found in the regions of Turkana, Isiolo, Pokot, Samburu, Marakwet, Marsabit, and Trans-Nzoia which is mostly arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) and they mainly rely on livestock farming and pastoralism for their subsistence (GoK 2003). In North- Western Kenya, cattle rustling is believed to be a norm in the pastoral culture and a contributor to the livelihoods of the communities among the Pokot and Turkana. Majority of the conflicts in this region are said to be resource- based resulting from competition over pasture and water. Turkana- Pokot cattle rustling has led to great suffering to the two communities involved for a very long time; defying interventions from the local community, civil society and the state. Many lives and property have been lost, as well as the internal displacement of people and abrupt closure of schools and businesses (Cheserek, 2012).

According to a study done by the International Organization for Migration, “Pastoralism at the edge”, 2010, there has been long and continuous conflict between the Turkana and Pokot ethnic communities that has seen the act of cattle rustling occurring multiple times in a year. The main stakeholders- including religious leaders and elders, as well as the locals among the Turkana and Pokot communities report that livestock raiding has worsened over the years and become more violent. This notion is supported by other similar studies, and further reports that the raids are mainly undertaken by the male youth.

To highlight the magnitude of this problem, more than 50 violent incidences were reported by a local organization in Turkana- Riam Raim, which occurred between November 2005 to April 2006 alone between Turkana and nearby communities. These incidences resulted in the loss of more than 6,500 livestock, and more than 100 people are reported to have lost their lives and

several others sustained multiple injuries. It is to be noted that these figures may be far from accurate and under- representation of the figures may be common as high number of incidences went unreported (Lokiyo 2014).

The East African states have a Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, where Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO) also recommended the following measures to curb cattle rustling among member states: formation of “Anti-Stock Theft Unit”, branding; marking; and restitution. The chiefs and assistant chiefs are employees of the Provincial Administration whose mandate is to maintain law and order in their community and provide them with background knowledge of the conflicts.

Despite the above protocol being in place, the incidents of violent conflicts in cattle rustling is still escalating in number as opposed to reducing.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to understand why mitigation efforts put in place thus far have not contributed to reduced cases of violent conflicts in cattle rustling in Loima Sub County.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What is the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County over the past five years?
2. What measures have been/are being put in place to end cattle rustling?
3. To what extent have the measures put in place to end cattle rustling succeeded?
4. How effective is the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling?

## **1.4 Objectives of the study**

### **1.4.1 General objectives**

To understand the factors that prevents the successful implementation of mitigation efforts of violent cattle rustling.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. To assess the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County over the past five years.
2. To determine the values attached to cattle rustling by the Turkana and Pokot communities.
3. To assess the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling.
4. To assess the effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation efforts put in place over the past five years.

## **1.5 Scope of the Study**

This study aims to understand the factors that prevent the successful implementation of mitigation efforts of violent cattle rustling among the Turkana and Pokot communities in Loima Sub County, Turkana County over the past five years (2009- 2013).

Specifically, this study will look at the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County; the nature of occurrence- i.e. whether violent or peaceful. This study shall also look into the factors that contribute to violent conflict, such as proliferation and availability of small arms, and a symbol of superiority over the other culture; and the factors that contributes to peaceful cattle

rustling, such as disarmament exercises, presence/ a sense of community understanding and protection by the community leaders.

Secondly, this study will also look at the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling. This will in particular look at the role of the community leaders, religious leaders, teachers, local and county government, and non- governmental and inter- governmental organizations in mitigating cattle rustling between the Pokot and Turkana in Loima Sub County; which would include peace forums, peace dividends (e.g. sports for peace), peace education, community policing, capacity building trainings on peaceful coexistence , peace treaties, provision of alternative livelihoods, advocacy and awareness etc.

Third, this study will assess the effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation measures put in place to prevent cattle rustling; whether they were successful, and what made them successful. e.g. commitment and willingness by the Turkana and Pokot communities, - and if unsuccessful, what factors contributed to their failures, such as lack of resources (financial and human resources), lack of capacity to enforce the mitigation measures, lack of education and knowledge etc.

Lastly, this study will look at the values attached to cattle rustling, i.e. economic and cultural values. On economic values, this study will look at the resource access and utilization of cattle rustling, such as the sale of livestock and barter trade in contributing to increase income and reduce poverty levels, the income acquired from the sale of small arms used to guard livestock, the availability of pasture- which in turn leads to resource-based conflicts, etc. On cultural values, this study will look into cattle rustling as a means of acquiring livestock for bride price/ dowry, symbol of wealth and superiority of the other culture.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This section summarizes various sources of information from studies carried out by other researchers on violent cattle rustling as well as mitigation strategies employed among pastoral communities in Northern Kenya. Several sources which closely relate to the theme and study objectives have been used in coming up with the necessary materials.

### **2.2 Frequency of Cattle Rustling**

Livestock raiding, also widely known as cattle rustling, entails the forceful acquisition of livestock and is quite common amongst pastoralists and further considered as part of the culture and main source of livelihoods in Northern Kenya

Livestock raiding, also commonly known as cattle rustling, includes the process of forcefully acquiring livestock. It has become very common among the pastoralists and is also considered as the culture of the Northern part of Kenya and key source of the livelihoods (Hendrickson, Armon and R Mearns, 1996). The practice of the raids is viewed as a way of reciprocity where families from poor backgrounds are meant to get livestock and engage themselves in the restocking process specifically after epidemics or droughts.

Over the five-year period (2009-2013), there have been a great number of cattle rustling activities that have rendered many people poor because their source of livelihood has been taken away. This literature review of pastoral conflict in Loima sub county- Turkana county, Kenya is aimed at mapping the knowledge state so as to help in identifying the important gaps in understanding and suggesting the promising avenues for future practical of the work.

Most informants describe the key causes of conflicts between different pastoral ethnic communities in the Loima sub county to include: disputes over political and administrative

boundaries and borders (within regions / zones), resource competition, ethnic or clan rivalries, poor governance and rule of law systems, group retaliation attacks, cattle raids and counter raids.

### **2.2.1 Cattle raids in Turkana**

Hundreds of livestock along the Kenya-Uganda border were stolen during the raids.

During the Monday of 16<sup>th</sup> December 2013, cattle rustlers managed to kill 7 people leaving 5 others injured in an early morning raid that happened at the village of Lorengipi. During the raid, it was believed that the cattle rustlers managed to go away with hundreds of the livestock along the border of Kenya and Uganda

The Turkana and Pokot communities clash often due to the boundary disputes and cattle rustling. These two rival communities have practiced cattle rustling for a long period of time and this has brought about some wars amongst them. Since the beginning of the clashes back in November 2013, there have been some security issues among the Somali Dayah buses that are involved in the ferrying of refugees who travel along this path. It is believed that a bus was attacked with gunshots on unknown date leading to the destruction of the vehicle's windscreen, before Kainuk police officers came to their rescue; the passengers flee into the unsecure bushes for their safety. Travellers risk their properties and lives when they are travelling inside Turkana County. However, deployment of regular police is done to help in curbing the insecurity problem where travelers and motorists are accustomed to escorting armed police inside Turkana.

When the Turkana South OCPD Mr. Richard Kipsang was in the lead of the armed regular police a time when the community fights was in escalation earlier December, the Anti Stock Theft Unit and administration police were blocked by about a group of 200 armed Pokot men who denied them access to other Lokoron parts. They claimed that the area was under Pokot jurisdiction and not Turkana. The armed groups from Pokot have been regularly attacking the police team and

this has made the government to send more police to help in fighting the Pokot militiamen so that the Turkana civilians can be rescued.

The dozens of attacks and counterattacks on 5 December 2013 resulted in a gun fight killing an undisclosed number of men. Both communities planned revenge attacks in a hide, and seek some kind of battle. A village in West Pokot was targeted by armed Turkana raiders, injuring a herdsboy and taking over 300 goats on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December. Local police Chief Mr. Jackson Mwenga reported that a herd's boy was shot by raiders in the village of Kamurio. According to the Kenya Red Cross, gunshots between the two tribes allegedly killed at least 25 people.

Since the attack begun, most of the families have been displaced in Karun and Ombolion in West Pokot and Lodwar, in Turkana District, Nakuse and Loyapat. Despite government attempts to shore up security along the two counties' borders, families live in fear of retaliation attacks. The government then mobilized the Kenya Defense Force to help in curbing the region's conflicts.

### **2.3 The Role of Stakeholders in Mitigating Cattle Rustling**

A stakeholder may be referred to as anyone, either internally or externally, at the junior or senior level, who may affect or be affected by an organization, strategy or project. According to most of the definitions, stakeholders are referred to those who have the power of impacting in one way or another on an entity or initiative. Human security across the East Africa has continued to be threatened by cattle rustling, but most of the affected countries have pursued national rather than regional initiatives to tackle the issue.

#### **2.3.1 The State (Government)**

According to Pkalya et-al 2003, cattle raids and resource-based conflicts are the main types of manifestation in Turkana. 30,000 members of Turkana community crossed into Kotido, Moroto and Kabong districts of Uganda to graze their animals in the Month of October 2013. It took

interventions of the leaders of Turkana County Government, members of the National and County assemblies for the communities to get acceptance and protection in Uganda. This calls for social and policy related solutions, service provision (especially water) which was seen as an additional support for the pastoralists<sup>1</sup>. While reflecting at the challenges facing pastoralists, the leaders from Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopian Ateker Communities appreciated the journey to peace building and governance support amid challenges of lack of infrastructure, health, education, insecurity and hunger. They reiterated their commitment to peace and hoped that the aspect of disarmament will be addressed across border trade and infrastructure development.

The County Government of Turkana in its blue prints- County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) 2013-2017, outlined its priorities in peace building and conflict prevention through identifying and working with institutions from the local region so as to help in fostering peace, developing the peace of a country and coming up with strategies of resolving conflicts to guide the process of building peace and adopting a wide partnership of peace actors who will help in resource mobilization and joint plan peace building initiatives.

According to Vision 2030 2<sup>nd</sup> Medium Term Development Plan (MTP) 2013-17, there are critical issues and challenges affecting pastoralists which must be addressed. These include; low domestic savings and low GDP and per capita income growth, high rates of poverty and unemployment, high costs of energy, inhibiting business and investment regulations and procedures, presence of significant regional development inequalities across regions of the country, rapid growth of the population, proliferation of informal settlements, and insecurity.

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<sup>1</sup> Speech by Hon: Senator, John Kiyonga Munyes during leaders' peace dinner in Naiwatorong Lodwar on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2013

While taking lessons from the 1st MTP achievements and challenges, the government of Kenya has prioritized ending drought emergencies, Irrigation and Food Security. Drought is a national concern, but their direct impacts are most severe in the ASALs. Drought related damages and losses between 2008 and 2011 were colossal estimated at US \$12.1 billion (10.2 % of GDP). Climate change risks have intensified, increasing hardships occasioned by drought and floods (MTP 2013 – 2017). This has been one of the drivers of cattle rustling that has caused rift between the Pokot and Turkana communities. The Government focuses on additional support towards value addition in the production chain and in developing marketing support mechanisms pastoralists and communities involved in fishing. This will contribute to ending cattle rustling conflict among pastoralist in Northern Kenya including Loima Sub County of Turkana County.

### **2.3.2 Media**

Good communication is a crucial element in the effective battle against laws relating to cattle rustling and management. The media plays a crucial role in linking centers of forecasting with the public. It offers information that creates and enhances the state of understanding, and criticizes Turkana's cattle rustling activities. It offers information from which to make life-saving decisions for the public. The partners in the media and county government should educate the community living in the affected areas to change their thinking about cattle rustling. Private media will ensure the information and awareness campaign focusing on cattle rustling is reliable, clear and organized. In case of an impending disaster, the media could also be used in the dissemination of the government management plan.

The telecommunication firms are also important players. Considering that knowledge and communication systems are crucial in any disaster preparedness and response management, governments will contact telecommunications companies, internet providers and other means of

communication to ensure that information is transmitted efficiently to the nearest anti-stock theft unit. It can be done by improving connectivity of the network in the County of Turkana.

### **2.3.3 Education**

Education is considered to be a critical factor in combating threat like cattle rustling. Issues should be incorporated into primary and secondary school curricula to increase understanding, respect, and dedication to saving human lives and livelihoods during these crises. The emphasis should be on the dangers associated with cattle rustling in Northern Kenya and how to respond in the event of one incident.

### **2.3.4 Regional Cooperation and Partnerships**

Several international partners have cooperated on the current AU, IGAD and EAC initiatives and the Golden Spear Initiative since 2009 to date. The Government of Kenya should therefore continue to develop partnerships and collaborative mechanisms with regional forecast centers to enhance the exchange of relevant information with regard to fighting and cattle rustling.

The United Nations (UN), the Red Cross and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have immense resources and expertise in human and material matters. Government should have the ability of promoting collaborations with UN bodies to ensure the incorporation of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for disaster preparedness and management is achieved. It should also pursue collaborations and wide participation of international bodies to effectively coordinate the preparedness of disasters and skills of management skills like fighting and cattle rustling in the Sub- County of Loima.

### **2.3.5 The Community**

The decision on whether to conduct and/ or participate in a cattle raid among the Turkana-Pokot communities is influenced by other stakeholders within the community, mainly religious leaders, local elders, women leaders and the local administration such as chiefs- even though their role in

the raiding is uncertain. As part of the short-term benefits, the community usually gains a share of the acquired livestock after a successful cattle raid. However, in the end, the community pays the price of the cattle raid, particularly in the event of retaliation.

In most of the Turkana-Pokot communities, the local community leaders and elders encourage or even to some extent support the raids with blessings and information- such as where the raiders can locate the enemy's livestock). Further, the elders then get a share of the livestock; often even 'the biggest bull.' On the other hand, the majority of the elders tend to stop the attack. The elders prohibit the youth from raiding during times of calm, although the elders hardly ever deny a prepaid blessing during times of war.

Furthermore, it is believed that women have a major influence on encouraging their men to raid, to some extent, by preparing the men meals after a successful raid. On the other hand, women are also believed to play a discouraging role in cattle rustling by voicing their grievances and concern on potentially losing their male family members.

Women find themselves having an effect on their men's raiding activity. They either inspire their men, or after a successful raid they prepare meals, or they play a disincentive role by voicing their fear of losing their men. The local authorities or the village chiefs are in a difficult position, as they represent the national government at the grassroots level on one hand and have the responsibility to prevent cattle raiding, but at the same time they realize the reasons as to why the communities participate in cattle rustling (Schilling, Opiyo, Scheffran 2012).

### **2.3.6 Traders**

Traders and businessmen are among the group of people who are considered to benefit from cattle rustling, as they have access to low- cost livestock sold to them by the pastoralists and further sell them at a high price in urban centers such as Lodwar or even in Nairobi (Eaton

2010). As the traders are not part of the pastoralist communities in most cases, they usually do not suffer the negative effects of livestock raiding and violent conflicts (Schilling, Opiyo, Scheffran 2012).

#### **2.4 Effectiveness of Cattle Rustling Mitigation Efforts**

To effectively prepare and respond to cattle rustling menace, different strategies have been employed. Some of these include these discussed below:

##### **2.4.1 Mifugo Project- Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa**

The livestock theft problem poses health issues and is also considered a significant threat to human security in EA. As a result, EAPCCO created the *"Protocol on the Prevention, Fighting and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa"* instrument, the ISS and Civil Society organizations to help in addressing the problem of cattle rustling. In August 2008, the Mifugo project was launched in Nairobi with the participation of five signatories: Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda to draft this agreement, which was aimed at establishing effective mechanisms to help in the discouragement and ultimate elimination of illegal cross-border activities particularly cattle rustling.

The Mifugo initiative and the subsequent adoption of the protocol marked a paradigm change in the development of viable solutions to cattle rustling problem. This paradigm shift is expressed in the following points:

1. When the signing, ratifying and domesticating of the draft protocol will make it become a legally binding instrument, implying that the member states' implementation is committed towards solving livestock theft with regard to the regional perspective.

2. The implication of a regional approach is that member states enforcing cattle rustling should take strong action against those who practice it at national and regional level while it may be accepted at community level.
3. Through criminalizing trafficking of livestock, the adopting member states will to a large degree facilitate and support commercial keeping of livestock and serious trade within the industry.
4. Most importantly, seeking redress on the issue of cattle rustling will also require a paradigm shift in resource distribution to arid and semi-arid lands, so that pastoralist regions would get a reasonable deal in expanding infrastructure with a perspective of developing areas that otherwise seem to be abandoned.
5. As a multi-faceted solution to cattle rustling problem, complete implementation of the protocol would help to address insecurity problems nourished by the proliferation of small and light weapons, improving human security and promoting development in the process.
6. The branding, labeling, and tracking portion will also play a significant role in deterring potential cattle rustlers. The implementation process must be aimed at harmonizing conventional methods with modern technology, as concerns have been raised about sacrificing skin quality when markings on livestock are feasibly branded.

The Mifugo project aims at establishing roles and interest levels pertaining the stakeholders towards the addressing of cattle rustling and violence attendant; secondly the identification of potential partners in implementing, ratifying and domesticating of the draft EAPCCO Protocol; thirdly, harmonizing current programs while trying to recognize potential gaps, defining stakeholder capacity needs and finding ways to enable stakeholders to help the implementation

process and, fourth, building a network-based resource database and stakeholder expertise (Kevin Avruch, Peter W. Black and Joseph A. Scimecca. *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 1991).

The Member States' goodwill so far and their involvement in the regional conference is a strong and encouraging indicator that they are committed in addressing human security via a multi-faceted approach (Augusta Muchai, Mifugo Project Head – ISS Nairobi Office).

While a comprehensive policy framework on the lifestyle of pastoralists in EA is required in ensuring more effective engagement with pastoral communities, this is a void that the Mifugo project may not have the immediate mandate and ability to deal with.

Since the inception of the implementation process, several steps were adopted so that a strong technical team can be put in place. However, several assumptions were envisaged in the project.

Firstly, at least from the traditional viewpoint, cattle rustling have been seen as a crime. It is also described as a crime in the national legislation of most of the countries that are being affected. Further research is needed as to whether pastoralists view cattle rustling as a crime. The arising need is to closely engage with the communities that have been affected, as initiatives without broader consultation are likely to be opposed by the same groups for which they are intended for. Combining the minds of pastoralists and relevant government agencies should also be aimed at establishing consensus on practical and sustaining interventions. Evidently the trend has evolved so rapidly that the solutions need to have a sense of this fact.

Secondly, the existing link between cattle rustling and the proliferation of small arms and light guns, and the resulting crime, has been finally completed. It would, of course, not be enough to say that disarmament would fix cattle rustling and related problems on its own.

In reality it is just as much as one of the remedies as it is one of the consequences. Throughout most cases, the possession of small arms by pastoralists is probably more of a matter of obligation than of preference.

While sections of the pastoral communities acquire small arms with the main of securing livestock and safeguarding their livelihoods, a regional approach like the Draft protocol implementation still remains to be a better vehicle as compared to the uncoordinated national strategies than is viewed in most cases in bringing short-term solutions in most of the cases.

Thirdly, for the purposes of monitoring rustled stocks, the Draft Protocol, which is essentially based on the compliance axis, advises branding and labeling products. The legislative system envisaged as stipulated in the draft protocol is moving in a similar direction. It is necessary to verify the presumption of pastoralist communities' needs through research and purposeful engagement as a means of determining pastoralist priorities. Some arguments in favor of repackaging the Mifugo project with respect to its integration with animal disease control, growth, marketing of livestock products, and alternative livelihood and related programs have been raised in this regard. This will probably give pastoral communities some kind of incentive to follow the provisions of the draft protocol sustainably. Although the points are true, they might not be accomplished in enforcing the draft protocol, but likely through a robust pastoralist policy process that Member States may choose to follow and for which budgetary allocations will be allocated accordingly.

Fourthly, member states' claims of autonomy, vested political interests, inadequate political will, rugged geographical terrain and changes in political leadership also faced regional approaches.

There are some of the challenges that the process of implementing is likely to face regarding the task of harmonizing some of the national laws. There is, however, a ray of hope if only states leaders will have an idea of adopting and borrowing a leaf from the experience of other regional systems, such as the EU and COMESA, on the mechanism of harmonizing national laws to meet regional needs. However, the challenge of reforming regional law is particularly daunting because some of the national laws remain 'part of the old school.' For example, land policy needs fundamental reform as it affects pastoral communities and the battle for pastoralist resources.

Finally, the Mifugo project is on a highly ambitious course, since it requires large outlays of money. To be exact, when a national branding and labeling program is fully introduced, there will be a shortage of compliance ability in terms of; communication equipment, shortage of helicopters to track low wages, lack of trucks to work in challenging terrain, among others. Such aspects also tackle more specific food, water, disease, and infrastructure issues. Propelling the issue of cattle rustling against the backdrop of other competing priorities remains a real challenge at the center stage of government priorities. Despite all the challenges that the process of implementing the draft protocol is likely to face, it is quite clear that the Mifugo project has received considerable support from government offices, especially from the five implementing states; Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. There is no doubt that the main element is successful networking, involving the affected communities in the making of key decisions, lobbying for policy assistance and coordinated efforts by civil society groups involved in pastoralist development. Therefore, one cannot overemphasize the need for a detailed policy process on pastoralism.

## **2.5 Values Attached to Cattle Rustling By Communities**

Within the pastoral communities, there are diverse values attached to cattle rustling. Over several years pastoralist societies have followed their beliefs and their cultural way. Most pastoral communities heavily depend on pastoralism as their primary source of subsistence, and tend to lead the nomadic way. Cattle is seen by pastoralists as a precious commodity, a wealth resource, and a sacrificial gift, and a pastoralist can do whatever he wants to protect and acquire most of the cattle. Livestock possession has historically been seen as a means of a stable base of livelihood and a symbol of prestige. A very high emphasis is put on cattle ownership and is an important part of the culture of pastoralists. Therefore, high pressure is put on pastoral societies, because culture needs a good community member to have the largest herd of cattle (KNCHR, 2010).

The traditional justification of cattle raiding was for the sole purpose of capturing cattle that could be used as payment of the dowry which is a passage rite or as a display of patriotism and social strength and prestige. Dowry payment is accompanied with scores of livestock and it becomes much easier to get a wife when one has several cattle. “Dowry payment is done dearly...in terms of the large number of cows, camels, donkeys, goats and sheep” (Kewasis, 2010). In accordance to Kewasis (2010), the number of animals offered for dowry between the Turkana and the Pokots relies on the number of beads the bride has won. The family of the bride will make counts of beads on the wedding day to win. And if the woman is involved in two or more men the one who provides the largest number of animals wins the day. Such animals are collected primarily by raiding the contending populations.

According to Cheserek (2007), renowned businessmen who are somehow affiliated with political figures were reported to be behind the organization of cattle rustling for commercial purposes and individual gain. They are buying stolen animals at low prices and making high profits by

selling them in major urban centers and on foreign markets. These events could further lead to the notion that cattle rustling are seen as a means of making and expanding wealth among those who have political affiliation, as well as those who own guns and other weapons.

Thus according to Kratli and Swift 2003; Buchanan-Smith and Lind 2005, the motives behind raiding are not only linked to the general developments that result in cattle rustling but also to the main reasons why communities are subjected to the act of raiding.

Besides the afore- mentioned development of commercialization, the phenomenon of cattle rustling has been expounded and documented through other studies to explain the motives behind the act of livestock raiding in North Western Kenya. This ranges from bride price payment and general accumulation of wealth, tribal- based conflicts and retaliation, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and resource- based conflicts and climate change Adano et al. 2012; Campbell et al. 2009; Schilling et al. 2012; Witsenburg and Adano 2009). These studies generally show that the root causes and conflict drivers between pastoralist communities are due primarily to scarcity of resources like water, land, livestock and their associated pasture and assets.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework**

There are various explanations which have been presented to describe the causes of conflict at numerous levels. One of the renowned theories which can be used to describe the art of cattle rustling to a great extent is the theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) by Edward Azar (1990). This theory outlines the root causes of conflict and failure in part of the governance structure at the grassroots level to mitigate the conflict, which has in turn resulted to conflicts which are prolonged and violent in nature (Ramsbotham, 2005:15).

The PSC framework was developed based on persistent conflicts in various countries, and this

framework was defined as “the extended and violent struggle by communities due to basic needs, access to effective remedies and economic and political participation, acceptance and recognition participation” (Azar, 1990:12), and that the denial of these factors aggravated violence.

The four pre-conditions depicted by Azar as the major sources of PSC include: communal content, deprivation of human needs, governance and the state’s role, and international linkages (Azar 1990:12).

Communal content as the first pre-condition is linked to communal identity based on religion, race and ethnic group or cultural ties- due to their connection in the acquisition of basic needs. For instance, in many multi-ethnic societies whereby the community is dominated by one single group or a coalition of groups and disregards the needs of other communal groups in the same state, this could be grounds for fragmentation and eventually the occurrence of protracted social conflict (Azar, 1990:7). Moreover, in instances where governments are unstable and lacks the ability to provide basic human necessities to its people, the population ends up turning to social groups for stability which may further lead to over- reliance on these groups, and eventually domination of certain groups over others. The later group then ends up isolating itself from the needs of other people, leading to more inequities and grievances within a certain state (Azar 1990: 7-8).

This further leads to the second pre- condition which depicts that communities seek to fulfil their needs through collective identity groups, and as such, being deprived of needs- whether security, political or acceptance needs leads to increased grievances which are expressed collectively. The notion of inequality means that the dominant group has more access to and satisfies its political, acceptance and security needs, much to the expense of other groups which may be less

represented. This results to more frustration and marginalization of these groups from access to effective remedies and participation.

The third pre- condition, Governance and state' is seen as a crucial factor contributing to either the satisfaction, or otherwise frustration of communities; as the government is mandated with the responsibility of protecting its citizens and to provide basic services, whether through governance and to regulate the society by use of force where necessary (Ramsbotham, 2005:84-87). Countries which are exemplified by fragile, incompetent and authoritarian leaders or governments more often than not fail to provide and satisfy human needs Azar (1990:11). In the usual sense, governments are expected to be impartial and unbiased, although this is not usually the case in most parts of the world. In the PSC theory, governments especially in developing countries tend to be dominated by the majority or leading group of people who have exercised monopoly within a country, and uses the state to advance their interests at the expense of others- thus limiting response and access to needs of other groups.

The last pre- condition on international linkages entails the economic and political relations and the dependency within the international economic system, as well as a broad network of military and political linkages which represents global and regional trends and cross- border interests. This pre- condition further depicts that modern states mainly those which are weak in nature, are more likely to influenced both politically and economically by external networks at global level. The present- day conflicts witnessed globally especially in developing countries are exemplified by multiple dynamics and causal factors, a distorted demarcation between internal and external actors and sources and lack depiction of clear beginning and terminating periods (Azar, 1990:6).

As such, the PSC theory is relevant in this context, given the fact that the grievances witnessed

between the Turkana and Pokot portrays this kind of conflict; due to the lack of resources, marginalization of the pastoral communities, increasing magnitude and frequency of the conflict, commercialization and politicization of cattle raids and poor governance, which has resulted to the protracted and violent nature of the livestock raids in Northern Kenya.

### **2.6.1 Critics to Azar's PSC**

One of the approaches used to critique Azar's PSC theory was the gender analysis approach used by Reinman (2000:36-37), whereby gender analysis was construed by social change and construction, as well as historical viability. Reiman depicts that the PSC theory is unable to theorize the social construction of identity, which further includes failing to recognize the connection to violence among multiple identities like masculinities and femininities. In addition, Reinman states that Azar's four PSC pre- conditions are gender- blind, and fail to recognize the role of gender- specific roles in heightened domestic violence, gender related grievances and the changing division of labour. As such, this makes Azar's PSC theory uncondusive to theorize gender.

Alternatively, Reiman offers some positive aspects and arguments while critiquing Azar's PSC theory. For instance, she highlights how the PAC theory offers entry points to conflict resolution and analysis by unpacking the agents and complexities of social structures and agents of PSC, and by revealing the hidden power asymmetries and inequalities and their linkage to dissatisfaction. As such, this makes the for pre- conditions for Azar's PSC theory to be more condusive towards gender, by theorizing it as a hierarchical, hidden power structure.

The Azar's PSC theory shows linkages with data collected in the field, and explains the factors leading to conflict as well as its resultant effects over time. In Northern Kenya, the marginalization of communities, scarcity of resources, access to economic and political

participation has further resulted to the frustration of the pastoralist communities, triggering long and sustained conflict between the Turkana and Pokot. Due to the lack of governance and protection from the government, the pastoralist communities have in turn resulted to reliance on their warriors to meet their security needs and for protection from external aggression. This therefore makes the Azar's PSC theory relevant to this study.

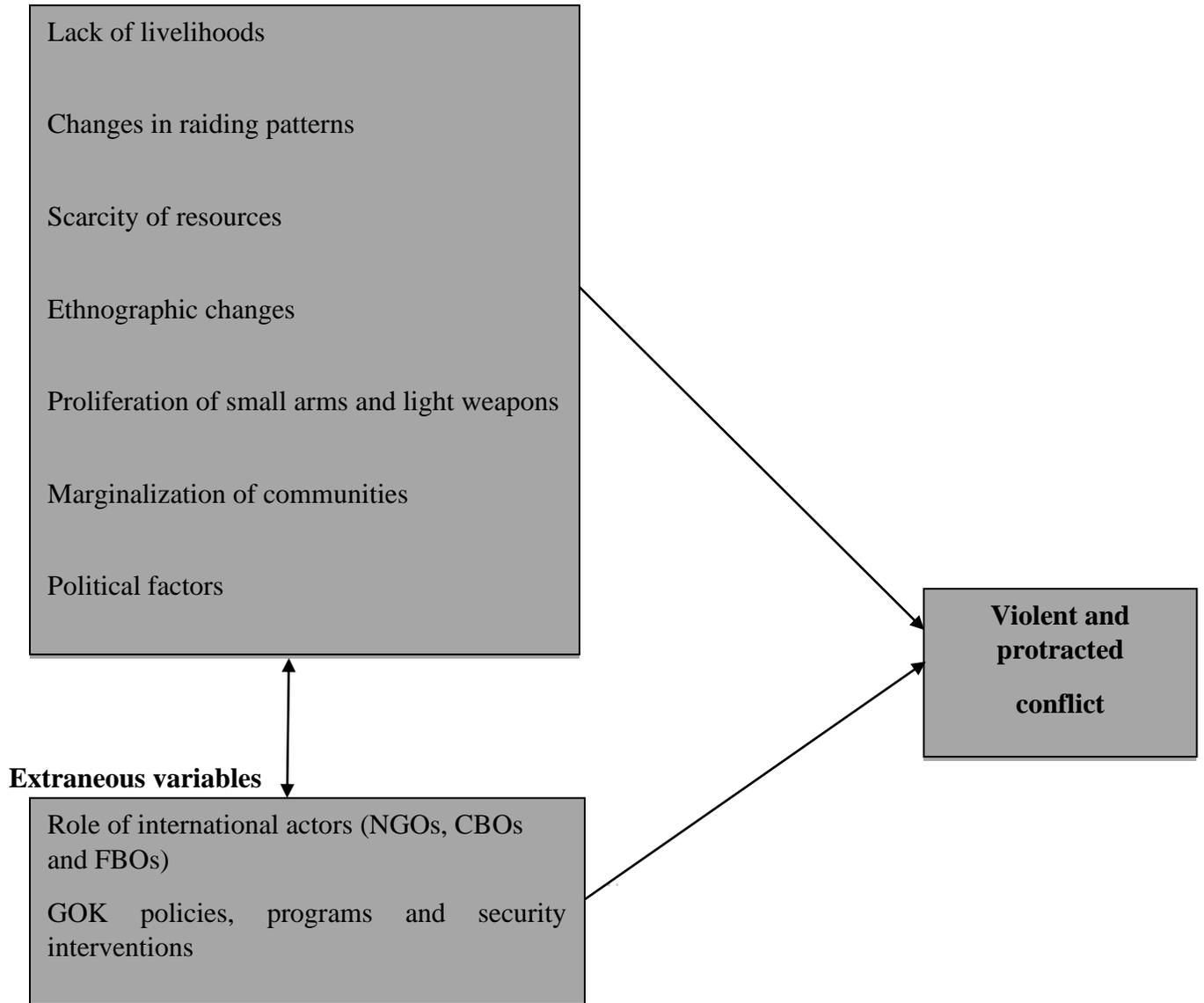
### **2.7 Conceptual framework**

As mentioned, violent raiding of livestock, proliferation of small arms, lack of livelihoods and resources, geographical location as well as the role of political, international and peace actors serve as the major factors contributing to the prevalence and increasing frequency of the violent nature of cattle rustling among the Turkana and Pokot communities.

**Figure 1: Conceptual framework Independent Variables**

**Independent variables**

**Dependent variable**



## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The chapter gives an overview of the research design adopted in the study, the sampling procedure used to get to the final sample size of respondents. The section also covered the instruments that were used in the study and the data collection and analysis method. It further described the techniques that were used in analysis of data and how they are presented.

### **3.2 Research Design**

Research design is the overall plan that the researcher used in handling all activities that goes into responding to the research questions (Bryman, 2001). In this study, the descriptive research design was adopted in understanding the factors that prevents successful implementation of mitigation efforts of violent cattle rustling. The design was ideal as it reports things the way they are as shared by Cooper and Schindler (2003). Descriptive research design is chosen because the target respondents will be required to describe the phenomenon as they have experienced it in the past. The study's aim shall be to collect information from respondents on the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima sub- County, the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling, the mitigation measures put in place and the values attached to cattle rustling. This study will target communities affected by cattle rustling in Loima, village/ Kraal elders, District Peace committees, Kenya Police Reserve (KPR), local administration, County government and the faith based and the humanitarian actors on the ground. The study was both qualitative and quantitative, and it involved focus group discussions, key informant interviews and observation.

### **3.3 Study Site Description**

Loima is a newly created electoral constituency in Kenya and is one of the constituencies in Turkana County. It occupies an area of approximately 7,776 square kilometers with a population of 120,480 and consists of 4 wards namely: Kotaluk/ Lobei ward, Turkwel ward, Loima ward and Lokiriama/ Lorengipi ward (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- KNBS 2009 census results). The region is mostly plains with a few mountains and hilly ranges, with altitude of 900m in areas around the Ugandan border and it falls in the East towards the shores of Lake Turkana. The mountainous regions have an altitude that ranges between 1,500 to 1,800m and the Loima hills stretch for 65 sq. km.

Loima is an arid region with temperatures as low as 24 degrees Celsius to 38 degrees Celsius and its main source of water is Turkwel River. As an ASAL region, its lowest recorded rainfall is 120mm on average with January, February and September being the driest months. During the brief rainy season that causes storms resulting in flash floods and according to the Turkana County –water and sanitation service sector plan of 2017 -2021, the surface runoff is quickly evaporated due to the high temperatures. The surface runoff water also leads to soil deposition that is relatively suitable for agricultural production, with the most fertile soils found near upper Loima, the lowlands of the Turkwel, Nakaton and Kawalathe drainage along the lake at Kalokol and Turkwel, central plains of Lorengipi, and a portion at the Loriu plateaus.

Pastoralism is the economic activity of the people in Loima, and they keep cattle, sheep, goat, camels and donkeys both for subsistence and trade exchange. Livestock is kept by the as an important cultural element for the Turkana and more than 60 percent of the people earn their livelihoods from livestock. The animals are a source of food (milk, meat and blood), used in

dowry payment when paying bride price and for trading purpose, due to great significance of the animals, it has led to cattle rustling among the Turkana, Pokot and Marsabit people.

Fishing is done along lake Turkana and even Turkwel River and in some areas with arable land, crop production is done along the riverine areas. The harvest is largely dependent on rainfall pattern and availability of water in the seasonal rivers and farming effort along rivers Turkwel and Kerio. The people also engage in charcoal production and firewood and women make mats and baskets which they sell.

Turkana County has the highest level of illiteracy, with 82% of the population being illiterate as per the KNBS report on society and international development. The report further shares that the teacher to pupil ratio is 1:51 for those in primary school and 1:28 for those in secondary schools. At constituency level, Loima Constituency in Turkana has the highest share of individuals with no education at 93%.

The scarcity in water and pastures for the animals is one of the main causes of conflict, as it pushes the communities to migrate and share the limited resources with the neighboring communities. Border disputes between the Turkana and other communities from neighboring countries have heightened tension in the region over the years.

### **3.4 Target Population**

This is a group of individuals who the researcher is interested in and is used to respond to the research questions and findings are drawn from (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Loima sub-county has a population of 120,480 and consists of 4 wards namely: Kotaluk/ Lobei ward, Turkwel ward, Loima ward and Lokirama/ Lorengipi ward (KNBS 2010 census results). Kotaruk/ Lobei ward has approximately 31,629 people spread in 5 sub locations: Kotaruk, Lobei,

Naipa, Kalemunyang and Lokipetot- Arengan. Turkwel ward hosts a population of 47,399 people and comprises of Turkwel, Tiya, Napeikar, Lorugum, Kapus, Nadapal, Kawalathe, Lomeyan and Nachuro sub locations. Furthermore, there are approximately 20,396 people living in Loima ward, which comprises of 4 sub locations namely; Puch, Namoruputh, Lochor- Ekuyen and Lochor Edome. The last sub county of Lokirama/ Lorengipi has an estimated population of 21, 056 people and 9 sub locations, i.e. Lokirama, Lochor- Alomata, Atalokamusio, Lorengipi, Kaemanik, Nakurio, Lodwat, Loya and Loima.

The population of Loima sub- County consists of predominantly Turkana people who speak Giturkana, and 95% adhere to the Turkana cultural practices and beliefs while 5-10% adhere to the Christian faith. They majority call to the god of skies –*Akuj* during calamities like droughts, floods and diseases. In the Turkana community, the women are responsible for the construction of huts for their families, taking care of the children, cooking and fetching firewood; while the men are tasked with grazing the animals and protecting the animals and the community from attacks. The children also have a role to play in taking care of sheep and goat but of recent some are attending schools.

The study population included the residents and officials/ authorities of Loima Sub County, Turkana County. The target population comprises of the village/kraal elders, Community leaders, District Peace Committees (DPCs), chiefs, Sub County Commissioners, County and National Government Representatives and Non- Governmental/ Humanitarian and Development organizations working within the area.

### **3.5 Sample Size**

A sample size is drawn from the population of interest to the researcher and includes the entities that were studied (Cooper & Schindler, 2006).

Loima Sub County was selected on the premise of it being one of the most affected regions in terms of cattle rustling in Turkana. Loima borders Pokot County to the North, and hence there have been protracted incidences of cattle rustling between the two communities over decades. Given that its geographical location is marginal and vast, this makes it difficult for the residence to access security from the provincial administration. Furthermore, the illiteracy level in Loima as mentioned is 93%, this being a significantly high percentage as compared to other places in the county. Lack of education thus contributes greatly to the lack of employment and livelihoods, thus cattle rustling becomes an alternative source of livelihoods for the people in Loima Sub County. In 2014 alone, there were more than 20 recorded incidences of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County (Source: OCHA IRIN, 2014), with majority of them occurring between April and July 2014, further escalating in September 2014, which led to the killing of some police officers in the region.

The population in Loima Sub County stands at 120,480 people (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- KNBS 2010 census results). Working with a household figure of 6 individuals per household, this would result to 20,080 households present in Loima. A total of four sub locations will be sampled- Kotaruk, Lorengipi, Lobei and Lokiriama, which were selected based on being the areas that experience the highest rates of cattle rustling incidences in Loima.

The total sample size shall include **20** Key informants, and **112** members in the focus group discussions. This number is not exhaustive, as the youth who have both engaged and not engaged in cattle rustling activities shall be interviewed, and this shall be based on their willingness and availability to be interviewed.

### **3.6 Sources of Data**

This study collected both primary and secondary data, whereby the primary data was collected through the use of key informant interviews, focus group discussions and the youth. Secondary data was collected from published materials, journals and books about cattle rustling among pastoral communities.

### **3.7 Methods and Tools of Data Collection**

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative means of collecting data. Focus group discussions, key informant interviews and observation was used to collect qualitative information through open ended questions, and aimed at understanding the role that different stakeholders play in trying to mitigate conflict in cattle rustling; the mitigation measures that have so far been put in place and their effectiveness; as well as the value attached to cattle rustling. The target groups was the community members in Loima sub- County, local administration, District Peace committees, County and National government, and humanitarian aid workers present in Loima.

Quantitative research was also be used in this study. An interview guide was developed with closed- ended questions and asked during structured interviews and household surveys, and aimed at determining the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima and its severities, and the actors involved in mitigating cattle rustling.

#### **3.7.1 Focus Group Discussions**

Four focus group discussions were held in four sub locations in each ward comprising of 7 members, i.e. 'kraal' (village) elder, women leader, chief of the sub location, leader of people living with disabilities, youth leader, religious leader, one primary school teacher and five other members of the community. Thus, in the four wards, this brought the number of individuals/

members participating in the FGDs to **112** (7 FGD members\* 4 wards \* 4 sub- locations). The tool that was used was a Focus Group discussion guide with open-ended questions.

### **3.7.2 Key Informant Interviews**

The key informants included members of the Turkana County government, national government, NGOs and CBOs working in Loima and the community. Specifically, this included the County Commissioner of Turkana, the Governor/ Deputy Governor of Turkana County, member of the Judiciary in Turkana, the Sub County Commissioner of Loima, representative of the National Disaster Management Authority, Chair of the Loima District Peace committee, and 3 staff officials from the NGOs present and active in Loima. The total number of Key informants who participated in the study was **20**, and the tool that was used was an interview guide with both open ended and close ended questions.

### **3.7.3 Observation**

In this study, observation was used during field research to observe the communities' surroundings, their living conditions, their verbal and non- verbal behavior as well as physical characteristics, to be able to draw some hidden or unspoken facts about the cattle rustling phenomena. The findings from the observation were recorded manually and through taking photos where permitted.

## **3.8 Sampling Techniques**

The sampling procedure that was used in this study was snowball and purposive sampling techniques.

Purposive sampling shall be used to select the locations to be sampled, i.e. Kotaruk, Lokiriama, Lobei and Lokiriama, which are the locations most frequently affected by cattle rustling incidences.

In addition, purposive sampling was used to select Key informants to be interviewed; which shall include the national and county government counterparts; District Peace committees (DPCs), staffs in NGOs, CBOs and FBOs based on their availability and already established county and national mechanisms. Face-to-face interviews approach were applied and documented using an interview guide, and information gathered helped the researcher get in-depth answers and information about cattle rustling from community experts. In particular, the researcher aimed to gain an understanding of the cattle rustling mitigation efforts put in place in Loima, and whether they have succeeded to curb the problem.

Focus group discussions were conducted in each sub location, at least one in each area- bringing to a total of four focus group discussions to be conducted. Purposive sampling was used to select the members of the community; whereby the researcher will contact the provincial administration (Chief) beforehand to assist in mobilizing key members of the community, such as kraal elders, women elders, youth and people with disabilities. These groups were initially interviewed through the focus group discussions using a guided interview and structured and semi- structured interviews. The questions aimed to inquire the values attached to cattle rustling in the community; why the communities engage in it, the roles played by each member and how cattle rustling affects or benefits the community.

Snowball sampling was used to sample interviews with the youth. First, the youth leader were contacted to refer to youths who have either been engaged or not engaged in cattle rustling

activities and are willing to be interviewed. The reason to zero down on the youth is that they are the key players engaged in cattle rustling in this community.

### **3.9 Data Analysis**

Data analysis covers the entire process starting from data collection and ends when data has been processed, interpreted and conclusions are drawn (Kothari, 2004). This part addressed the techniques that were applied in hypothesis testing and analysis of the collected data. First, the collected data was edited, coded, cleaned and entered for further analysis. Only those questionnaires that were completed were used in the study. Descriptive statistics were used and the findings presented in prose form, through the use of charts, tables, graphs and narratives.

## CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Overview

In this chapter, data on the effectiveness of mitigation measures to arrest violent conflicts in cattle rustling among the pastoral communities in Turkana County was presented and analyzed. The research focused on the violent ethnic conflict between these two communities particularly in Turkana Central and Loima districts- i.e. Kotaruk, Lobei, Lorengippi, Lokirama and Lodwar. The choice of these areas was based on the fact that they are found on the border of Pokot and Uganda, and is one of the areas where the conflict is more intense and frequent.

The research utilized both qualitative and quantitative approaches in conducting the research; this included desk top review of secondary information, data collection through key informant interviews, community focused group discussions and youth interviews leading to the findings of this project paper. This not only provided in-depth understanding of the subject matter and its context, but also an evidence- based approach in conducting the research.

Secondary data collected during the research expounded on the background information and contextual framework of the study, which built on the gains from previous reports and assessments published. The primary data provided first-hand information derived from community members, leaders among other stakeholders based on their understanding of the conflict, peace and stakeholders' analysis.

- ❖ **Key informant interviews:** A total of 27 KIIs were conducted with participants drawn from the National and county government as well as non-state actors and various members of the community. This is shown in the table below.
- ❖ **Community focus group discussions:** Due to the illiteracy levels in Loima Sub County, coupled with the sparse set up of households due to the geographical nature of Loima Sub

County, and more so the communal form of providing information in groups due to security reasons, focus group discussions comprising of the youth and youth leaders were conducted in 4 sub locations in each of the four wards, bringing to a total of 16 structured community focus group discussions. Each focus group discussion had about 7 youth per group and a youth leader, thus a total of **112 respondents** in the FGDs.

- ❖ **Observation:** the observation was recorded on a daily basis through photographs. This provided more insight, which was verbalized during the discussions.

**Table 1: Summary of the Research Interviews**

Ward/Location	Number of Community FGD	Number of KII
Kotaruk	4	3 (2 chiefs, 1 ward admin), 1 KPR, 1 Kraal elders, 1 youth leader, 1 Woman leader, 1 MCA
Lobei	4	
Lorengippi	4	3 (2 chiefs, 1 ward admin), 1 youth leader, 1 kraal elder, 1 NGO worker, Businessman, Head teacher
Lokiriama	4	
At the County and Sub county level-Lodwar		4 (DCC, SC Admin, Peace ambassador, Police Commandant)
At Lodwar		7 (DOL, DDG, Find Church Aid, APAD, UNDP/NDMA, 2 DPCs)

Findings of the assessment are presented below, as per the Focus Group Discussions (FGD's) and Key Informant Interviews (KII) conducted.

#### **4.2 Values attached to cattle rustling**

The first objective of the study was to assess the drivers of cattle rustling, and the values that motivate people in Loima Sub County to participate in cattle rustling. According to the findings, there were several causes that were deemed as valuable in the practice of cattle rustling. Commercialization of cattle rustling (67 percent) and personal gain (70 percent) was seen as the most prominent values attached to cattle rustling. Restocking of herds and sustaining livelihoods was also cited by 48 percent of the respondents as being a major value attached to cattle rustling. Other values attached included availability of small arms (34 percent), praise from the community (16 percent), traditional values (13 percent), show of heroism (17 percent) and political gain (8 percent). This is further illustrated in table 1 below.

**Table 2: Values attached to cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Frequency per group interviewed (out of 16 FGDs)</b>	<b>Percentage (%) of Responses</b>
Restocking of Herds and sustaining Livelihoods	<b>8</b>	<b>48</b>
Commercialization of Cattle Rustling	<b>11</b>	<b>67</b>
Availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons	<b>5</b>	<b>34</b>
Personal Gain to fill gaps	<b>11</b>	<b>70</b>
Praise received from the community	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>
Traditional Values	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>
Show of Heroism	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>
Political Gain	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>

#### **4.2.1 Restocking of Herds and sustaining Livelihoods**

Findings from the discussions depict that 48 percent of the respondents considered cattle rustling as a means to restock and build on their existing herds. This was further supported by the key informants, who identified the major drivers of cattle rustling to be scarcity of resources in the region leading to harsh living conditions. Personal development was identified as the key value

that youth attached to cattle rustling. This was because the activity was perceived as an escape to poverty as proceeds received would greatly improve their standard of living.

Traditionally, cattle rustling is seen as a cultural practice that common within the pastoralist/nomadic group to restock herds after drought and disease outbreaks. But this has taken a shift in modern times, and now holds additional value.

A '*kraal*' elder in Kotaruk however expressed a different view towards poverty, and remarked that the NGOs and international community have come with a different term to poverty, stating that poverty in the development terms is attributed to lack of food and nearby sources of water. He further explained that according to them, wealth, or poverty for that matter, was measured according to the number of animals one possesses. The '*kraal*' elder retorted that he has at least 3, 000 shoats (goats and sheep), and is considered to be above average in terms of wealth in his community, and has been able to marry three wives. However, he was surprised to learn from the several assessments conducted by the NGOs that he was classified as 'poor', for lack of a stable income source and was not employed, and also based on the fact that they did not have accessible means to water. In his view, having to go and search for water was considered a recreational activity to them, where they would get to interact with communities in other villages. This also sought to promote peaceful coexistence among the communities, as they learnt to interact and share resources. Having a nearby source of water would also make their women and children lazy, and the women would not be exposed to potential marriage suitors by staying caged up in their villages. Thus, the construction of sand dams and storage tanks in their community had therefore made the interactions with the other villages less, thus breaking the communication channels- leading to more friction due to lack of frequent dialogue.

Jon Barnett in “Climate change, human security and violent conflict” argued that there is an assumption that changes in the climate are likely to increase the risk of conflicts and violence. Climate change reduces the natural resources like water and pastures that is necessary for the survival and thriving of the pastoral communities hence leading to human insecurity. The governing entities will also be unable to provide services and opportunities for the masses of people to sustain their lifestyles. As such the climatic changes are likely to negatively impact human security by increasing the chances of conflicts and violence.

#### **4.2.2 Commercialization of Cattle Rustling**

Findings from the discussions depict that commercialization of cattle raids is the main driver of cattle rustling among the youth, with 67 percent of the youth respondents confirming the same. In their perception, cattle rustling is a profitable venture of which they use the proceeds to overcome the harsh living conditions in the region experienced through scarcity of resources, drought and famine. This is also linked to poverty, which is experienced through high levels of unemployment and illiteracy, which gravely affect the youth.

The 2011 author on cattle rustling and household characteristics of pastoral communities in Kenya echo the field findings, and highlighted that there is a growing phenomenon and commercialization of cattle rustling, whereby the more privileged members of society such as politicians, traders and wealthy businessmen finance cattle raids for economic interests. The initial concept of cattle rustling being used as a method to replenish herds is no longer the case, and the motives have now shifted to a desire to benefit from the act of cattle rustling by the privileged society. In addition, the pastoral communities want to make more money so as to buy

weapons, given the commonality of tribal conflicts and a desire of the communities to protect themselves.

#### **4.2.3 Availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

Findings from the field research reveal that availability of illegal guns and other forms of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) was also mentioned as a driver to cattle rustling as given by 34 percent of the respondents during the discussions. Acquisition of weapons is at an all-time high, with the youth acknowledging that the motivation to participate in cattle raids is much higher when one has a weapon in their possession.

This was confirmed by the key informants, whereby availability of illegal weapons was identified as the main cause of cattle rustling. The search for wealth was also identified as a key motivation to conduct cattle rustling. This was caused by the commercialization of cattle rustling, as well as the increased use of guns leading to increased violence during the raids.

Scheffran et al. (2012), state that conflicts related to livestock raiding have now in recent years become more frequent, violent and destructive. This is based on the ever-present increase proliferation of small arms in the pastoral communities worsens the violent conflicts which is bad from impact of drought, diseases and marginalization of the local communities. The lack of sufficient natural resources and available of small arms then creates a breeding ground for violence.

#### **4.2.4 Personal Gain to fill gaps**

The discussions revealed that 70 percent of the people considered the greatest benefit from cattle rustling to be the material gain received in the form of cattle and/ or money. In addition, some of

the respondents stated that praise received from the community members for participating in the activity was a key motivation as taking part in cattle rustling as a show of heroism.

The key informants stated that in towns like Lokichar in Loima where there is oil exploration, the KPR are hired and their services were paid. In big towns like Lodwar, the KPR are hired to guard shops, banks and provide escort security for vehicles travelling to Kitale and back of which they do for a fee. This was not the role the KPR was meant for. This then led to misuse of the arms in the hands of the KPR and selling of the ammunition to criminals, thereby leading to the ready availability of small arms in Turkana County.

A KPR in Kotaruk was found selling a bullet at Ksh 4 to buy alcohol. When asked why he did that, he explained that they were not paid for the work they do. Due to the small number of police and other security officers in such areas, the KPR were expected to help carry out these duties but without pay. The KPR also reported that they sometimes engaged in paid activities like escorting vehicles from Lodwar to Kitale and back in order to earn some money to sustain them. He further narrated that because the government arms KPR, but does not pay them, the KPR had found ways of sustaining themselves by engaging in various illegal activities. He reported that some of the KPRs could accompany raiders to Karamoja for a raid. They would be given a share after a successful raid. Others also gave ammunition to raiders going for raids to Turkana. Others sold the ammunition to get cash they badly needed for survival.

#### **4.2.5 Traditional Values**

During the discussions, 13 percent of the respondents mentioned that the cultural emphasis placed on livestock heightens the cultural motives behind cattle raiding which in turn fuels conflict, as the cultural traits associated with cattle rustling prompt the youth to raid. The

discussions further revealed that raiders and their leaders were not regarded as criminals but as heroes and men of honour. This was seen through the songs, poems and proverbs which were composed and sung to praise the warriors for granting the community members security and protection thus making their families proud, and therefore inspiring the essence of warrior hood to the youth.

#### **4.2.6 Show of Heroism**

Deliberations from the group discussions conveyed that “*markings of death*” had no significance in the community. Only 17 percent of the respondents acknowledged it as a form of recognition for heroism, as it showed the number of individuals one had killed. A youth in Lorengippi reported that he had been considered as a suitable candidate for marriage by many based on his “*markings*”, and that he was seen as a hero in his community and respected by all especially within members of his age set. He further explained that he considered his “*markings*” are his identity, which has made him earn respect and recognition in his community. From the explanations and behaviors of the youth participants from the youth interviews, it was evident that the “*markings of death*” showed a sign of respect to the dead who they had killed, with an aim to possibly appease their spirit.

Moreover, Manasseh et al. (2012) revealed that among the Turkana, the warriors have their bodies tattooed for every killing committed. In this male-controlled community tattooing is a common expression of masculinity. When they appear on a man’s right shoulder they symbolize the number of male enemy warriors he has killed. But this is not the only meaning to tattooing: it is also used for cleansing—it is believed that by spilling warriors’ blood through the tattoos, curses that may follow them for deaths they have caused are broken (Manasseh et al. 2012).

#### **4.2.7 Political Gain**

Political incitement during national elections was cited by 8 percent of the respondents as one of the drivers of cattle rustling.

Another school of thought argues that the competition of political power and resources seems to motivate cattle rustling, whereby as afore- mentioned, politicians fuel raids and attacks to get rid of their rivals and extend their commercial interests. Due to the devolution in Kenya following the enactment of the 2010 constitution, there has been an increasing in competition as leaders seek power over the resources among the pastoral communities. As such cattle rustling activity is not a traditional cultural aspect but rather an activity for the perpetuation of power and violence. The devolved system led to elections both at the national and county level and the increased interest in politics has led to political motivated cattle raids and violence. Furthermore, Turkana County Governor –Josephat Nanok stated that handling cattle rustling activities as a cultural practice is keen to tolerating illegal business entities since the activity has been commercialized and used by politicians to create a power zone.

The Kenya’s Strategic Plan- Vision 2030 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Medium Term Plan (MTP II) 2013-2017, cite critical issues and challenges affecting pastoralists that ought to be addressed. These include high unemployment leading to low GDP and per-capita contribution, high rate of poverty and energy costs and regulations that prohibit business operations and investment opportunities. These elements have led to disparities in the development of the region, insecurity of the region, high population growth and increase in informal settlement.

Taking up lessons from the achievements and challenges from the 1<sup>st</sup> Medium Term Plan, where the government of Kenya had prioritized ending drought emergencies, irrigation and food

security; drought is still a national concern with drought- related damages and losses between 2008-2011 estimated at USD 12.1 billion (10.2% of GDP). Climate change risks have also intensified, increasing hardships occasioned by drought and floods (MTP 2013-2017) with its effect mostly felt at Arid and Semi- Arid regions.

### **4.3 Frequency of Cattle Rustling**

All respondents interviewed during the study acknowledged that the practice and magnitude of cattle rustling has changed/ increased over the years. According to the findings, the magnitude and increase of cattle rustling has been influenced mainly by the need to raise cattle for dowry price and availability of small arms, as cited by 97 percent and 85 percent of the respondents respectively. Another aspect that has contributed to the increase in magnitude of cattle rustling is poor infrastructure in the region (75 percent), while other 56 percent of the respondents felt that lack of education has resulted in lack of jobs and idleness- thus more prone for the youth to engage in cattle rustling. Other factors that were mentioned to have contributed to the increase in frequency of cattle rustling over the years include political marginalization (29 percent), intention to revenge/ retaliatory attacks (43 percent) and socialization (14 percent). These has further been interpreted in table 3 in the following page.

**Table 3: Factors contributing to frequency and magnitude of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County.**

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Frequency per group interviewed (out of 16 FGDs)</b>	<b>Percentage (%)of Responses</b>
Availability of Small Arms and Illegal Weapons	13	85
Lack of education	9	56
Poor infrastructure	12	75
Political Marginalization	5	29
Dowry Price	15	97
Intention to revenge/ retaliatory attacks	6	43
Socialization	2	14

According to a study done by the International Organization for Migration, “Pastoralism at the edge,” 2010, revealing that the two communities; Pokot and Turkana have always in conflict in one form or another for so long that hardly would a year end without instances of conflict and raiding being reported. It was acknowledged that cattle rustling incidents have always been violent. However, the level of violence had drastically increased in the recent past with increased death, destruction of property, kidnapping of children and women being raped. The Anti-Stock

and Theft Unit of the Kenya police report that between January 2012 and January 2014 approximately 580 people were killed due to cattle raiding.

#### **4.3.1 Availability of Small Arms and Illegal Weapons**

The study found that 85 percent of the respondents reported that the rampant cattle raids as witnessed in the past years has been attributed by the ease in acquiring illegal weapons such as guns that were previously not used in raids, which has eventually led to increasingly violent attacks during raids causing death, which is also not acceptable. Incitement from both political and local leaders was also cited as one of the reasons why cattle rustling is more rampant, and is seen as an act of prestige for those who take part in the raids. The number of raids has also increased significantly over the years, with diminishing resources in the region and incitement from political and community leaders providing motivation to take part in raids.

A youth leader interviewed in Lobei explained that the Turkana raided the Pokot due to hunger and drought. The more the Turkana raided the enemy community the more livestock they got and the more food supply. The livestock realized from raiding could be used to replenish dwindling stock, animal products could be used to feed the children, women and the old. The animals were used for cultural activities like initiation ceremonies and paying of bride price which encourages the youths to look for firearms and go out raiding. This also meant that the youths did not have to rely on their parents for an inheritance as they could easily rely on guns which were provided by the businessmen upon demand. Easy access to firearms has led to proliferation of small arms within the larger Turkana County and further contributed to the increase in cattle raids.

During the FGD in Lobei, it was reported that the communities used to manufacture guns which they used to raid the Pokot and other neighboring communities. In the past, raiding was

infrequent, but with the initiation of traders bringing weapons for sale from as far as South Sudan, Somalia and the Karamoja area of Uganda, only between 2-4 cattle is required in exchange of a weapon. Respondents from the FGD also reported that acquiring an arm is somewhat easier in Turkana nowadays, perhaps due to the instability in the neighbouring countries. Since the weapons have become cheaper and more accessible, the pastoralists now buy the weapons with cash as opposed to livestock.

In the past, one AK-47 would go for Ksh.100,000 while a G3 would go for 70,000-80,000 as shared by one of the former arms dealer interviewed. In the past a gun would cost 560, 000 Uganda shillings which is about Ksh. 20,000, but getting the same gun from Somali traders is easier as you can exchange one gun with two or three oxen which the community has readily available. This has allowed many youths to access guns both in the Turkana and Pokot communities as they come easily with barter trade. There is thus a continuous supply of arms in the region due to the affordability and availability of arms in the region. This encouraged proliferation of small arms in the region, which instigated and sustained the conflict in both regions.

#### **4.3.2 Change in raiding patterns**

In the past, raids used to be carried out mainly during the dry season since it was easy to move the animals across dry lands without leaving a muddy trail behind that could easily be tracked. During the dry season the animals could also move faster as their feet did not carry wet mud in the hooves (Hulme & Fukudu, 2009:47).

During an FGD with the kraal elders, they reported that the enemy would always send word to the communities they intended to raid, and announce their arrival to raid on a particular day and

time. However, this has since shifted drastically over time, whereby the raids nowadays occur spontaneously and discreetly, which leaves inadequate time for communities to prepare for a fair fight. In the traditional days, stolen livestock could be traced in the neighboring community and could find their way home in the next raid. But this was not the case in the new way of modern livestock theft. Livestock were sold as soon as they were stolen. The FGD explained that traditionally this interfered with the cultural way of herd management by these two communities due to the reducing number of livestock, without means of replenishing.

These youths engaged in sporadic raids and even changed the magnitude and face of raiding from what was known in the past. The youths could raid a village three or four times a week. They returned home with many herds of cattle which they could share among themselves, each realizing as many as five to seven heads of cattle, then sell instead of keeping the herds. This was because the youths had changed the mode of raiding from taking many people on a raid, to just about five to six warriors only in a group. The youths had discovered that the fewer they were the better for maneuver and in division of livestock.

The livestock realized from raiding was sold as soon as it crossed over from the enemy community. The money realized from the sale was used to start other business ventures like shops, buying motorbikes used in business, building semi-permanent houses for the raiders and for big businessmen buying tracks to ferry livestock as soon as they reached Pokot or Turkana. The change of raiding from traditional method to the new commercialized activity had made raiding lucrative, frequent and deadly. This sustained and prolonged the conflict.

The mode of attack also had changed where the warriors would attack a village, killing the old, women and children. Pregnant women were killed and their bellies opened, the children removed from their bellies and crashed against stones or hard surfaces. This was done to show brutality to

the enemy and terminate any male offspring from the enemy community. In traditional days, the old, women and children were not killed during a conflict. But this was no longer the case. This was what made the conflict under study different from other traditional conflicts. The changes in raiding patterns and modes of carrying out attacks on the enemy had become lethal.

Lokiyo (2014) reported that ethnographical changes due to modern ways of life had led to destabilized community administrative structures. Young men with modern weapons no longer waited for the elders to sanction raids as before. They organized themselves, carried out raids, sold the livestock and used the money for luxurious spending. This was not the case when the elders had authority and power over the young. As a result, the conflict had turned tragic, bloody, frequent and sustained. This had made raiding bloody and tragic; hence conflict was more frequent and prolonged.

### **4.3.3 Lack of education**

The study revealed that 56 percent of the people interviewed during the discussions attributed the protracted conflict between the Turkana and the Pokot to unemployment among the youth, which caused idleness and led to constant raiding as a way of life. The local chief in Lorengippi explained that many young people do not have formal education, which means they have no skills to gain employment.

Furthermore, the respondents during the focus group discussions conveyed that the raids are more prominent during the school holidays than during the school seasons. This may have been attributed to the fact that the children are idle during the holidays, and thus are more prone to engage in raids.

The education facilities in the area are few and scattered, and people did not know the value of education. Therefore, many youths were unemployed and the level of poverty was very high, leaving cattle rustling and raiding as the only source of livelihood. This was established in an interview with two Members of County Assembly and the Deputy County Commissioner for Turkana where it emerged that lack of education for the many youths left them vulnerable and thus following the cultural practice of raiding. Other reasons include decline in animal produce – meat and milk, changing in climate leading to failing natural resources and revenge missions by neighboring communities.

An MCA from Lorengipi during this interview reported that most of the youths in the area just came from the kraals and were over-age to join any kind of school. The only option was to enroll them informally in mechanic courses where they learnt on the job and driving school. He also helped them to learn carpentry, building and construction. Some of these youths had been committing petty crimes in Kotaruk, breaking into shops and even stealing chicken from homes. Others had resorted to banditry, stealing a goat here and selling it in a faraway center, ambushing vehicles on the way to Lodwar and Kitale. All these were new types of crime committed by these youths because of possessing a gun.

Another MCA in Lorengippi ward reported that the youths in the kraals avoided schools and had resorted to acquisition of modern weapons. They did this by following raiders, assisting them as spies, carrying luggage for them and also running errands while on a raid. After a successful raid, they would be paid with a goat or two. They used this to buy a gun, which is believed to change their lifestyle completely. The respondent narrated how the youths would go on a multiple of raids, selling all the stolen livestock and satisfying their new lifestyle by buying new watches, mobile phones, bicycles, motorbikes and engaging in excessive drinking.

To sustain this new way of life the youths engaged in numerous raids in a short period thereby increasing fatalities and casualties on both sides. This sustained and prolonged the conflict between these two communities. The MCA lamented that with this changed nature of raiding, conflict was bound to continue for as long as the gun gave the power to the bearer to wreak havoc on the opponent.

Although this study indicates that several pastoralists are uneducated, and the idleness related to this result to frequent cattle rustling, the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) argues in the recent past, the pastoralists have come to view as an asset that can get them out of poverty through diversification of their livelihoods. Even with this knowledge, the interest in taking education courses is still low but the resistance is reducing to the concept. The available opportunities and use of new technologies and distance-learning options have increased the number of learners amongst the pastoral communities. But the girls are still not enrolling to educational institutions due to cultural barriers.

An NGO worker in Lokiriama reported that for pastoralist women especially among the Turkana and Pokot, education is considered as a practice that would undermine their value especially when it comes to marriage. In some communities, the bride price paid to a bride was based on the level of education the woman had. For instance, if the woman had no education, the bride price would be the highest- and would go up to 700 heads of cattle and shoats. However, the number of animals paid for dowry started to reduce if the woman had primary school education, and may go down to 500 animals or less, and high school less than 200 animals. Women who had attained university degree were not considered eligible for marriage, as they were considered to have diluted values and 'hard-headed' due to their education. Thus, the girls would deliberately refuse to attend school to fetch a higher bride price.

The introduction of free primary education by the national government in 2003 has no effect on the children from the pastoralist communities. There was no change since the education policy paper of 1971 abolished school fees for children in the arid and semi-arid areas with no improvement in enrolling number of learners. The Policy Framework for Nomadic Education of 2010 intended to address the pastoralist communities' fear of seeking and gaining education and improve access to the education system. The mobile schooling system allows for flexibility of education cycle and integration with the nomadic lifestyle. The policy advocates for use of ICT to ease learning among the pastoralist communities without compromising the nomadic lifestyle of the pastoralist communities.

#### **4.3.4 Poor infrastructure**

During this study, 75 percent of the people interviewed were of the opinion that poor road network and communication had led to this conflict not ending any time soon. A businessman in Lokiriama reported that the poor state of the road from Kitale to Lodwar had made business impossible. One had to incur huge losses and so had to charge high prices in order to make profit. This road was impassable during the rainy season. The roads connecting to this road were worse off and were only cattle tracks. This made raiders carry out frequent raids in a short period because they could not be caught and also the terrain was favorable for cattle theft. This terrain frustrated security officers while trying to trace the stolen cattle, but favored the warriors.

A woman leader further reported during the FGD in Lobei that when cattle raids were taking place and are overpowered by the enemies, the community would try and call the police but there was never any signal, and thus would not get through to the police on time. She further retorted

that the signal would only come back long after the animals have crossed their territory and had arrived at the enemies' land in Pokot, thus wondered if there was some conspiracy involved.

#### **4.3.5 Political Marginalization**

The findings show that 29 percent of the respondents felt that Turkana is politically marginalized, and this was the reason the conflict had not been mitigated. The key informants further believed that the misrepresentation of the pastoralist communities at the national government stage has led to misguided security needs of the community which are ignored and overlooked. An interview with a village elder in Kotaruk revealed that even if the Turkana politicians have been in government for long, the community had not gained much in terms of provision of services such as tarmacked roads, improved schools, improved security and demarcation of boundaries between the Turkana and the other borders. He pointed out poor infrastructure as a factor that had led to the conflict being protracted. This meant the security officers were not able to trace animals once stolen and following the raiders was impossible for lack of existing roads and poor terrain.

#### **4.3.6 Dowry Price**

An overriding theme in almost all the groups interviewed depicted that dowry price was one of the major reasons as to why cattle rustling was very rampant in Loima, which was seen by 97 percent of the respondents. When asked why the Turkana needed a large number of cattle to marry, a youth respondent during the interviews narrated to the researcher that circumcision was not practiced by the Turkana people. But the youths needed a large herd of cattle for paying dowry, since the more cattle one gave as dowry the more respect one was given, plus the wife

would feel appreciated and honored by the new husband. Furthermore, as polygamy was encouraged, the young men were under pressure to acquire many animals for acquiring many wives.

The respondent reported that the many cattle paid out as bride price among the Turkana people was given to the whole family tree of the bride. This accounted for the need of many cattle a man needed to marry. To marry one woman, a man needed about 50 heads of cattle, 70 camels, 10 donkeys, 200 sheep and 300 goats. This then meant that man intending to marry was expected to conduct a cattle raid after the wedding to replace the livestock given as a bride price, which has as a result sustained the communal conflicts between the neighboring communities.

#### **4.3.7 Intention to revenge/ retaliatory attacks**

The study results show that 43 percent of those respondents that took part in the interview felt that revenge was a factor in the continued conflicts that are seen in the two communities for many years. Findings also show that the national government handled the disarmament initiative in a biased manner and its inability to offer adequate security to the communities led to the people seeking and acquiring new and modern arms to protect themselves, their herd and community.

#### **4.3.8 Attacks on Security Forces**

The uprising attacks on security forces among the pastoralist community has becoming a new phenomenon, whereby police officers are killed while going to recover stolen cattle or intervening during a cattle raid. In 2012, atleast 42 police officers and reservists were killed by the Turkana in Baragoi when they went to recover cattle that was stolen by the Turkana from the

Samburus. This was considered the deadliest attack against police forces since independence (Nation Newspaper, 2012). Additionally, some 19 police officers were killed in Turkana in April 2014, where the police officers were as young as 23 years old. This is an increasingly new phenomenon, in that police camps are also targeted to eliminate the presence of police officers that are considered to interfere during cattle raids.

Much as the police officers are combating the cattle raids in Turkana, there is heavy resistance which makes it difficult to defeat this practice. A key informant reported that when warriors are conducting a raid, they are usually large in numbers and could amount to about 300 warriors, which heavily outnumbers the police officers by far- who are usually 15 at most. The police officers also sent to the pastoralist zones to curb cattle rustling are fresh and young police officers who have recently joined the police forces, thus have little experience in general, and thus intimidated by the overwhelming numbers of warriors. The warriors are now aware of this, and use this to their advantage with the knowledge that they outnumber the police, hence can continuously conduct raids without interference from the police.

#### **4.3.9 Socialization**

The findings also showed that 14 percent of the people interviewed saw socialization by parents as earlier reported through heroic songs, poetries and poetic songs to instill warrior hood in the raiders has contributed to the exacerbation of the conflict. In addition, young men who did not own livestock were looked down upon by the community and criticized to be no different than women.

#### **4.4 Effects of Violent Cattle Rustling**

The third objective was to assess the effects of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County, and the resounding magnitude to the members of the community. Most of the effects cited were negative rather than positive effects, making cattle rustling unpopular nowadays among members of the community. From the findings, loss of lives (91 percent) and loss of (86 percent) were revealed by the respondents to be the main effects of cattle rustling. Increase in the proliferation of arms in the region was also mentioned by 70 percent of the respondents as one of the negating effects of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County. Destruction of property and human displacement, as well as misappropriation of service providers were cited at 42 percent and 12 percent respectively. Additionally, food insecurity and attack of police officers was also observed by the researcher and noted by the key informants as some of the effects of cattle rustling in the region.

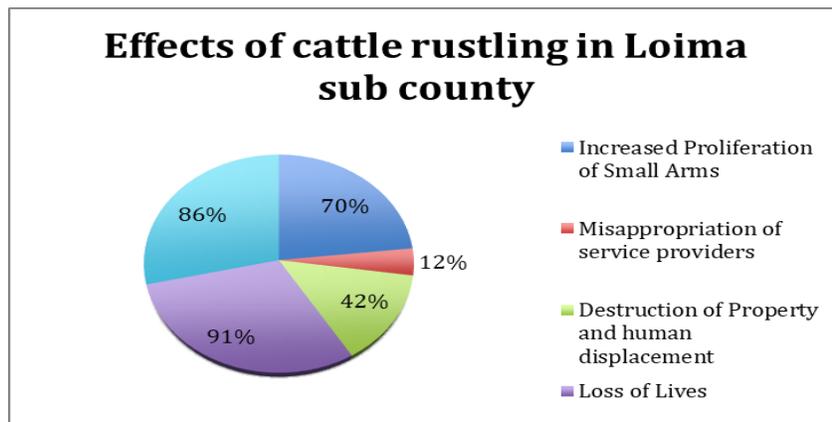
This is further illustrated in table 4 in the following page:

**Table 4: Effects of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County.**

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Frequency per group interviewed (out of 16 FGDs)</b>	<b>Percentage (%)of Responses</b>
Increased Proliferation of Small Arms	11	70
Misappropriation of service providers	2	12
Destruction of Property and human displacement	7	42
Loss of Lives	14	91
Loss of Livestock	13	86

This is further illustrated graphically in figure 3 below:

**Figure 3: Effects of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**



#### **4.4.1 Increased Proliferation of Small Arms**

Turkana county borders countries that just came from war, still in war or the war is just ending (internal wars) such as Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia and from there small arms were smuggled into Kenya where they found their way in pastoralist areas like Turkana and Pokot. These arms were either exchanged with cattle or sold using money and due to the availability and accessibility, the prices were low hence many pastoralists could acquire them easily.

During this study, it was established that porous borders contributed to the easy flow of arms in Turkana County overall. About 70 percent of the respondents attributed the proximity of Turkana County to international borders such as Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan as exacerbating conflict within Turkana Central and more so in Loima District, which borders Uganda to the West. As such, proliferation of arms was blamed by 81 percent of the respondents for most deaths and making the conflict deadly.

#### **4.4.2 Misappropriation of service providers**

The study further revealed that the establishment of Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) led to the availability of small arms in the two areas. The KPRs are armed by the government to provide security for kraals, but used these arms for purposes not intended for. 12 percent of the respondents noted that arms held by KPR were a cause of the conflict and adding to the sustenance of the conflict since there was no follow-up to know how the arms were being used. A former KPR in Lokiriyama reported that the KPR give the community a service that would otherwise be provided by the police, but since the police officers sent to the area were few, the

KPR supplemented their services. But they are not paid for their services and so the KPR used ammunition given to them to get money to sustain them.

According to Mkutu and Wandera (2013:24) the porous borders of Turkana County has made the community to be the highest militarized one in the country. The use of Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) as a security agent has further increased the number of arms in the area. Further, the Kenya Human Rights Commission report denoted that there was an increase of livestock raids in Northern Kenya between the border of Kenya and Uganda due to availability of arms among the Karamajong overran the armoury in Moroto, following the fall of Idi Amin's regime in 1979 (The New Humanitarian, March 2014). As a result, the protracted nature of the conflict between these countries has made disarmament exercises a difficult venture, due to the timeliness of the activity- which requires engaging all countries in the disarmament initiative at the same time.

#### **4.4.3 Food insecurity**

The researcher observed that livestock markets in Urum and Lokirama were not used due to insecurity. As such, this limited the ability of the pastoralists to sell their livestock in preparation of or during drought due to the lack of secure markets, which further resulted to food insecurity. Community members reveal that markets to sell their animals were limited for fear of attacks as they travel with their animals to Kitale (Opiyo et al. 2012). Furthermore, it was reported by teachers in Lokirama that the schools temporarily close when conflicts intensify. The head teacher in Lokirama stated that the school perimeter was bound to be fenced to prevent the raiders to accessing the school and getting near the pupils- thus somewhat improving the security. (Barrett et al. 2003).

#### **4.4.4 Destruction of Property and human displacement**

Pursuant to the proliferation of small arms, destruction of property was also cited as the most significant effect of cattle rustling, as confirmed by 42 percent of the respondents. Human displacement was also considered a significant effect, and the key informants stated death of community members as the most significant effect of cattle rustling.

#### **4.4.5 Loss of Lives**

The study revealed that one of the major effects of cattle rustling was death in the communities, as attributed by 91 percent of the respondents. According to Scheffran et al. (2012), loss of lives and injuries sustained during livestock raids are the most severe effects of cattle rustling. It was further reported by the community that raiders who got injured to the point that hampers their ability to walk during the livestock raids are usually left behind, and as a result many of them end up shooting themselves to avoid retaliatory attacks by the other community. Given that most of the raiders are usually the youth, the livestock raids hold both short term and long term effects, in that the community as a whole is affected and subsequently reduces the future prosperity of the community.

#### **4.4.6 Attacks on vulnerable groups and security forces**

From the discussion findings, deliberate attacks on security forces, women and children were majorly caused by conflicting communities' intention to revenge. With one community having experienced a raid, this promotes retaliatory attacks and are meant to cause more destruction than the first- leading to communities' direct attacks on groups and previously perceived as being neutral such as security forces, women and children.

The key informants also echo the FGDs, further depicting that historically cattle rustling was undertaken under specific rules- such as women, children and the aged were not to be harmed. Death caused during the raid was a taboo with hefty fines imposed on anyone who killed another during the incident. Weapons used during the raid were rudimentary and did not cause severe harm to the opponents. Women and children are targeted during cattle rustling due to the fact that they offer a link to the next generation. The opposing communities therefore target them with a bid to cut off existence and success of future populations of that community, hence the women and children suffer from the conflict and violence whereby in the past would have been spared.

Moreover, government officials sometimes end up as victims of cattle rustling, in addition to the raiders. For instance, the assistant chief of Lokirama together with his driver were shot dead between Lokirama and Moroto, Uganda in December 2011. After further investigation, the police forces, the chief of Lokirama and an NGO representative concluded that it may have been a retaliatory attack by the Pokot or Tepeth from a previous raid by the Turkana, as no valuables or money were stolen from the assistant chief after the shooting (Nation Newspaper, 2014).

#### **4.4.7 Loss of Livestock**

Likewise, losing livestock goes simultaneously with loss of societal recognition as reported by 86 percent of the respondents, as young men are unable to marry if they cannot pay the bride price- which is mostly in form of livestock. The elders are not spared from the effects of cattle rustling and reported that the youth do not respect them anymore despite their role as communal judges. Furthermore, other effects reported through the loss of livestock include lack of nutrition predominantly among children and women and hunger which motivates the community wage

war and conflict (Pike et al. 2010; Pike & Williams 2006). Other effects of livestock raids include disease spread (Bett et al. 2009; Oloya et al. 2006).

Furthermore, raiding has a positive on the community undertaking the raid- as they benefit from increasing their herds, and negative from the community who have been attacked during cattle raids- who lose their herds during the raids. However, if the same communities raid one another, then the livestock numbers remain the same unless they are sold to traders. So, raiding has no value as the number of livestock may remain the same- as the herds remain within more or less the same community.

Schilling et al. (2012), stated that perceptions of insecurity poses three major consequences, which are inefficient usage of resources, closure of schools and markets and blockage of investment opportunities. Further, it is estimated that 15% -21% of the rangelands are inaccessible to both the Turkana and Pokot communities as a result of the inter-community conflict and violent actions (Morton 2001).

#### **4.5 Role of Stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling**

All respondents interviewed acknowledged that various mitigation efforts to curb cattle rustling had been put in place by various stakeholders in the region.

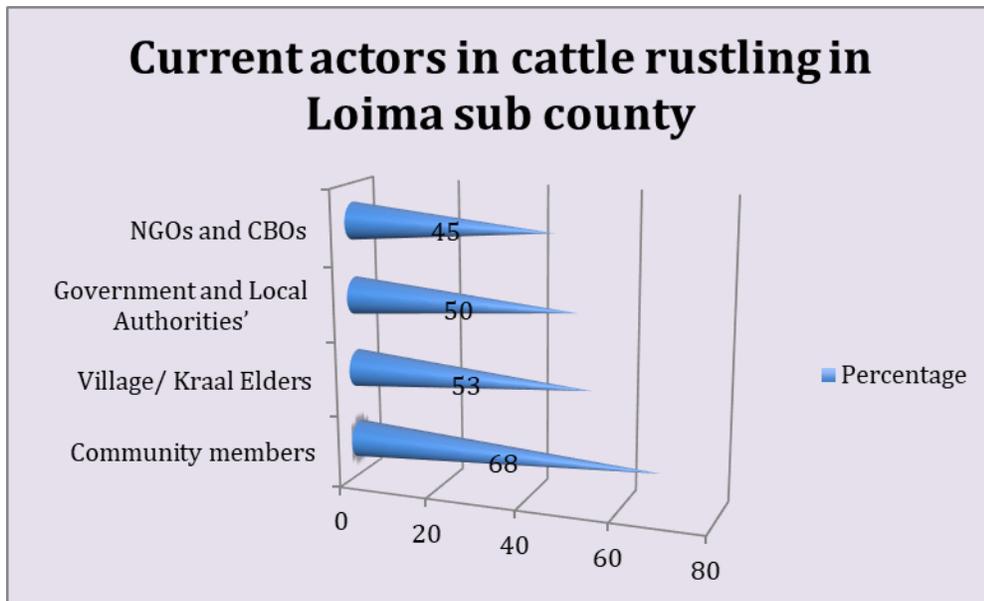
From the findings, individual members of the community were identified as most involved in mitigating cattle rustling as cited by 68 percent of the respondents, thereby promoting personal responsibility in peace building and conflict prevention. This was followed by the government (50 percent), village/ kraal elders (53 percent), and NGOs/CBOs (45 percent). This is seen as in table 5 in the following page:

**Table 5: Current actors in cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**

Parameter	Frequency per group interviewed (out of 16 FGDs)	Percentage (%)of Responses
Community members	10	68
Village/ Kraal Elders	8	53
Government and Local Authorities'	8	50
NGOs and CBOs	7	45

This is further illustrated in figure 4 below:

**Figure 4: Current actors in cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**



Discussions with the key informants revealed that the current peace actors include national and county governments, Non- Governmental Organizations, religious organizations, political leaders and community elders. The peace actors involved are contributing to mitigating cattle rustling through initiating peace dialogues among conflicting communities. The government has also increased police patrols in the region as a conflict prevention mechanism.

#### **4.5.1 Role of community members in mitigating cattle rustling**

Further than the reasons behind livestock raiding, the results from the community interviews shed more awareness into the role of other community members in raiding.

Findings from the focus group discussions (68 percent) reported that the prominent members of the community received the biggest share of the raided livestock following a successful raid, and thus this encouragement only seemed to fuel the conflict as opposed to mitigating it. It was further reported that certain actors such as the medicine men were known to bless the youth during the raids, such as conducting sacrificial ceremonies and performing rituals as they are believed to have supernatural powers - thus playing a vital role in the raids.

On the other hand, 60 percent of the respondents in another focus group discussion pointed out that in aside from encouraging the raids, the local medicine men would also sanction raids in some cases. In addition to performing rituals, the medicine men would assist the raiders to elude security forces and provide other security tips to ensure their safe return after a raid. Subsequently, medicine men would be used to define migratory routs and mediate use of resources and access with neighboring villages during dry seasons- when the pastoralists would move away from their manyattas.

Women are also considered to play either an encouraging or discouraging role in cattle rustling, by either motivating their men and rewarding them by cooking nice meals after a successful raid; or voicing their concerns over fear of lose of life of the men in their households. The youth were also identified to have a role in initiating and/ or actively participating in peace building and conflict prevention activities in partnership with the peace actors mentioned.

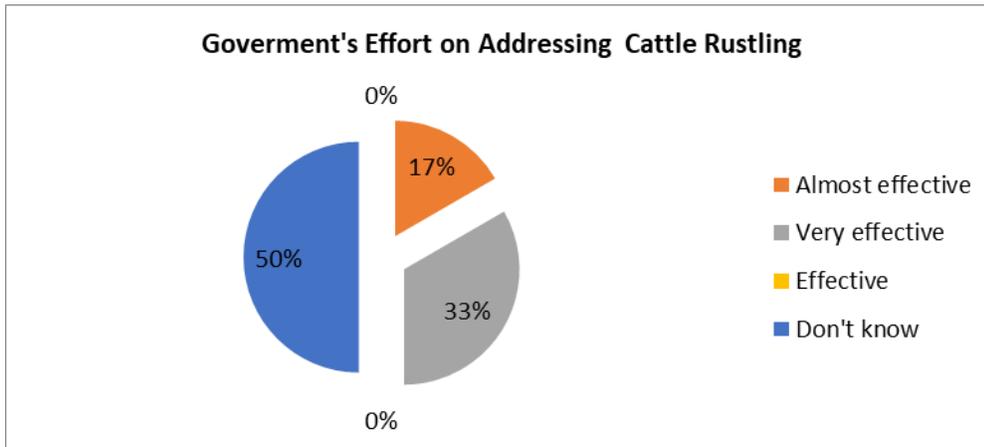
#### **4.5.2 Role of village/ Kraal Elders in mitigating conflicts**

The findings of the interviews on the role of the village elders are particularly contrasting. For instance, the majority of community members interviewed (53 percent) reported that the elders seem to encourage raiding by providing information on where to locate livestock- and as such benefit from the raid. Similarly, other people interviewed reported that the elders discourage the raid based on the negative effects associated with cattle rustling, more so during times of peace with the opposing community. However, the elders do not seem to turn down prepaid blessings in times of conflict.

#### **4.5.3 Respondents' views on Government and Local Authorities' efforts on addressing cattle rustling**

From the focus group discussions, 50 percent of the respondents were inconclusive on whether the government was effective or ineffective in mitigating cattle rustling. This was because cattle rustling was still very rampant although the government had made significant efforts to curb cattle rustling. The findings show that 33 percent of the respondents rated the government's performance as very effective and 17 percent as almost effective. This is shown in figure 5 in the following page:

**Figure 5: Government's efforts on addressing cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**



Responses from the key informants indicate that the respondents felt that village chiefs were the main actors in the conflict through incitement and encouraged conflict in their area. However, the chiefs are in a difficult position, as they represent the government at the grassroots level hence have a responsibility to mitigate or curb raiding on one hand, but at the same time they also understand the reasons as to why the communities partake in raiding. During the FGDs, the respondents reported that the chiefs had a lot of information with regards to cattle raids, such as who the raiders were and where they were planning their meetings, information on the enemies' territories, and when and where the raiding would take place. Moreover, the chiefs sometimes participated in the planning meetings, and would not inform their superiors of these planned raids as they felt that the community entrusted them with such information. After a successful raid, the chiefs benefit from the raid by being rewarded with a significant share of the raided livestock, and as a result has led to exacerbating the conflict between the Turkana and the Pokot.

With regards to peace building activities, one key informant reported that the money earmarked by peace groups for peace initiatives was used by political actors to resource their political campaigns. He further retorted that following successful campaigns and the politicians are

elected into parliament, they would venture more into politics as opposed to peace initiatives which they initially started, thus causing the community to be skeptical of peace building activities.

Lokiyo (2014) further discusses that in most cases peace work came to be known as a smokescreen for political campaign forums and that some community members came to despise the peace work carried out in the region. Therefore, certain individual peace workers who harbored political ambitions made peace work unpopular in the region. Hence the community came to associate peace work with politics and never took them seriously. This behavior of peace works to politicized peace work led the community to ignore calls for peace, hence the sustained conflict between the two communities.

#### **4.5.4 Role of NGOs and CBOs in mitigating cattle rustling**

Findings from the focus group discussions showed that 45 percent of the people interviewed shared that peace efforts along the border of Kenya and Uganda was a booming business. From the findings it seemed that more respondents felt that peace activities were a profitable venture for the international and local communities implementing activities in Turkana and Pokot. A woman elder revealed that each year a new group was formed and the previous one disappears in corruption cases and misappropriation of funds in Loima. What was seemingly unusual was that despite the lack of evident outcome and results, these peace groups somehow managed to continue receiving millions of dollars in humanitarian or peacebuilding funds. Some key informants reported that the peace organizations would organize meetings between the conflicting communities to promote peaceful coexistence, and afterwards disappeared and a

reoccurrence of conflict would occur between the Pokot and the Turkana, thus leading the community to render the peace meetings an impractical venture.

The key informants further stated that many of the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs carried out peace activities in conformation to the proposals they wrote for funding by the donors. Their activities fueled conflicts as they worked to ensure the conflicts were sustained to get money from donors. In addition, most of the peace meetings were held in urban towns and cities which is far from the affected areas and communities, and the people attending these meetings are not in touch with the situation on the ground. The participation was mainly motivated by self-interest, whereby the participants of the peace meetings looked to benefit from the conference allowances as well as get to stay in lavish hotels. There were no follow ups or actions taken after the peace meetings as some of the participants feel like it's not their work. This further shed light to how the peacebuilding activities were used more for personal gain rather than to curb the prolonged conflict. Afterwards a new wave of peace actors would emerge, and the cycle repeats itself, thus making the peace activities ineffective.

Contrary to the sentiments made by the youth interviews and FGDs, a key informant working with World Vision revealed that many other organizations were involved in peace work while offering their core business activities in Turkana. These were Oxfam, UNICEF, World Food Program, ACTION AID, and MERLIN, KENYA RED CROSS, UNDP, IOM among others. These organizations would find themselves involved in alleviating the suffering of the Turkana community by treating those injured during raids, providing shelter, food and clothing to the displaced, transporting the injured to hospital and holding peace meetings regularly to sensitize the two communities about peaceful co-existence. These organizations were working in conjunction with the government of Kenya, and as reported by the key informant, a lot needs to

be done in these conflict areas in terms of updating educational facilities, improvement of road network and communication.

#### **4.6 Effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation efforts put in place**

The discussions revealed that the current efforts to curb cattle rustling in Loima Sub County by the NGOs and international community include: initiating peace dialogues (61 percent), offering peace dividends to reformed warriors (32 percent), peaceful social and economic interaction by community members from conflicting communities (26 percent), and vocational training support for youth (57 percent). It was further reported that these activities are currently effective and can be replicated in other areas where cattle rustling is rampant. Additionally from the findings, Income Generating Activities (IGA's) were identified as the key alternative to curb cattle rustling that the youth can engage in, cited by 50 percent of respondents. Moreover, 30 percent mentioned sporting activities among themselves and neighboring communities, and 20 percent citing youth forums such as conferences as key alternatives. This is shown in table 6 in the following page:

**Table 6: Peace initiatives to curb cattle rustling in Loima Sub County**

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Frequency per group interviewed (out of 16 FGDs)</b>	<b>Percentage (%)of Responses</b>
Peace dialogues	<b>10</b>	<b>61</b>
Peace dividends	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>
Peaceful social and economic interaction by community members from conflicting communities	<b>4</b>	<b>26</b>
Vocational training	<b>9</b>	<b>57</b>
Income Generating Activities	<b>8</b>	<b>50</b>
Sporting activities	<b>4</b>	<b>30</b>
Youth forums	<b>3</b>	<b>20</b>

#### **4.6.1 Peace dialogues and peace building forums**

Specific efforts made specifically by the national and county government to curb violent cattle rustling include supporting peace dialogues, deployment of security personnel, supporting advocacy on peace building and conflict prevention among conflicting communities and holding peace building forums hosted by government and community leaders.

This was also confirmed by the key informants, whereby peace dialogues were identified as the key activity undertaken and involved all peace actors i.e. government and non- governmental organizations, religious organizations, political and local leaders as well as community members. They also recognize the government's commitment to mitigating cattle rustling, by increasing police deployment in the region alongside police patrols and promoting advocacy on peace building and conflict prevention activities.

However, a key informant working for an international organization revealed during his interview that the peace dialogues are usually a money-making scheme by the community elders. Whenever peace dialogues are held, the community elders receive an allowance of Ksh 3,000 per day for mediating the dialogues, and the Chiefs also receive an allowance of Ksh 2,000 or 3,000 for mobilizing the community. The key informant further reported that once some kraal elders came to visit him at the organization where he worked, telling him that they were broke and that he should organize for another peace dialogue soon in their sub county. This way, with the motive to hold the meetings being monetary, the proposed outcome of building peace is not very effective if at all.

#### **4.6.2 Livelihoods activities**

Livelihood activities in the form of IGA's would work as they economically empower the youth, negating the need to participate in cattle rustling due to poverty or for material gain. The IGA's would also as keep the youth pre-occupied therefore lead them to decline to the call or personal need to participate in raids. Sporting activities and youth forums would promote peaceful interactions among conflicting communities which discourage further attacks or raids among the same communities.

### **4.6.3 Intermarriages**

While intermarriages as an option to end cattle rustling was not considered as an option during the interviews, the researcher believes that this would open a forum where the different communities would learn about each other's culture, thus learn to appreciate the other and learn to cooperate/ work together as opposed to against each other. By learning the values and practices of the other community, this helps to contribute to a culture of peace and thus leading to peaceful coexistence, hence forming a mutual cooperation between the two conflicting tribes.

### **4.6.4 Formal commitments to combating cattle rustling**

Discussions emanating from the focus group discussions revealed that existing and successful peace accords are one way of instilling a culture of peace between warring communities, by replicating the successes and lessons learnt from the implementation of the accords. Such peace accords in Turkana include the **Lokiriana Peace Accord**, which was signed on 19 December 1973 at the current Lokiriana trading centre by two major communities, namely Matheniko from Uganda and Turkana from Kenya. This peace agreement is what has led to the current peace that prevails between the Turkana in Kenya and Uganda's Matheniko and Tepeth. This contract was after the inter-tribal conflicts where hundreds of people died together with their animals along the Nakiloro River. The community elders realized the need for peaceful co-existence between the two communities, and through the Matheniko emissaries they discussed the peace agreement. With the newfound peace, the Turkana young men escorted the Matheniko emissaries back to their land as an indication of the peace between the two communities.

The elders from the two groups later went to Lodwar to seek the approval of the current District Commissioner –Mr. White House and sought the government support. With the support of the

DC, there was a formal inter-community function to sign the treaty and symbolically end the feud between the communities. This was done on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 1973 where the people from the Matheniko in Uganda and the Tepeth and Turkana of Kenya and government representatives from the two countries were in attendance. Many of the arms like guns, bows and arrows were buried in a deep pit in Lokiriama area in Loima Division, Turkana Central District, Kenya.

The peace accord was built on honesty and trust and it has worked through respect of the two groups; this can serve as a learning opportunity for the Turkana and Pokot people. It can help the two community leaders on peaceful co-existence and serve as a benchmark on what the presence or absence of peace impacts the community. The peace accord can also help to reinforce the Karamoja Cluster and replicate its results to the Pokot and Turkana people and their communities. Other on-going peace initiatives in the region can equally borrow working points from this accord and the elders can share with others their experiences and gain peaceful co-existence with their neighboring communities.

#### **4.6.5 Disarmament exercises**

In addition, disarmament exercises have been conducted in the region, as reported by a key informant from UNDP. The community members however reported that the mode of disarmament conducted has been voluntary, and has been conducted in an uncoordinated manner- whereby the Turkana would be disarmed before the Pokot as opposed to at the same time. This meant that when the Turkana did not have their weapons, the Pokot used this as an opportunity to attack the Turkana given their increased vulnerability. Moreover, some of the warriors possess more than one weapon- hence when voluntary disarmament was done, the warriors would hand in one weapon and keep another in fear of being vulnerable. This was also

due to the fact that the reintegration support provided afterwards was minimum or barely inexistent, thus the warriors had nothing to fall back to.

The Deputy County commissioner further lamented that in order for a disarmament exercise to be successful, it should be forced disarmament. He went on to mention that forced disarmament was conducted in the neighboring Karamojong community in Uganda, and the conflict had greatly subsided in that area. He also mentioned the example of Samburu where he was a District Commissioner previously, whereby disarmament had been conducted and the warriors provided with adequate reintegration support, thus there was peaceful coexistence. However, the peace did not last long as the Turkanas still had their weapon after voluntary disarmament was done, and attacked the Samburus in 2012 which led to the fatal Baragoi Massacre that saw 42 policemen killed.

#### **4.6.6 National and local government efforts**

The County Government of Turkana in its blue prints- County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) 2013- 2017, outlined its priorities in peace building and conflict prevention through identifying and working in partnership with other peace actors, the local administrative units in peace building efforts and forming peace and conflict resolution strategies.

In response to the existing needs, the Government (both National and County) focuses in additional support towards value addition in the production chain and developing marketing support mechanisms for pastoralists in the region. This will contribute to ending cattle rustling conflict among pastoralists in Northern Kenya, including Loima and Turkana Central sub-counties.

Both the Government and Non- Governmental Organizations in Turkana have for a long time been embracing dialogue as part of the approaches to mitigating conflict in the form of cattle rustling among the pastoralist communities in the region. UNDP journal on peace building and conflict prevention recognizes dialogue as not a one- size fit all strategy, that it is not a panacea for resolving all world crises; rather it represents just one tool that policymakers can use. Emphasis is given on dialogue being a flexible process, which is adaptable to various contexts and is useful when the parties to the conflict are not yet ready for formal negotiations. Moreover, mitigation of cattle rustling activities requires the affected communities to move from just initial dialogue process to more formal commitments, which are binding as seen in the Lokiriama Peace Accord and Naitaluk Agreement of Ugandan Karamoja Communities (UNDP 2009).

## **CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This chapter focuses on all the four objectives that guided the study, how they were achieved, the theoretical framework and methodology used, findings and conclusions drawn and recommendations given at the end of the study. The objectives of the study were to assess the frequency of cattle rustling in Loima Sub County over the past five years; to determine the values attached to cattle rustling by the Turkana and Pokot communities; to assess the role of stakeholders in mitigating cattle rustling and to assess the effectiveness of cattle rustling mitigation efforts put in place over the past five years.

### **5.1 Findings and Conclusions**

The objectives of the study revealed that changes emanating from ecology, livelihoods, ethnography, raiding patterns, proliferation of small arms, governance, peace building activities and political incitements from politicians from both communities were responsible for the sustenance of the protracted conflict in Loima Sub County.

The study also established that poverty led to persistent conflicts within Turkana and in the Loima Sub County. Food deficits also caused conflict, so raiding incidences naturally increased as people attempted to cope during lean periods brought about by droughts. Wealth accumulation was also established as a motive for conflict as given by the respondents. It was established that changes in cultural settings which had been caused by a multiple of factors affecting these pastoralists had contributed to the prolonged and continued conflict. Ethnography or cultural changes had led to destabilized community administrative structures. Conflict was partly caused by the need to pay high bride price.

It was further established that the recurrent conflicts were instigated through the songs, poems and proverbs which were composed and sung to praise the warriors for granting the community

members security and protection thus making their families proud, and therefore inspiring the essence of warrior hood to the youth.

Revenge emanating from constant raids and violence was identified as a factor sustaining conflict in Turkana, while uneven disarmament initiatives by the government was also seen as encouraging acquisition of more and more arms in Loima Sub County. The changing raiding patterns as established by the study had resulted in prolonged conflict in Loima.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons and their availability in Loima prolonged and sustained conflict, as revealed by this study. The countries neighboring Turkana such as South Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Somalia emanate from either recent or ongoing conflicts, and as such make it easier for arms to be smuggled across the borders into the pastoralist areas of Northern Kenya. Due to the abundance, affordability and accessibility of the weapons, the arms are acquired easily by the pastoralists by being sold with money or exchanged with cattle.

Moreover, the findings elucidated that the community members of Loima Sub County felt that the personal interest of the international and local communities exacerbated the conflict as opposed to mitigating it, and that felt that peace activities were a profitable venture for the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs. In addition, the findings revealed that due to the lack of coordination and joint planning by the international and local actors, there was little impact in terms of the peace activities, thus a continuation of the violent cattle rustling.

This is further compounded by poor infrastructure in Loima Sub County, both in terms of roads and communication network, which is a deterrent to protracted conflict in North Western Kenya. When cattle raids occurred, it was difficult to recover the stolen herd due to the inaccessibility of the roads and poor communication network. Unless the infrastructure issue is solved soon, the likelihood of violent cattle rustling increasing remains high. Furthermore, the unsuccessful and

uncoordinated disarmament exercises coupled with inadequate security officers further subjected the government to attacks by the pastoralists, who knew that they outnumbered the security officers, and this led to delayed or no response following cattle raids.

Lack of development was also seen to be caused by insecurity which had led to lack of investments and low trade, hence lack of development in the area. The most visible effects of the prolonged conflict was the over dependence on relief food Aid. This study established that prolonged many people depend on relief food provided by the government and civil society organizations due to the continuous conflicts.

There was a deepening contest over scarce natural resources in Loima Sub County caused by this conflict. The constant conflict had resulted in the scramble for the scarce resources in form of water and pasture which had contributed to the unsustainable utilization of available natural resources. The study indicated that the ever-present conflict has led to poverty and impoverishment in Loima Sub County.

Governance issues were mentioned by the residents of Loima to have contributed to the sustenance of the conflict. The issues in this regard range from inadequate security personnel to prevent violent livestock raiding, poor education, inadequate health centres and facilities, uncoordinated disarmament exercises and general under development of the arid areas, all of which lead to the violent nature of cattle rustling.

Constant conflict in Loima Sub County had led to destruction and displacement of the communities. The study also established that during raids people were killed, houses and other livelihoods were torched/burned; schools in the area were closed, making development in the region difficult. Recurrent and prolonged conflict between the Turkana and Pokot had resulted in the loss of human lives. This impacted negatively on the raided community where there were

deaths of many of the young people who could work in herding the animals and protecting their community. Furthermore, raiding did not only affect the community at the present moment but led to loss of future prospects.

The study established that raiding led to loss of animals which diminished the roles, authority and responsibilities of the men as leaders of the families. This led to change of roles since the loss of cattle meant that men could no longer provide for their families, leaving that role to the women. The change in roles for the men and women left the men displaced in matters that affected their community. As such the conflicts have negatively impacted on the traditional structure and institutions at Loima Sub County. In the past, elders played a key role in instilling discipline in the youths, safeguarding the pride and honor of the community and setting the rules on what needed to be done. However, things had since changed and the warriors who routinely launched livestock raiding missions did it on their own, without reference to the elders.

Poor conflict resolution strategies had made it difficult to achieve the intended results of ending the conflict between the Turkana and Pokot. This was because many affiliated researchers could not be given straightforward answers about the causes of raids by the community involved in conflict. Participants in interviews for gathering information about raids demanded for large sums of money before they gave information. This hampered quality information gathering, where sometimes the participants gave false information depending on the amount of money received.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

The Nairobi Protocol, a regional legal instrument to which all governments in the region are signatories, stipulates measures that signatories should put in place to ensure control of proliferation of Small arms and light weapons (SALW). It is recommended that there should be

synergy between the two national focal points of Kenya and Uganda in addressing the small arms menace in Turkana and Pokot regions in Kenya and Eastern Uganda respectively.

The Government should take a more positive approach in handling cattle theft reports and properly investigate the cases. The government needs to respond urgently to pastoralist conflict replacing its reactive strategy with a more proactive one that seeks to equip its security forces, train and instill in them a sense of urgency and responsibility in handling incidents of pastoralist conflict. Trained trackers should be hired to follow on the stolen animals, have regular patrols to protect the people and their property and the law enforcement officers should refrain from the impulse to reprimand those community members they feel are responsible for such activities.

In terms of livestock recovery, more efforts should be put in place to help the communities track their lost herds, and additional measures to be put in place to prevent retaliatory attacks. Furthermore, the government should ensure that educational facilities are increased to accommodate more children in Loima Sub County, by allocation of adequate resources to support the education sector, build more schools and increase more teachers, and equip the available schools with sufficient learning materials.

Peace building initiatives at the community level such as those organized by RIAM RIAM, Practical Action, Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), ACTED, World Vision, IOM, UNDP and ACF should be reinforced by government efforts to help curb the magnitude and frequency of pastoralist conflict in Turkana, as well as the cross border with Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Furthermore, there should be increased collaboration between these agencies to prevent duplication of work and maximize collective efforts, which could be achieved through joint planning, coordination and implementation. Local organizations which

have gained the trust and acceptance from the community like RIAM RIAM should be capacitated through financial, material and human resources.

At policy level, the government should reconsider its approach to arming KPR as a counter force to armed cattle rustlers. This is because the KPRs are insufficiently trained to handle arms and receive very little to no compensation for their work. As such they are seen to some extent contribute to the insecurity in Loima Sub County and Turkana County as a whole, as they engage in unscrupulous acts when they are not paid and in possession of a weapon. An alternative to this policy would be to redirect the command of the KPR under the command of law enforcement such as the police officers to ensure continuity in their operations- thus addressing the loopholes associated with insecurity. In addition, the KPRs should be reselected through a screening process and thereafter undergo a vigorous training process, provided with appropriate uniforms and gears and budget is allocated at the national level to ensure that they receive payment on a monthly basis.

The government and other stakeholders, including NGOs, CBOs and FBO can make a huge difference in the development of Loima Sub County through increased funding of infrastructure facilities particularly roads, sinking more boreholes in most parts of the county, establishment of new irrigation projects and expansion of old ones. Furthermore, the economic livelihoods of the pastoralist communities can be increased through increasing the livestock markets, thus addressing resource-based conflicts. Government sponsored restocking systems that would ensure readily available livestock for purchase after a dry spell would eliminate raiding for restocking purposes. The researcher advocates for a well thought out plan of pastoral economic management system steered and funded by the government.

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## **ANNEX 1: TOOLS**

### **Tool 1: Focus Group Discussion Guide**

Hello,

I am Fatma Said, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am undertaking an assessment to learn more about cattle rustling and its effects in your community. I seek your honest opinion, views and perceptions on the topic as your responses will increase the awareness on the issue of cattle rustling and how the practice can be managed and mitigated. The information that you share is confidential and is for academic purposes, and also your participation is voluntary. I will appreciate if you would take part in the survey which will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

#### **Interview profile**

- Name of interviewer:
- Date of interview:
- Location of interview:
- Composition of Focus Group Discussion Panel:
- Translator used:
- Name of translator:

1. What is your understanding of conflict/ how would you define conflict? What are the main causes of conflict in your community?

2. Is cattle rustling a necessary activity in your community or can it be done away with? What are the costs associated with cattle rustling (positive and negative), and are there alternatives to cattle rustling?
3. What are the main drivers/ underlying causes of cattle rustling in your community?
4. What are the values attached to cattle rustling that make it a prominent practice in this region? Has the practice changed over the years? If yes, what has changed?
5. Have the cattle rustling incidences always been violent? Yes/ No. If yes, describe the nature of violence.
6. How often has cattle rustling occurred in the past 3 years? When/ during what seasons are they most severe and why?
7. Who are the key actors of cattle rustling in your community? What role does each actor play in exacerbating or preventing cattle rustling in your community?
8. What are the effects/ impact of cattle rustling to the community?

9. There have been reported sources of conflict/ attacks against security forces, as well as women and children during cattle rustling. Why is this so?
  
10. What is the significance of “*Markings of honour*”? How did it start and what are the values attached to it?
  
11. Are there any ongoing mitigation efforts to end/prevent cattle rustling in your community? If yes, briefly explain the mitigation efforts currently in place and the actors involved.
  
12. Are the mitigation efforts successful? What has worked and what has not worked/ failed? Explain why?
  
13. In your view, what measures do you feel needs to be put in place in order to prevent/mitigate cattle rustling in the region and maintain peace?

## **Tool 2: Key Informant Interview Questionnaire**

Hello,

I am Fatma Said, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am undertaking an assessment to learn more about cattle rustling and its effects in your community. I seek your honest opinion, views and perceptions on the topic as your responses will increase the awareness on the issue of cattle rustling and how the practice can be managed and mitigated. The information that you share is confidential and is for academic purposes, and also your participation is voluntary. I will appreciate if you would take part in the survey which will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

### **Interview profile**

Name of interviewer:

Date of interview:

Location of interview:

Name of interviewee:

Title/ Designation of interviewee:

1. Are there any conflicts in this region? In your words, what is conflict, and what are the main sources of conflict in this region?
2. What are the main drivers of cattle rustling in the community?

3. What has been the frequency of cattle rustling in the community over the past three years? On average how many cases of cattle rustling are reported in a year over the past three years?
4. In your view, what are the effects of cattle rustling in the community? Has the magnitude of violent cattle rustling increased over the years?
5. What are some of the economic, social and security initiatives requiring attention to curb cattle rustling and sustain peace that are not currently being undertaken in the community?
  - i) Economic
  - ii) Social
  - iii) Security
6. Who are the current peace actors, how are they contributing to mitigating cattle rustling and what should they do differently in order to curb the issue of cattle rustling?
7. What are the current efforts/ measures put in place to curb cattle rustling? What is working or failing, and why? Can the successful efforts be replicated?

8. What are the efforts by the national and county government in preventing cattle rustling?

9. In your view, what can be done to prevent cattle rustling? Explain why?

10. On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is very ineffective, 2- almost effective, 3- Don't know, 4- Effective and 5- Very Effective, how would you rate efforts by the following institutions in addressing/ mitigating cattle rustling.

	<b>Very ineffective</b>	<b>Almost effective</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	<b>Effective</b>	<b>Very effective</b>
Government (County and National Government)					
Community					
Humanitarian/ Development actors (NGOs, U.N, etc)					

Explain why?