

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK**

**POLICING STRATEGIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON CATTLE  
RUSTLING IN TOT DIVISION, MARAKWET DISTRICT IN  
ELGEYO MARAKWET COUNTY.**

**BY**

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
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**Declaration**

This project is my original work and has not been presented in any other institution or forum for any other award or favor prior to this declaration.

Signature:  ..... Date: 7/10/2011 .....

(Mark Kosgei Murkomen)

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor:

Signature:  ..... Date: 7/10/2011 .....

(Dr. Benson Agaya)

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this project to my wife Lilian and daughter Lilmar for their moral and material support, while working on the project. They did not complain for the attention diverted from them to the project; they instead supported the project. I also dedicate this project to all the innocent victims of cattle rustling who lost their lives and property; maimed or injured as a result of cattle rustling. May God rest the souls of the deceased in eternal peace and lift the spirits of the afflicted. My dedications go to police officers who selflessly put their lives on the line of duty in the fight against cattle rustling in the entire northern Kenya.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**AP- Administration police**

**ASTU- Anti stock theft police unit**

**EAPCCO- East African police chief's co-operation organization**

**CBO- Community based organization**

**CID- Criminal investigation department**

**DO- District officer**

**GOK- Government of Kenya**

**GSU- General Service police unit**

**KHRC- Kenya Human rights commission**

**KNFP- Kenya national focal point on small arms and light weapons**

**NCCK- National church council of Kenya**

**NIPB- Northern Ireland policing board**

**NSIS- National intelligence security service**



## **Abstract**

Marakwet–Pokot cattle rustling have led to great suffering to the people of Tot Division in Kerio Valley 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. This study assessed the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District.

The general objective of the study was to assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Northern Kenya. The study involved 77 respondents, from two categories. There were 28 respondents from various police units and 49 respondents from the local community residents in the categories of elders, women and youth. 14 key informants were purposively selected from provincial administration officers, religious leaders, leaders of NGOs and CBOS dealing with conflicts. The respondents were selected through stratified sampling. The data was collected using questionnaires, key informant guide and observations in the field. The study utilized survey design to achieve its objectives. The study generated and utilized both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS computer program and described using descriptive statistics. The qualitative data was analyzed using themes and trend analysis. The data was presented in frequency tables, percentages and charts.

The study found out that cattle rustling in Tot Division led to loss of live and property, displacement of people, closing of businesses, poverty and under development. The study established that the following policing strategies were engaged to fight cattle rustling in Tot: peace building and restoration, deployment of more police officers, disarmament, arrest and prosecution, gathering of intelligence, stopping illegal arms and livestock trade, laws and policy framework, community policing and free and compulsory education. The study established that, the following socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental factors in the society impede the functioning of policing strategies in the area: cultural support for cattle rustling, political influence, organization of illegal arms and livestock trade, poverty and youth unemployment, rough terrain and hot weather conditions, and finally police low morale, poor equipments and training. The study found out that the policing strategies employed were not very effective in preventing cattle rustling. However some succeeded to a limited extent.

The study recommended that the government should conduct continuous disarmament and ensure the country's porous borders are properly manned to prevent entry of illegal firearms and guarantee the security of the pastoralist communities living along the border. The government should also facilitate police officers adequately and develop the pastoralist areas to spur economic growth to provide them with alternative livelihood beside pastoralism. The government, civil society and the local community leaders should encourage education among the pastoralists by building more schools and provide sponsorships.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the study

Kenya has a land mass of 219,788sq miles of which 20% is classified as arable land suitable for farming while the remaining 80% is arid and semi arid land inhabited by pastoral and agro-pastoral communities (KARI, 2009). Cattle rustling is common among pastoral and agro-pastoral communities of northern parts of Eastern Province, North Eastern and northern part of Rift valley Province (North Rift). The other parts of the country where pastoralism or agro-pastoralism are practiced such as Southern Rift valley (South Rift), Lower Eastern and North Coast, do not experience intense cattle rustling as northern Kenya region. This variance may be attributed to infrastructural development, high levels of government presence and availability of alternative livelihoods beside pastoralism (Amene, 2009).

An analysis of cattle rustling trends shows that it is more intense in North Rift than in other parts of northern Kenya because it borders pastoralist communities in neighbouring countries of Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia who practice cattle rustling (Mkutu,2008). Cross border and intercommunity raids are common among communities living in the North Rift that include Pokot, Turkana, Marakwet and Samburu; and the neighbouring communities of Karamojong, Sapei and Pokot of Uganda, Toposa and Dong'iro of South Sudan; and Merile, Nyangaton and Shangila of Ethiopia (Muiruri, 2009). The Karamojong and Sapei of Uganda commonly conduct cross border raids with the Pokot of Kenya; likewise, the Toposa and Dong'iro of South Sudan and Merile, Nyangaton and Shangila of Ethiopia raid the Turkana of Kenya and vice versa (Kenya Police, 2010). Inter-community raiding in North Rift is between Marakwet and Pokot, Pokot and Turkana; Pokot and Samburu, Turkana and Samburu and Pokot against Njemps and Tugen in Baringo District (KNFP, 2006).

Northern Kenya is primarily composed of arid and semi-arid land and pastoralism is the chief economic activity in the region. Among the pastoralist communities, cattle rustling is a cultural activity with very strong values attached to it and they in turn define individual's status in society (Cherop, 1976). Traditionally, cattle rustling took place on a seasonal basis and were mainly associated with rites of passage into adulthood. After circumcision, the newly initiated men took part in cattle raids to demonstrate their prowess and valour (NCCK,

2002). Such raids were also organized to raise the pride price paid to a bride's parents. Further, the raids served to restock a community's livestock especially after a dry spell, disease outbreak and enemy raid that diminished livestock (KHRC, 2001; Hungue, 2005). The raiders were mainly interested in cattle and sometimes women were taken as wives. The raided communities would in turn organize counter-raids to recover the stolen livestock. The main weaponry used in these raids were traditional spears and shields; bows and poisoned arrows. Such raids did not fundamentally disrupt the lives and livelihoods of the communities affected since they were not as frequent or fatal as the modern ones (KNFP, 2006).

Cattle rustling is the major cause of insecurity in pastoralist North Rift that includes Tot Division in Marakwet District (Muiruri, 2009). It became violent since 1992 leading to loss of lives and livestock, which is their livelihood, and people were being displaced due to increased intercommunity and international (cross border) raids. Cattle rustling poses threat to peace and economic life of the livestock dependent communities of North Rift because it has evolved and transformed to embody violent confrontations with devastating effects on humans and livestock. The use of firearms in violent cattle rustling for both raiding and defense has led to loss of lives and commission of crimes such as murder, robbery, rape, defilement, grievous harm, assault, illegal possession of firearms and livestock theft. It has also displaced communities thus affecting their productivity. (KNFP, 2006).

Cattle rustling conflicts affect development and provision of essential services in pastoralist areas through disruption of the communities' livelihood systems by restricting access to natural resources and marketing systems (Oxfam GB, 2002). It also leads to destruction of social amenities already put in place. For example, the education system is affected when teachers are forced to withdraw from conflict stricken areas and the communities re-locate their settlements for fear of being attacked. Education for children and the youth is often affected and interrupted by frequent cattle raids. Conflict is also a common disincentive to investment by the communities and development agencies (GoK, 2001). At the local level, a lot of effort and funds go to controlling cattle rustling crimes and mitigating against their effects instead of being channeled to development activities (Kamenju, 2003).

However, in Tot Division, Marakwet District, cattle rustling between Marakwet and Pokot has occurred for countless generations. In 1992, cattle rustling in Tot Division took a deadly dimension that led to 700 people including police officers losing their lives as 600 houses

were burned down and thousands of livestock stolen; 39 schools were closed and families were displaced. Many people left the area to settle in safe places like Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Keiyo and other parts of Marakwet. Farms were left fallow and businesses were closed thus disrupting the people's lives and development activities in the area (KHRC, 2001).

The Kenyan government, the local community and the civil society have made numerous efforts to deal with cattle rustling problems in pastoralist areas including peace building and restoration, disarmament exercises (illicit arms mop up), deployment of more police officers, stopping illegal arms and livestock business among other strategies with limited success (Amene, 2009). According to police deployment records (2005), Kenya Police has been making efforts to deploy additional officers to cattle rustling prone areas with a view to stopping the practice. For instance in Tot division, a General Service Unit (GSU) camp and a police station were set up in Tot after 1976 Pokot raid on the Marakwet, an Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) police camp was set up in Chesongoch after 1992 raid and Mogil police station was established after the 2001 Pokot raid on the Marakwet. Later police reservists were recruited and armed in the area. Administration police officers were also deployed in all chiefs' camps in the area after 1992 raid. Further, civil society and community leaders have often led conflict resolution and peace building strategies as a means of ending the menace (Kamenju, 2003).

All the strategies employed by the government, civil society and the local community have not resolved the problem of cattle rustling; indicating that the factors driving it and the best strategies to contain the menace are yet to be identified and adopted. This study focused to assess whether policing strategies are evolving fast enough to contain the ever mutating phenomenon of cattle rustling that transforms itself to beat any measure put in place to prevent its occurrence.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Marakwet–Pokot cattle rustling have led to great suffering to the people of Kerio Valley for a very long time defying interventions from the local community, civil society and the state (Kiptoo, 2010). Many lives have been lost through violent conflicts, as properties of inestimable value are destroyed. In addition, massive livestock losses have occurred, as well as the internal displacement of many people (KHRC, 2001). Raids also caused farms to be

left fallow as well as abrupt closure of schools and businesses. These signify great disruption to people's lives.

Kenyan government has been deploying security officers in the region as a measure to contain cattle rustling menace. According to police deployment records (2005), Tot Division in Marakwet District has a General Service Unit (GSU) camp at Tot, Anti-Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) camp at Chesongoch and police stations at Tot and Mogil. In addition, Administration Police officers are stationed in all the chiefs' offices and Kenya police reservists from the local community have been recruited, trained and armed by the state. Anti-stock theft police unit is charged with the duty of combating cattle rustling in Kenya. Its officers are trained to prevent, investigate and prosecute livestock theft cases including violent cattle raids. They work in collaboration with the General Service Unit, Regular police, administration police and Kenya police Reservists. In combating modern violent and heavily armed cattle rustlers, all police units in pastoralist areas team up to suppress the rustlers who attack in large numbers (Kenya Police, 2009). The police to citizen ratio in Tot Division is 1:62 (one police officer for 62 civilians) which is better than the UN recommended ratio of 1:450 (Kenya Police, 2005; KNBS, 2010). This indicates heavy police presence in the area yet cattle rustling occur frequently. The civil society, the local community and the church had for a very long time embarked on peace building and restoration exercise to prevent Marakwet-Pokot cattle rustling with very little success (Kamenju, 2003).

Modernity has brought with it more deadly forms of cattle-rustling, and has raised concerns because of its sophistication and link of the phenomenon to politics, livestock business and arms trade (NCKK, 2009). Raids are well planned and executed with military precision characterized by the use of small arms and light weapons. This has virtually transformed cattle rustling from a cultural practice to a highly organized and violent crime that poses a threat to human security at community, national and regional level. These weapons make it difficult for police to suppress or arrest the raiders. Politicians and businessmen encourage raids and protect the rustlers from arrest and prosecution for political and commercial interests. Powerful politicians from pastoralist communities frustrate government efforts to disarm their constituents and also oppose any police operation to recover stolen cattle and arrest the raiders. These have resulted in frequent raids due to high market demand for cattle, and limited police intervention as a result of interference (NCKK, 2002). Also the harsh weather conditions and poor road network in the area has frustrated police strategies in

fighting cattle rustling crimes in the area. Kerio valley has very poor road network, with only two rough roads one in Baringo district and the other on Marakwet side running parallel with only one rough road joining them. Marakwet and Pokot cultures are strongly in favour of cattle rustling, thus making it difficult for them to support its eradication (KNPF, 2006).

Considering the foregoing challenges of policing, the apparent sophistication and frequency of cattle raids in this region of North Rift; it was crucial to assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in the region. This study therefore, sought to assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study sought to answer the following question:

- (i) What are the socio-economic effects of cattle rustling in Tot?
- (ii) What policing strategies are employed to prevent cattle rustling in Tot?
- (iii) What socio-economic, political and cultural factors in Tot affect policing strategies?
- (iv) What effects have policing strategies had on cattle rustling in Tot Division?

### **1.4 Study Objectives**

The general objective of the study was to assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Northern Kenya.

The following were the specific objectives of the study:

1. To assess the effects of cattle rustling on the socio-economic life of the people of Tot Division.
2. To analyze the policing strategies employed in preventing cattle rustling in Tot Division.
3. To analyze the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions affecting policing strategies against cattle rustling in Tot Division.
4. To assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division.

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Cattle rustling in Tot Division and the North Rift region at large, has defied all policing interventions that had been applied in the past. The government and the local community have employed various strategies to prevent recurrence of cattle rustling but in vain. In Tot Division, there is high concentration of police facilities established to combat cattle rustling yet the phenomenon persists. The police-citizen ratio in Tot division is 1:62; this is better than the UN recommended ratio of 1:450, yet cattle rustling is prevalent in the area. There is no evidence of any study on the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Kenya. Previous studies on the subject of cattle rustling dwelled on the nature and effects of cattle rustling. This study therefore, endeavoured to establish the necessary measures to modify policing strategies to ensure success in the prevention of cattle rustling. The study findings will contribute to knowledge on the best policing strategies to fight cattle rustling in Northern Kenya and enable policy makers in the government, local community and civil society to change their strategies in the fight against cattle rustling.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study**

The study focused on the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District. It involved police officers in the area drawn from Anti- Stock Theft Unit (ASTU), General Service Unit (GSU), Regular Police, Administration Police (AP) and police reservists (KPR). It also involved elders, youth and women from the local community as general respondents. Divisional administrative officers, religious leaders; Community Based Organizations (CBO) and Non-Governmental organizations (NGO) representatives were interviewed as key informants.

The sensitivity and secretive nature of cattle rustling activities and national security issues as well as financial and time constraints posed challenges to the quest for data. The study addressed these problems by collecting academically relevant data that neither compromised police operations nor exposed the respondents to any danger, while preserving the integrity of the research process and subsequent findings.



## 1.7 Operational Definition of Key Terms and concepts

**Cattle:** cattle, camels, goats, sheep

**Cattle rustling:** the stealing or planning, organizing, attempting, aiding or abetting the stealing of livestock by any person from one community or country to another, where the theft involves use of dangerous weapons and violence (EAPCCO, 2008).

**Crime:** any act that contravenes the criminal law

**Policing strategies:** intervention mechanisms employed by the police, the community and the civil society in eradicating cattle rustling

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes literature on the historical context of Marakwet-Pokot cattle rustling conflicts, effects of cattle rustling on the socio-economic life of the people of Tot; policing strategies in curbing cattle rustling crimes, the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions affecting policing strategies in Tot division. In addition, it presents the theoretical framework, conceptual framework and operationalization of variables.

### **2.1 The Historical Context of Marakwet-Pokot Cattle Rustling Conflict**

During the pre-colonial and early stages of colonial period in Kenya and before the introduction of territorial boundaries, the Pokot and the Marakwet were related through various social activities (Massam, 1968). Apart from being friendly and sharing grazing fields on the less arid east of the Kerio River, they also conflicted through cattle raiding. However, their friendliness was based on intermarriages and shared cultural heritage, for example, sharing a common linguistic base and having similar age-set system (Cherop, 1976). The age set system remains the basic factor in social relations and political structure of these societies. Raiding was meant to replenish their livestock after they were wiped out by drought, diseases and enemy raids. The weapons used during the raids were spears and shields, bows and arrows. In case of death during these raids, there was a well laid down mechanism for compensation called 'Labai' (Massam, 1968).

The coming of the European colonialist worsened the situation by introducing ethnic boundaries. The creation of colonial boundaries included white highlands, native reserves, outlying districts and closed districts (Pkalya et al, 2004). The borders helped to intensify ethnic consciousness among different groups by promoting the feeling of exclusiveness and separation. The Marakwet and the Pokot were forced to agree with the terms of the Proclamation No. 54 of 1924, which was gazetted in October 1925. The proclamation caused a lot of problems between the two communities that had hitherto co-existed. According to the proclamation, elders from both communities were forced to sign the Hosking-Buxton Agreement, which described the Kerio River as the boundary between the two communities. However, the agreement did not end hostilities between the Pokot and the Marakwet. The conflict continued into the post-colonial era, hence shaping the socio-economic and political

landscape of the Kerio Valley region. The nature of conflicts varied from frequent livestock raids, resource based conflicts, ethnic animosity, and political instigation to blatant aggression (Wako and Daudi, 2005).

Connecting pre-colonial and colonial criminal activities of the Marakwet and Pokot are the events in colonial records between 1900 and 1912 leading to the administration of Marakwet in 1930s. In 1903, there were frequent reports of the Marakwet raiding the East Pokot people but the government could not do anything about it. Similarly, raids of the Pokot by the Marakwet were reported in 1908 but there were no measures to curb them (GoK, 1958). Also, in April 1911 J. Mansergh, DC Baringo, reported the murder of a Cheptulel Suk ( Pokot) by Marakwet of Kaben in a cattle raid. Therefore, among the Marakwet and Pokot, cattle rustling crime has existed for a long time. It is carried out indiscriminately in the present day that neither children nor women of the territories marked “enemy” are spared; unlike in the past when women and children were not killed in cattle raids.

Generally, whenever the Marakwet engaged in cattle rustling against the Pokot; the former often won all the battles (KHRC, 2001). Their weapons (bows and arrows) were superior to Pokot’s spears and shields. Marakwet war prowess was weakened from 1976 when Pokot started using firearms. Since 1992, cattle rustling in Kerio valley took a deadly dimension that led to 700 people including police officers losing their lives while thousands others were injured and displaced. In the period 1992-2001, Marakwet displayed both its weaknesses and strengths at waging war. They were completely defeated by the Pokot in the early part of this period. But this was later to be reversed when the Marakwet acquired guns after 1993. Although the raids conducted by the Marakwet against the Pokot were limited, they displayed superiority in war by conducting major successful raids and being able to outgun the Pokot and state security officers while raiding (KHRC, 2001).

According to KHRC report (2001), the Pokot displayed their superiority in warfare against the Marakwet and state security agents on the 12 of March 2001 when more than 1000 Pokot youths attacked Murkutwo location in Tot division where Anti stock theft police unit camp with 60 officers is located, and managed to steal more than 100 cattle and 3000 goats after shooting 48 Marakwet people death and burning 600 houses. They surrounded the camp and managed to pin down the officers for the entire period of the raid while preventing any police

reinforcement from accessing the area. Successful cattle raids by rustlers in areas where police officers are stationed cast doubts on the ability of the government security agents to prevent cattle rustling (KHRC, 2001)

Weapons entering Kenya from neighboring war-torn countries are making raids increasingly dangerous and sophisticated. The Marakwet–Pokot conflict has visited untold sufferings to the people of Kerio Valley for a long time. Many lives have been lost and property of inestimable value destroyed. In addition, livestock were stolen as well as internally displaced people. Raids also caused farms to be left fallow and abrupt closure of schools and businesses (Kiptoo, 2010).

Whereas the traditional weaponry such as spears and shields, bows and arrows were used to undertake cattle rustling in the past, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region has complicated the vice (KNFP, 2006). Thousands of small arms and light weapons are currently in the hands of cattle rustlers primarily due to civil wars in Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda (Kamenju, 2003). The easy access of arms, apart from being devastating in terms of loss of human life has altered the cultural foundations of many communities. Traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms have been eroded by arms bearing youth who no longer heed the counsel of the elders. Availability of arms has provided the means for young men to engage in cattle rustling and banditry without fear of being arrested or killed by police (Thusi, 2003).

## **2.2 Effects of Cattle rustling on the Socio-economic life of the People in Tot Division**

Northern Kenya is primarily composed of arid and semi-arid areas and pastoralism is the chief economic activity in the region (Mkutu, 2008). Among the pastoralist communities, cattle rustling is a cultural activity with very strong values attached to it and they in turn define individual's status in society. Traditionally, cattle rustling took place on a seasonal basis and were mainly associated with rites of passage into adulthood (Cherop, 1976). After circumcision, the newly initiated men took part in cattle raids to demonstrate their prowess and valour (NCCCK, 2002). Such raids were also organized to raise the pride price paid to a bride's parents. Further, the raids served to restock a community's livestock especially after a dry spell, disease outbreak and enemy raid that diminished livestock (KHRC, 2001; Hungue, 2005). The raiders were mainly interested in cattle and sometimes women were taken as

wives. The raided communities would in turn organize counter-raids to recover the stolen livestock. The main weaponry used in these raids were traditional spears and shields; bows and poisoned arrows. Such raids did not fundamentally disrupt the lives and livelihoods of the communities affected since they were not as frequent or fatal as the modern ones (KNFP, 2006).

Modernity has brought with it a more deadly form of cattle-rustling, and has raised concern because of its sophistication. Raids are well planned and executed with military precision characterized by the use of modern and destructive weapons. Cattle raiders are known to use small arms and light weapons such as MK4, G3, AK47, HK11, grenades, and mortars (NCCCK, 2009). This has virtually transformed cattle rustling from a traditional practice to a highly organized crime. The primary element in these raids is that the cattle stolen are taken to urban markets where they are slaughtered and sold as beef. Only in rare cases are the cattle used to restock a community whose resources got depleted. This new development has made cattle rustling a very profitable business, leading to its commercialization (NCCCK, 2009). Commercial cattle rustling pose threats to peace and economic wellbeing of the livestock dependent communities of Northern Kenya, because it has evolved and transformed to embody violent confrontations with devastating effects on humans and livestock (Muiruri, 2009). Pastoralists lose their lives and livestock which is their livelihood.

Politicians and businessmen hire cattle raiders for commercial purposes totally unrelated to cattle rustling as a cultural activity of the pastoral communities (Hiltermann, Misol and Hogendoom, 2002). The transformation of cattle rustling into commercial activity has increased the intensity and frequency of raids leading to reduction of the number of cattle available in the area. Culturally, cattle were stolen and kept by the raiders and the other community would organize a counter raid to restock. This arrangement enabled circulation of cattle without diminishing the stock. Cattle rustling have also led to major changes in economic, social and political structures of pastoralist communities. Politicians gain support of the electorate because they support cattle rustling and unscrupulous business people become rich out of stolen cattle, while the populace becomes poorer due to diminished number of livestock in the area as a result of export to urban areas and other countries for beef (KNFP, 2006).

The use of small arms and light weapons in violent armed cattle rustling for both raiding and defense has led to loss of lives and commission of crimes like, murder, robbery, rape, defilement, grievous harm, assault, illegal possession of firearms and theft of livestock which is the livelihood of the pastoral community. It also displaces communities thus affecting their productivity and causing other human rights abuses (KNFP, 2006). These crimes make life unbearable for the residents.

Cattle rustling affected development and provision of essential services in Tot division Marakwet district (Kiptoo,2010). It disrupted education and provision of health care by displacing government officers and investors from the area. From 1992 to date, cattle rustling in Tot division took a deadly dimension that led to 700 people including police officers losing their lives, as 600 houses were burned down and thousands of livestock stolen. 39 Primary and Secondary schools experienced abrupt closures during the period while some schools had to be moved from their location along the Valley and shifted to the rocky escarpment “Lagam”. Families moved out of their homes completely and have not returned (KHRC, 2002). Many people left the area to settle in safe places like Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Keiyo and other parts of Marakwet (Kiptoo, 2010). Farms were left fallow; businesses were closed, hence disrupting the lives of the people’ and development activities in the area. According to Pkalya, Adan and Masinde(2004), 32,000 Marakwets and 30,361 Pokots were displaced by cattle rustling in the Kerio valley between the year 1992 and 2003.This was 23% of the Marakwet population (Pkalya et al,2004).

On the 24<sup>th</sup> October 1999 cattle rustlers took away cattle and killed 12 people including children who were attending polio immunization exercise at Tot health centre which is 3km and 2km from Tot GSU camp and Tot police station respectively (KHRC, 2001). On the 12<sup>th</sup> March,2001 in Murkutwo location of Tot division, 48 people were killed by cattle rustlers, who burned houses and stole very many livestock in a single raid, yet there was an Anti stock theft police camp in the location at Murkutwo shopping centre (KHRC, 2001). This indicates the magnitude of destruction caused by cattle rustling and the ineffectiveness of policing strategies.

### **2.3 Policing Strategies Employed in Preventing Cattle Rustling Crimes**

The Kenyan government ,the local community and the civil society have made numerous efforts to deal with cattle rustling problems in pastoralist areas including peace building and

restoration, disarmament exercises (illicit arms mop up), deployment of more police officers, stopping illegal arms and livestock business among other strategies with limited success (Amene, 2009).

Section 14 of the Police Act Chapter 84 laws of Kenya states the functions of Kenya police force as, maintenance of law and order, preservation of peace, protection of life and property, prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders and the enforcement of all laws and regulations with which it is charged. Cattle rustling like any other crime causes disorder and destruction of life and property; therefore, it is the duty of the police to curb it. The Kenyan government has made numerous efforts to deal with cattle rustling problems in pastoralist areas including conflict prevention, peace building and disarmament exercises with limited or no success (Amene, 2009).

Kenya police has been making efforts to deploy officers to cattle rustling prone areas with a view to stopping the practice. For example, in Tot division Marakwet district, a G.S.U camp and a police station were established in Tot after the 1976 raid, Anti Stock Theft Unit camp was set up in Chesogoch after 1992 raid and Mogil police station was established after the 2001 raid. Also police reservists were recruited after the 2001 raid and Administration police officers were deployed in all chief's camps in the area (Kenya police, 2005). Despite these deployments of police officers, cattle rustling is still rampant in the area.

The Anti-stock theft police unit is charged with the duty of combating cattle rustling in Kenya. Its officers are trained to prevent, investigate and prosecute livestock theft cases including violent raids. They work in collaboration with the General Service Unit, Regular Police, Administration Police and Kenya Police reservists. Police reservists are volunteers from the local community who are armed by the state and assume police powers while on police duty. In combating modern violent and heavily armed cattle rustlers, all the police units in pastoralist areas team up to suppress the rustlers who often attack in large numbers (Kenya police, 2009). Police endeavor to collect intelligence on cattle rustling, so that they can be able to prevent further raids and arrest the perpetrators.

The police are one of the last and most drastic elements of social control who are called to intervene and control social behavior when other less severe and informal agents of social control has failed (Williams, 2001). It is an objective and rational legal authority whose functions are to control those people whose actions are a threat to society. Police deter people

who would be criminals through arrest, prosecution and punishment. Punishment will only deter if it is likely to be used. The low possibility of being detected, prosecuted and punished leads to high rates of crime. “Effective deterrence of any particular type of crime requires more frequent detection than not” (Williams, 2001).

The Kenyan government had on severally occasions conducted disarmament exercises in pastoralist northern Kenya with mixed results (Amene, 2009). The exercise was both voluntary and forceful; with intent to mop up illegal firearms held by pastoralist which are used in cattle raiding. The forceful disarmaments are conducted by police together with the military. The voluntary disarmament was conducted by the provincial administrators and local community leaders. Also Non-governmental organizations in the area were persuading the locals to hand over their illicit firearms to the government. The forced disarmament exercise yielded very little results compared to voluntary surrender of firearms. National focal point on small arms and light weapons believed that the war against easy access and availability of illicit small arms and light weapons will be won when civilians are aware and concerned by the small arms situation in their communities and they are willing to play a role in tackling the small arms problem (KNFP,2006). Although weapons were surrendered, arms trade is still vibrant and will immediately replenish the rustlers’ armories due to failure of the state to cut off the source and disarm the pastoralists continuously (Pkalya, Adan and Masinde,2004).

The government of Kenya recruited police reservist to boost the strength of police officers in pastoralist northern Kenya. The reservists are volunteers from the local community who are trained and armed by the state. They assume police powers and responsibilities while on police duty. Their main function is to protect the local community in areas where police presence is minimal or ineffective (Hiltermann, et al, 2002). This programme of police reservists was intended to provide full time security to the locals against cattle raiders. This has worsened rather than solving the proliferation of small and light weapons in the region as these government arms provide excuse for holding the illicit ones. In addition, the government lacks the capacity to monitor and control how the arms in the hands of Kenya Police Reservists are used, and some of these government guns are suspected to have been sold or rented to raiders and other criminals, for use in gun crimes in other parts of the country (NCKK, 2009).



Community policing is one of the strategies that the government and the community are using to fight against cattle rustling. It was launched in Kenya in the year 2005 but has not been fully entrenched in pastoralist northern Kenya as it is in the urban areas (Kenya police, 2010). In community policing strategy, citizens and police work together to identify security problems in the area and they collaborate in seeking workable solutions to the problem collectively (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005). It is simply a way of enabling the community to solve their own problems unlike the traditional policing, where police could respond to the demands of the citizens without involving them. Community policing requires total commitment from the local community and the police for it to succeed (NIPB, 2011).

The local community leaders from Pokot and Marakwet communities have made several peace building efforts intended to stop the cattle rustling phenomenon, with little success (Amene, 2009). Pokot and Marakwet elders “Kokwo” have met on several occasions to build and restore peace before and after a cattle rustling incident, by making traditional pact that they will not steal cattle from each other. The pact is arrived at through a resolution by the council of elders from both communities after negotiations. The pact is cemented by a traditional oath taking ritual called “Miss”, where a bull is slaughtered and the meat is roasted and eaten together by people from the two communities. The pact is agreed on by the two communities in order to avert cattle rustling conflict or a fight over pasture and water. Unfortunately, the pact is flouted immediately the situation that necessitated it is over; and there’s no where the offended community can seek redress against the one that breached the pact (Pkalya et al, 2004).

Civil society and religious leaders in Pokot and Marakwet have on several occasions persuaded the local communities to abandon cattle rustling and live in peace with each other. The local NGOs and churches have held peace building meetings between the Pokot and Marakwet. The churches have held joint services for both Marakwets and Pokot to encourage them co-exist in harmony. Developmental NGOs like world vision have been encouraging the two communities to embrace education as a means of eradicating cattle rustling. They helped the locals to build schools and pay school fees for their children who went to school. Most peace building and restoration efforts are conducted after every major cattle raid that results in loss of human life and livestock (Kamenju, 2003).

Among other threats to human security in the greater horn of Africa is the problem of cattle rustling which continues to pose threats to peace and socio-economic life of those communities depending on livestock. While several initiatives have so far been made by the government, the civil society and the local community leaders to address the problem, it continues unabated due lack of deterrent measures. Police have not succeeded in arresting and prosecute the perpetrators (Muiruri, 2009).

#### **2.4 The Socio-economic, Political and Cultural Conditions Affecting Policing Strategies against Cattle Rustling in Tot Division**

Kenyan police officers encounter alot of challenges in Northern Kenya in their quest to prevent cattle rustling (Hiltermann et, al, 2002). They face numerous socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental challenges from the local community, the government and the environment. Kenyan police lack resources, equipment, proper training and sufficient personnel to monitor security situation throughout the country. It is further observed that, lack of serviceable motor vehicles and non- existent road network limit the mobility and access of the police in remote northern Kenya (Hiltermann, et al, 2002). Connected to these are the low/inadequate police - citizen ratio. While the United Nations recommended police / citizen ration is 1:450, Kenya has a long way to go to achieve this threshold. It follows therefore that most parts of northern Kenya are not only inadequately manned by police but have little security presence (KHRC, 2001). Unfortunately even those areas with very high police presence like Tot division in Marakwet district and Isiolo town in Eastern province, still experience frequent fatal cattle raids. For example, the larger Tot division (current Tunyo & Tot divisions) has a total population of 37,403 against a police population of 600 which is 1:62. This is a lot better than the UN recommended ratio 1:450 yet cattle rustling occur in the area (KNBS, 2010; Kenya Police, 2005).

In the face of wide spread armed violence and crime, Kenya government has failed to provide adequate security due to bad police-community relations and police corruption (Hiltermann, et.al, 2002).The relationship between Kenyan security forces and the pastoral communities has been very tense due to indiscriminate and violent police operations to recover stolen cattle from the perceived aggressor community and giving them to the raided community. These operations tend to consolidate the communities hatred towards police who deprive innocent people of their cattle (Hull, 2006). Appalling relationship between police

and the local community affects police effectiveness to detect and prevent crime (Williams, 2001). Police are viewed as interfering outsiders who apply unjust laws in recovering cattle and doing nothing or very little to prevent raids. "Where policing practice is whether rightly or wrongly seen to be unacceptable to the locals, the ensuing conflict is threat to law and order and reduces police effectiveness in crime detection" (Williams, 2001). This alienates police from the society they are supposed to protect therefore reducing their ability to fight crime.

Modernity has brought with it a more deadly form of cattle-rustling, and has raised concern because of its sophistication. Raids are often well planned and executed with military precision characterized by the use of modern and destructive weapons. Cattle raiders use small arms and light weapons such as MK4, G3, AK47, HK11, grenades, and mortars (KHRC, 2001). The presence of excessive and easily accessible small arms and light weapons has virtually transformed cattle rustling from a cultural practice to a highly organized and violent crime that has continued to threaten human security at community, national and regional level (Thusi, 2003). These weapons make it difficult for police officers to suppress or arrest the deadly armed raiders and it also gives the raiders the motivation to counter police officers.

In its new form cattle rustling is strongly linked to politics and commerce (NCCCK, 2009). Politicians and business people dealing in livestock and firearms encourage raids and protect the rustlers from arrest and prosecution for political and commercial interests. The primary element in these raids is that the cattle stolen are taken to urban centers where they are slaughtered and sold as beef. Only in rare cases are the cattle used to restock a community whose cattle got depleted in drought, disease or by previous enemy raids. The business people buy the stolen cattle and sell arms to the raiders. This has resulted in frequent raids due to high market demand for cattle, and limited police intervention as a result of interference by politicians, senior government officials and businessmen who have vested interest in cattle rustling (KHRC,2001;NCCCK, 2002). Also the harsh weather conditions and poor road network in the area has frustrated policing strategies in fighting cattle rustling crimes in the area. Northern Kenya is an arid and semi arid area with high temperatures and poor road network due to underdevelopment and marginalization (Hiltermann, et al, 2002). The harsh weather, tough terrain and non-existent roads impede police mobility.

Culturally, there are values attached to cattle rustling and they in turn define individuals in society (NCKK, 2009; Cherop, 1976). Traditionally, cattle-rustling took place on a seasonal basis and was mainly associated with rites of passage into adulthood (Cherop, 1976). After circumcision, the newly initiated men took part in cattle raids to demonstrate their prowess and valour (NCKK, 2002). Such raids were also organized to raise the bride price paid to a bride's parents. Further, the raids served to restock a community's livestock especially after a dry spell, disease outbreak and enemy raid that diminish livestock (KHRC, 2001; Hungue, 2005). The cultural values attached to cattle rustling are very strong among the community members and they in turn prevent the locals from giving information to police officers, hence denying police the intelligence required to fight cattle rustling. Strong cultural values for cattle rustling, together with youth unemployment and poverty makes mobilization of raiders easy because the act is believed to be legitimate by the locals.

East African police chiefs' co-operation organization, in their August 2008 protocol meeting in Nairobi on the prevention, combating and eradication of cattle rustling agreed that, the problem of cattle rustling cannot be addressed from enforcement perspective only. Preventing and combating it, requires the involvement of other stakeholders and mechanisms such as intergovernmental organizations, politicians, community leaders, traditional leaders, veterinarians, civil society and any other relevant agencies. Co-operation of all stakeholders is required to combat and eradicate cattle rustling as a cultural way of life for pastoral communities and prevent the increasing tendency for cattle rustlers to use firearms (EAPCCO, 2008). This indicates that police have not been very successful in their quest to prevent cattle rustling through enforcement without the support of community leaders, politicians, veterinarians and co-operation of neighbouring countries where cross border cattle rustlers come from. All stakeholders must team up with the police to eradicate cattle rustling.

Cattle rustlers in Tot use firearms to rustle cattle from their owners (KHRC, 2001). Easy accessibility and availability of small arms and light weapons has fuelled cattle rustling in Northern Kenya (NCKK, 2009). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kenya is driven by two factors: First, the country's borders are porous and inadequately protected; and Secondly, out of the countries that neighbour Kenya, only Tanzania does not experience armed conflict (KNFP, 2006; NCKK, 2002; Oxfam GB, 2002). For these two reasons, the flow of small arms across the borders has been easy. This has made access to small arms

relatively easy. In a context of increasing vulnerability at the household level both from insecurity and economic decline, small arms are regarded as household or community assets. This is the case in Marakwet, Pokot and other districts in northern Kenya where communities acquire weapons as a means of protecting, replacing or accumulating assets from both cross-border and inter-communiyl raiding (Pkalya et al, 2004). This indicates that, easy access and availability of small arms has made illegal arms mop up extremely difficult.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

Kerlinger (1986) defines a theory as a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena. The study was guided by three theories: Routine Activity Theory, Rational Choice Theory and Structural conflict theory

### **2.5.1 Routine Activity Theory**

Routine activity theory as developed by Marcus Felson and Lawrence Cohen drew upon control theories to explain crime in terms of crime opportunities that occur in everyday life. The theory argues that for crime to occur the following elements converge in place and time: motivated offender, suitable target or victim and lack of capable guardian. These three elements are present in pastoralist northern Kenya. The unemployed youths are willing to raid cattle, arms and livestock businessmen are readily willing to sell arms to the raiders and buy the stolen cattle; and the suitable target are large livestock herd held by pastoralists. Also, there is lack of capable guardian to deter cattle rustlers from committing the crime due to inadequate police protection. "If a target is not protected enough, and if the reward is worth it, crime will happen. Crime does not need hardened offenders, super-predators, convicted felons or wicked people; crime just needs an opportunity for it to occur" (Clarke and Felson, 1993). The activities of pastoralists are routine and are well understood by the rustlers. In dry seasons, cattle migrate to certain known areas for pasture and water; they again migrate back when it rains. These make it easy to raid the cattle because their movements are regular. Routine activity theory explains that cattle rustling crimes will continue being committed as long as the target (pastoralists and their cattle) are not effectively protected by the police to deter would-be raiders. This theory does not explain the cultural and ethnic nature of cattle rustling.

### **2.5.2 Rational Choice Theory**

Rational choice theory, argues that criminals weigh costs/risks and benefits when deciding whether or not to commit a crime. They also minimize the risks of crime by considering the time, place and other situational factors. It argued that punishment if certain, swift and proportionate to the crime can deter would be offenders if the cost of the crime outweigh benefits such as the possibility of apprehension, conviction and punishment. This theory explains why cattle rustling have persisted in northern Kenya. The risk of engaging in cattle rustling is low compared to the benefits. The possibility of being caught arrested and prosecuted is almost zero as police have not been able to arrest raiders. The crime is also culturally accepted leaving the dignity and integrity of the raiders intact. Therefore, the benefits are more than the cost/risk and it is worth committing. This theory does not explain the ethnic and cultural nature of cattle rustling.

### **2.5.3 Structural conflict theory**

Structural conflict theorists emphasize the competing interests of groups as prime motivations of conflict. The theory identifies the primary sources of conflict to be in the social, economic and political organization of society and the nature of the strength of ties within and between communities. Structural conflict approach presents a broader range of underlying factors, which may be the cause of a breakout in internal conflicts. Economic and social factors are the major conflict determinants. However, political and institutional factors that include state structure, discriminatory politics, intergroup politics, elite politics and security are also considered. Ethnic factors, which include geography, demography and physical geography, are also considered. Structural conflict theorists contend that security factors influenced by the geography of the area, regional military environment and refugees contribute towards protracted conflict (Uttervulge, 1999).

Many of the mentioned factors contributed to the Tot Division cattle rustling conflict. Geographically, mountains characterize Kerio Valley terrain, while most of the roads are impassable by vehicles thus making it hard to be accessed with ease by the Kenyan security personnel. Moreover, regional conflicts in Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia have enabled proliferation of small arms in Kenya and the Kerio Valley, in particular, hence exacerbating the conflict. Additionally, ethnic factors, as maintained by the theorists, have contributed to the Kerio Valley conflict. “Enemies” in Kerio Valley armed conflict are

defined on ethnic lines, making it hard for the police to combat related crimes. The theory does not explain the criminal angle of cattle rustling.

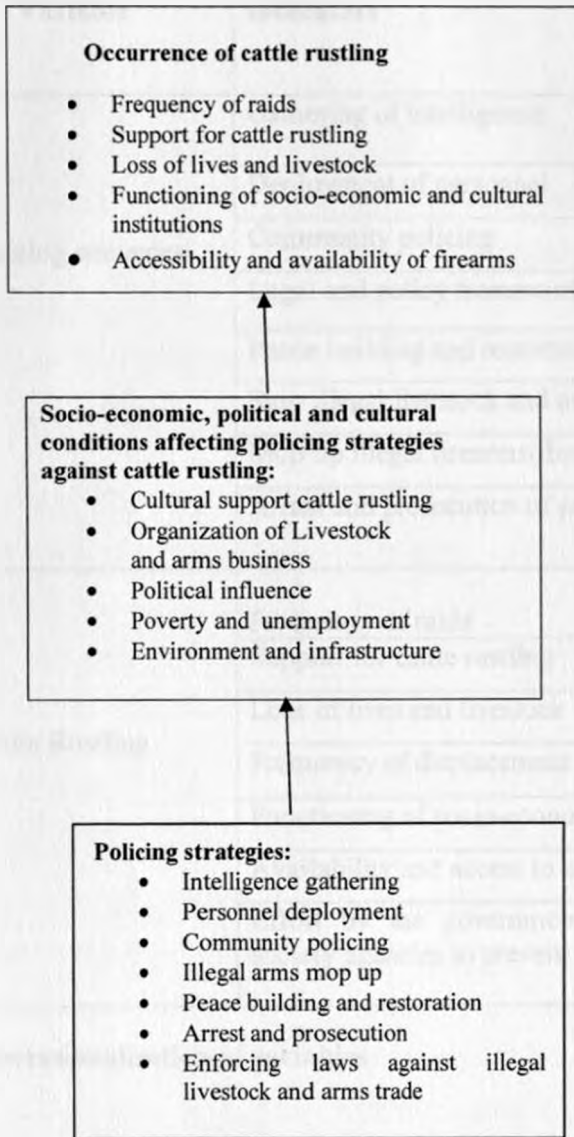
## **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

Reichel and Ramey (1987) defined conceptual framework as a set of broad ideas and principles taken from relevant fields of inquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation (qtd. in Tromp & Kombo, 2006).

### **Explanation of the Conceptual Framework**

The study is based on the assumption that, Policing strategies are effective in reducing cattle rustling in Tot division or policing strategies are not effective in reducing cattle rustling in Tot division. There seem to be a strong relationship between policing strategies for fighting cattle rustling as independent variable, socio-economic, political, environmental and cultural conditions in the society as conditioning variables and cattle rustling as dependent variable. If policing strategies adequately address socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions that cause or encourage cattle rustling in the pastoralist communities, then incidences of cattle rustling will reduce. If policing strategies do not adequately address the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions in the pastoralist society, then incidence of cattle rustling will not reduce or may even increase. The socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions are the ones that cause or encourage cattle rustling in pastoralist societies. If these conditions are done away with cattle rustling can be eradicated or reduced. The figure below illustrates the conceptual framework for the study as explained here.

**Fig. 2.1: Conceptual Framework**



Key: Arrows point towards the effect of specific variables



## 2.7 Operationalization of variables

Definition of Variable	Variable	Indicators
Independent variable	Policing strategies	Gathering of intelligence
		Deployment of personnel
		Community policing
		Legal and policy framework
		Peace building and restoration
		Stop illegal livestock and arms trade
		Mop up illegal firearms(disarmament)
		Arrest and prosecution of perpetrators
Dependent variable	Cattle Rustling	Frequency of raids
		Support for cattle rustling
		Loss of lives and livestock
		Frequency of displacement of people
		Functioning of socio-economic and cultural institutions
		Availability and access to small arms and light weapons
		Effort by the government, local community and civil society agencies to prevent cattle rustling

**Table 2.1: Operationalization of variables**

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

Research methodology is the scientific, systematic, controlled, empirical and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena (Kerlinger, 1986). This chapter presents the research design; method of site selection and description; and sampling of the study population. It also describes the sources and methods of data collection tools and procedures used in the study. Finally, it presents the methods of data analysis and presentation of findings.

### **3.1 Study Site Selection and Description**

The larger Tot Division comprising the current Tot and Tunyo Divisions was purposively selected as the study site because it has high police citizen ratio (1:62) and cattle rustling crimes are prevalent. According to 2009 Kenya population and housing census, larger Tot division had a total population of 37,403 and a police population of 600 including police reservists (KNBS, 2009; Kenya police, 2010).

### **3.2 Research Design**

Research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims at combining relevance to the research purposes with economy in procedure (Singleton, et al, 1988). This study utilized a survey design to meet its objectives.

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006) survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sample of individuals. A survey is an attempt to collect data from members of a population in order to determine the current status of that population with respect to one or more variables. Survey is therefore, a self-report study which requires the collection of quantifiable information from the sample (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

Tot Division is part of the Kerio Valley which is a branch of the Great Rift Valley system formed about ten million years ago. "Kerio" is a Maasai word meaning the river of the valley that starts from the south end at Kimwarer 4,500 feet above sea level and runs north to Lake Turkana (Kipkorir, 1983). To the west of the valley are the Cherang'any hills and mountains,

which are part of the Elgeyo Escarpment. The valley is an area of intersection between the Pokot, Marakwet, Keiyo and the Turkana people. The width of the valley is approximately 20 kilometres in the South and 40 kilometres in the North, it constitutes an area of approximately 6,000 kilometres square, with a population of over 200,000 people (Pkalya, et al 2004). The valley has been occupied by the Pokot and Marakwet communities from the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> Century, after the second major migration dispersal from Mt. Elgon. The Marakwet community inhabits Tot and Tunyo Divisions, while the Pokot inhabit East Baringo and West Pokot districts. The entire region is named after the River Kerio, which traverses the five districts of Keiyo, Marakwet, Baringo, West Pokot and Turkana. The river is the main source of water in Kerio Valley and is the official boundary separating Pokot and Marakwet (Kipkorir, 1983).

### **3.3 Unit of Analysis and Unit of Observation**

According to Baker (1994), units of analysis are the social entities whose social characteristics are the focus of the proposed study, whereas units of observation are the subjects, objects, items or entities from which we measure the characteristics or obtain the data required in the research study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Therefore, the unit of analysis of this study were the effects of policing strategy on cattle rustling in Tot division, whereas the units of observation were the local community residents (elders, youth and women) of Tot Division, provincial administration officers, police officers in Tot Division, peace and conflict NGO leaders, and religious leaders in Tot Division. Also social, economic and cultural institutions in this area constituted the units of observation.

### **3.4 Sources of Data**

The sources of data for this study were both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources include books, articles, internet sources, maps and theses. The primary data involved the gathering of information from respondents in the categories of police officers, local community residents and provincial administration officers, religious leaders, NGOs and CBOs leaders. Also social, economic and cultural institutions in the area were observed.

### **3.5 Population and Sampling Design**

#### **3.5.1 Target Population**

Population is an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The population of Tot division was the target

population. There were three categories of respondents in this study: the local community respondents, police officers and key informants. The local community respondents were the people of Tot Division residents and were reached in the categories of youth, elders and women. The police officers comprised ASTU, GSU, Regular police officers, Administration police and police reservists. The key informants were the provincial administration officers that include DOs, chiefs and assistant chiefs; religious leaders; and leaders of peace and conflict NGOs and CBOs.

### **3.5.2 Sampling methods**

The sampling technique used in this study is stratified random sampling of the target population. In stratified random sampling, subjects are selected in such a way that the existing subgroups in the population are more or less reproduced in the sample (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Random sampling was used to select population within the strata and proportionate sampling is used to get the total sample for the general respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select the key informants. According to 2009 population and household census in Kenya, and police report of 2010; the population of the larger Tot division was 37,403 people and police establishment of 600 police officers. A sample of 100 respondents that comprised 60 residents of Tot division in the categories of youth, elders and women; and 40 police officers drawn from various police units were surveyed. Also 20 key informants were targeted for interview.

### **3.6 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection**

Data for the study was collected through questionnaires, interview guides, and observation of social, economic and cultural institutions in the area. The questionnaires constituted both open-ended and closed-ended questions that were administered directly by the researcher. The interview guide was used to collect information from the key informants. Reliability of the questionnaire was ensured by careful structuring and logical sequencing of the questions.

### **3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The study generated qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS computer program and interpreted using descriptive statistics. Qualitative data were analyzed according to themes and trend or pattern analysis. The data was presented using charts, percentages and frequency tables

## CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis and interprets the research findings in line with the study objectives and the research question. The research findings have been analyzed, tabulated and recorded as frequencies and percentage where appropriate. It focuses on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, effects of cattle rustling, policing strategies employed to combat cattle rustling and the effectiveness of those strategies in reducing cattle rustling incidences in Tot Division.

### 4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

There were a total of 91 responses out of the expected 120. There were 49 responses from the members of the local community and 28 responses from the police officers category out of the expected 60 and 40 responses from each category respectively. The responses made a total of 82% and 73% respectively. In the key informant category, there were a total of 14 out of the 20 expected respondents, making 70% of the expected respondents in the category.

#### 4.2.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of local community Respondents

##### 4.2.1.1 Age of local community Respondents

The table below presents distribution of the ages of local community respondents.

**Table 4.1: Age of local community respondents**

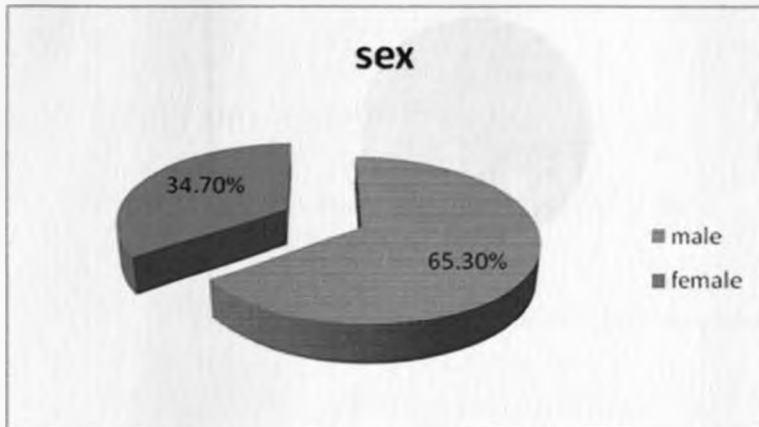
Age	Frequency	Percentage
Below 18 years	2	4.0
19-36 years	24	49
37-54 years	17	35
55 and above years	6	12
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

49% of the local community respondents belong to 19-36 years age category, 35% are between 37-54 years while 12% belong to the age bracket of 55 years and above; and 4% are below 18 years. This indicates that, age 19-36 are more accessible and are also the majority in the population of Tot division as per 2009 national population and housing census. This youthful population is likely to be utilized in cattle raids due to unemployment and poverty.

#### 4.2.1.2 Gender of local community Respondents

The chart below presents the sex distribution of local community respondents.

**Fig 4.1: Sex of local community respondents**

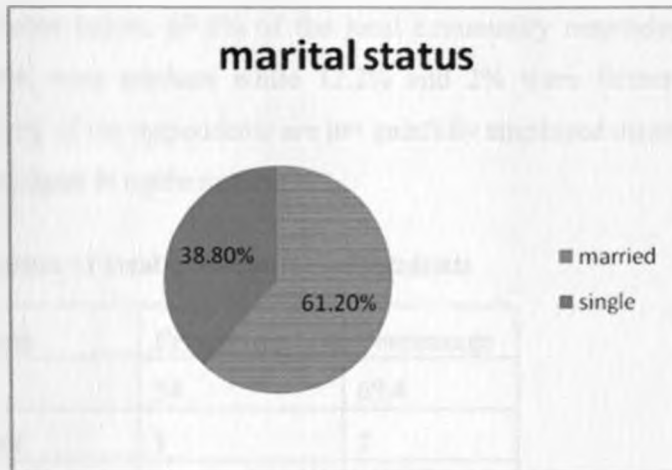


There were more male than female respondents at 65.3% to 34.7%. Part of the explanation of this, is that male respondents are more accessible than female respondents. Also, women culturally have a limited role in cattle rustling issues and are unwilling to participate in issues they believe belong to men

#### 4.2.1.3 Marital Status of local community respondents

61.2% of the total respondents in the local community category were married and 38.8% were single. There were no cases of divorced, widowed or separated. This is explained by Marakwet and Pokot cultures that do not recognise separation and permanent divorce. Marriage among the Marakwets and Pokot is highly valued and it is one of the reasons perpetuating cattle rustling due to demand for bride price. The chart below indicates the marital status of local community respondents.

**Fig 4.2 marital status of ordinary respondents**



#### **4.2.1.4 Level of Education of local community respondents**

. The table below presents the level of education of the local community respondents.

**Table 4.2: Level of education of local community respondents**

<b>Level of education</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
None	7	14
Primary	18	37
Secondary	13	27
College diploma	9	18
University degree	2	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

In terms of level of education, 18 of the respondents had primary education, 13 had secondary education, 9 and 2 had college diploma and university degree respectively, while 7 had no formal education at all. This indicates how poor the state of education is in Tot division. The low levels of education in the area, is as a result of cattle rustling and also helps to perpetuate cattle rustling. Cattle rustling disrupted education due to closure of schools and displacement. Also, the poorly educated young men become cattle raiders due to their inability to get formal employment and better opportunities elsewhere

#### 4.2.1.5 Occupation of local community Respondents

As shown in the table below, 69.4% of the local community respondents had no gainful employment, 16.4% were teachers while 12.2% and 2% were farmers and accountants respectively. Majority of the respondents are not gainfully employed meaning they can easily be recruited to participate in cattle rustling.

**Table 4.3 Occupation of local community respondents**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
None	34	69.4
Accountant	1	2
Farmer	6	12.2
Teacher	8	16.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.2.1.6 Place of Work of the local community Respondents

As shown in the table below, Forty six of the respondents work within Tot division, whereas one each works in Nairobi, Eldoret and Kapsowar. This indicates that majority of the respondents are involved in pastoralism or agro-pastoralism which is closely linked to cattle rustling.

**Table 4.4 Place of work of local community respondents**

<b>Place of work</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>percentage</b>
Tot division	46	94
Nairobi	1	2
Eldoret	1	2
Kapsowar	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.2.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Police respondents

##### 4.2.2.1 Age of Police Officers

14 of the police officers were in the age bracket of 18-28 years, 10 and 3 were in 29-38 and 39-48years respectively; While one was 49years and above. This is explained by police department policy which requires young and newly enlisted officers to work in operation areas. Young and new officers lack experience to deal with complicated crimes such as cattle



rustling. This is one of the reasons why police didn't succeed in the fight against cattle rustling. The table below presents age distribution of police respondents as analyzed here.

**Table 4.5 Age of police respondents**

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-28 years	14	50
29-38 years	10	35.7
39-48 years	3	10.7
49 and above	1	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.2.2.2 Gender of Police Officers

All the police respondents were male. The high male percentage reflects the hardships of the area and the need to have more male officers to conduct the dangerous anti -cattle rustling operations. Cattle rustling operations are very violent and they happen in very remote areas with a lot of hardships that are not favorable for women. Also, there are no female cattle raiders to be handled by female officers. Cattle rustling is the crime of major concern to police officers in Tot, therefore more male than female officers are required in the area.

#### 4.2.2.3 Level of Education of Police respondents

Twenty of the police respondents had secondary education, while seven had college diploma and one had university degree. This is attributed to the qualification required to enlist a person into Kenya police service. This also, indicates that the older generation of police officers who were enlisted with primary level of education, are not in Tot Division. The absence of old and experienced police officers in Tot Division may weaken police ability to fight cattle rustling. The table below presents the level of education of police respondents as analyzed here.

**Table 4.6 Level of education of police respondents**

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary	20	71
College/diploma	7	25
University/degree	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.2.2.4 Police Units

Nine of the police respondents were from the GSU, six from ASTU, five from Regular police, and four each from administration police and police reservists. The police units in the area according to the respondents are majorly units dealing with forceful operations. Criminal investigation department officers were not deployed in the area therefore limiting the collection of intelligence and investigation of cattle rustling. The table below presents the distribution of police respondents in their respective units as discussed here.

**Table 4.7 Respective units of police respondents**

Police units	Frequency	Percentage
GSU	9	32
ASTU	6	21.4
Regular police	5	19
Administration police	4	14.3
Police reservists	4	14.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 4.2.2.5 Duration police respondents Worked in Tot Division

Fourteen of the police respondents have served in Tot division for between 1-2 years, eight have served in Tot for less than a year; five have worked in Tot between 3-4 years while one has worked in Tot for 5 and more years. This indicates that police officers work in Tot for a very short time; therefore denying them sufficient understanding of the people and issues in the area. Police officers are not able to interact enough and blend with the local residents in order to gain their confidence and trust, for meaningful police-civilian co-operation in the area. The table below indicates the period police officers serve in Tot division.

**Table 4.8 Duration police respondents served in Tot Division**

Duration served in Tot	Frequency	Percentage
Less than a year	8	28.6
1-2 years	14	50
3-4 years	5	17.9
5 years and more	1	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

### 4.3 Effects of cattle rustling on the socio-economic life of the people of Tot Division.

The first objective of the study was to assess the effects of cattle rustling on the socio-economic life of the people of Tot division.

**Table 4.8 Effects of cattle rustling**

Effect	Frequency	Percentage
Loss of lives	77	100
Loss of property	77	100
Closing of businesses	76	99
Displacement of people	77	100
Physical insecurity	77	100
Disruption of education	77	100
Poverty	76	99

The table above presents the effects of cattle rustling on the socio-economic life of the people of Tot Division as stated by the respondents. All the respondents indicated that cattle rustling in Tot led to loss of lives, loss of property; displacement of people, physical insecurity and disruption of education. While 99 % of the respondents indicated that cattle rustling led to closing of businesses and poverty in the area.

The respondents indicated that many people in Tot division lost their lives in cattle rustling activities both as raiders and raided. They contended that most of the people who were killed were in their productive age and some left behind dependants. Majority of those who died as a result of cattle rustling are men. This placed a big burden on women who were widowed to take care of the families that were left behind without resources. The respondents said the deaths were as a result of gunshot wounds and fire. The police respondents indicated that in recent raids, majority of the deaths were as a result of fire due to burning of houses. The respondents said that, cattle rustlers raid very early in the morning at around 4-5am and start burning houses to create confusion among the residents ending up killing many people who are still sleeping in their houses. The key informants concurred with this position and added that majority of the residents in Tot Division live in grass thatched houses that are easy to burn making cattle rustling very deadly. The researcher also observed many burned houses in

the Kerio valley that the locals said had been burned by cattle rustlers. The respondents argued that, the deaths caused by fire are more than those caused by gunshot wounds. This is interesting because it is contrary to common knowledge that, gunshot is the major cause of death in cattle raids.

The local community respondents cited cattle rustling as the main impediment to economic development in Tot division. This view is shared by key informants and some of the police respondents. They argued that, livestock were the main source of income to both the Marakwet and Pokot in Kerio valley; but frequent, vigorous and violent cattle raids diminished the number of cattle available, therefore, denying the people their main source of livelihood pushing them into an economic crisis. The respondents both police and local community respondents said that, burning of houses by cattle rustlers led to loss of household goods which were important for the comfort and survival of the people of Tot Division. The respondents indicated that cattle rustling have caused immense economic loss to the people of Tot division, Marakwet district. They indicated that, cattle rustling forced the closure of businesses in Tot division due to frequent cattle rustling attacks and banditry along the roads thus making it impossible to do business in the area. They said that, business people relocated to the highland part of Marakwet like Kapsowar, Chesoi and Kapcherop; and also to other districts like Keiyo, Uasin Gishu and Trans Zoia. The key informants said that, Livestock business in Kerio valley collapsed from 1992 when cattle rustling took a deadly turn due to proliferation of firearms and frequent of raids. There were no livestock to sell or buy in the local markets. They also said that, Tot division is a large producer of mangoes and other fruits like oranges, bananas. These fruits could not reach their traditional market at Eldoret town because of cattle rustling and banditry related insecurity that scared away business people and transporters. They argued that, no business person could risk his life or motor vehicle to real danger that is cattle rustling.

90% of the local community respondents said that, cattle rustling increased the level of poverty in Tot. This view was shared by key informants to the study. The respondents argued that, farms were left fallow due to cattle rustling related insecurity as people feared for their lives and moved to the escarpment (Lagam) for safety while their farms are in the valley where cattle rustling took place. They argued that cattle rustling forced the people of Tot to depend on relief food instead of producing their own food. They said that, burning of houses in

the area rendered people homeless apart from destroying household goods and food stocks. Key informants indicated that, more than a thousand houses were burned by cattle rustlers in Tot division since 1992. The burning of houses and displacement, forced the people of Tot to spend several nights in the cold without food as their food stocks were burned; livestock were taken by raiders and they could not access their farms, thus contracting cold, hygiene and malnutrition related diseases.

According to all the respondents, cattle rustling disrupted education programs in Tot division. This view is supported by the key informants. They said that, relocation and abandoning of school houses caused immense economic loss to the local community who had to build new schools in the escarpment after abandoning the original school buildings in the valley due to cattle rustling related insecurity. The police respondents and key informants indicated that a total of 39 schools relocated to the escarpment (Lagam) when cattle rustling intensified from 1992. Some of them have returned back to the valley while others are still located in the escarpment. This was observed by the researcher who confirmed that some schools like Murkutwo and Toroko primary schools are still located in the escarpment “Lagam” and their original school compounds in the valley are vacant. The local community respondents indicated that, cattle rustling severely affected education in Tot division since 1992 when many boys dropped out of school to join the community defense team locally known as ‘Kaboryong’, in order to defend their community against cattle rustlers and also to counter raid the enemy and bring back cattle. They all agreed that, the closure and relocation of schools and families affected education standards in the area. The respondents also said that, many teachers moved out of Tot division on transfer without replacement, citing insecurity and their personal safety. They indicated that many parents were unable to pay school fees for their children due to lack of resources as a result of cattle raids that diminished cattle in the area. These views were shared by the key informants and some police respondents.

According all the respondents, the entire population of Tot division was displaced from the valley. The local community respondents said that majority of them moved to the rocky escarpment (Lagam) while others who had economic power moved to safe places like Trans zoia, Uasin Gishu and highland parts of Marakwet this view is shared by the key informants. They also indicated that, cattle rustling activities displaced investors from the Kerio Valley and scared away potential ones. They indicated that, Kerio valley development authority

(KVDA) closed down its activities in Tot division after 1992 due to insecurity as a result of cattle rustling. The key informants added that, livestock, fruits, hides and skins dealers avoided the area due to insecurity as a result of cattle rustling. The key informants indicated that this situation has affected the productivity of the people besides denying them employment opportunities that investors would have provided.

According to the respondents, perennial, modern, vigorous and frequent cattle raids are to blame for the poor economic and social development of Tot and other parts of pastoralist northern Kenya. They argued that, cattle rustling displaced existing investors and scared away potential ones. According to them, it also displaced economically endowed members of the local community who could invest in the area. Livestock business, farming and education in the area collapsed due to cattle rustling related insecurity.

The respondents argued that, cattle rustling led to physical insecurity in the area. They said that, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons; and also the burning of houses have really threatened the people of Tot. According to police and local community respondents, the favorite weapons for cattle rustlers are firearms, bows and arrows, spears and shield; and burning of houses. According to police respondents and key informants, the weapons majorly used by rustlers are firearms like AK47, G3, HK21, HK11 and Grenades. Also burning of houses has become a popular weapon. They said that, cattle rustling legitimized the proliferation of small arms and light weapons both for defense and raiding. They indicated that, the arms are in the hands of young men who double as the community defense team and raiders. The respondents said that, when cattle rustling subsided as a result of intensified peace building efforts by the government, the elders, the church and civil society, these guns are turned to robberies and banditry along the roads by some disgruntled elements among the 'Kaboryong' (community defense). These young men no longer heed the counsel of their elders due to power of the gun. This view was supported by the key informants. The respondents argued that, cattle rustling are a threat to safety of the people of Tot.

#### **4.4 Policing strategies employed in preventing cattle rustling in Tot Division.**

The second objective of the study was to investigate the policing strategies employed in preventing cattle rustling in Tot division Marakwet district.

According to the respondents, the community, the government and the civil society employed the strategies presented in the table below to fight against cattle rustling in Tot.

**Table 4.9: Policing strategies employed against cattle rustling in Tot**

Policing strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Peace building and restoration	77	100
Deployment of more police officers	77	100
Intelligence gathering	68	90
Arrest & prosecution	38	57
Community policing	18	32.2
Compulsory free education	20	37.4
Stopping illegal livestock and arms trade	51	87
Legal & policy framework	49	69.2
Illegal arms mop up (disarmament)	77	100

All the respondents indicated that peace building, deployment of police officers and illegal arms mop up are the strategies employed to prevent cattle rustling in Tot. 90% and 87 % of the respondents indicated that intelligence gathering and stopping illegal arms and livestock trade respectively are some of the strategies used in preventing cattle rustling in Tot, while 38% mentioned arrest and prosecution of offenders. Community policing and compulsory free education were stated by 18% and 20% of the respondents respectively.

According to all the respondents, peace building and restoration is one of the strategies used to prevent cattle rustling in Tot. The respondents said that, the Kenya government through provincial administration and the police have been persuading the cattle rustling communities to desist from stealing livestock in order to end hostilities between them. This view was supported by the key informants. The local community respondents indicated that, Marakwet and Pokot elders have been meeting since time immemorial after a serious raid to reconcile the communities to end hostilities. In case of deaths there was a laid down procedure of compensating the bereaved community called “Labai”. The local community respondents indicated that, since 1992 Marakwet and Pokot elders have been meeting on several occasions to seek an end to this violent, fatal and disastrous form of cattle rustling that has violated cultural rules guiding traditional cattle raids. They indicated that raids ceased

temporarily every time that elders met. According to the local community respondents, peace building and restoration can prevent cattle rustling if it is done continuously. This view was supported by the key informants.

The respondents said that, Non-governmental organizations like catholic peace and justice commission, peace net among others and the churches have been making peace building and restoration efforts to end the cattle rustling menace. The local community respondents indicated that the church and the NGOs sponsored a secondary school exchange program between Pokot and Marakwet students. They singled out catholic peace and justice commission which financed the program in Tot. Pokot students were sponsored to join Marakwet schools and Marakwet students to study in Pokot schools. This was intended to encourage harmonious co-existence and education at the same time among the Pokot and Marakwet. The local community respondents said that Tecla Lorupe foundation had been organizing peace races for the cattle rustling communities' youth. The key informants argued that these races offered the youth from cattle rustling communities an opportunity to interact with each other, make friends and also to recognize opportunities in sports.

The respondents said that, the two communities were encouraged through peace processes to interact by doing business together and to participate in church and cultural functions sponsored by the churches and NGOs. This according to the key informants was intended to boost the sharing of information among the communities to help them look at cattle rustling from the same point of view and team up to fight it. If this could succeed cattle rustling could be a thing of the past as the rustlers and financiers could be exposed to face justice and the stolen cattle recovered. The respondents argued that peace building succeeded to a larger extent, that is why cattle raids have been on and off in Tot. The local community respondents attributed all temporary cease in cattle rustling to peace building a position contradicted by majority of police respondents who said that, deployment of more police officers and disarmament exercises played a big role in the temporary cease of rustling in Tot.

All the respondents indicated that deployment of more police officers to Tot was a strategy used by the government to prevent cattle rustling in Tot. According to police and the local community respondents, the government deployed more police officers in the area in response to the intensity of cattle rustling. They indicated that, the government set up a



general service unit (GSU) camp and a police post at Tot after 1976 raid in the area. This they said was the first time firearms were used in cattle raids. According to the respondents, the government also responded to the 1992 raid by deploying anti stock theft unit officers at Chesongoch where they set up a camp and Administration police officers were deployed to all chief's camps and divisional headquarters.

Also, the respondents indicated that, after 1992 raid the government recruited 200 police reservists in the area. These are members of the local community who volunteer to be recruited, trained and armed by the state to perform police duties in the area. According to police act cap 84 laws of Kenya, they assume all police powers and responsibilities while on police duties. The police respondents indicated that, after the 2001 raid, the government established a police station at Mogil and upgraded Tot police post to be a police station so as to increase police population and coverage in the area. According to police respondents and key informants, Tot division has a police-citizen ratio of 1:62 which is higher than the United Nation recommended ratio of 1:450. Police respondents argued that deployment of many police officers led to reduction of cattle rustling in Tot division.

Intelligence gathering was stated by 90% of the respondents as a very important activity in cattle rustling prevention. According to the police respondents, information relating to cattle rustling was very difficult to acquire because of the cultural sanctions like oathing and curses, put in place to ensure secrecy of impending raids and the raiders. They also indicated that, lack of co-operation from the local communities made it very difficult for police officers to gather information leading to arrest and prosecution of offenders. This view was supported by key informants. The police respondents said that this information could help police prevent impending raids and also recover stolen cattle a view supported by the key informants. They also argued that, intelligence could help in mopping up illegal firearms in the hands of cattle rustlers.

The respondents indicated that, lack of intelligence information made it difficult for the government to mop up small arms and light weapons in the area and also to prevent recurrence of cattle rustling incidences. The key informants indicated Marakwet and Pokot cultures regard cattle rustling as legitimate activity which is protected through curses and oaths administered by elders and seers to ensure its secrecy and continuity. The key

informants indicated that police officers are transferred from Tot before they blend with the local community making it very difficult for police officers and the community to understand and trust each other for meaningful co-operation and intelligence collection. They suggested that police officers should work in Tot for reasonably long time to allow them understand the local culture and win trust of the local people. The key informants also indicated that police department doesn't deploy criminal investigation officers to Tot and other cattle rustling prone areas. This according to them weakened the collection of intelligence and the fight against cattle rustling.

Arrest and prosecution was indicated by 57% of the respondents as one of the strategies used by the government to fight cattle rustling. According the local community respondents, they are not aware of any person who has been imprisoned or punished by the court for participating in cattle rustling in Tot division. Police respondents argued that when they arrest suspects and take them to court, the locals fail to appear in court to testify against them; therefore being released for lack of evidence. Police respondents argued that it is impossible to arrest raiders while raiding because they are dangerously armed. Likewise, it is difficult to arrest them after the raid due to lack of accurate intelligence. They argued that, their respective communities will not expose them to face justice. According to the respondents arrest and prosecution did not succeed in the fight against cattle rustling.

Community policing was cited by 32.2% of the respondents as one of the policing strategies used to fight cattle rustling in Tot. Police respondents and key informants indicated that it was launched in Kenya for the first time in the year 2005 as a strategy to fight crime. They said that, it emphasizes police- community co-operation in fighting crime. Majority of police respondents, key informants and few local community respondents indicated that community policing was introduced to the fight against cattle rustling in Tot in the year 2010. The respondents indicated that the strategy is still very new in the area and police reservists have been playing the role of liaising between police and the local community. According to the respondents the impact of community policing cannot be ascertained at the moment because it is still very new in the area.

Illegal arms mop up (disarmament) was cited by 100% of the respondents as a strategy used to eradicate cattle rustling in Tot Division Marakwet district. They indicated that, this is

collection of firearms which were illegally acquired and held by pastoralist communities either for defense or raiding cattle. According to the respondents, the government has mopped up illegal firearms through forceful disarmament and voluntary surrender when there's government amnesty. The respondents believe that both the forced and voluntary disarmament succeeded to a larger extent as a strategy except that it was on and off exercise. The respondents indicated that, cattle rustlers replenish their armouries immediately after the mop up. They argued that the arms dealers are still in business and Kenyan borders with Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda are porous without security checks to deter arms smugglers. The respondents suggested that arms mop up can be very effective if it is done continuously and supported by border controls aimed at preventing entry of fire arms into the country to prevent new acquisition of firearms.

Stopping illegal livestock and arms trade was indicated by 87% of the respondents as a strategy used by the government to fight cattle rustling in Tot. According to the respondents, majority of the stolen cattle are not kept by the raiding community as it used to be the case in the past. 93% of the respondents said that, the cattle are taken to urban centers and other countries for sale as beef. They indicated that, there are unscrupulous business people who perpetuate and motivate cattle rustling by buying the stolen cattle and supply the raiders with weapons. The respondents argued that unless this illegal livestock business is stopped cattle rustling will continue and livestock will diminish in the area. According to the respondents, no business person has been arrested in the area for dealing in rustled cattle. The key informants indicated that, since 1976, cattle rustlers used firearms to rustle cattle from their owners. They said, the firearms are illegally acquired, owned and used. This position is shared by the police respondents who also added that, the arms are also bought from illegal sources across the border from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. Police respondents and key informants argued that, it has been very difficult for police to arrest these illegal arms traders because the local communities protect them by denying police information leading to their arrest and prosecution. They also indicated that, the illegal businessmen are well connected to powerful politicians and senior civil servants who protect them against police arrest and prosecution. The respondents pointed out that if the illegal arms and livestock trade is stopped cattle rustlers will not get guns to buy and will lack market for the stolen cattle. According to the respondents and key informant, this will reduce the intensity, fatalities and frequency of raids.

Legal and policy framework was cited by 69.2% of the respondents as a strategy for fighting cattle rustling in Tot. According to the police respondents and key informants, the policies and laws that are available to fight cattle rustling are inadequate. They said that, these laws are spread in many law books. They indicated that, they are aware of the penal code, firearms act, sexual offences act and the prevention of organized crimes act as the laws used to fight cattle rustling crimes. The police respondents said that, the laws that fight cattle rustling related crimes like robbery with violence, murder, arson and theft of livestock are in the penal code. Organized crime and possession of dangerous weapons are in the prevention of organized crimes act 2010; Rape is in sexual offence act 2006, illegal possession of firearms in firearms act. The laws against cattle rustling crimes are spread across very many law books and even one offence like possession of firearms is punished by sections in firearms act and prevention of organized crimes act. They argued that, these complicate the drafting of charge sheets, and confuse police officers when preferring charges against suspects. They propose that an act dealing with cattle rustling be enacted to enable the law enforcers to deal with the crime effectively. The police respondents said that, government policies for eradicating cattle rustling are inadequate. They singled out the police policy of deploying young and inexperienced officers to cattle rustling areas and the policy of not deploying criminal investigation and intelligence officers to cattle rustling areas as policies that undermine the war against cattle rustling. The key informants criticized government policy on disarmament. They said that it is done in isolation without linking it to border control to prevent new acquisitions. They also said that the disarmament exercise is not continuous therefore limiting its effectiveness.

Free and compulsory primary education was mentioned by 37% of the respondents as a strategy used by the local community and the government to eradicate cattle rustling in Tot. According to the respondents, education is being used as strategy to fight cattle rustling through the co-operation of teachers, provincial administration, the police and local community leaders. They argued that the strategy is to keep boys in school through free and compulsory primary education to deny cattle rustling man power, a view that was supported by the key informants. According to key informants, the boys will be kept in school forcefully as a requirement of free and compulsory education. They said that, by the time these boys' clear form four or class eight, they will be proud and coward not willing to join a raiding dead squad. The police respondents and key informants said that, this strategy was

intended to wither cattle rustling gradually until it disappears. The key informants also said that education is used to rid the communities of cultural practices that support cattle rustling. The respondents pointed out that this strategy was introduced to the fight against cattle rustling in the year 2009 and its impact cannot be ascertained at the moment.

#### 4.5 Socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions affecting policing strategies against cattle rustling in Tot Division.

The third objective of the study was to analyze the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions that affect policing strategies in the fight against cattle rustling.

The table below presents the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions that were identified by the respondents as those affecting policing strategies in Tot division.

**Table 4.10 factors impeding policing strategies in Tot**

Conditions	Frequency	Percentage
Political influence	77	100
Cultural support for cattle rustling	77	100
Rustled cattle business	67	87
Illegal firearms trade	77	100
Poverty and youth unemployment	75	98
Tough terrain and poor road network	40	52
Police low morale, poor training and lack of equipment	76	99

Cultural support for cattle rustling was cited by 100% of the respondents as a factor that impede policing strategies against cattle rustling in Tot. According to the respondents, Marakwet and Pokot traditions accept cattle rustling as cultural activity that is legitimate and not a crime. The local community respondents indicated that cattle rustling play a cultural role of acquiring cattle for paying bride price and restocking after drought, disease outbreak and enemy raid; this view was also held by the key informants. The local community respondents and key informants argued that traditionally, cattle rustling were playing a very important role of distributing cattle among the pastoral communities. They also indicated that, culturally it is not wrong among the Marakwet and Pokot to steal or rustle cattle from another community but it is wrong to steal cattle from your own community. Therefore, cattle rustling are between communities and not in communities.

The local community respondents said that, cattle rustling are activities associated with heroism and bravery by the local communities. They said that, Marakwet and Pokot are warrior communities and they value brave men very much. The local community respondents said that young men among the Pokot and Marakwet are socialized to prove their bravery after circumcision through cattle rustling. They indicated that, the raiders are blessed by elders and seers who also conduct oathing ceremonies and threaten with curses to ensure secrecy of the raid and raiders. According to the respondents the strong cultural support for cattle rustling among the local communities make them perceive cattle rustling as a legitimate cultural activity and not a crime. According all categories of respondents, cultural values that favour cattle rustling undermine the fight against cattle rustling because the local people refuse to disclose the raiders to police to be arrested and prosecuted. The key informants indicated that, the communities cannot betray their 'heroes' to police for arrest and prosecution. They suggested that custodians of culture in these two communities must be persuaded to join the war against cattle rustling for it to be won. The key informants argued that cultural values supporting rustling must be fought to be abandoned in order to win the war against cattle rustling in Tot.

Political influence was cited by 100% of the respondents as one of the factors that undermine policing strategies. The respondents said that politicians play a big role in perpetuating cattle rustling. This view is shared by all categories of the respondents. They argued that, politicians incite communities against one another and protect the rustlers from police action. Most of them singled out police operations that are always blocked by powerful politicians whose community's harbour raiders. They said that, during KANU regime, cattle rustling were rampant in the area because of former powerful cabinet minister Francis Polisi Lotodo who encouraged rustling and was steadfast in defending Pokot raiders from police arrest and prosecution. The respondents argued that politicians condemn cattle rustling when their constituents are victims and praise, defend or keep quiet when their constituents are the aggressors. They indicated that, strong political support for cattle rustling frustrates policing efforts in the fight against cattle rustling. The respondents argued that politicians have not come out strongly to support the fight against cattle rustling. The key informants suggested that politicians should be engaged in the war against cattle rustling and also legal action be taken against those politicians who incite violence. They indicated that politicians in Kenya

seem to be above the law because no action has been taken against those who interfere with police operations.

Organization of illegal livestock and arms business was cited by the respondents as some of the factors that fuel cattle rustling. All the respondents cited illegal arms trade while 87% mentioned illegal livestock business as a factor fuelling cattle rustling in Tot. According to the respondents, 80% of the rustled cattle are taken to urban centres or out of the country for sell. Only 20% remain in the locality for paying dowry and restocking. They believe that insatiable demand for beef, mutton and goat meat in urban centres motivates rustlers to raid; bearing in mind that pastoralists hardly sell their livestock. They said that, arms traders strengthen the morale of the rustlers by selling very sophisticated weapons that enable them to counter the police so that there's no fear of arrest or being killed by the police. The local community respondents argued that, the cattle rustlers seem to be better armed than the police as they have pinned down police officers in their camps on several occasions. All the respondents indicated that, with easy access and availability of more sophisticated firearms, the fight against cattle rustling will remain very difficult for the police to win. The police respondents indicated that, these illicit traders are well connected to politicians and powerful people in government who protect them from any police action. They also added that the local community holds these people in high esteem as their arms supply chain therefore denying police information leading to their arrest and prosecution. They suggested that, the government should crack down on those who deal with illegal firearms and rustled cattle to deny the raiders market for rustled cattle and supply of firearms.

Poverty and youth unemployment was stated by 98% of the respondents as one of the factors that hinder policing strategy against cattle rustling in Tot. According to the local community respondents and key informants, the people of Kerio valley both Marakwet and Pokot are very poor. They argued that, their poverty was contributed by very many factors that include: arid and semi arid land that does not support meaningful agriculture, unemployment due to marginalization and underdevelopment; and poor education standards. They said that, poverty and high rate of youth unemployment make it easy to mobilize large numbers of raiders within a small area in a very short time without arousing police suspicion. They also indicated that, unemployed poor youth, raid cattle and sell them to business people who deal in rustled cattle so that they can earn a living. The respondents argued that, Kerio valley like

other parts of Northern Kenya was deprived of development by all previous governments both colonial and independent Kenya governments. They said that, the area has poor road network, poor educational facilities, poor health facilities, no power and telephone network, clean water and many government services that are critical for their survival. According to them, this situation confines the people of Northern Kenya to their traditional pastoralist way of life that includes cattle rustling. They suggested that, the government should open up infrastructure in the area to provide alternative livelihood means to the people beside pastoralism.

Tough terrain and poor road network was cited by 52% of the respondents as an impediment to the fight against cattle rustling. They said that, Kerio valley like other arid and semi arid parts of northern Kenya has tough terrain and harsh climate. They indicated that the weather is extremely hot and the terrain is rocky. According to the police respondents and key informants, this harsh weather and tough terrain make it very difficult for police officers to pursue stolen cattle and the raiders who drive them, without the use of motor vehicles. They indicated that, there's poor road network in the area with very few rough roads. The police respondents said that, there are two rough roads running parallel in Kerio valley; one in East Pokot district and the other in Marakwet district, with only one rough road joining them. They argued that, the lack of access roads compel police officers to take long routes as they pursue the rustlers therefore limiting their efficiency and effectiveness. The key informants argued that, these make it very difficult for police to recover the stolen cattle and deal with the rustlers effectively. They suggested that more access roads be opened up in the area to facilitate security officers and open up the area for development.

Lack of equipment, poor training and low motivation of police officers was stated by 99% of the respondents as a factor that undermines the fight against cattle rustling. The respondents indicated that, police in the area are poorly equipped to deal with heavily armed cattle rustlers. According to police respondents and key informants, police in the area lack serviceable motor vehicles and modern communication equipments. Local community respondents indicated that, police officers seem to be poorly trained and poorly motivated. This view was supported by key informants. They said that, police use indiscriminate force to recover stolen livestock from perceived aggressor community instead of pursuing individuals suspected of committing the crime. They attributed this to lack of intelligence information as



a result of poor training. They also indicated that police officers in Tot take very long time to respond to a report of cattle rustling attack as if they are not willing to help the locals. This view was supported by the key informants. They attributed the slow response to low morale. The local community respondents indicated that police officers in the area have been pinned down in their camps by cattle rustlers on several occasions for the entire period of the raid, rendering them helpless to the public. They attributed this to poor training and poor weapons held by the police. They believe that, cattle rustlers are better armed than the police. The police respondents argued that their working conditions and facilitation is poor. They said that their stations lack serviceable motor vehicles and sufficient fuel for the long distances that they cover when pursuing cattle rustlers. They said each station or camp is issued with one motor vehicle only. When it breaks down their work comes to a halt. The respondents proposed that police need proper facilitation, training and good remuneration for them to fight crime effectively.

#### 4.6 Effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division.

The fourth objective of the study was to assess the effectiveness of the policing strategies that have been employed in the fight against cattle rustling in Tot division.

**Table 4.11 Effectiveness of policing strategies according to all respondents**

Response	Frequency	Percent
Effective	26	34
Not effective	51	66
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

The table above presents the responses as to whether policing strategies are effective or not according to all the respondents. 34% of the respondents said that the policing strategies used in Tot against cattle rustling are effective while 66% indicated that they are not effective.

**Table 4.12 Effectiveness of policing strategies according to local community respondents**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Effective	8	16
Not effective	41	84
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

The table above presents the response of local community respondents as to whether policing strategies applied in Tot are effective or not. 16% of the local community respondents said they are effective while 84% said they are not effective.

**Table 4.13 Effectiveness of policing strategies according to police respondents**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>percentage</b>
Effective	18	64
Not effective	10	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

The table above presents the responses of police respondents as to whether policing strategies are effective or not. 64% said that they are effective as opposed to 36% who indicated that, they are not effective.

84% of the local community respondents believe that policing strategies applied against cattle rustling in Tot are ineffective compared to 36% of police respondents who share the same view. However 64% of police respondents and 16 % of local community respondents believe that the policing strategies are effective. The key informants believe that the strategies cannot achieve much in the manner they are applied. However they believe that, some succeeded to a limited extent.

According to the respondents, 49 cattle rustling incidents occur in Tot division every year translating to at least 4 incidences every month. 66% of the respondents said that the strategies employed by the government, the community and the Non-governmental organizations are not effective while 34% said that the policing strategies employed are effective. Those who said that policing strategies are not effective argued that the strategies have been used for a long time without success. Majority of those respondents who said that they are effective indicated that, the strategies are good but were not implemented fully; that is why there had been temporary cease of rustling when the government and the local community acted tough by pursuing rustlers to recover stolen cattle followed by a disarmament exercise and aggressive peace building endeavor.

The strategy of peace building and restoration by elders, provincial administration and the civil society succeeded to a larger extent according to the respondents. They argued that all

the temporary cease in cattle rustling is attributed to peace building strategies but inconsistency of the process negatively affected sustainability of the achievements. They argued that aggressive peace building and restoration exercise involve the community leaders in the fight against cattle rustling. They said that raiders fear the stand of their community leaders than they fear the police. The respondents proposed that peace building should be sustained continuously to strengthen its impact.

The local community respondents indicated that, deployment of more police officers in the area did not create any impact. They argued that, police in the area are reactive rather than proactive and this makes it impossible for them to prevent raids. They said that, police officers in the area are caught unawares by cattle rustlers and they are pinned down in their camps making it impossible for them to help the community. This view was shared by the key informants. According to the respondents, police do not get sufficient intelligence information to enable them pre-empt raids, arrest the perpetrators and prosecute them. Police respondents indicated that, the presence of many police officers in the area is a deterrent measure to cattle rustlers and assurance to the people that the area is safe. They argued that heavy police presence reduces the level of fear among the residents and deter rustlers. Therefore according to police respondents, deployment of more security officers helped in preventing cattle rustling in Tot. This position was supported by the key informants. The police respondents argued that there are sufficient police officers in Tot Division, but lack of facilities and poor police- community relation hurt policing efforts.

The respondents indicated that, illegal arms mop up succeeded to a larger extent. They argued that there's always a cease in cattle raids after a disarmament exercise. They said that its impact could not be sustained because it is an occasional exercise that is done after major raids. They also said that, it is done in isolation without linking it to the fight on arms trade and border controls. The respondents argued that, without controlling the countries porous borders and deterring illegal arms traders that feed cattle rustling with guns, cattle rustlers will still get firearms. They proposed that illegal arms mop up be done continuously until when there will be no armed cattle rustling. They also suggested that, Kenyan porous borders be controlled to prevent entry of illicit firearms.

The respondents argued that, arrest and prosecution of the offenders has not happened in the area. Police respondents argued that it is not possible to arrest cattle rustlers while raiding because they are heavily armed. They also said that, the local communities do not disclose raiders to police to be arrested and prosecuted. Police respondents also indicated that in cases that they arrested cattle rustlers, the victims do not come to testify against them in court. The local community respondents argued that, arrest and prosecution failed because police officers in the area were not keen on pursuing individual rustlers to face justice. They said that, police officers harass everybody in the perceived aggressor community. They indicated that police indiscriminately round up cattle from innocent people in the aggressor community to compensate the victims in the raided community. According to all the respondents, arrest and prosecution did not succeed in Tot division as a strategy of fighting cattle rustling.

Intelligence gathering as a strategy of fighting cattle rustling did not succeed according to the respondents. Police respondents indicated that Marakwet and Pokot communities are closed societies. They do not share their information with outsiders. The local community respondents indicated that, cattle rustling is a culturally legitimate activity and locals don't see cattle rustlers as criminals. So there's no reason for reporting them to the police. The key informants indicated that individual police officers stay in Tot for a very short time such that they cannot interact with the locals long enough to understand and win their trust for meaningful intelligence collection. They suggested that police officers should work in the area for a reasonably long period to enable them understand the people and win their trust. The respondents indicated that, the government does not deploy criminal investigation and National Intelligence Security Service (NSIS) officers to Tot and other cattle rustling prone areas. They argued that this weakens intelligence collection.

According to the respondents, the government did not succeed in stopping illicit arms and livestock trade. They argued that the business is very organized and those running it are well connected to powerful politicians and senior people in government who protect them. Also the local communities hold them in high esteem for supplying them with weapons for defense and raiding. Therefore, it is not easy for police to stop this kind of well organized business.

Legal and policy framework did not succeed according to the respondents. The police respondents indicated that the laws used against cattle rustling are not stringent or severe

enough to fight the crime. They argued that the laws are spread in very many acts of parliament making it difficult to implement. The key informants argued that there is no specific law meant to fight cattle rustling in Kenya. The respondents suggested that stringent laws intended to fight cattle rustling specifically be enacted. The key informants indicated that government policies for fighting cattle rustling are not conclusive or well thought. They singled out deployments of police and intelligence officers. They said that deploying young and inexperienced police officers alone to fight cattle rustling amounts to negligence of duty; and also the policy of not deploying C.I.D and NSIS officers to cattle rustling areas is wrong. The respondents also criticized the policy on disarmament. They said that, the illegal arms mop up exercise is done occasionally without linking it to border controls and the fight on new acquisitions. They suggested that, disarmament exercise should be continuous and be linked to border controls to prevent new acquisition of arms.

According to the respondents, the effect of community policing and free and compulsory education as a strategy to fight cattle rustling is not yet known, because the two strategies are still new. They said community policing in the area has not been understood properly but it is picking up; also enforcing the compulsory rule in free primary education to cut out personnel joining cattle rustling, began in 2009 and its results are yet to be known in the future.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

The study has found out that at least 4 incidences of cattle rustling occur every month in Tot Division despite the policing efforts put in place. The people of Tot division are still living in the escapement (Lagam) for their safety, schools that relocated to the escapement for safety have not returned to their original location in the valley and development activities and businesses have not restarted.

Cattle rustling caused immense suffering to the people of Tot division socially, economically and physically. According to the respondents, the people of Tot lost their loved ones who were killed by cattle raiders, their properties were destroyed by cattle raiders who burned their houses and displaced people from their homes, places of business, farms and schools. Above all, cattle rustling deprived the community of their livestock which is also their livelihood. The study found out that in recent incidences of cattle rustling in Tot, many people died of burns than gunshots. This is contrary to the commonly held believe that cattle rustling deaths are as a result of gunshots.

The strategies used to fight cattle rustling in Tot according to the respondents are deployment of many police officers to ensure that police presence is felt and provide sufficient strength and reinforcement to the police to overpower and out gun cattle rustler who attack in large numbers. Gathering of intelligence was also used in the fight against cattle rustling according to them. They said intelligence information help police prevent raids, by pre-empting them before they happen; and it also helps to arrest and prosecute offenders and recover the stolen cattle. Disarmament (illegal arms mop up) was also engaged by the government in the fight against cattle rustling. This was intended to reduce illegal firearms held by pastoralists that are used for raiding and defense. Arrest and prosecution is a strategy that was reported to have been used rarely, although it is a core strategy in the fight against any crime. They said that, the police also fought against trading on stolen livestock and illegal firearms. This was intended to cut off arms supply and demand for stolen cattle to demotivate rustlers. Peace building and restoration is a strategy that was reported to have succeeded fairly. It was championed by the church, community leaders, the government and the civil society. Compulsory free education and community policing are the most recent strategies to be used

in the fight against cattle rustling according to the respondents. They said that, their effects have not been established. According to the respondents the policing strategies used did not succeed against cattle rustling in Tot.

Policing strategies that were used against cattle rustling were frustrated by socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions prevailing in Tot. Marakwet and Pokot cultures support cattle rustling thus becoming an impediment to its eradication. They said that, Politicians from the pastoral areas protect their people when they raid others only to complain when they are raided. The support of cattle rustling by politicians frustrates the fight against cattle rustling. The respondents indicated that, the easy access and availability of small arms and light weapons to pastoralists complicated the fight against cattle rustling because police cannot arrest the rustlers and the rustlers are not deterred by the police. The respondents said that, Arms dealers and illegal livestock traders are very organized and still in business. Also Kenyan borders to neighbouring countries of Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia are porous making it difficult to prevent supply of illegal firearms to cattle rustlers.

The following strategies succeeded to a limited extent: peace building and restoration, disarmament (illegal arms mop up) and deployment of more police officers. They said that the manner they were employed limited their effectiveness. The other strategies were rendered ineffective by the prevailing conditions in the communities

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The study was set to assess the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot division. It established that the policing strategies employed were not very effective. The strategies did not adequately address the conditions that encourage cattle rustling in the pastoralist societies. The socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions in the pastoralist societies hindered policing strategies in the fight against cattle rustling. The policing strategies used did not factor in the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions prevailing in the pastoralist communities. The strategies seem to have been conceived and implemented without proper understanding of the issues on the ground that encourage cattle rustling and may hinder the policing strategies when implemented.

Possession of firearms is a matter of survival to the pastoralist communities, because they are used for defending and acquiring property and without it the pastoralists will lose their livestock and lives to cattle rustlers from neighbouring communities in Kenya and countries bordering Kenya. If all pastoralists in Kenya are disarmed, those communities bordering South Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia will be vulnerable to attacks by pastoralist from those countries. Therefore they acquire firearms to defend themselves because the government has not guaranteed their security. When those in the borders acquire arms they become a threat to the communities that border them and these leads to proliferation of small arms and light weapons among pastoralists in the country. Therefore, security of pastoralist communities must be secured in order to make disarmament strategy successful. Disarmament exercise did not fully succeed because the government was mopping up already acquired arms without putting measures in place to prevent new acquisitions and guarantee security of the people being disarmed.

Among the pastoralists, cattle rustling is a legitimate cultural activity that enables young men to acquire cattle for paying bride price in order to get married and also to restock after drought, diseases out break and enemy raid that diminishes livestock. Also cattle rustling were used to inculcate bravery among young men after initiation into adult hood in the pastoralist communities. Currently, cattle rustling has acquired a commercial function. It provides income to poor unemployed youth in the pastoralist communities. It also offers business opportunities to illegal livestock and arms traders. These means cattle rustling serves very critical functions that must be addressed adequately in order to get the support of pastoralists in eradicating cattle rustling. The government civil society and the local community leaders fought cattle rustling without providing alternative livelihoods and lifestyles to the pastoralists to substitute for what cattle rustling provided. Cultural values in favour of cattle rustling are very strong in the communities. These impede any effort to fight cattle rustling if they are not addressed first.

Peace building and restoration, disarmament (illegal arms mop up) and deployment of more police officers succeeded to a limited extent. They were hindered by the manner in which the strategies were applied and the conditions prevailing in Tot negatively affected their effectiveness. Peace building and restoration was not continuously carried out. The deployment of officers was done without proper facilitation. Also deployment of police



officers did not consider the required skills and experience. That is why young and inexperienced officers only were being posted to fight cattle rustling. Also criminal investigation and National intelligence service officers were not involved.

### **5.3. Recommendation from the Study**

The government should disarm the pastoralist communities continuously and deploy more security officers to the porous international borders to prevent cross border rustling and entry of illicit arms into the country. It should also punish illegal trade and possession of firearms severely to make it unattractive. The government should adequately facilitate police officers to fight cattle rustling effectively by providing them with sufficient equipment, serviceable vehicles; training and better remuneration to boost their capacity, ability and morale.

The local community, the civil society and the government should improve relations between police and community; and also between the pastoralist communities through seminars and other interactive activities to enable police gain civilian confidence in gathering intelligence information. They should bring on board all stakeholders in the fight against cattle rustling. Politicians, the veterinary department and any other group whose input can help in eradicating cattle rustling should be involved in the fight against cattle rustling.

The government, the local community leaders and civil society should facilitate infrastructure and socio-economic development in pastoralist areas to spur economic growth and create alternative livelihood opportunities to secure the survival of pastoralist communities and enhance change of their life styles.

### **5.4 Areas recommended for Further research**

The study has established that, there is need to do further study on the effectiveness of community policing and emphasis on compulsory free education as strategies for preventing cattle rustling in pastoralist Northern Kenya. These two strategies were introduced recently into the fight against cattle rustling and therefore their effects are not yet known.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL COMMUNITY RESPONDENTS

### EFFECTS OF POLICING STRATEGIES ON THE PREVALENCE OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN TOT DIVISION MARAKWET DISTRICT

I am Mark Kosgei Murkomen, a student of Master of Arts degree in criminology and social order from the University of Nairobi. I would like to learn about the effects of policing strategies on cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District. The findings will be used for academic purposes only and confidentiality of the responses will be upheld. Please answer these questions to help shed light on the issue of cattle rustling in relation to policing. Note that your agreement to participate is purely voluntary and should you wish to withdraw at any stage or decline to participate, you will not be penalized. Furthermore, it should be understood that your participation does not involve any direct or indirect monetary benefit to you.

#### Part 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics

1. Age in years (Tick below the bracket where your age falls in)

Below 18	19-36	37-54	55 and above
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Occupation (write what you do for a living)

.....

3. Place of work (write your work station).....

4. Sex (choose one)

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>
------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------

5. Marital status (tick the box ahead of the choice)

1.Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	2.Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	3.Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>	4.Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>	Separated	<input type="checkbox"/>
----------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------

6. Level of education (tick the box below the highest level of education you attained)

None	Primary	Secondary	College	University

7. How long have you lived/worked in Tot division (tick where applicable)

- (1) Less than 1 year                      (2) 1- 5 years  
(3) 6- 10 years                              (4) more than 10 years

**PART TWO: Nature of cattle rustling**

1. How many incidents of cattle rustling in this area do you remember in the following periods? (Write the number of incidences)

- (1) In the last 1 month.....      (2) In the last 6 months.....  
(3) In the last 1 year.....          (4) In the last 5 years.....

2. (i) Who are responsible for cattle rustling in this area (list the perpetrators)

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) How do you tell who they are?

.....  
.....

3. What do you do when raiders attack the area? (Explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

4. According to you, what are the effects of cattle rustling the people of Tot division? (list all the effects)

.....  
.....  
.....

5. (i) What means or weapons do cattle rustlers use in raiding? (List them)

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) Where do they get them from? (List the sources)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

(iii) What means or weapons do you use in fighting off the rustlers?

.....  
.....  
.....

6. What do you think are the causes of cattle rustling in Tot?

.....  
.....  
.....

7. Where are the stolen cattle taken to?

.....  
.....  
.....

8. (i) In what circumstances are the local community able to prevent raids?

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) In what circumstances are the locals able to fight off raiders?



.....  
.....  
.....  
**(iii) In what circumstances are they not able to prevent or fight off raiders?**

.....  
.....  
.....  
**9. What factors motivate cattle rustlers to attack Tot Division frequently?**

.....  
.....  
.....  
**Part 3: Policing Strategies**

**10. Do the community collaborate with the police to prevent or fight off cattle rustlers? If yes explain how, if no explain why.**

.....  
.....  
.....  
**11. (i) What measures of preventing cattle rustling in this area are you aware of**

.....  
.....  
.....  
**(ii) Are these measures effective? If yes explain how, if no explain why.**

.....  
.....  
.....  
**(iii) In your view, what can be done to make these measures effective(explain)**

12. (i) What laws /legislation against cattle rustling are you aware of?

(ii) Are these laws adequate or effective in preventing cattle rustling?

YES		NO	
-----	--	----	--

13. (i) Are the police effective in preventing cattle rustling in the area? If yes, explain how, if no explain why.

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) What do you think can be done to make police officers more effective in preventing cattle rustling in the area.(explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

14. Do you think it is possible to eradicate cattle rustling in Tot? If yes how, if no why

.....  
.....  
.....

**Thank you**

## APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POLICE

### EFFECTS OF POLICING STRATEGIES ON THE PREVALENCE OF CATTLE RUSTLING CRIMES IN TOT DIVISION, MARAKWET DISTRICT

I am Mark Kosgei Murkomen, a student of Master of Arts degree in criminology and social order from the University of Nairobi. I would like to learn about the effects of policing strategies on the prevalence of cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District. The findings will be used for academic purposes only and confidentiality of the responses will be upheld. Please answer these questions to help shed light on the issue of cattle rustling in relation to policing. Note that your agreement to participate is purely voluntary and should you wish to withdraw at any stage or refuse to participate will not be penalized. Furthermore, your participation does not involve any direct or monetary benefit to you.

#### Part 1: Socio-Demographic characteristics

1. Name (Optional) .....

2. Age in years (Tick below the bracket where your age falls in)

18-28	29-38	39-48	49 and above
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Sex (choose one)

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>
------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------

4. Level of education (tick the box in front of the highest level of education you attained)

Primary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Secondary	<input type="checkbox"/>
College	<input type="checkbox"/>
University	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Which police unit do you work with.....

6. Place of work (write your work station).....

7. For how long have you worked in Tot division.....(indicate the period in years and months)

**Part 2: Nature of Cattle Rustling**

1. How many reports of cattle rustling incidences do you receive in Tot Division? (Write the number)

(a) In a week.....

(b) In a month.....

(c) In a year.....

2. (i) Who are the perpetrators of cattle rustling in Tot division?( list them)

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) What kind of weapons to the raiders use? (list them)

.....  
.....  
.....

(iii) Where do they get them from? (Explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

3. Where are the stolen cattle taken to? (Explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

4. In your understanding, what are the causes of cattle rustling in Tot Division? (explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

.....  
.....  
5. What are the effects of cattle rustling to the people of Tot Division?

**Part 3: Policing Strategies**

6. (i) What legal and policy frameworks do you use in preventing cattle rustling?(explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii)In what ways are these legal and policy frameworks adequate? (Explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

(iii) In what ways are they Inadequate? (Explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

(iv)What can be done to make them more effective? (explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

7. (i) Do police and the local community collaborate in fighting cattle rustling? if yes explain how, if no explain why.

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii)What factors affect the collaboration? (List the factors)

.....  
.....  
.....

8. (i) What policing strategies do you use to ensure peace and security in the area?(list them)

.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) Are these measures effective? (Tick one)

(a) YES      (b) NO

(iii) What can be done to make them more effective? (explain)

.....  
.....  
.....

9. (i) what policing strategies are used to prevent cattle rustling in Tot? (list them)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

(ii) In your view, are these policing strategies effective in preventing cattle rustling in Tot? If yes explain how, if no explain why.

.....  
.....  
.....

(iii) What factors impede police ability to prevent cattle rustling in Tot? (List the factors)

.....  
.....  
.....

(iv) In your opinion, how can these impediments be overcome? (explain )

.....  
.....  
.....

10. Is it possible to eradicate cattle rustling in Tot Division? If yes explain how, if no explain why.

.....  
.....  
.....

**Thank you**

[The following text is extremely faint and illegible, appearing to be a list of names or a series of lines of text.]

## **APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### EFFECTS OF POLICING STRATEGIES ON THE PREVALENCE OF CATTLE RUSTLING CRIMES IN TOT DIVISION, MARAKWET DISTRICT.

I am Mark Kosgei Murkomen, a student of Master of Arts degree in criminology and social order from the University of Nairobi. I would like to learn about the effects of policing strategies on the prevalence of cattle rustling in Tot Division, Marakwet District. The findings will be used for academic purposes only and confidentiality of the responses will be upheld. Please answer these questions to help shed light on the issue of cattle rustling in relation to policing. Note that your agreement to participate is purely voluntary and should you wish to withdraw at any stage or decline to participate, you will not be penalized. Furthermore, your participation does not involve any direct or monetary benefit to you.

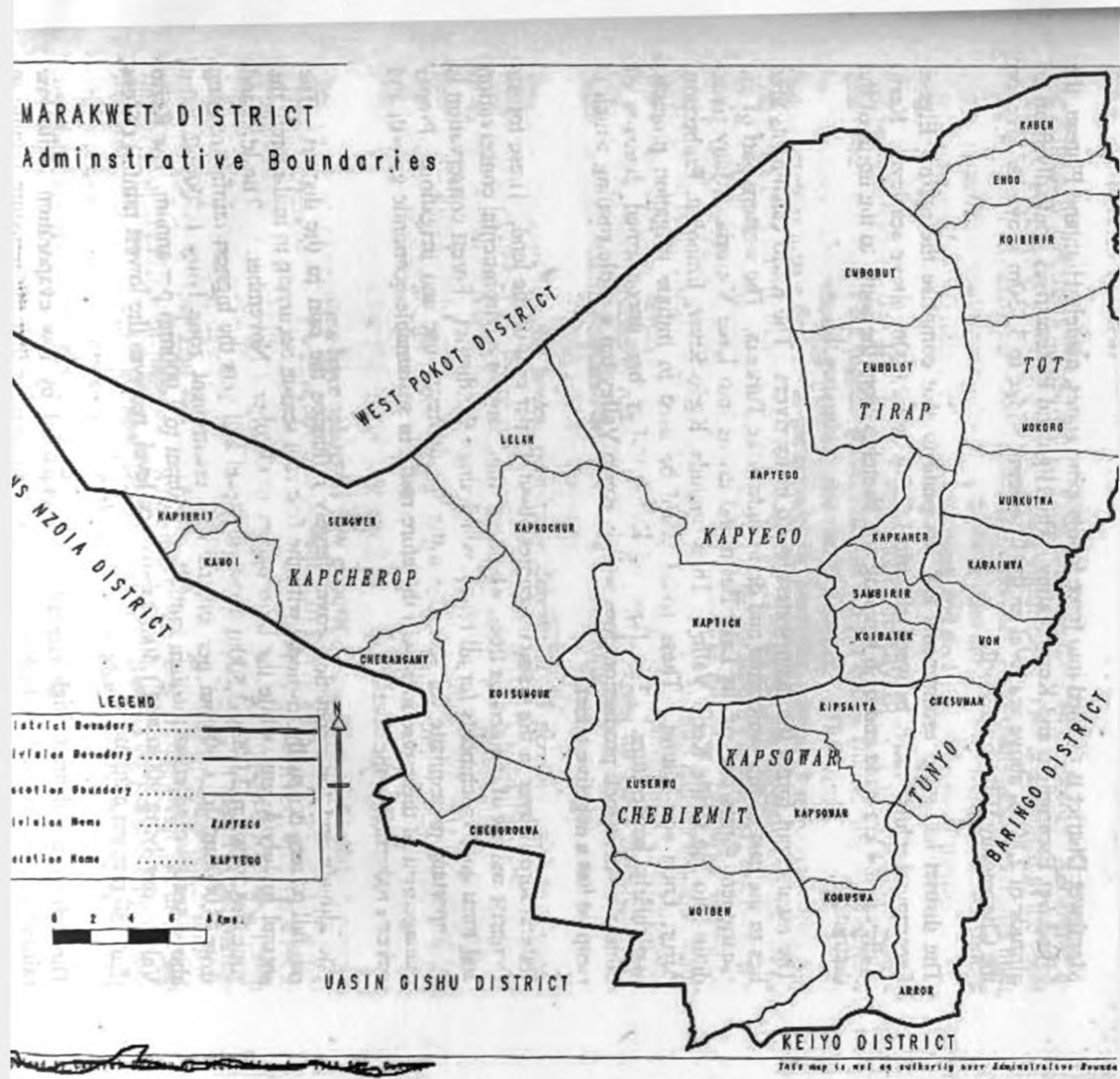
1.
  - i) Name (optional).....
  - ii) Age.....
  - iii) Occupation .....
  - iv) Station and duration .....
  - v) Education level.....
2. What is the nature of cattle rustling in Tot Division?
3.
  - (i) Who are the perpetrators of cattle rustling crimes in this area?
  - (ii) What are the effects of cattle rustling in Tot Division?
4.
  - (i) What means or weapons are used in cattle raids?
  - (ii) Where do they get the weapons?
  - (iii) What weapons do the locals use to fight off rustlers?
5. What factors undermine the fight against cattle rustling?
6.
  - (i) What role do your organization play in preventing cattle rustling?
  - (ii) What mechanisms do you use in preventing cattle rustling?
  - (iii) In what ways are these mechanisms adequate?
  - (iv) In what ways are they inadequate?
  - (iv) What can be done to make it more effective?
7.
  - (i) What policing strategies are employed in Tot to prevent cattle rustling?
  - (ii) Are the policing strategies effective in fighting cattle rustling?
  - (iii) What factors impede police ability to prevent cattle rustling in Tot?
  - (iv) How can these factors be overcome?



8. Is it possible to eradicate cattle rustling in Tot division? If yes explain how, if no explain why.

**Thank you**

**APPENDIX IV: MAP OF MARAKWET SHOWING THE STUDY AREA**



Source: Republic of Kenya, Marakwet District Development Plan, 2002-8.