

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**THE EFFECTS OF LIVESTOCK RUSTLING ON LIVELIHOODS OF PASTORAL
COMMUNITIES IN THE TURKWELL RIVER BELT ALONG THE TURKANA/
POKOT BORDER**

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DECLARATION

I certify that this is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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Signed í í í í í í í í í í í

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my sons Priva and Aziel, you are the pillar on which I lean. To my parents Francis and Jecintaas well as to my sister Ann, you are my heritage. You have always encouraged me.

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Abstract

Livestock rustling is not a new phenomenon among pastoral societies in Kenya. Traditionally, various pastoral communities use raiding as a cultural practice for restocking of herds, especially after periods of drought or outbreaks of diseases. However, in recent years, livestock raiding has become more frequent, violent and destructive.

This study was established to assess the effects of livestock rustling on the livelihoods of pastoral communities living along the Turkwel River belt which divides Turkana South and West Pokot Districts. It addressed three objectives: 1) causes and extent of livestock rustling in Turkwel River belt, 2) effects of livestock rustling on pastoralist livelihood and 3) conflict resolution mechanism used in the management of livestock rustling in the area and their effectiveness.

The study adopted a survey research design with the triangulation research methods in data collection. The selection of Turkwel River belt was done purposively due to the high occurrences of conflict which was a special characteristic which was not common with the other divisions in the two counties. Random sampling was used to select six sub locations out of the thirteen sub locations in the two divisions. Respondents were clustered into three groups of men, women and youth. Focus group discussions and interviews were carried out with 109 members of the Turkana and Pokot communities and key informants.

The study established that livestock raids in the Turkwel River belt are a major occurrence and are caused by many factors such as unwillingness to share grazing land, rampant drought and famine in the area and rivalry among others. The persistent livestock raids in the area started more than 20 years ago (87.2%) and are still a major occurrence in the area (30%). Livestock raids occur on a weekly basis according to 41.1% of the respondents. Youths from the age of 16 years are the ones involved in livestock raids which perpetuate conflict.

Livestock raids have major effects on the Turkana and the Pokot communities living in the Turkwel River belt. The raids have mainly resulted in deaths, high dependency on food relief, environmental degradation, large numbers of people contracting HIV/Aids and also a large number of IDPs in the area. The high incidences of livestock raids have also resulted in high

illiteracy levels in the community rated at 76.6%, high levels of hunger and poverty (89.8%) and increased levels of immigration (81.8%).

Various actions have been taken to deal with livestock raids. These include community sensitization meetings and community dialogue. Different members of the community are involved in peace initiatives to deal with this conflict. The conflict resolution mechanisms adopted by the community lead mainly to reduced incidences of raids in the area (45.6%) but do not necessarily mean the livestock will be returned.

The study recommends enhanced community level joint peace and livelihood activities between the Pokot and Turkana people to facilitate the spirit of interaction and coexistence among the members of the two communities and hence resolve conflicts. Addressing the challenges affecting the youth, especially unemployment, idleness and illiteracy would go a long way in reducing their participation in conflict and livestock rustling in the Turkwel river belt. The study further recommends that stakeholder organizations in the area should take lead in addressing alternative sources of income and livelihood that would help the community in rechanneling their strengths towards harnessing of livelihood opportunities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Many parts of Sub Saharan Africa continue to experience violent conflicts that constrain sustainable food security, livelihoods, and development in the region. These conflicts are many, complex and occur at different levels. They can be inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic, or cross border in nature. Excluding inter-state wars, conflicts in Africa mostly manifest themselves as pastoralist conflicts (livestock raiding or rustling, violent disputes at watering points, etc.), highway banditry, abductions, generalized insecurity and other crimes (USAID and FEWS NET 2005).

Pastoralists reside in over 21 countries across the African continent. Many of these communities are affected by conflicts, with associated potential impacts on their livelihoods. Pastoralism is a major economic production strategy in which people raise herds of animals, mostly in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). ASALs cover about 80% of Kenya's landmass and support about a third of the country's human population and 70% of the national livestock herd. An estimated 13 million cattle, 25 million goats, 14.9 million sheep, 1.7 million donkeys and 2.9 million camels are found in Kenya's ASALs (KNBS 2010). The highest livestock populations are held by the Turkana and Pokot pastoralists of north-western Kenya (GoK2010). Pastoralism contributes approximately 12% to the country's gross domestic product (FAO 2005), with the livestock sector providing an estimated 90% of all employment opportunities and more than 95% of household incomes in ASALs (Kaimba et al. 2011).

Pastoralism practised by the majority of Turkana and Pokot ethnic groups is mainly nomadic transhumance, which is characterised by risk-spreading and flexible mechanisms, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting (Opiyo et al. 2011). The livestock types kept by the Turkana and Pokot to manage and spread risk include cattle (zebu), camels, goats, sheep and donkeys. Livestock possession plays multiple social, economic and religious roles in pastoral livelihoods, such as providing a regular source of food in the form of milk, meat and blood for household members, cash income to pay for cereals, education, health care and other services. In pastoral communities, livestock is also

essential for payment of dowry, compensation of injured parties during raids, symbol of prosperity and prestige, store of wealth and security against drought, disease and other calamities. Livestock is therefore a fundamental form of pastoral capital, besides functioning as a means of production, storage, transport and transfer of food and wealth (Behnke2008).

In north-western Kenya, pastoral communities have a long history of conflicts. In the broadest sense, conflict can be defined here forceful interaction as a result of opposing views. As pastoralism revolves around livestock, the conflicts are predominantly about livestock and its related productive assets - water, land and pasture. These resources closely tie conflicts to the violent theft of livestock, referred to as raiding, which is both a contributing factor and an articulation of conflict. On the one hand, raiding leads to distrust between communities which is a prerequisite of conflict (Mwangi2006). On the other hand, communities use raiding to articulate their hostility toward enemy communities (Eaton 2008). Traditionally, livestock raiding often involved small-scale manageable violence and theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost during periods of droughts or diseases. Loss of human lives was rare, and when this occurred, compensation in the form of livestock was paid to the victims or their families in case of death (Mkutu2008). The Turkana and Pokot pastoralist communities have used raiding and violence to restock herds, expand grazing lands, gain access to water and pasture resources and increase social status for more than 9,000 years (Eaton 2010). However, in recent years, due to the proliferation of modern small arms, commercialization of livestock raiding, dispute over land tenure rights, banditry and predation, the cultural practice has become a widespread, sophisticated, more violent, and destructive activity among pastoral communities in northern Kenya (Mkutu2008). The proliferation of modern automatic weapons is well documented as having had a negative effect on the scale and impact of armed violence in pastoral communities (Mkutu2006). In addition, commercialised livestock raiding in which wealthy businessmen, politicians, traders and local people pursue economic objectives has interfered with pastoral livelihoods and contributed to conflicts among pastoral communities (Eaton 2010).

Although violent conflict is one of the greatest challenges that the Turkana and Pokot pastoralists have to deal with, its influence on pastoral livelihoods in north-western Kenya has not been adequately documented. There have been studies e.g. Kaimba et al. (2011) and Mkutu(2010) to

assess the drivers and mitigation mechanism for the resource-based conflicts in pastoral areas, but it has hardly been possible to analyse the challenges posed by violent conflicts because of the complexity and multidimensional character of the conflicts in the region under study.

This study has provided a useful case to examine in depth factors contributing to livestock rustling, issues and priorities for conflict prevention.

1.2 Problem statement

The Pokot and Turkana communities living along the Turkwel River belt have been involved in cross-boundary livestock rustling for many years with each community stealing livestock from the other. The problem of livestock rustling has also been compounded with other disputes that revolve around ownership of land and resources like water and pasture. The issue of the border between Pokot and Turkana communities along the Turkwell River belt emerged as an emotive issue during the IEBC sittings in January 2012 in the region. The two communities have also been quarreling over water resources on River Turkwell that is highly valued by the two pastoralist communities and lies on the border between the two counties. Each of the two neighbouring communities have always claimed to own the Turkwell belt, which is enriched with plenty of pasture, hence creating conflict that has always led to deaths resulting from protracted attacks. During the IEBC hearings in Turkana County, the Turkana community leaders claimed that the community owns the Turkwell area where the Turkwell Power plant is also located and its employees have been attacked by armed people because of the border dispute.

Over the past twenty years, these pastoralist regions have suffered a series of droughts that have seriously threatened the viability of pastoralism as a way of life (USAID and FEWS NET 2005). Pastoral communities especially in Turkana and West Pokot counties have suffered decades of neglect that have deprived them of the education, infrastructure and other prerequisites to the diversification of other livelihood strategies that are not overtly dependent on natural resources. Internal strife and collapse of state control in these areas have enabled the proliferation of small arms that have drastically increased the intensity and impacts of livestock rustling. The peripheries of the counties are poorly policed and provide safe havens for raiders from

neighboring countries. Frequent raids and counter raids between communities in the region have also seen revenge emerging as a primary motivation for livestock raids over the last 20 years.

Livestock rustling has also visited deep into the emotional and physical status of residents in these areas who have to live with the wounds of terror, torture and rape (Keter and Adan 2005). The destabilization of livelihoods has also altered the interaction between people and the environment, to the detriment of the latter, and on to economic and social development of residents. Livestock rustling has caused social and economic disruptions and an unprecedented loss of livelihoods for hundreds of poor men, women and children in the areas. Affected populations have suffered the loss of means of production, assets, and the means to convert their production to income. In addition, a large percentage of the few resources generated are taken up by the purchase of food. Whatever remains is absorbed by conflict related costs such as security and armament, medical care and education owing to the collapse of state provision of these services.

Of particular interest is the impact of livestock rustling on food security of communities living in area. When animals are stolen, food prices skyrocket, farm and pasturelands are abandoned and communities displaced, hunger and malnutrition especially for the young and the aged becomes a reality.

The impact of livestock rustling as a form of conflict is also a spin off from the two counties as well as other ASAL areas to affect the entire country. The Kenyan government spends a considerable amount of security and overall budgets trying to bring a semblance of order to conflict prone areas. The dilapidating effect of this budget distortion is traceable to all sectors and areas in the country. To achieve sustainable development in these areas, conflicts must be conclusively managed.

It is in the light of the above background that this study sought to establish the effects of livestock rustling on the livelihoods of people living along the Turkwel River in Turkana South and West Pokot Counties. The study also identified and examined the factors contributing to livestock rustling, and discusses issues and priorities for conflict prevention and peace building.

1.3 Research questions

1. What are the major causes and characteristics of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt?
2. In what ways has livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt affected the livelihoods of the pastoralist communities?
3. Which are the mechanisms used in management of livestock rustling in the Turkwel river belt and how effective are they?

1.4 Objectives of the study

Broad objective

The aim of this study was to assess the effect of livestock rustling on the livelihoods of pastoral communities living along the Turkwel River which divides Turkana South and West Pokot Districts.

Specific objectives

1. To identify and examine the causes and extent of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt.
2. To establish the effects of livestock rustling on pastoralist livelihoods of communities in the Turkwel River belt.
3. To identify the conflict resolution mechanisms used in management of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt and their effectiveness.

1.5 Justification of the study

While consensus exists that livestock rustling as a form of conflict has severe and adverse effects on pastoralists and rural communities, there is a dearth of accurate documentation of the extent and precise nature of these effects, and the causes behind them. The extent of damage to livelihoods, the environment, people and entire country demand that these dynamics be properly understood and documented, as the basis for comprehensive and sustainable solutions to violent conflict in Kenya.

Livestock rustling is a major issue of concern among pastoralist communities. The office of the president being the largest and having the largest share of the national budget allocated to security underscores the importance that the government attaches to this problem. The increased

attraction of national resources to this issue indicates that it is a priority area in government and will be important for the government, the ministry of national security and ministry of social services among others.

The results of this study will provide information, alerts, caution and given advice to FBOs, NGOs, the civil society, the government and all other organizations working in Turkana south and West Pokot counties and other pastoralist districts especially in the area of peace and reconciliation so that they can take the necessary precautions to ensure livestock rustling is effectively resolved in the area.

1.6 Scope of the study

This scope of this study is limited to the effects of livestock rustling on the livelihoods of pastoralist communities in the Turkwel River belt alone; hence the findings are not generalized to other districts in the region as such.

This study was done in the Turkwel River belt only and 109 participants from the area participated in the study. The study was limited to identifying causes and extent of livestock rustling, examining effects of livestock rustling and conflict resolution mechanisms used by the pastoralist communities in the Turkwel River belt and not understanding any other aspects or perspectives of conflicts in the area. It was restricted to the last 20 years, a period that has been marked by escalation in incidences and viciousness of violence related to livestock rustling. This restriction is likely to jeopardize the reliability and validity of the data collected as many respondents were not likely to remember and follow correctly on the timing of incidences of conflicts in the study area. However, to place the study topic within the wider context and also shed more light to the topic of livestock rustling, information from other pastoralist communities especially in Kenya and Uganda was elicited in the literature review.

Data was gathered only from respondents living in the area and Key informants through both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The recommendations from the study will be used to offer resolutions of the conflict in Turkwel river belt and not any other area and in bringing further insight on the social, economic and cultural effects of livestock rustling on livelihoods of the communities living in this area.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Financial constraint was a major challenge as the researcher could not hire assistants to assist in the study and come up with good responses. These led to the use of drop and pick later method, and made the researcher have little control over completeness in responses.

Time constraints to the study were the main challenge and hence the researcher was not able to interview all the intended respondents in the villages. This was due to the long distance between the data collection sites. This was dealt with by including exhaustive questions in the tools of data collection, in order to collect as much information as would be required. Due to time constraints, the researcher could not carry out a pilot study as earlier intended, to help in examining and refining the tools of data collection. This posed a great challenge in validity and reliability of the data. To overcome this, same questions were posed to different cohorts of the study. This allowed the check for consistency in the responses. Responses from qualified interview contenders were given more weight in considering the responses as other information were used to consider the reliability.

The Turkwel River belt is part of the Arid and Semi Arid areas in Kenya with some of the highest temperatures in Kenya. This made travelling across the study area difficult, especially during the day. This made the researcher start activities early in the morning, in order to finish early.

Insecurity in the area was also a hindrance factor to data collection in this study. The methodology employed exposed the researcher at risk of encountering hostile cattle rustlers in the course of the study. There are bandits in the region who attack cars and travelers in pursuit of any valuable possessions. Their hostility stood as a risk to the study. At one point a volunteer assistant was attacked by the bandits and lost all his possessions. The risk was reduced by seeking police escort while visiting some of the renowned hostile areas.

Some of the respondents were not willing to share some information; village elders and *laibons*, for instance, were not willing tell the truth about the occurrences of livestock rustling.

1.8 Operational definition of key terms

This section provides simple definitions of key terms as used in the study. The detailed definitions of these concepts will be provided in the literature review.

Livestock rustling is a cultural practice of testing a person's bravery and prowess (Salih 1992). It also refers to the armed attacks by one group of people on another with the purpose of stealing livestock (Markakis 1993). It involves theft of cattle, sheep, goats and camels and is usually accompanied by rape, abductions, torching of houses and food, banditry, clashes over water and pastures and indiscriminate killings.

In the Turkwel River belt livestock rustling is usually characterized by livestock theft, banditry and abductions, indiscriminate killings, proliferation of guns and small arms, and disputes over grazing land and water points.

Livelihoods are the sum of ways in which people make a living. In most communities in low-income countries, poor families balance a set of food and income-earning activities. According to Chambers and Conway (1991) livelihood refers to adequate stocks and flow of food and cash to meet basic needs and to support well being.

Pastoralism is a form of farming which involves animal husbandry and includes the care, tending and use of animals such as camels, goats, cattle, yaks, llamas and sheep. It also contains a mobile element, moving the herds in search of fresh pasture and water. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/pastoralism>)

Pastoral livelihoods depend on both accesses to assets, such as pasture, water, animal health services, markets, credit and education, as well as the environment where these assets are combined for production and consumption purposes, namely political, organisational and institutional infrastructure. The most important asset that determine pastoral livelihoods are their livestock, because livestock perform a multifunctional role combining economic, social and ecological needs. The main functions of livestock production in pastoral households are to provide subsistence products (milk, blood, meat), to meet social obligations (bride price, stock alliances, stock patronages) and to ensure against disaster (drought, epidemics, raids). Additionally social capital is relevant because regarding the exposition to regularly returning

droughts networks to diversify the risk are fundamental assets. In addition, human capital in terms of available labour for herding and related tasks and physical capital such as marketing infrastructure and access to services such as animal health, human health, education and communication contribute to the livelihood outcomes.

In the Turkwel River region, locals derive their livelihoods majorly from livestock. This has been negatively affected by livestock rustling leading to food insecurity, environmental degradation, loss of property and lives, displacement of large sections of the population and pressure on land/congestion which has led to increased spread of HIV/Aids among other effects.

A conflict resolution mechanism refers to the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution.

1.9 Variable specification

This study assessed the effect of livestock rustling on livelihoods in the Turkwel River belt which lies at the neighborhood of West Pokot and Turkana south districts. The independent variable is livestock rustling in The Turkwel River belt while the dependent variable is livelihoods of pastoralists in the Turkwel River belt. The indicators for each of the variables are shown below.

Table 1: Variable Specification

Variable	Indicators
<p>Independent variable Livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conflict in the area due to livestock rustling 2. Frequency of livestock rustling 3. Extent of livestock rustling in the area 4. Causes of livestock rustling 5. Livestock rustling/conflict related deaths and destruction of property 6. Longevity of livestock rustling
<p>Dependent variable Effect /impact on Livelihoods of pastoralists in the Turkwel River belt</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education levels/illiteracy 2. Main Community livelihood activities e.g. business, agriculture, herding of livestock 3. Immigration and internal displacements 4. Intolerance between communities 5. Conflict related deaths and destruction of property 6. Food insecurity and poverty 7. High number of people contracting HIV/Aids 8. Environmental degradation 9. Water shortages and poor sanitation 10. Incidences of human rights abuse, sexual assault and rape

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at previous studies done by researchers that are related to the topic of study. It also discusses various theories related to the topic. This is followed by the conceptual framework, which precedes a summary to this chapter.

2.2. Overview of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt

Turkana-Pokot conflicts are complex and take different forms including some of the following: conflict over land and water; conflict over livestock/commercialized raids; conflict over the district boundary; road thuggery and banditry; conflict over the perceived increased NGOs interventions and paybacks/Reverages.

Livestock rustling is an old practice among the cattle rearing communities in Kenya. However, in post-modern Kenya, cattle rustling has transformed from being a customary means of livestock restocking where traditional weapon such as bows, arrows and spears were used to a commercial practice where sophisticated weaponry is used. 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 Mark4, German Riffle 3, Alexander Klashikov47, grenades and mortars (Mwaura 2005).

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 centres where they are slaughtered and sold as beef. Only in rare cases the cattle are used to restock a community whose resources got depleted. This new development has made cattle rustling a very profitable business, leading to it commercialization. (Mburu, 2002).

Incidents of police and other security personnel dying at the hands of rustlers during security operations are not new in Turkana and West Pokot, where the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has been going on unabated. The raiders have been acquiring the firearms to protect themselves and their livestock. Hendrickson, Armon and Mearns (1998) in their analysis of livestock raiding among the pastoral communities of Kenya argue that the long-persisting and erroneous conception of famine among the pastoral communities in Kenya as an essentially drought-driven-event has given way to growing recognition today of the key role which livestock raiding plays in the breakdown of coping strategies. However, this article argues that the phenomenon of cattle raids *per se* is not the problem. Rather it is the fashion in which raiding has been transformed over the years; from a cultural practice with important livelihood enhancing functions, into more predatory forms driven by an economic logic and modern forms of violence, which attributed to destruction of pastoral livelihoods and the environment, death and the breakdown of the social infrastructure just to mention a few.

2.3. Types of livestock raiding in the Turkwel River region

The Turkana and Pokot ethnic communities have been on a conflicting path for so many decades that many people fail to recall a year when they went without raiding and conflicts. In both communities, the majority of chiefs, elders, women, pastoralists, youth and raiders state that the conflict with the other group has escalated in recent years. This is in line with other studies which have reported an increased conflict between the Turkana and the Pokot as well as other communities in north-western Kenya (Mkutu2008, UNDP 2011). These studies show that the majority of people going for raids are male youth and younger men mostly below the age of 30. Based on these studies, three types of livestock raids can be identified according to the number of participating raiders. First, in highly organized *mass raids* several hundreds to even thousands of raiders attack a neighbouring community. Second, in *adakar* (cluster of often related families that pursue similar socio-economic activities including grazing management) raids, several dozens and occasionally up to a few hundred raiders from nearby villages come together to raid one village or *kraal* of a rivaling community. The third type of raids is the smallest with mostly a handful to less than 15 participating raiders. The targets of the later raids

are usually small, unprotected *kraals* or a group of animals which is only accompanied by one pastoralist or herd boy.

Several studies suggest that there has been a shift from mass and adakar raids to smaller but more frequent raids. This perception is reflected in the data as the average number of raiders per raid in Turkana decreased from 48 raiders in 2006 to 28 raiders in 2009 (TUPADO 2011). The shift is likely to be the result of two developments: (1) improved communication infrastructure which reduces the attractiveness of mid- and larger-sized raids and (2) commercialization which increases the attractiveness of smaller raids. The improved coverage of mobile phone networks, especially in Pokot, significantly increases the chances of the targeted community and administrative authorities to notice and prepare for the planned raid. This in turn decreases the motivation of raiders to participate in a raid as the risk of getting shot by the targeted community or arrested by the administrative authorities is increased. Additionally, the required capability of mid- and larger-sized raids is high. Not only does a community have to organize and coordinate a larger number of participants, it also has to know where and when a significant herd can be found and attacked. Smaller raids, in contrast, require a shorter organization period and hence attract less attention. Here, the risk of getting arrested is smaller. The motivation of raiders to engage in smaller raids is further increased by the development of commercialization. Krätli and Swift (2003) define commercialization as “an aspect of the wider integration of pastoralists within a market economy” This form of raiding is undertaken with the explicit intention of selling livestock for immediate profit instead of restocking own herds (Mkutu2010). Commercialized raiding is facilitated by improved access to markets, rising demand for meat as part of strong growth of urban populations and improved road infrastructure reaching pastoral regions (Eaton 2010).

2.4.Factors contributing to livestock rustling

The pattern of conflict in the North Rift and North Eastern regions are complex. There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict involving pastoralists, and these have tended to become mutually reinforcing.

Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as raiding and cattle rustling have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture. However, such traditional conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable. The major causes of conflict among the pastoralist includes but is not limited to intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, land issues, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth (ITDG EA 2005).

Keter and Adan (2005) in their study on competition over access and control of scarce natural resources, underlie that most of the conflicts in arid and semi arid areas in Eastern Africa revolve around natural resources. Conflicts are therefore many in areas that have water and pasture as communities in the neighborhood jostle over usage and ownership rights, making such areas hot spots for violence. These resource conflicts have over the years been aggravated by climatic changes occasioned by more frequent and regular droughts and reduced water access especially in arid cross borders of Eastern Africa. Herders driven out of their range lands by droughts have more often than not invaded private farmlands and ranches in search of grazing resources resulting to tension and violent conflicts.

Conflicts in many areas have been compounded by a succession of poorly designed policies on matters affecting pastoralists. This has destabilized the livelihoods of these communities, mainly nomadism, and failing to provide alternatives to these communities for self sustenance. Indirect goal of sedentralising pastoral communities as a way of modernizing them as perpetuated by successful colonial and post colonial administrations in east Africa has only served to marginalize them further, in the process shutting them out of important decision making and policy formulation and implementation processes (Ibid).

Livestock rustling has been commercialized in the recent past. Cases of well organized raiding missions to gather spoils for the market have been reported in Turkana, Marakwet, WestPokot and Samburu districts. It has been alleged that wealthy individuals are actively involved in

organizing cattle raids, the proceeds of which they purchase for sale at various livestock markets. This study analyzed the factors that contribute to violent conflicts in Kainuk Division.

2.5. Pastoral livelihoods in Kenya

Kenya's National Poverty Eradication Plan, 1999-2015, highlights that the highest incidence of poverty and destitution occurs in districts in Northern Kenya where the poor account for 80% of the population (Khadiagala 2004). Most economic and social indices indicate that the people of the Northern Kenya are worse off than the rest of the country. In Turkana County for example, an estimated 62% of the population live below the monetary poverty line for rural Kenya of 1239 Kes per month. The poverty gap, a measurement of the depth of poverty, is 26% for Turkana County, one of the highest percentages in Kenya (CBS 2003).

Nomadic pastoralism is the main food production system and livelihood base for people living in arid areas unsuited for crop cultivation. In Africa, pastoralism is practiced in arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) that are considered to be of too low potential for other forms of agriculture. Africa is home to about 50% of the estimated 30-40 million pastoralists worldwide (Sandford, 1983), despite the perceived low potential of ASAL areas, they account for 59% of all domesticated ruminants in Africa (Scoones, 1995).

About 70% of land in Kenya is designated as arid or semi-arid (ASAL) supporting an estimated 25% (7.5million) of Kenya's population who are pastoralist and producing 80% of the country's meat. Additionally, livestock production currently accounts for 40% of agriculture's contribution to the GDP; mainly from pastoralism (Kodhek, 1999). In spite of this enormous contribution to the national economy, many development practitioners and programs have criticized pastoralists' nomadic lifestyles as being retrogressive and in conflict with modern development thinking. The main critiques were based on the perception that pastoral communities were responsible for the rapid deterioration of their natural resource base. However, beginning the late 1970s and 1980s, there was a shift in the perception of pastoralism and its relation to natural resource deterioration in ASAL areas. There emerged a realization that environmental problems in ASAL were not caused by pastoralist but reflected problems in the environment itself.

According to Keter and Adan (2005) in their study of the impacts of HIV/Aids among pastoralist communities in East Africa, drought and other shocks such as theft and livestock diseases rather than pastoral lifestyles were seen as the main determinants of conflicts. Research into pastoral stocking systems also began to recognize the appropriateness of the nomadic livelihood and its ability to support food production systems in a fragile ecosystem. Traditional resource management systems developed by pastoralist themselves started gaining appreciation among the development world. Communal decision making systems were found to be successful in ensuring judicious use of pasture. Livestock movement patterns revealed that movement of livestock over vast rangelands was part of well-developed range management that included reciprocal arrangements with neighboring communities. It became clear pastoral communities had developed rotational grazing systems that allowed pasture to regenerate, between usage periods. This intricate resource management system had allowed pastoral communities to survive and prosper in agro-hostile regions areas.

Further, the authors note that the sequence of demarcation, privatization of land and sedentarization devastated the natural resource management systems of pastoralist communities while offering them little in return. Designed to avail pastoralists with land tenure and access to services, group ranches have failed to deliver on both counts. Pastoralist have been unable to access financing from banks as the latter are wary of entering into contracts with a large group of people who hold the title. This is applies mainly to the Maasai community, which has most of its lands under group ranches. Other communities have been unable to access bank finance as land is held communally, with no cadastral surveys or titles. Group ranches have also been unable to serve as focal points for the provision of services such as schools, medical care and veterinary services, mainly because of lack of capacity and action by the government. This has served to economically marginalize the pastoralist, aggravated by the presence of commercial ranches with access to technical and finance resources that enable them to manage rangelands and earn a sizable return on the land. All these have forced pastoralist to adopt new coping strategies, including stocking large numbers of hardier, disease resistant stock (goats and sheep) which can move over large distances in search of water and pasture. Small stocks also recover faster after devastation by disease and drought. Pastoralists have also diversified the range of stock kept to include cattle, sheep, goats, and camels ó where these were not kept traditionally to ensure better

fodder utilization as all these animals utilize different fodder categories. For instance, sheep and cattle graze on grass on the ground whilst goats and camels browse on shrubs and tree leaves. They also rely on livestock theft also termed as rustling, as a major way of replenishing their herds and recover from drought shocks.

Most analysis cites conflict and insecurity as the major reason for chronic underdevelopment. There is no doubt that conflict undermines resource effectiveness or that development will only be possible once security is established. That said, there is a long history of social, political and economic marginalization from the central authority that underpins the poverty and insecurity in northern Kenya.

At a macro- level, the state has been reluctant to engage with pastoral economy and livelihoods. State led development interventions in pastoral regions have historically been in direct conflict with the pastoral way of life. Pastoral livelihoods have often been regarded as primitive and unproductive. It is only recently that the Kenyan government has moved away from overt attempts at settling pastoralist communities.

The history of marginalization was reflected in the interim PRSP in Kenya (2000-2003), which failed to reflect the priorities of pastoral communities. As a result, a Pastoralist Thematic Group (PTG) was created to develop thinking on poverty reduction in pastoral regions in Kenya which is highest among pastoralist households at 60%,(GOK, 2000).

According to Lind (2004), economic disparity in Turkana district can be attributed to years of marginalization of pastoralist areas and chronic underinvestment. Pastoralism as a source of livelihoods had been under threat from longer term processes such as the privatization of land. However, there is no doubt that armed violence, especially in the last two decades have accelerated these trends of impoverishment and is now more devastating than the periods of drought.

At a micro-level, the intensification of violent conflicts as a result of development programmes and policies, or their absence or ineffectiveness has in many cases, skewed access to natural

resources, accentuated existing levels of competition and concentrated resource degradation within particular areas.

According to a report by Practical Action (2004), violent cattle rustling /thefts by organized groups, politically instigated land clashes, as well as banditry have greatly impaired strategies to generate livelihoods under dry and fluctuating climatic conditions. These conflicts, which have been widely described as scramble for scarce natural resource, mainly involves pastoralists communities themselves or with agrarian settled farmers who border pastoralists. Initially in the early 1990's, poverty, drought, diminishing resource base against a background of increasing population and lack of health and schooling facilities were cited as key fundamental problems facing ASAL and rural communities in Kenya and Karamoja region in Uganda. The Southern Sudan and Ethiopia cases were thought to be worse (Ibid: 4). However, the past 15 years has seen escalating conflict mainly to steal livestock and sometimes for revenge, which has become one of the most serious problems facing these communities and the regional governments. Conflict has caused major socio-economic disruption and unprecedented loss of livelihoods for hundreds of thousands of poor men, women and children. Affected populations have suffered the loss of means of production such as livestock keeping and subsistence farming, household assets and other investments.

The report further asserts that majority of the population have been constrained to develop their livelihoods because they have been unable to invest in livestock keeping, crop farming, infrastructure, education and have lost productive and energetic members of the society. They have had to divert household expenditure to non-productive expenses such as additional health care, food purchase and replacement of disrepair or lost assets. On matters concerning food security, conflict makes agricultural production in ASAL areas in Kenya and outlying border areas (including livestock keeping) difficult through loss of manpower, destruction of land/grazing areas, being hindrance to extension services and disrupting agricultural inputs supply systems

According to Kamenju et al (2003), thousands of hectares of farmlands are abandoned or left fallow during conflict as people flee to safe areas. A good example here to refer is farmlands in

Kerio Valley which have been abandoned by Marakwet, Turkana and Pokot communities as a result of cattle related conflicts between these communities. This has inhibited food supplies, thereby leading to malnutrition and a superficial food deficit.

At national levels, the regional governments have had to spend more on the military, and therefore by implication, less on investments for development. As a case in point, the Ugandan economy has suffered through reduced ability to attract external investments and inability to take advantage of opportunities such as expansion of the tourism sector. A reduced taxation base as a result of conflict has also affected government revenues.

Conflict in Northern Uganda is costing the Ugandan economy at least \$100 million every year, according to research conducted by civil society organizations (Practical Action 2004).

Research commissioned by the coalition of more than 40 local and international non-governmental organizations known as Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU) has shown that the persistent conflict in the North has constrained economic and social development across the whole of Uganda. CSOPNU found that the conflict has cost at least US\$1.33 billion over the last 16 years - representing about 3% of Uganda's GDP over the period (USAID and FEWS NET 2005).

The human toll has also been profound and is very difficult to quantify. A generation of conflict affected youngsters will grow up emotionally, physically and economically blighted in displacement camps due to this conflict. According to UNDP (2002), the social indicators in many countries that have experienced lengthy civil wars were very poor prior to the armed conflict, induced destruction and poverty cause further decline in production. Thus, many post conflict countries record abysmal rates of infant mortality, illiteracy malnutrition and access to clean water and sanitation facilities, school enrolment, and so on. A substantial number of countries in the bottom 40 per cent of human development index (UNDP 2002) owe their ranking in no small measure to the effects of war and conflict. The baseline of this phenomenon is that to achieve sustainable development in ASAL areas of East Africa, conflict management has become increasingly important and the priority of the region. All efforts must be expended towards resolving these conflicts in a more humane and peaceful way.

2.6 Effects of livestock rustling on pastoral livelihoods

Violent conflicts in Kenya have had very negative and severe impacts on the communities that are involved in these conflicts. Ruto and Adan (2003) in their assessment of the social and economic impact of conflict on pastoral and semi-pastoral economies in Kenya and Uganda highlighted several consequences of violent conflicts, including loss of human life, property, displacements of large segments of the communities, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, increased hatred between communities, HIV and Aids, environmental degradation and threat to water catchments areas, increased economic hardships as a result of loss of livelihoods, high levels of starvation and malnutrition among the displaced groups and unprecedented dependency syndrome on relief food are some of the main negative impacts of the increasing and severe inter-ethnic armed conflicts in northern Kenya.

According to Kamenju et al (2003), in Kerio valley, West Pokot district, the gun culture has impacted very negatively on the pastoral communities living there. Education standards, where they existed, have generally gone down as more and more schools are abandoned due to insecurity. More and more professionals have deserted this region, drawing back any progress previously achieved in agriculture, education and local administration. Arable land e.g. the fertile Kerio Valley has been abandoned and no grazing or farming has taken place, especially among the Marakwet, Turkana and Pokot. More community resources than ever before are channeled to security-related matters such as purchase of guns and ammunition at the expense of food, education and health.

In their focus on the internally displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya, Ruto and Adan (2003) observe that pastoralists are some of the most marginalized people in Kenya, often having virtually no say over the changes that are impacting on their lives. Pastoralists derive their livelihoods mainly from natural resources of pasture, water, natural vegetation and livestock. However, reduced access to these resources in particular land and water, has increasingly put pastoralists under intense pressure. As a result, they are increasingly finding themselves fighting for their survival.

According to (Mburu 2002), physical boundaries cutting across traditional migratory routes and wars in neighboring countries continually bring increased problems in accessing traditional grazing resources. Weapons entering Kenya from neighboring war torn countries are making raids increasingly dangerous and sophisticated. In addition to the traditional raiding, raiding in the region has now taken an economic and political perspective. There are serious allegations that the economically powerful people are funding livestock thefts and politicians are encouraging conflicts to flush out would be supporters of political opponents from their political turfs. The above factors have complicated and compounded the whole conflict management process especially when remoteness and the nomadic nature of the pastoralists are taken into account. With this kind of scenario, the positive impacts made by development agencies in these areas are being affected negatively. Unless conflicts are managed properly, development and pastoral livelihoods will continue to deteriorate.

Furthermore, livestock rustling affects development and provision of essential services in pastoralists' areas through disruption of the communities' livelihood systems by restricting access to natural resources and marketing systems. Conflict encourages the spread of diseases through raiding of infected animals (sometimes). This is in addition to loss of livestock that is the main source of livelihood for the pastoralists (Ruto and Adan 2003).

Livestock rustling leads to the destruction of social amenities already put in place e.g. the education system is affected when teachers are forced to withdraw from conflict stricken areas and the communities relocate their settlements for fear of being invaded. Education for children and the youth is affected and interrupted both in the short and long run. Raiding also acts as a disincentive to investment by the communities and development agencies, both in the long term and short term. At the local level a lot of effort and funds go to contain raids and to mitigate against conflict related effects rather than being channeled towards development work. Moreover, by introducing violence as a way of achieving livelihoods, it becomes ingrained as a way of solving problems and the vicious cycle continues.

Furthermore, there is disruption of normal migratory patterns leading to the unsustainable utilization of natural resources as livestock tends to be concentrated in secure areas resulting to environmental degradation. Well watered areas with good pasture are avoided due to insecurity. The authoritarian approach to conflict resolution without understanding the real causes and disregarding the traditional methods of conflict resolution lead to escalation of the problem rather than reduction.

Livestock rustling has led to serious environmental degradation and real threat to water catchments areas in Turkana and West Pokot districts. In the attempt to find alternative livelihood after conflict induced displacements, the displaced and other conflict victims have cut down trees for charcoal and firewood for sale. This has seriously affected the fragile ecology of the pastoralist areas in Kenya. On the other hand, informal displacement camps established in various places have put high pressure on water sources, leading to high water shortage.

Within the area under focus in this study, livestock rustling has increased economic hardships as pastoralism which is the only livelihoods option for the people in the area, has been ravaged. Cattle have been raided away thereby increasing vulnerability of the resource poor pastoralists to hunger, malnutrition and abject poverty. Food, crops, cash money and property are looted during the raids. Schools, health facilities and settlements are destroyed (Keter and Adan 2005). A large number of human lives and animals are lost during raids masterminded by opposing tribes/clans. The result is the creation of a community of destitute people that end up in settlement centers to depend on relief food.

According to Mburu (2002), small and light weapons proliferation has made traditional raiding a commercial venture, more deadly and severe. Small arms including automatic and semi automatic weapons have become widely available and are increasingly used in the pastoralists' districts. These weapons have come from a variety of sources including conflict prone neighboring countries-Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and northern Uganda.

There is inadequate policing of pastoralist areas as both national and district police and security forces are either unable or unwilling to confront cattle rustlers who are more often than not struck with impunity. States obligation and duty to provide security to her citizens is

conspicuously under siege in Turkana and West Pokot districts (Keter and Adan 2005). This has greatly contributed to the spiraling gun culture, self defense and retaliation missions. The state arming of local vigilante groups, popularly known as home guards in response to security problems has exacerbated the cattle rustling conflict rather than ease the situation. Legal state arms issued to these groups have been used in criminal activities including cattle raiding.

Adequate arrangements to enhance communities' resilience to cope with severe droughts and other disasters have not been undertaken in Turkana South and West Pokot districts (*Ibid*). During droughts, pastoralists' livelihoods become particularly precarious. There are worrying incidences of conflict over scarce water and pastures during dry spells, which could last for as long as eight months. Economic insecurity and deprivation during drought has increased the risk of violence and social breakdown. There is also a serious food shortage among many pastoralists' communities. Those hard hit are the displaced and are living in displacement camps. Women and children are the ones who seriously bear the brunt of these forms of violence. Many of them go without food for days. They depend on wild fruits which are scarce and seasonal. Cases of malnutrition are rampant in these conflict prone districts as the community's traditional diet consisting of meat, milk and blood becomes increasingly unavailable resulting to starvation in the area. Human deaths are a major and highly visible impact of livestock rustling. In addition, many people have been displaced by the raids in these districts. A segment of the population has been completely cut off from their livelihood options and made vulnerable to a number of calamities such as diseases (Ruto and Adan 2003).

According to USAID and FEWS NET report (2005), conflict has a strong bearing on the food security status of a region. Food reserves in many households can rapidly deplete because they are either burnt or stolen. Raiders have a tendency to take food and household property if they don't get livestock or if hunger is very severe. The deprivation of both food and livestock expose more families to hunger. An atmosphere of widespread insecurity caused by livestock rustling disrupts most economic activities of the communities. For example, gardens can neither be cultivated nor harvested. Raiding also prevent people from hunting and gathering natural foods like wild fruits, vegetables and honey.

The delivery of social services has been greatly affected by livestock rustling. Many schools have been closed along the Turkwell River belt and the free primary education programme that is being implemented by the government is greatly affected. The adult learning programme that was established by the department of adult education and other various stakeholders in the division has also had its challenges. In the same vein, many health facilities have been affected by raids in the study area. Many have been closed down whereas essential medicines and facilities have run out in others.

Trade and commerce have also been adversely affected by livestock theft. The commercialization of cattle rustling has led to intermittent closures of major livestock markets as security officials try to curtail commercial rustling.

Food production along the Turkwel River belt has taken a heavy beating from livestock rustling. When conflicts force farmers to flee their farms, large swathes of farmland are left bare leading to a drop in crop production. Over the last ten years, many acres of land have been left bare due to livestock rustling and this has translated into food insecurity.

Livestock producers have incurred loss of animals to diseases as veterinary services collapse. Insecurity also forces herders to congregate animals in safe areas, providing an opportunity for disease pandemics. More importantly, livestock rustling also forces pastoral communities to flee high potential grazing lands, which are often scenes of clashes over pasture and water. This causes massive losses owing to starvation of livestock and hence lower production.

2.7.Livestock rustling and poverty

Although livestock rustling and poverty influence each other, livestock raiding is one of the major causes of the poverty prevalent in the study area. Raids within the area are reportedly responsible for the pastoralists under development. The unrelenting skirmishes are blamed for the displacements of whole settlements and for destitution in the region. In Todonyang village (Lapur division, Turkana District) for instance, frequent raids from neighboring Dassenech of Ethiopia forced the relocation of the entire village to Lowarengak, twenty-three kilometers away (USAID and FEWS NET 2005). Poverty and destitution is visible in the kind of livelihood activities undertaken by the newly displaced. These activities include small scale farming,

basketry, and small scale retail trade. In such areas, pastoralism as a livelihood activity is itself threatened since very few pastoralists are willing to take up the activity again because of lack of initial capital and the prevailing insecurity.

Due to drought and endemic conflicts, the number of livestock and the wealth possessed by pastoralists have significantly declined. If the traditional criteria for riches, i.e. possessing many livestock, wives, children/dependents and food granaries were to be used, as in the past, very few pastoralists would now pass the test. Poverty, exacerbated by raiding, is increasingly becoming the main source of vulnerability among many pastoralists. Strong sentiments of deprivation and neglect by government are a fertile ground for ethnic clashes and inter-communal violence (*Ibid*). Lack of employment opportunities to absorb victims of fatal livestock raiding, especially the youth, has also been cited as a cause of sustained conflict in the region. A lack of alternative livelihoods prompts the frustrated groups to revert to raiding, thus perpetuating inter-ethnic violence. In desperation and in order to survive, destitute pastoralists target livestock of other clans or tribes.

While poverty has most often been cited as a catalyst of livestock raiding, it has also been said that conflicts often worsen poverty and deprivation and lead to cyclical hostilities.

2.8.Socio-cultural aspects of livestock rustling

The socio-cultural set up of pastoralists provides fertile ground for the breeding of relentless raids. The numerous social and cultural traits which are cherished by the society turn out to be support pillars for wrangles over livestock. Conflict may endure as long as these characteristics stay but can subside if these aspects of society yield to change.

According to Kenya Television Network (KTN) breaking news on the 25th of July 2007, permission of polygamous marriages paid out with a high dowry compels the youth to raid their neighbors to acquire the animals needed to enable them wed. The only source of livestock for marrying many wives is livestock rustling. Young men without cows are obliged to raid to be able to marry a wife and have children to name. Marriage and participation in livestock raiding determine the place of an individual in the society. These two conditions are measures of

warrior-hood. To enjoy this recognition, many young men look for livestock to raid (USAID and FEWS NET 2005).

Mburu (2002) asserts that the art of tattooing, which portrays one as a raiding maestro, exacerbates the unrelenting desire to kill those branded as enemies. Tattooing is an element of the quest of heroism and *õpet-namingö*. Pet names are associated with having big bulls and killing enemies. Special warrior names distinguish one from the rest of the men in the society. Constant reference and praise of heroes in meetings and cultural festivals encourages others to engage in raiding and in other acts of lawlessness as a way of emulating or surpassing the prowess of heroes. In Turkana district raiding has traditionally been part of the ritual process by which young men proved they were ready for manhood (Mkutu, 2003). In addition, the status of a warrior is determined once a man has killed his first enemy ó an event he will mark by notching a scar on his right shoulder or chest (Pkalya et al, 2003:15)

Among many pastoralist communities and especially the Turkana and Pokot people, youths are generally entrusted with implementation of the decisions of the elders and the security of the community. Extensively encouraged by a composition of anecdotes and proverbs, music, dance and drama, the youth execute this task at whatever cost. Inevitably, this provokes counter revenge from the opponent party. Among the pastoralists, men are considered to be the breadwinners for their families. In times of scarcity, men must replenish food supplies through any means, including raiding. Raiding is in fact considered by the society as the first option. Livestock rustling is believed to be the most direct way to wealth accumulation because livestock occupies such a central place among pastoralists. Social status being determined by the number of livestock in one's possession, those without cattle are rebuked as poor and enthused to raid other clans to overcome their condition. Rites of passage/ initiation ceremonies that graduate a youth into an elder of a special age set are an entitlement to all men, but they are only possible for those who have cattle. The need to go through this rite encourages those without cattle to go raiding to get cattle to undergo it. Without that ceremony, one becomes a laughing stock in the community. Every successful raid is accompanied by a traditional ceremony of "*Lokwa*" (Bull killed by the youth for the elders as a thanksgiving, for further blessings and for success in upcoming raids).

2.9. Responses to livestock rustling

The role of the State

Conflict in pastoral areas is often associated with their marginal location and weak state penetration. Pastoralists are seen as not only physically distant and occupying peripheral areas, but also politically and culturally marginal. Their presumed distance from modern institutions and from the controlling action of the state is often accepted as a self evident explanation for widespread violence. Many pastoral communities agree that the prime responsibility of the government, apart from being a facilitator of development is to provide security to its citizens.

This includes the provision of security personnel and material as well as opening up security outposts within insecure pastoral lands.

It is viewed that government commitment to this last responsibility has been weak given the poor manning or even closure of some outposts. Rapid response initiatives by the governments are also viewed as wanting as they come usually late and do not entirely address the longer term security needs of pastoral communities (USAID and FEWS NET 2005).

According to Mwaura (2005), several shortcomings have characterized previous government responses to insecurity in pastoral areas in Kenya including the following:

Lack of response: frequently, there have been no response for normal killing and raiding; a certain level of inter-clan or inter-ethnic killing among pastoralists was often considered usual and acceptable in the past. However killings of women and children were prohibited. Today, different communities kill without discrimination during the raids. In many cases, the police are unwilling or unable to assist the communities or even bring the culprits to book.

Delayed response: district administrators have complained that they lack sufficient resources such as fuel and night out allowances to send timely responses.

Indiscriminate force: numerous cases where indiscriminate force was deployed in notorious army or police operations tended to effect collective punishment rather than apprehending culprits of raiding. Such responses rarely bring lasting results in terms of ending the ongoing cycle of conflict.

Ineffective formal justice: where perpetrators of raiding, murder or banditry were processed through the formal state justice system, there have been countless cases of individuals escaping justice through bribery.

Lack of motivation: security personnel have often lacked motivation for stemming up inter clan or inter-ethnic fighting.

The role of Civil Society

According to USAID and FEWS NET (2005), civil society interventions in peace building began in earnest only in recent years. Before then, matters of security and conflict resolution were mainly viewed as a government domain as the state moved to exert its power through military purges of the ðerrantö communities. With time however, it became apparent that peace building and the resolution of conflicts was not just a matter of maintaining law and order but that it had a socio-economic dimension to it in view of altered livelihoods, displacements, and the wanton loss of lives and property. This realization is what led governments to start tolerating civil society interventions which at first began with religious institutions.

Civil society organizations in the pastoralist districts dwell mostly on facilitating and conducting peace dialogue meetings between communities as well as on advocacy for pastoralist issues intended for the national and regional platform. Other interventions currently being undertaken by the civil society include conflict early warning and the recovery and return of stolen livestock.

Role of community and community structures in conflict dynamics

As Turkana and Pokot raiders are part of the respective community, their decision on whether to raid or not is influenced by other community members, particularly elders, women and chiefs. However, their role in raiding is ambivalent. In the short term, the community usually gets a share of the acquired livestock, especially after a successful *adakaror* mass raid. In the long run, however, the community suffers from the negative effects of the conflict.

Every community should be largely responsible for its own peace. As discussed above, traditional authority and power among many pastoralist communities still rests with the elders to

some extent. They make decisions and pass judgment on issues such as forming relationships with other groups and declaring war. During wartime, the elders furnish the raiders with blessings. The elders sometimes encourage conflict when they accept rewards or bribes from the youth. Though they encourage youth to participate in livestock raiding, the elders are very instrumental at advocating for peace, recovery of stolen livestock, and compensation of innocent people murdered. Elders usually negotiate for peace, settle internal disputes and are willing to act as emissaries of peace with other groups. However, their influence over livestock raiding and peace building is sometimes compromised when they are given part of the lootings by the youth.

Women and conflict

Conflict among pastoralist is indiscriminate and affects all people. Women and children are generally the most affected because they are vulnerable and defenseless, they aren't in a position to feed themselves, they can lose loved ones (spouses, parents and sons), and they are easily made homeless and turned into refugees. The pastoralist's women play a significant role in the conflict environment both negatively and positively.

2.10. Theoretical framework

2.10.1. Conflict theory:

Karl Marx's view

Karl Marx is considered as the father of conflict theory. He produced a formal theory of conflict and change. His early theory of conflict and change was further developed into the modern contemporary sociological theory. Marx began with simplistic assumption that the economic organization especially the ownership of property determines the organization of the rest of the society. Class structure, institutional arrangement, cultural values, beliefs, religious dogmas etc are ultimate reflection of the economic base of society. Marx observed that class conflict is dialectical (Logical argument resolve opposing views). According to Turner (1989:186) conflict is bipolar (having two extremes). When the exploited class becomes aware of their true interest, they form a revolutionary political organization and that stands against the dominant and property and property owning class.

There are many varieties of conflict perspectives within sociology. All conflict perspectives have a model of society as a whole and the notion that there are groups in society that have different interests and pursuance of different interests is likely to cause clashes that are likely to produce instability in society. Conflict theorists tend to agree that the existence of groups with different interests does not mean they will be in conflict all the time. There may be periods of truce, however periods of harmony do not last forever and eventually conflict will return.

These observations of conflict theorists are true of pastoral conflicts that occur as a result of livestock rustling since they do not last for too long as Musambanyi (1998:24) observes. "Livestock rustling is an established practice which used to be governed by community understood rules that prevented excessive violence. Sometimes elders would negotiate a truce and return of some of the livestock".

Lockwood (1956: 134-146) observed that in society there are mechanisms that make conflicts inevitable and inexorable. These include power differentials, which ensure that some groups will

exploit others thereby constituting a built in source of tension and conflict in society. Existence of scarce resource and competitive pursuance of different goals ensures that conflicts will ensue.

The observations are valid because the mighty power of colonialists saw the drawing up of ethnic and national boundaries as well as restrictions of livestock movement. This use of greater power affected the transhumance already mastered by pastoralists. Moreover, the pressure resulting from colonial boundaries has perpetuated during the post colonial period as is evident with the intra ethnic and cross border conflicts in Northern Kenya as Odegi (1992) observes.

In Karl Marx's view, conflict is inevitable, inescapable and ubiquitous force in social system and is cultivated under certain specific conditions. Some of these conditions are viewed as allowing for the transformation of latent class interests (lying in a state of false consciousness) into manifest class interests (class consciousness), which under additional conditions lead to the polarization of society with classes joined in conflict. Classes are determined on the basis of individuals' relation to the means of production. The distribution of resources or property determines the extent of the conflict between the dominant and the subordinates in the society (Abraham 1993:67). Marx emphasizes that the degree of inequality in resource distribution influences conflict. The more the subordinates become aware of their true interests, the more they question the social arrangements and legitimacy of those in power. They communicate to one another, raise awareness and develop capacity to build a unifying ideology that codifies their true interests.

Marx further says that factors such as ecological concentration or environmental difficulties, lack of educational facilities, emergence of ideological spokesperson that also control socialization process greatly contribute towards conflicts. This observation gives a true picture of the pastoralist situation in Kenya where in the face of recurrent conflicts, communities feel deprived, alienated and forgotten. These feelings unify and strengthen their "we" feeling that further contributes to the intensification of conflicts. The lack of access to basic infrastructure such as education, water, transport, health facilities, proper housing, electricity, animal health and good business systems among others coupled with the ecological hardships in these areas greatly distort many peace efforts and conflict resolution mechanisms organized by different

stakeholders making the achievement of long term peace and sustainable development a dream that might never come true.

Over the past 15 years, conflicts in the pastoral districts have had disastrous effects on the already delicate livelihoods of communities living in these areas. Conflict is a vicious circle that has revisited deep wounds on the communities socially, politically and economically. In responding to their problems, many communities have attempted various mechanisms like dialogues, truce and peace committees to resolve their conflicts. Various NGOs, CBOs and FBOs have tried to identify with the pastoralist groups and in helping them to patch up their differences. There have been instances where these attempts have worked well but in majority of cases, things have gone sour and conflict has superseded the development and wellbeing of these communities. This study aims at assessing the impacts of conflicts on the livelihoods of pastoral communities. It is expected that the findings of the study will provide a better understanding of pastoral conflicts and help in informing the community members, government and other stakeholders working towards conflict resolution.

Randall Collins' View-Analytical conflict theory

According to Abraham (1993:133), Randall Collins has undertaken the most thoroughgoing analysis of modern complex organizations and other social arrangements. He draws heavily from Marx, Max Weber, Durkheim, Mead, Schultz and Goffman. He also incorporates the perspectives of symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology and phenomenology.

Collins sees human beings as "sociable but conflict prone animals". The primary basis of conflict is violent coercion which is always a potential resource and a zero-sum sort. Like many of the other conflict theorists, Collins argues that in every society, there is a differential distribution of desirables such as wealth, power, prestige and other valuable goods. The system of inequality divides society into rank hierarchies and graded levels of individuals with more or less resources available to them. There is a continuing competition between groups or social strata for a greater share of the desirables. Every individual seeks to maximize his subjective status according to the resources available to him and to his rivals.

Collins further observes that each individual is basically pursuing his own interests and that there are many situations, notably ones where power is involved, in which those interests are inherently antagonistic. The basic argument then has three strands: that men live in self-constructed subjective worlds; that others pull many of the strings that control one's subjective experiences; and that there are frequent conflicts over control. Life is basically a struggle for status in which no one can afford to be oblivious to the power of others around him. If we assume that everyone uses what resources are available to have others aid him in putting on the best possible face under the circumstances, we have a guiding principle to make sense out of the myriad variations of stratification (*Ibid*: 134).

This research is well grounded in the conflict theory which associates conflicts with the unequal distribution of scarce resources. This has been well articulated by Osamba (2000:4) who observes that during the rainy season pastoralists have enough pasture and water for their herds and therefore they confine their grazing activities to their areas. However, during droughts when pastures and water become scant they drive their animals into their neighbors land and this result into conflict and destruction of property. A case in mind is the 1998 conflict between the pastoralist members of the Samburu community and Kikuyu farmers that occurred in Laikipia district. An intense conflict arose causing the death of 70 people and massive destruction of food crops (Daily Nation, February 13, 1998).

Pastoral districts have the highest incidences of poverty and the lowest levels of access to basic services and infrastructure as articulated in the Interim PRSP 2000-2003 (G.O.K, 2000). This situation can only be linked to the long history of social, political and economic marginalization from the centre that has ensured the poor distribution of resources in the ASAL districts thus aggravating the conflict situation.

In Collins view of conflict, those who possess a greater share of goods, try to consolidate their position, maximize their interests and dominate the structural arrangements by various means, especially coercion. Collins asserts that men detest being ordered around and resist subjection. In their struggle to resist coercion, people bring other resources e.g. their social position, the groups

to which they belong, their numerical strength and the intensity of interpersonal attractions. This view is true of pastoralist conflict and violence which is historically linked to the violence that accompanied the state formation and the policy in the colonial era (Nyaba and Otim 2001). The gazettement and appropriation of pastoralists' communal lands, as was the case in Uganda and Kenya, by colonial governments whose main intentions were to maximize their interests, triggered contradictions between pastoralists and the state. The violence meted out by the authorities pushed these communities to the fringes of the state and led to their being marginalized. This contributed to the strong impulse among pastoralists to acquire arms to match or counter violence. As Odegi (1992) observes, imposing fixed internal divisions (e.g. Northern Kenya was a closed district in colonial times) and international borders and the restricting movements of livestock without regard for pastoral livelihoods had devastating effects. The pastoralist understanding and response to ecological pressures was systematically eroded by colonialism and this has continued to date. This greatly affected the transhumant pattern already mastered by pastoralists to shield them from ecological hardships. Odegi further observes that in the pre-independence era, pastoralists used migration as a panacea for drought, but the imposition of boundaries destroyed this possibility and was totally at variance with the understanding of boundary demands. Consequently, raids are used to counteract losses of livestock through droughts.

2.10.2. Conflict functionalism

Lewis Coser is a conflict sociologist who, in the tradition of Simmel, is concerned with how conflict prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity (Coser in Abraham, 1993:135). Coser sees the positive function of social conflict and how it allows the expression of hostility and the mending of strained relationships which leads to the elimination of specific sources of conflicts between parties and enables redress of grievances through the establishment of new norms or the affirmation of old ones. Social conflicts according to Coser, not only generates new norms and institutions but also new coalitions and alliances. He views conflicts as a process that under certain conditions, functions to maintain the social body or some of its vital parts (Coser 1956:22-23).

Coser's explanation is true in the case of the pastoralist communities in Kenya where the government, NGOs, FBOs and other stakeholders have in some cases formed some joint efforts

to look into issues that lead to pastoral conflicts in a bid to respond to the aggression by these communities and to resolve their differences. Examples here could be the various peace committees that have been formed to resolve pastoralist disputes. There is also a strong move currently towards policy and strategy formulation, which has been spearheaded by various organizations, key among them World Vision, Faith based Organisations and Oxfam GB (Grahm 2005). This is a case where persistent conflicts have made the government and other stakeholders to act and thereby bring change and even improvement within society. E.g. in resolving disputes over land and water (River Turkwel and Kerio) among the Pokot/Turkana border where the communities are dissatisfied with the way land has been demarcated by the administration. The Pokots claim up to a third of Turkana south including areas in Naro, Katilu, Kalemngørok, Kakongøi, Kainuk, Lokori, Lomelo, Kapedo as their rightful parcels of land³. In this case various peace and reconciliation organizations have sponsored peace committees (Riamriam) to settle disputes among the two communities.

Conflict within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodations and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity.

The clash of values and interests, the tension between what is and what some groups feel ought to be, the conflict between vested interest and new strata groups demanding their share of power, wealth and status have been productive of vitality. Usually, this has been seen among pastoralist communities where leaders have solved disputes e.g. over land, animals and water through truce, dialogue, return of raided animals, and payment of losses incurred during the conflicts.

2.10.3. Social structure and anomie

Robert Merton (1968 in Ritzer 1996: 114) in his analysis of the relationship between culture, structure and anomie and defines culture as that organized set of normative values governing behavior which is common to members of a designated society or group. Social structure is that organized set of social relationships in which members of the society or group are variously implicated. Merton on the other hand asserts that anomie occurs when there is a disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. That is, because of their position in the social structure of society, some people are unable to act in accord with normative values. The culture calls for

some type of behavior that the social structure prevents from occurring. For example, the Kenyan government emphasizes hard work and honesty in acquisition of wealth by all society members.

The situation in many pastoralist districts is however different from other areas due to the unfavorable climatic conditions that make it hard for communities to practice farming and other income generating activities. Most of the land is fallow, rocky and unproductive such that even with rains, meaningful agriculture is impossible. Water and pastures are scarce. Due to marginalization by both the colonial and post colonial regimes, (Mburu 2002), infrastructure is dilapidated and basic services provided by the government are inadequate and insufficient to sustain pastoral livelihoods and development. The ecological pressure and other factors including drought, famine and disease block pastoralist from achieving their goals as other communities. As such pastoral communities turn to livestock rustling, which is against the norm as it involves dishonesty, theft and killing, to enable them recover from this kind of pressure. Thus in this case, livestock rustling comes out clearly as an anomaly in people's behavior that pastoralists have resorted to because they cannot accord themselves with the normative values, given their position in the Kenyan structure, and the ecological problems surrounding them.

As noted earlier, livestock rustling was a cultural practice that was regarded as some kind of sport that was approved and sanctioned by elders. The practice was however carried out within some set and generally agreed principles. For example, among the Turkana people, young men who had been sent to raid a neighboring community were not allowed to hurt or kill children and women or even destroy property. They mainly used bows and arrows to accomplish the practice. Guns did not play a role in the military organization of the East African pastoralists (Markakis 1993). However, today, livestock rustling has been commercialized, it involves the use of fire arms and new forms of banditry have emerged. Raiders kill women and children and engage in reiteration missions where massive destruction of property is involved. Thousands of herds of cattle, sheep, goats and camels are stole and sold in distant markets and in the process, community members earn huge amounts of money in a bid to improve their well being. The wide availability of arms, (usually from war-torn countries including Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda) apart from being devastating in terms of human loss and property destruction, has altered the cultural foundations of many communities and eroded the traditional conflict

resolution mechanisms in the face of arms-bearing youth being one of the most significant examples. Given the livelihood insecurity of communities in border areas, availability of arms has provided the means for communities to seek alternative livelihoods (inevitably violent ones) such as livestock rustling and banditry, with less regard for their cultural values.

Deriving from the above discussion, it is evident that today, pastoralists' culture and practices in Kenya are at variance with the accepted norms in modern society. There is a major disjunction between the cultural norms and goals of pastoralists and the socially structured capacities of the group to act in accord to them (as dictated by the Kenyan society). In these circumstances therefore, anomie is exhibited in our society where pastoralists tend to develop deviant behavior, which is an unacceptable and an illegal means of achieving economic success. By engaging in livestock rustling in order to sustain their livelihoods, pastoralists portray deviant behavior which is generated by the disjunction between their cultural values and the socially structured means of attaining those values. In this case, structural functionalism theory will be used as a basis to inform this study in explaining livestock theft as a deviant behavior and a crime.

2.10.4. Ethnicity and crime

John Lea and Jack Young are conflict socialists who base their attempt to explain crime around three key concepts namely; relative deprivation, subculture and marginalization (Haralambos and Holborn, 1990).

Relative deprivation-Lea and Young believe that deprivation will only lead to crime where it is experienced as 'relative deprivation'. A group experiences relative deprivation when it feels deprived in comparison to other similar groups, or even when its expectations are not met. The theorists argue that in society today, the media usually stresses the importance of economic success and the consumption of consumer goods. All individuals are exposed to the values which suggest people should aspire to middle class lifestyles and patterns of consumption. Thus, ethnic minorities today feel more deprived than in the past (when media and advertisement were less developed). Like Merton, Lea and Young argue that rising crime is partly as a result of rising expectations for high standards of living combined with restricted opportunities to achieve success. This model can be used to explain pastoral conflicts in Kenya, which have been mainly blamed on the lack of decentralization of government systems to reach out to the ASAL areas. In

many occasions, pastoralists in the northern part of Kenya have regarded themselves as non Kenyans as they have found themselves separated from the rest of the country. They feel that the government has distanced itself from them and alienated them and thus turn to the use of guns and small arms to protect themselves and their properties and this further aggravates pastoral conflicts.

Sub-culture- Lea and Young further argue that if a group of individuals share a sense of relative deprivation, they develop lifestyles that allow them to cope with this problem. However, a particular sub culture is not an automatic, inevitable response to a situation. The theorists stress that crime is only one aspect, though generally a small one, of the process of cultural adaptation to oppression. This model can be used to explain some aspects of the pastoralist conflicts in Kenya for example the emergence of the gun culture and the proliferation of small arms which pastoralists have embraced in the recent years, to enable them acquire large herds of livestock/wealth and feed for themselves since the government has not provided them with the basic infrastructure.

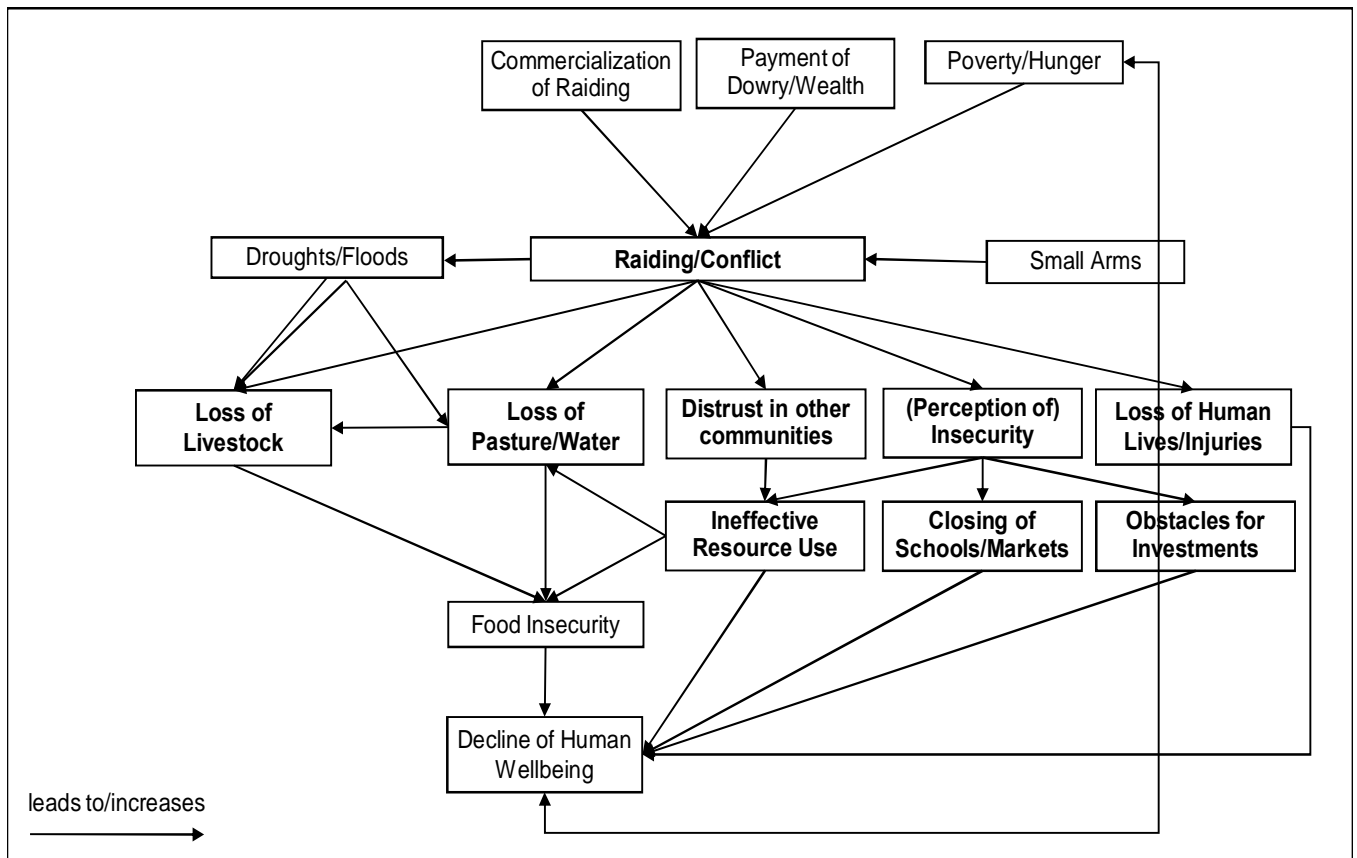
Marginalization- Lea and Young argue that marginal groups in society are particularly prone to the use of violence and riots as a form of political action. According to the theorists, marginal groups are those who lack organizations to represent their interests in political life and who also lack clearly defined goals. Lea and Young believe that participation in the process of production is the key to a group avoiding marginality. Such groups thus have clearly defined objectives and thus they have no need to resort to conflict. Many of the pastoralist communities in Kenya are marginalized. They are not well participated in the affairs of the central authority. They thus have a general sense of resentment that the future does seem to offer an interesting, worthwhile and rewarding life and thus resort into conflicts. This model can be used to present a good case to the government and other development and humanitarian aid organizations working in ASAL areas so that they can involve and actively involve local people in the process of solving their problems. This would go a long way in helping to manage conflicts in the pastoral districts.

2.10.5. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual diagram shows the relationship between causes of cattle rustling and effects on pastoralist livelihoods. In summary, the strongest causes of raiding between the Pokot and Turkana people in the Turkwel River belt are drought, poverty, payment of dowry, accumulation of wealth. Some key informants linked these causes to commercialization trends of raiding and political incitement.

The main effects of conflicts on the pastoralist livelihoods include loss of human lives and injuries, loss of animals, closure of schools and markets, insecurity and distrust among community members.

Figure 1: Relationship between Livestock Rustling and pastoralist livelihoods in the Turkwel River belt.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is organized under the following subsections: site description, site selection research design, sampling techniques, units of observation and units of analysis, methods of data collection, tools of data, sources of primary and secondary data and data analysis.

3.2 Site Description

This study was carried out in the Turkwel River belt which is a region bordering Kainuk division and Sigor division. The Turkwel River belt region is inhabited by members of both the Pokot and the Turkana communities of Kenya. Kainuk Division is in Turkana County which is one of the largest in Kenya and shares international borders with Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda. Kainuk Division has 2 locations namely Kainuk and Kaptir and six sub locations namely Kainuk, Kakong, Kalemngorok, Loyapat, Katilu and Lorogon. The area is prone to two main disasters; insecurity and drought (Turkana District Development Plan 2002-8). The Turkana are a nilotic community that relates to the Karamajong of Uganda in language and lifestyle (White 1920). They are estimated to be 340,000 and live in north-western Kenya, north-eastern Uganda and southern Sudan. Kainuk division is estimated to have a population of 11,799 people and a population density of 7 according to 1999 census (KNBS 2010).

Sigor division is in West Pokot County, in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. The county borders Uganda to the west, Trans Nzoia and Marakwet districts to the south, Turkana district to the north and east and Baringo district to the south east according to the West Pokot District Development Plan 200-8. The district has a total area of 9,100 square kilometres and stretches a distance of 132 kilometres. The district is inhabited primarily by the Pokots and has a population of 396,000 people with a density of 37 persons per square kilometre. Sigor division is estimated to be 1283 square kilometers with a population of 43,622 and a population density of 34. Sigor division is made up of 3 locations and seven sub locations namely Marich, Masol, Orwa, WeiWei, Romut, Sekerr and Nasolot.

The two divisions are largely undeveloped, and extremely arid. The pastoralists in Turkwel River belt are largely nomadic. They live primarily in arid or semi-arid areas and depend on livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) for their livelihood. The Turkana and Pokot people have constantly conflicted with one another as well as their neighbors in Kenya, mainly the Pokot, Samburu and Marakwet and also in Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda.

According to Mburu (2002), the greater parts of the districts experience very little rainfall annually. When rain falls, it is erratic, reduced in time and space, and unlikely to yield maximum benefit to herders, cultivators or gatherers due to rapid ground run off, transpiration and evaporation. The members of the two communities practice a little bit of subsistent agriculture along the banks of Rivers Muruny and Turkwel where they plant grains like millet and sorghum.

3.3 Site selection

The study was carried out Sigor Division and specifically in Masol, Runo, and Turkwel and in Kainuk Division in areas of Kainuk, Loyapat and Kakong.

3.4 Research design of the study

This section presents the research design that was adopted for the study. According to Kothari (2004:31), research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. According to Trochim (2006) it is the strategy to integrate the different components of the research project in a cohesive and coherent way. It is a means to structure a research project in order to address a defined set of questions.

The study adopted a survey research design with the triangulation research methods. According to Jaeger (1997), triangulation is a method which combines independent yet complementary research methods. In particular, the researcher used the simultaneous triangulation method of combining both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods at the same time. The advantage of using triangulation method is that each method complements the other, thus resulting in a stronger research design, and more valid and reliable findings (O'Donoghue and Punch (2003); Jaeger, 1997; Altrichter et al., 2006; Cohen and Manion, 2000).

The survey research method was used to collect data from the area. Survey enables one to make inferences later about the entire nation. There are three features about survey design that made the researcher consider it appropriate. According to Straus and Corbin (1998), "surveys permit one to describe large and heterogeneous populations accurately and economically."

3.5 Units of analysis and units of observation

According to Singleton et al (1988:69), "units of analysis are the activities (objects or events) under study." Schutt (2001:88) defines unit of analysis as the social entities whose social characteristics are the focus of the study. He further indicates that units of analysis "represent the level of social life on which the research question is focused, such as individuals, groups, towns, or nations." In this study, the units of analysis are the effects of livestock rustling on pastoralist livelihoods.

The unit of observation which is also known as the unit of data collection is the element or aggregation of elements from which one collects information. In this study, the unit of observation shall be respondents who are members of the community in the Turkwell River belt. This includes the men, women and children, local and international NGOs and church organizations working in the area, government officers and workers and different community leaders.

3.6 Sampling techniques

Sampling was done through purposive and random sampling. According to (Trochim, 2006), purposive sampling is a situation when the researcher chooses the sample based on who they think would be appropriate for the study. In purposive sampling, we sample with a purpose in mind in which case the researcher usually would have one or more specific predefined groups they are seeking. The Turkwel belt was purposively selected due to the high occurrences of conflict which was a special characteristic which was not common with the other divisions in the district. It is also centrally located and borders the Pokot and Turkana communities.

Random sampling was used to select respondents. Random sampling is where the sample is chosen by a method involving an unpredictable component (Singleton et. al, 1988). Random sampling can also refer to taking a number of independent observations from the same

probability distribution, without involving any real population. 109 respondents were randomly selected and participated in the study.

3.7 Methods of data collection

In this study, three data collection methods were employed. These included focus group, semi-structured interviews and key informant interviews.

3.8 Tools of data collection

Key persons were interviewed including the District Officer, area chiefs and sub chiefs, divisional security personnel, administration officers and the area OCS. A Key informant interview guide was used. The researcher also used focus group discussions involving twelve community members. A focus group discussion guide was employed to collect this information. A semi-structured interview was also done using a questionnaire with 109 respondents participating in the study.

3.9 Sources of Primary and Secondary data

The data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from key informants and from randomly sampled community members. The researcher collected secondary data from an in-depth analysis of official government and civil society policy documents, papers, reports, journals, magazines, periodicals and research papers. The aim of this in depth analysis was to get the existing information on livestock rustling and its effects.

3.10 Data analysis

The data generated by the study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. After the fieldwork, data were edited and coded. Quantitative data was entered in the computer for processing using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences Programme (SPSS). According to Cohen and Manion (1986:17), editing of responses is intended to identify and eliminate errors made by the interviewer or respondents. Consequently, data was edited for completeness and consistency before analysis.

The data generated through semi-structured interview was analyzed by means of descriptive statistics. According to Singleton et. al (1988), descriptive statistics refers to simple statistical

methods, which do not support or falsify a relationship between variables but simply help in description of data. Descriptive statistics is useful in summarizing and organizing data in an effective and meaningful way. This is because information is reduced to an understandable way. According to Schutt (2001:404), inferential statistics are used to make decisions about whether it is likely that an association exists in the larger population from which the sample is drawn.

From the qualitative data the researcher sought to examine the raw data in order to find linkages between the research objectives and the outcomes with reference to the original research questions. This provided an opportunity to triangulate data in order to strengthen the research findings and conclusions.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Overview

This study was conducted in the Turkwel River belt with 109 respondents participating in the study. Data was collected using a structured interview questionnaire. Data was entered in SPSS and analyzed using the same. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics mainly frequency distribution and narratives and presented as figures and tables. Qualitative data was analyzed using sorting and categorization presented as themes and narratives. The study addressed four objectives: 1) causes and extent of livestock rustling in Turkwel River belt 2) effects of livestock rustling on pastoralist livelihoods and 3) conflict resolution mechanism used in the management of livestock rustling in the area and their effectiveness.

4.2 Social and demographic characteristics of respondents

4.2.1 Age Distribution of Respondents

Majority of the participants in the study were aged 31 to 40 years according to 36.7% of the responses. This was followed by 34.9% who were aged 18 to 30 years, 14.7% aged 51 to 60 years. Only 13.8% of the respondents aged 41 to 50 years as shown in the table below. None of the respondents aged above 60 years or were below 18 years. From these findings, it is evident that majority of the community members who are majorly affected by livestock rustling are the youths and those below 40 years of age.

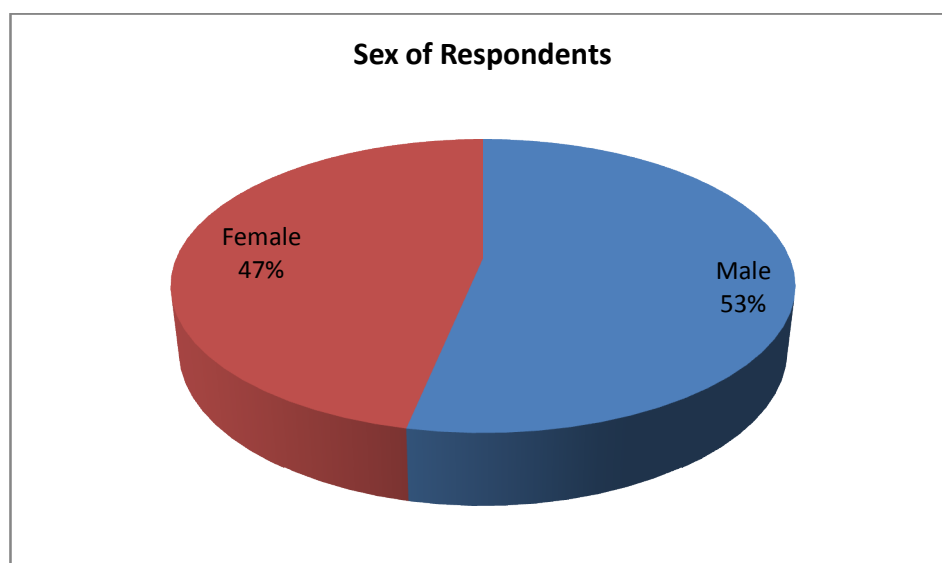
Table 2: Age of Respondents

Parameter	Frequency	Percent
18 to 30 Years	38	34.9
31 to 40 Years	40	36.7
41 to 50Years	15	13.8
51 to 60 Years	16	14.7
Total	109	100

4.2.2 Sex Distribution of Respondents

There was an almost equal distribution of sex of respondents who participated in the study. As shown in the figure below, 53% of the respondents were male while 47% were female with a variance of less than 6%. From these findings, it is evident that both men and women are affected by livestock rustling.

Figure 2: Sex distribution of the respondents



4.2.3 Education Level of Respondents

38.5% of the respondents participating in the study had not attended school while the rest had gone to school and attained some level of education. Of those who have gone to school, 27.5% did not complete primary education, 14.7% completed primary education, 7.3% completed secondary education and 8.3% have a certificate/diploma while 3.7% had either an undergraduate or post graduate degree as illustrated in the table below.

Table 3: Educational Background

Parameter	Frequency	Percent
Not gone to school	42	38.5

Not completed Primary	30	27.5
Completed Primary	16	14.7
Completed Secondary school	8	7.3
Certificate/Diploma	9	8.3
Undergraduate/Post Graduate	4	3.7
Total	109	100.0

From the above findings, we can therefore infer that livestock rustling has affected access to education among most of the community members.

4.2.4 Occupation of Respondents

More than half (56.9%) of the respondents participating in this study were not employed and had no source of income, 34.9% were self-employed and had their own businesses while only 8.3% were employed as shown in the table above.

From the responses, those who were self-employed engaged in small scale businesses, farming and other community related initiatives. Those that were employed worked as civil servants, teachers or community leaders. From these findings, it is clear that livestock rustling has affected the participation of community members in various income generating activities. Majority of the community members are not engaged in any form of income generation and this could be explained by the destabilization caused by recurrent livestock raids which hinder people from engaging in stable means of deriving livelihoods.

Table 4: Occupation of Respondents

Parameter		Frequency	Percentage of responses
	Self- Employed	38	34.9
	Employed	9	8.3
	Not Employed	62	56.9
	Total	109	100.0

4.3 Causes and extent of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt

The first objective was to assess the major causes and extent of livestock rustling in the study area. The causes, frequency, extent, longevity and major factors contributing to livestock rustling were assessed in this objective.

4.3.1 Prevailing Forms of Conflict leading to Livestock Rustling

Conflict was found to be a major contributor to livestock rustling in the study area and occurs in a number of forms. Out of the multiple counts of responses from the 109 participants, 26.6% noted that conflict was mainly over district boundary between the two communities (Turkana and Pokot) that lead to livestock rustling. Other respondents felt that land and water (25.3%) led to conflict in the area as they search for safe pasture for their livestock. A good percentage (17.2%) felt it was over livestock raids or commercialized raids. Paybacks/revenge were also noted by 16.8% as a form of conflict, 11.1% felt road thuggery and banditry was a major form of conflict while less than 3% felt that conflict was due to perceived increased NGO in the area (see the table below).

Table 5: Prevailing Forms of Conflict

Parameter	Frequency	Percentage of Responses
Conflict over Land and water	75	25.3
Conflict over district boundary	79	26.6
Perceived Increased NGOs in the area	7	2.4
Livestock raids or commercialized raids	51	17.2
Road thuggery and banditry	33	11.1
Paybacks/revenge conflicts	50	16.8
Other	2	0.7

From the above findings, we can infer that although livestock rustling is very rampant in the study area other forms of conflict also exist in the area and to a large extent contributed to the

escalation of livestock rustling. These include conflicts over land and water, disputes over boundaries, revenge and banditry.

4.3.2 Major Causes of Livestock Rustling

As portrayed in the multiple response set below, unwillingness to share grazing land was a major cause of livestock rustling in the study area (14.7%), followed by rampant drought and famine in the area leading to inhabitants engaging in all sorts of activities to survive(13.3%), rivalry over land ownership (12.9%), increasing level of poverty (11.7%), political incitement (11.4%), unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of guns and other weapons from neighboring communities(10.5%), idleness amongst the youth (10%), refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government (6.5%), inadequate policing and state security arrangements (4.9%) and diminishing role of traditional governance systems (3.3%). The focus group discussion also cited other causes of livestock rustling such as communication barriers due to influence of political leaders and different languages spoken by the two communities; enmity leading to intolerance and paybacks/reverages. The boundary lines were also unclear because land is owned communally in the area making it hard for sharing of grazing and water sources. Illiteracy due to lack of school fees and high school dropouts also contributed to livestock rustling. Weak government structure and lack of alternative income generating activities other than livestock keeping also furthered livestock rustling in the area as cited in the focus group discussion. It is therefore clear from these findings that livestock rustling is caused by a combination of many factors thus making it very complex.

Table 6: Causes of Livestock Rustling

Parameter	Count	Percentage of Responses
1. The Unwillingness to share grazing land	63	14.7
2. Refusal of the community to abide by security measures put by the government	28	6.5
3. Unlimited and uncontrolled inflow of guns and other weapons from neighboring communities/countries	45	10.5

4. Rampant drought and famine in the area leading to inhabitants engaging in all sorts of activities to survive	57	13.3
5. Rivalry over land ownership	55	12.9
6. Inadequate policing and state security arrangements	21	4.9
7. Diminishing role of traditional governance systems	14	3.3
8. Political incitements	49	11.4
9. Increasing levels of poverty	50	11.7
10. Idleness amongst the youth	43	10.0
11. Other	3	07

4.3.3 Factors contributing to Livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt

Many factors have contributed to livestock rustling in the study area. These include poverty (16.6%), followed by political interference (14.4%), climate change occasioned by droughts and reduced access to water sources (13.3%), competition over access and control of scarce natural resources (12.8%), limited natural resources (11.7%), pastoralist culture and traditions passed over the years that have promoted animosity in the area (11.7%), commercialization of livestock rustling (10.6%), invading of private farmlands and ranching in search of grazing land (1.9%) and other factors such as idleness among youths (1.1%) which have contributed detrimentally to livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt as depicted in the table below.

From the above findings, we can therefore deduce that although poverty is the highest contributing factor in the livestock raids other factors also have a considerable bearing on the raids and which makes situation in the Turkwel River belt very complex.

Table 7: Factors contributing to Livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt

Parameter	Count	Percentage of Responses
1. Pastoralists culture and traditions passed over the years that have promoted animosity in the area	43	11.7
2. Limited natural resources	43	11.7
3. Competition over access and control of scarce natural	47	12.8

resources		
4. Climate change occasioned by droughts and reduced access to water	49	13.3
5. Invading of private farmlands and ranching in search of grazing land	7	1.9
6. Poor policies on pastoralists community that have destabilized the livelihoods of the community	22	6
7. Commercialization of livestock rustling	39	10.6
8. Political interference	53	14.4
9. Poverty	61	16.6
10. Others	4	1.1

4.3.4 Extent of Livestock rustling in the Turkwel river belt

The table below depicts the detailed extent of occurrence of livestock rustling as observed in the study area.

According to almost 80% of the respondents, livestock rustling in the area occurs to a large extent, 15.6% felt it occurs to a moderate extent, 5.5% to a small extent while only 1.8% of the respondents were unsure of the extent of livestock rustling in the area. It is evident from the findings that livestock rustling occurs to a large extent in the study area and is very rampant.

Table 8: Extent of Livestock Rustling

Parameter	Frequency	Percent
To a small extent	6	5.5
To a moderate extent	17	15.6
To a large extent	84	77.1
Don't Know	2	1.8
Total	109	100.0

4.3.5 Timing of livestock rustling

Livestock rustling in the area started more than 20 years ago and has been in existence since then. This is according to majority of the respondents (87.2%) while less than 15% felt livestock rustling has been in existence for less than 20 years. As shown in the table below, only 2.8% and another 2.8% respectively said livestock rustling had been there for 10 to 19 years and 5 to 9 years respectively, while 0.9% noted livestock rustling had been there for 2 to 4 years.

Further analysis from the focus group discussion showed that livestock rustling started since time immemorial using bows, stones, spears and swords and has turned out to use of guns and other complicated weapons. We can therefore infer that livestock rustling has existed within the Turkwell river belt for over 20 years and has intensified over time.

Table 9: Timing of livestock rustling

Parameter		Frequency	Percent
	More than 20 years ago	95	87.2
	10 to 19 years ago	3	2.8
	5 to 9 years ago	3	2.8
	2 to 4 years ago	1	.9
	Others	1	.9
	Don't know	6	5.5
	Total	109	100.0

4.3.6. Most Recent Livestock Rustling

Livestock rustling continues to be a regular incidence in the Turkwel River belt according to 30.3% of the respondents. The most recent livestock rustling occurred a week ago, 28.4% said it occurred several months ago, 14.7% noted it occurred 5 to 9 years ago, 11% said one year ago while others (10.1%) noted it occurred either three days ago, six months ago or the same day the

interview was done (see the table below). We can therefore deduce from the above findings that livestock rustling is real and takes place from time to time within the Turkwell River belt.

Table 10: Most recent Livestock Rustling

Parameter		Frequency	Percent
	5 to 9 years ago	16	14.7
	2 to 4 years	1	.9
	One year ago	12	11.0
	Several months ago	31	28.4
	A week ago	33	30.3
	Don't Know	5	4.6
	Others	11	10.1
	Total	109	100.0

4.3.7. Frequency of raids in the area

Most livestock raids in the area takes place on a weekly basis (41.1%) though 19.6% felt it happens once in three months. Only 15.9% felt it occurs once in a month, 13.1% felt it happens once in a year. A small percentage (9.3%) were not sure when the raids occur while only 0.9% felt it occurred once in two years. The figure below further illustrates this scenario. From these findings, we can infer that livestock raids happen frequently in the study area and this is likely to destabilize the lives and livelihoods of the community members.

Table 11: Frequency of Livestock raids in the area

Parameter		Frequency	Percent
	Once in two years	1	.9
	One a year	14	13.1
	Once in 3 months	21	19.6

	Once in a month	17	15.9
	Weekly	44	41.1
	Don't Know	10	9.3
	No response	2	0.1
	Total	109	100.0

4.3.8. Groups of People mostly engaged in Livestock rustling

Inquiries from the focus group discussion showed that the youths mostly aged 16 and above are easily incited to maintain livestock rustling in the area. Elders encourage them by showing them how to fight and the need to fight and raid the communities around them. This helps to restock and payback for what was taken from the community. Women celebrate their sons after they have won a fight and brought raided livestock home thus condoning the behavior. Among the Pokots, a youth who kills during the raids or brought the largest herd of cattle is appreciated with the most beautiful girl on arrival in the village. Politicians and businessmen sponsor raids activities for their own political and business interest respectively. Olaibons (witchdoctors) also prophesy and bless the youth during and after raids. From these discussions, we can infer livestock raiding is an affair of all the community groups as each group has a special role that they play in it. The whole community facilitates and contributes to livestock raids in the area but youths are the ones mainly used and on the frontline during the process.

4.4. Effects of livestock rustling to pastoralist livelihoods

The second objective was to examine the effects livestock rustling has on pastoralist livelihoods in the community. This objective defines the major livelihood activities the community is engaged in, the major effects of the rustling on the livelihoods and other effects on the same.

4.4.1. Major Livelihood Activities

The people in the Turkwel River belt are involved in some form of livelihood activities which are discussed in this session.

The main livelihood activities engaged by people in the community is cattle/sheep/goat rearing (33.5%). Other livelihood activities include charcoal burning (28.6%), small scale market oriented activities (23.4%) and only 12.5% do crop farming as shown in the table below. Women especially are engaged in selling vegetables, maize and beans, mining weaving and beadwork

and selling of farm products. Men are engaged in buying and selling of goats, mining crafting and carpentry, charcoal burning and selling livestock and petty trading activities. Youths on the other hand work as casuals in construction sites, are engaged in masonry, carpentry, small scale businesses (hawking), hunting and *bodaboda* activities in the community. Despite the community being engaged in the above livelihood activities, livestock rustling has disrupted the mentioned income generating activities according to 95.4% of the responses as demonstrated in the focus group discussions and key interview report.

Table 12: Major Livelihood Activities in the Turkwell River belt

Parameter	Count of Responses	Percentages
Charcoal burning	71	28.6
Cattle/goat/sheep rearing	83	33.5
Crop farming	31	12.5
Small scale market-oriented business	58	23.4
other	5	2.0

4.4.2. Major Effects of Livestock Rustling

Livestock rustling has had major effects on community members in the Turkwell River belt. It has resulted to conflict related deaths according to 26.7% of the responses. It has also lead to immigration (22.6%), internally displaced persons (17.2%), intolerance between communities (12.8%), high number of police patrol and military personnel (9.1%). Incidence of human rights abuse, sexual assault and rape (6.1%) have also increased, arrest and detention of the common people without probable cause or warrant (2.7%) as shown in the table below.

The participants in the focus group in the six centers where data was collected also cited the main effects resulting from livestock rustling as poverty due to the source of livelihood being taken away. Early marriage and polygamy has also increased as youths who raid livestock tend to marry early and many wives. Heroism leads to hatred among the community and also further livestock rustling especially when youths are drawn in. High number of widows and children

also get killed as raiders come into the community. The community has also continuously experienced trauma due to the deaths and anxiety created by unexpected turnouts of livestock rustling in the area.

Table 13: Major Effects of Livestock Rustling

Parameter	Count of responses	Percentage of Responses
1. Internally displaced persons	51	17.2
2. Conflict related deaths	79	26.7
3. High number of police patrol and military personnel	27	9.1
4. Arrest and detention without probable cause or warrant	8	2.7
5. Incidence of human rights abuse, sexual assault and rape	18	6.1
6. Immigration	67	22.6
7. Intolerance between communities	38	12.8
8. Others	8	2.7

4.4.3. Other Effects of Livestock Rustling

Livestock rustling has substantively affected literacy rates, HIV/AIDS, environmental degradation, hunger, water shortages, migration patterns and religious activities in the area (see the table below). According to responses from the participants in the study, livestock rustling has led to high illiteracy in the area scored at 76.6% on a Likert scale (score calculated from the mean over the number of items in the scale multiplied by 100). Further it has also lead to high levels of poverty and food insecurity scored at 89.8%, increased levels of immigration in the area at a high score of 81.8% and moderately to water shortage and poor sanitation (67%).

On the other hand, livestock rustling has not contributed much to the number of people contracting HIV/AIDS (40.5%) according to the respondents. The respondents also felt it had no effect on environmental degradation in the community (49.5%) and religious activities (49.0%).

From the qualitative data it has also led to a feeling of insecurity among community members, unemployment, lack of development, influx of diseases and lack of medical services in the community.

Table 14: Other Effects of Livestock rustling to the following Items

Parameter	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Percentage
1. High Illiteracy	109	1	5	3.83	76.6
2. High Number of people contacting HIV/AIDS	106	1	6	2.43	40.5
3. Environmental degradation in the community	108	1	6	2.97	49.5
4. High hunger and high levels of poverty	105	1	5	4.49	89.8
5. Water shortages and poor sanitation	106	1	5	3.35	67.0
6. Increased levels of migration from the area	106	1	5	4.09	81.8
7. Religious activities	102	1	6	2.94	49.0
Valid N	90				

Majority of the people interviewed in the focus group discussions and key interviews said they felt insecure due to the raids and especially those from Kainuk which is a bigger town with stronger governmental presence and hence higher security. Insecurity and the perception of it have three major effects, which in turn reduce human well-being: first, inefficient resource utilization, second, closing of markets and schools and third, posing an obstacle for investments. In this study, interviews suggest that the border region between Turkana and Pokot, including Lorogon and Amolem which are rich in pasture have become increasingly inaccessible to both the Pokot and Turkana pastoralists due to insecurity.

The insecurity is further increased by highway robbery of bandits who take advantage of the power vacuum. In addition, the underutilization of pasture bares the risk of encroachment of certain species which deplete the pasture or make it inaccessible. Unused boreholes can become a source of livestock poisoning. Along river Turkwel most of the pastoralists are forced by conflicts to migrate with their livestock to the neighbouring water sources in Karamoja of Uganda, while a few are confined within the few safe riverbanks that remain. This concentration of people and livestock increases the likelihood of overuse of resources and poses a potential source of new conflict. The majority of respondents reported that they are afraid to move freely when conflicts are ongoing in the study area. Thus, livestock raiding interrupts the mobility of pastoralists which is an integral part of pastoralism. Women in study villages reported that they have reduced the picking of wild berries and burning of charcoal because they are afraid to get killed or raped. This shows how insecurity undermines adaptation to drought as these activities are important strategies to adapt to water and pasture scarcity. In Kainuk, women who farm along the Muruny River reported that they can no longer weed for their plants freely for fear of being shot at by Pokot raiders and this hinders on diversification of livelihoods.

The lack of secure markets also limits the ability of the pastoralists to sell livestock prior to or during dry periods and hence contributes to food insecurity. During the study period, Turkana reported that options to sell livestock to traders were limited as they were afraid of attacks on their way to Kitale or Nairobi. Entry of grains and manufactured goods into Pokot and Turkana was also reported to be negatively affected by insecurity. Some schools are temporarily closed when conflicts intensify, as teachers seek for transfers to other areas as one teacher in Loyapat reported. Bullet holes in classroom buildings were still visible in some areas like Kakong in Turkana. Some villages and market centres like Amolem have been permanently closed and people have vacated from the areas.

Insecurity also poses an obstacle for development. Today, Turkana is the poorest and most marginalised county in Kenya. For example, the connection of the electricity wires between Kainuk in Turkana and Orwa in Pokot had to stop during the study period stopped as the security of the electrical workers could not be assured.

Insecurity has also negatively affected the inter-communal relations. Community members of both Pokot and Turkana have expressed strong negative feelings and distrust towards the other group. The distrust decreases the motivation and the capability of the communities to choose a cooperative path which is a prerequisite for peaceful and effective resources.

4.5 Conflict resolution mechanism used in management of livestock rustling in the Turkwel River belt and their effectiveness

4.5.1. Actions Undertaken To Deal with Livestock Rustling

Various actions have been undertaken to deal with livestock rustling in the community. On a multiple response set, 19.6% noted there have been community sensitization meetings, intercommunity peace and dialogue initiatives (17.8%), 14.3% cited peace preaching by church leaders, 13.3% noted establishment of peace committees, 12.6% disarmament of warriors, another 12.6% noted peace preaching by other leaders, 2.8% cited intertribal marriages, 0.7% tree planting and 6.3% cited other actions including peace songs to deal with the conflict related to livestock rustling in the area (see table below).

Table 15: Actions Taken To Deal with Livestock Rustling in the Area

Parameter	Count of responses	Percentage of Responses
1. Community Sensitization meetings	56	19.6
2. Disarmament of warriors	36	12.6
3. Intercommunity peace and dialogue initiatives	51	17.8
4. Establishment of peace committees	38	13.3
5. Peace preaching by leaders	36	12.6
6. Intertribal marriages	8	2.8
7. Tree planting	2	0.7
8. Preaching peace by church leaders	41	14.3
9. Others	18	6.3

From the above findings, we can infer that many activities aimed at promoting peace and curbing livestock rustling among other forms of conflicts have taken place in the study area.

4.5.2. Those Involved in Conflict Resolution related to Livestock Rustling

The community elders mainly initiate the conflict resolution process (51.4%) in the community although church/religious leaders are also involved (17.4%), as depicted in the table above and the figure below. Government workers and elders also sometimes work together in initiating peace according to 14.7% of the respondents and other leaders 3.7% such as NGO leaders in the community, peace groups and community members also initiates the peace process.

Table 16: Who Initiates Conflict Resolution

	Frequency	Percent
Government workers	14	12.8
Elders in the community	56	51.4
Church/religious leaders	19	17.4
Others	4	3.7
Government workers and Elders together	16	14.7
Total	109	100.0

4.5.3. When Conflict Resolution Takes place

Conflict resolution mainly occurs after a raid according to 81% of the respondents. Only 14% and 5% respectively said it occurred before a raid and during a raid respectively as shown in the figure below. It is clear from the findings that most of the conflict resolution mechanisms are applied after conflicts have occurred and that no measures to mitigate livestock rustling and reduce the risk of conflicts reoccurring in the Turkwel River belt have been put in place either by the community members or the government and other organizations. This could explain why the peace obtained by these mechanisms does not last long before conflicts recur.

Table 17: When does Conflict Resolution Occur?

Parameter	Frequency	Percent
Before Livestock Rustling	15	13.8
After Livestock Rustling	88	80.7
During Livestock Rustling	6	5.5
Total	109	100.0

4.5.4. Desired changes after conflict Resolution

Further, majority of the respondents noted that when the leaders (mentioned in 4.5.7) initiate conflict resolution mechanisms, they always lead to peace and reduced livestock raids in the community as observed in the table below.

Table 18: Desired Changes after Conflict Resolution

Parameter	Frequency	Percent
Conflict resolution leads to Peace and reduced livestock raids	81	74.3
Conflict resolution does not lead to Peace and livestock raids	25	22.9
Conflict resolution Sometimes leads to Peace and reduced livestock raids	2	1.8
No response	1	1.0
Total	109	100.0

According to 74.3% of the respondents as shown in the table above, conflict resolution leads to peace and reduced livestock raids. This shows that the peace and resolution process taken by the leaders bears fruit and it should be followed. Only 22.9% felt it did not bear fruit while 1.8% felt

it sometimes brought peace and reduced livestock raids as shown in the table above. However, further reports from the key interview and focus group discussions revealed that although the conflict mechanisms applied after livestock raids result to some peace among the two groups for a period of time, the conflicts later happen again and this becomes a vicious cycle.

4.5.5. Changes Brought About By Resolution Mechanism

The main changes brought about by conflict resolution mechanism are reduced number of raids according to 45.6% of the responses. This is closely followed by voluntary surrender of weapons by warriors, increased returning of captured people and livestock (18.7%) and other changes such as youths going back to school as shown in the table below.

Table 19: Changes brought by conflict resolution

Parameter	Count of responses	Percentage of responses
Reduced number of raids	88	45.6
Voluntary surrender of weapons by warriors	58	30.1
Increased returning of people and livestock	36	18.7
Others	11	5.7

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary of findings

The survey was conducted in Turkwel River belt where 109 respondents participated in the study. A good number of the participants aged 31 to 40 (24.8%) and had a basic educational background other than 38.5% who had no educational background. The survey balanced the sex of respondents participating in the study where 53% of the respondents were male and 47% were female. Majority of these respondents had no source of income (57%) and a good number are not engaged in any income generating activity (33%).

Livestock raids in the Turkwel River belt are a major occurrence and are caused by many factors such as unwillingness to share grazing land, rampant drought and famine in the area, rivalry etc. The persistent livestock raids in the area started more than 20 years ago (87.2%) and are still a major occurrence in the area (30%). Livestock raids occur on a weekly basis according to 41.1% of the respondents. Youths from the age of 16 years are the ones involved in livestock raids which perpetuate conflict.

The livestock raids have major effects on the Turkana and the Pokot communities living in the Turkwel River belt. The raids have mainly resulted in deaths, immigration and high number of IDPs in the area. The high livestock raids has also resulted to high illiteracy levels in the community rated at 76.6%, high levels of hunger and poverty (89.8%) and increased levels of immigration (81.8%).

Various actions have been undertaken to deal with livestock raids like community sensitization meetings and community dialogue. Different members of the community are involved in peace initiatives to deal with this conflict. The conflict resolution mechanism adopted by the community lead mainly to reduced number of raids in the area (45.6%) but does not necessarily mean the livestock will be returned. The conflicts also recur after some time and this becomes a vicious cycle.

5.2. Conclusion

The objectives of this study were met and an overall conclusion is that livestock rustling has major effects on pastoral livelihoods in Turkana South and West Pokot Counties. From this study, the raids have mainly resulted in deaths, immigration and high number of IDPs in the area. The raids have also led to high illiteracy levels in the community as well as high levels of hunger and poverty.

Livestock rustling is a huge problem to the pastoralist communities in Kenya and the world. From the findings of this study, cattle rustling affect various aspects the pastoralist livelihoods which need to be addressed in order to improve the quality of life of people in the two counties where this study was carried out. There is also need for risk reduction strategies on conflicts to be put in place in order to ensure that the insecurity around livestock rustling is put to rest.

5.3. Recommendations

Conflict among the Pokot and Turkana communities is a major community affair with different community members participating in encouraging it. Any meaningful conflict resolution activities should have their entry point through the elders and the youth who are key players. Livelihood activities are seen as critical in resolving conflicts.

The warriors and some youths are the key actors in the conflicts as they are engaged in violent conflicts which involve raiding animals, killing people and destroying properties. In order to curb these conflicts, it will be important that these different groups are educated and equipped with skills and information that would enable the youth for example to engage in other productive activities that do not involve conflicts. The parents will be better peace ambassadors and instead of motivating their children and youths to engage in conflicts, they should encourage them to go to school and gain skills.

Other recommendations include:

1. It would be important for the government and other agencies working in the area to focus on Building Peace and Development. Adult Education and livelihoods should be considered as a development issue.

2. It would be important for all agencies working in this area to strengthen traditional conflict resolution mechanisms which include working with elders and traditional opinion leaders.

3. Strengthening of joint peace and livelihood activities between the Pokot and Turkana people to increase interaction and coexistence among the members of the two communities would be fruitful in resolving conflicts in the region. Some of these activities could include joint adult literacy Programs, income generating activities and community sensitization, peace campaigns, sports activities and community dialogues. More peace awareness campaigns can be staged in April, August and December of each year when violent incidents are more frequent. Deliberately use media among other approaches in awareness creation would also be relevant. Major campaigns on cohesion and peaceful coexistence between the two communities should be undertaken to encourage cultural unity in diversity

4. Opportunities should be provided for people especially the youth to come up with innovative peace building activities.

5. To obtain maximum impact of any conflict resolution mechanisms, there would be need to segregate target groups with different activities e.g. children, teenagers, adult men and women and elders. The Moran/Ngorokos residing deep in the villages and urban based youth would require different approaches and concentration.

6. Conflict resolution activities mainly occur after a conflict according to 81% of the respondents. Agencies working on peace building in this area should pro-actively initiate Disaster Risk Reduction activities.

7. The government together with other organizations should take a leading role in addressing the challenges affecting youths especially unemployment, idleness and illiteracy which would go a long way in reducing their participation in conflict and livestock rustling in Turkwel river belt area. Major organizations in the area should take lead in addressing alternative sources of income and livelihood that would help the community in rechanneling their strengths on available positive opportunities.

8. Scholars should come up with practical conflict resolution theories and mechanisms that could fire change in socially unstable communities which have coexisted for long due to the conflict mechanisms they have adopted.

9. Livestock and drought related disasters in the study area have a long history of creating conflicts exposing communities in Turkana and West Pokot to cyclic poverty. While it is true that these communities have lived there for many years, the fact that the conflicts persist is reason enough for agencies to consider implementation of disaster risk reduction (DRR) strategies in this areas. The respondents suggested that development of water sources; disarmament, strengthening pastoralists' livelihoods or starting income generating activities and restocking of stolen livestock can be the most effective means of rehabilitating conflict victims and resolving conflicts. Majority of the respondents recommended restocking of animals, introduction of alternative livelihoods e.g. crop farming or business enterprises and stepping up peace building activities in the districts and beyond as a way of rehabilitating conflict victims and generally managing the incessant cattle raids.

10. Other recommendations include but not limited to disarmament, exposure tours, investing in education and provision of health services.

5.4 Recommended further research topics

Other studies and research should be undertaken within the Turkwell River belt in order to address the gaps which were identified during this study. These would include participatory resource mapping, effects of conflict on family and environmental stability and on strategies to achieving cultural diversity.

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