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**TRENDS IN LIVESTOCK RUSTLING AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SAMBURU AND MARSABIT COUNTIES IN KENYA**

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**ABSTRACT**

*Livestock rustling remains a major cause of insecurity and conflict among the pastoral communities occupying the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of Kenya. Since the year 2000 there has been an upsurge in incidences of livestock rustling, and a protracted use of advanced weaponry which has not only grown to become a major security threat to the lives of the pastoralists but also a key threat to their livelihoods which is anchored in the ownership of large herds of livestock. This study identified trends in livestock rustling and the dynamics of socio-economic development in Samburu and Marsabit Counties in Kenya, a specific focus on Marsabit and Samburu Counties of Kenya. The study was guided by Cattle Complex Theory. This study utilized the descriptive research and explanatory design. The study areas were Samburu and Marsabit counties and it targeted household heads, herder, market chairmen, politicians, chiefs and officer commanding police stations. Simple random, purposive and snowballing sampling procedures were used to select 384 respondents from the above key informants. The main research instruments were questionnaires (instrument) in addition to face to face interviews and FGDs. Validity was determined using content validity while reliability using test retest method. Data was analysed using SPSS version 21. Quantitative data was analysed using percentages, frequencies and chi-square at 0.05 significance level. Qualitative data was analysed using emerging themes and presented in form of verbatim and narrations. The results revealed that there were new trends in livestock rustling which had impacted on the socio-economic development of Samburu and Marsabit counties. The study recommended that there is need to establish resource centers for awareness creation and sensitization on the livestock rustling. Additionally, there should be legislations on arms and commercialization of livestock rustling which would ensure the perpetrators are charged. This coupled with improved infrastructure will contain the escalation the crime. Lastly, there was need to provide compulsory formal education which will change the mind-set of the youth who would in turn appreciate life beyond livestock rustling.*

**Key words:** Livestock Rustling, Trends in Livestock Resulting, Socio-economic Development

## Introduction

Livestock plays multiple roles in the lifestyle of pastoralists in Kenya, notably as livelihood sources, socio-cultural and religious functions, and asset and security against risks (Guliye et al. 2007). The main resource being livestock and ownership depends on one's strength to protect what one has and to increase the number by constantly invading other communities using all available means to own the animals. However, there has been an increase in livestock rustling among and between pastoralist communities in Kenya. The word livestock rustling refers to an activity by pastoral communities stealing livestock from each other. Livestock rustling has an impact on socio-economic development of the affected communities therefore increases their vulnerability to both human and natural disasters. This paper explores the trends in livestock rustling and the dynamics of socio-economic development in Kenya by focusing on Samburu and Marsabit Counties.

It is estimated that about \$1.5 million (KES. 205 Million) of livestock theft is reported annually by New South Wales Farmers' Association in Australia but that this would only represent approximately 20% of the actual level of theft that is in fact occurring, (Frank, 2000). It has been said that Queensland is the hub of livestock stealing. Over the 15-year period 1980-1981 to 2000-2001 the level of reported stock offences fell by approximately 86%. Livestock rustling was a problem in the USA going back to the days of open range ranching in 1860s. In U.S. history, the areas of public domain North of Texas where from about 1866 to 1890 more than 5,000,000 cattle were driven to fatten and be shipped off to slaughter. Like other places across the continents, the United Kingdom has also experienced livestock rustling despite stiff laws and modern technology to curb the vice. Livestock rustling continues to blight farming operations all over the UK, with figures from rural insurer NFU Mutual

showing the cost of thefts across the UK increased by 170 per cent in 2011 over 2010 (Midgley, 2012). More than 67,000 sheep were stolen in the UK in 2011, costing farmers in the region of £6m (Kshs 858-Billion). Experts believe sheep are the most common target due to them being relatively easy to steal and transport and the fact that the price of lamb is so high (Midgley, 2012).

A United Nations report of 2009 states that in Africa, livestock rustling kills and displaces thousands every year in South Sudan. In the same year, ethnic violence killed more than 2,500 people - exceeding the death toll in Darfur - and displaced over 350,000 others. What happens here is part of a larger pattern sweeping Southern Sudan - a spate of cattle raids killing and displacing thousands each year. The violence causes widespread hunger. With families expelled from farms, there will be no harvest. The South is now chronically dependent on food aid, though it has the richest agricultural land in Sudan. Following two civil wars - nearly 40 years of fighting - South Sudan is highly armed and militarized. Now instead of traditional cattle raiding with spears, the trend has become that of cattle raiding with RPGs and AK-47s by men with military experience used to getting power through violence (Aljazeera, 9th Oct. 2013).

In the Kenyan situation, although with no much difference from the South Sudan situation, cattle-rustling was traditionally carried out using bows and arrows where wanton acts of killing were not part and parcel of the practice. However, this was to change with the arrival of British colonizers in Kenya. The policies and practices established by the colonialists to marginalize pastoralist communities were carried on in independent Kenya. New regional dynamics, particularly the political instability experienced in Uganda, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia have led to the replacement of bows and arrows with bullets and guns as the latter have become increasingly and readily available due to a number of factors that will be shortly discussed below (KHRC, 2001). The genesis

of the current trend of increased militarization of cattle-rustling and its transformation from a traditional practice to the current criminal activity of livestock rustling can be traced back to the 1970s. In the early 1970s, the pastoralists were faced with acute and prolonged famine and were at the mercy of donor-assisted development programs (Khan, 1994).

In keeping in line with a “fend-for yourselves” approach which was anchored on government policies of developing the “high potential areas first”, the government made no particular effort to alleviate the suffering of the pastoralist communities occasioned by the said famine (KHRC, 2010). On the contrary, the government policies of the seventies, the eighties, the nineties as well as those ushering in the second millennium have focused on agriculture and cultivation, thereby persistently relegating and side-lining the development concerns of the pastoralists to the periphery. Naturally speaking, such endemic marginalization has led to the upsurge of livestock rustling among the pastoralists, manifested through intense inter-clan and inter-tribal armed conflict, as a means of survival (Salih, 1992). Additionally, pronounced conflicts have been experienced amongst Turkana and Samburu communities residing in Baragoi division, Samburu County over grazing land. The situation worsens in the dry season in the event that the Pokot and Rendile join the fight. These areas are neighbouring the study area i.e. Marsabit and Samburu Counties and the effects are felt in these counties in one way or the other (KHRC, 1998).

Marsabit County borders Samburu to the South, Turkana to the West, Isiolo to the East Moyale to the North East and the republic of Ethiopia to the North (Ochieng, 1980). The county receives less than 1000mm of rainfall annually and has seasonal rivers that include Milgris, Merille, Dida, Galgallu as well as Chalbi depression. Approximately 80% of the population in this

county depends on livestock as major source of livelihood. However, only about 10% of the population practices subsistence agriculture around Mount Marsabit that receives comparatively high rainfall. In Marsabit County, livestock raids are common across the region owing to increasing influx of firearms that is common amongst the pastoral communities. The two communities in this county (The Rendile and the Borana) are in constant fights over water and pasture. Therefore, livestock movement in search of water and pasture is considered one of the major forces promoting livestock rustling. However, there has also been violation of traditional norm and culture of livestock rustling for restocking purposes after severe droughts or diseases. This therefore, causes instability that limits developmental activities within the county (Pkalya et al., 2003).

Samburu County borders Laisamis to the East and North east, Isiolo to the South east, Laikipia north to the South, Baringo East to the South west and Turkana South to the West and North West. The studies done by Yamano and Deininger (2005) shows that the county is semi-arid with crop farming done in the highland areas with the lowland areas characterized by vast livestock resources. The people of Samburu County derive 90% of their livelihood from livestock. The areas around Lorroki and Kirsia plateaus are characterized by mountains as well as indigenous forests. The county is a water deficit with average rainfall of approximately 500mm annually and with only river Waso Nyiro and other seasonal rivers. The Samburu community is in conflict with other communities such as the Turkana, Borana, Meru and Pokot over livestock. The principal aggressors of livestock rustling in Samburu County are the Turkana youths from Baragoi, Pokot from Baringo, the Rendile and the Samburu themselves (Pkalya, et al., 2003).

In Marsabit and Samburu counties, there is regular occurrence of conflict between Samburu,

Turkana, Rendile and the Borana over limited natural resources (grazing land and water resources). The conflict between these communities is more prevalent on the border areas of the two counties including the hinterland where clashes have been experienced between Rendile and Gabbra both in Marsabit County over available grazing resources. The continual reduction of access to these resources, in particular, land and water, has increasingly placed the pastoral communities under intense pressure. As a result, they are increasingly finding themselves fighting for their survival through engaging in livestock rustling. Consequently, these natures of conflicts affect development and provision of essential services in pastoralists' areas through disruption of the communities' livelihood systems by restricting economic development. An in-depth analysis indicates that percentages of population displaced are prevalent in Samburu County. Statistics reveal that livestock rustling contribute 17% of the displaced population. Most of the displaced are Turkana from Baragoi and Nyiro divisions (Le Ster, 2011). However, it is difficult to ascertain the number of displaced Samburu since most of them live in Manyattas of their relatives unlike the Turkana who at times move to urban centers. Samburu and Turkana pastoral communities inhabit most of the area under study. Marsabit County has the least number displaced due to livestock rustling activities (KHRC, 2010).

### **Statement of the problem**

The changing trend in livestock rustling is an overt and vexing problem among the pastoralist communities of Kenya and the whole world. Livestock rustling has contributed negatively on the pastoral communities over the years. Frequent activities involving massive theft of livestock, killings and expansive destruction of property have led to reduced economic activities, collapse of education system and infrastructural development as well as displacements of various pastoral communities within the affected areas

such as the Borana, Turkana, Samburu, Burj and the Rendile. Marsabit and Samburu counties record severe cases of livestock rustling especially through cattle raids. This makes the principal manifestation and concern within these counties. The counties are arid traversed by Chalbi desert and scarce natural resources. Scarcity in natural resources within these regions has brought competition over the use, access and control of available pasture resources. This has led to constant confrontation amongst Rendile, Borana and Gabbra communities especially during dry seasons owing to concentration of livestock on limited pasture and water.

Livestock rustling is one of the biggest threats to socio-economic development and security within Samburu and Marsabit counties (Amutabi, 2010). This directly and indirectly affects normal livelihood of people within these regions. This study sought to interrogate the influence of livestock rustling on livelihood and socio-economic activities in Marsabit and Samburu counties. It sought to identify the trends in livestock rustling and the dynamics of socio-economic development in Samburu and Marsabit Counties in Kenya.

### **Theoretical framework**

This study was underpinned by the Cattle Complex Theory to study livestock rustling in the two counties under study. The origin of the Cattle Complex theory is traced to Herskovits, who coined the term while pioneering culture area studies within Africa in 1926. Herskovits (1926), found many East African pastoralists to be adhering to what he called "The Cattle Complex", in which there was a strong attachment to cattle to the point of maintaining irrationality (VerEecke, 1988). The concept of the Cattle Complex centered on the traditional methods of rising livestock and the individual pastoralist himself as the principal actor. It is believed by the proponents of this theory that the traditional pastoralists systems are counterproductive, since they are geared towards an infinite increase in the



number of the livestock without due consideration on the carrying capacity of the land (Iro, 2001). And this, according to this notion, has a strong correlation with the irrational, irresistible and often times irreversible liking for animals which the pastoralists are associated with. Anthropologists believe that such a tendency does not only destroy the environment, it also inhibits the development and prosperity of the herders themselves (Iro, 2001). Keeping a large number of herds is not a sign of greediness, rather, an insurance against drought, diseases, bushfires, Livestock rustlings and wildlife attacks. With socio economic and environmental change, keeping a lot of livestock has significant impact on socio-economic development of pastoralist communities as shown by this study.

### **Research Design and Methods**

Descriptive research design was adopted. The study areas were Marsabit and Samburu counties in northern Kenya. The study population comprised of 104, 295 household heads, Livestock market chairmen, 97 Members of the County Assembly-(MCAs), Herders, Livestock owners, and Village heads, 16 Officer Commanding Police Stations in both Samburu and Marsabit Counties. Simple random sampling was used to select 384 households for data collection. Fifty six key informants were selected using snowballing technique. Instruments for data collection adopted included questionnaires, focus group discussion, interview schedules and observation. This research is both quantitative and qualitative and thus used quantitative and qualitative data analysis to analyze text, interviews, field notes and questionnaires. Quantitative data was analysed by use of percentages, frequencies while inferential analysis was done using Pearson chi-square at significance level of 0.05. Data was presented in terms of charts, tables, verbatim and narrations.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The changing trends in livestock rustling has far and reaching consequences not only on the socio-economic development of the people of the two Counties, Marsabit and Samburu but their socioeconomic welfare in general. In the collected and analysed data, the changing trends in livestock rustling have put the practise in the category of common crime as opposed to a traditional practise.

#### **Frequency of Livestock Raiding**

The research sought to find out the frequency of livestock raiding. The distribution of statistics on the frequency of livestock raids show how often livestock owners had fallen victim to livestock rustling in the last ten years. 44% of the respondents had fallen victims more than 10 times. Respondents who had fallen victims 3 to 6 times contributed 6% of the samples while respondents who had been victims between 7 to 10 times account for 41%. The rest of the respondents 9% had been victims less than 3 times in the last ten years.

In both communities, the majority of selected sample from the chiefs, Village elders, Herders, Area Member of County Assembly, Officer commanding police stations and Chairmen of market centers stated that livestock rustling had increased recently. This finding was in line with other studies which had reported an increased cattle rustling between the Turkana and the Pokot as well as other communities in north-western Kenya (Mkutu 2008; Omolo, 2010; de Vries et al., 2006; McCabe, 2004; UNDP, 2011). According to Opiyo et al. (2012), 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 pastoralist communities 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) commercialisation 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

According to the findings on extent of Livestock rustling in Samburu and Marsabit Counties, 57.07% of the respondents livestock rustling in the area occurred to a large extent in Marsabit as compared to 67.7% in Samburu County, 33.70% felt it occurred to a moderate extent in Marsabit County as compared to 27.5% of respondents in Samburu County, 9.24% to a small extent in Marsabit County as compared 4.8% in Samburu County. It was evident from the findings that livestock rustling occurred to a large extent in the study area and was very rampant therefore influencing the dynamics of socioeconomic development in both counties.

The researcher sought to find the seasons livestock rustling in both Samburu and Marsabit counties occurred. Majority of livestock rustling had been carried out during rainy season represented by 78.9% of the household respondents while during dry season, dry season 27.7%, September to December 44.8%, April to August 52% and January to March 30% .

These findings implied that among Samburu and Marsabit counties, livestock rustling can take place any season of the year. These findings disagree with Nunow (2000), who states that raids are conducted after a dry season to recover livestock lost during the rainy season. The same finding was observed among Marakwet community by Cheserek (2012). In his findings, no raiding was done during dry season amongst Marakwet community. During dry seasons both communities, particularly Pokot reported being faced with other social problems such as lack of food which they are unwilling to combine with raiding. The respondents reported that their

priorities in dry season were to meet basic needs of food for the whole family and fight epidemic of diseases. They also reported that wet seasons are good times to replenish stock lost during dry season. These findings also disagree with Adano, Witsenburg and Dietz (2004) that suggested herdsmen are more violent and ethnic conflicts, especially armed raids took place during wet seasons. Their explanation that raiders attacked during wet seasons because of high grass, strong animals, dense bush to hide in and the availability of surface water, which makes it easier to trek with animals, seems plausible.

The research sought to find out if other livestock animals have been involved leading to new trends in livestock rustling. The results there had been an increase in number of cows stolen from 2004 up to 2013. However, other animals had been included in the raiding and these included goats with an average of 108 per year in the last 10 years, sheep average of 87 per year, donkeys' average of 67 per year and camel 59 per year in the last ten years i.e. from 2004 up to 2013. It is not about cattle but goats, sheep, camels, donkeys, chickens and even dogs. The trend has shifted and the rustlers are ready to take anything the household have during the raids. Data from KNBS (2010) revealed that there is 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. New trend like commercialization of rustling has resulted to different animal especially those which are in high demand in towns and cities to stolen for commercial value. This has seen camel, goats and sheep to be included in rustling and it is no longer cattle rustling but livestock rustling as this research indicated (Opiyo et al, 2012).

The research sought to find out new trends from 2004 up to 2013 on the trend in the raids, killing and fire arms recovered. Also, the research conducted Pearson chi-square of association to establish the relationship between fire arms

recovered and number of raids, fire arms recovered and killing of human and number of raids and killing of humans.

On the number of raids the results indicated that over the last ten years, there had been an increase in livestock raiding. Initially, raids were done along certain patterns especially during drought to replenish their herd therefore not more than five raids in a year. However, there has been change in raids with over 20 raids in one year in one community. The increase in number of raids posed serious questions on the motive of the raids as indicated by livestock owner during FGD. It was rare to witness more raids than it's been observed nowadays. The combination of factors that limit sustainable livestock production in the pastoral areas, included cattle rustling, and its devastating shocks, reduce the capacity of the poor to either maintain or accumulate livestock assets, thus limiting their ability to move out of poverty.

This observation concurs with Meier et al. (2007) who notes that raiding, which serves to rebuild the lost herds through droughts, have been in the raise as climate changes since they are largely tied to climatic conditions. Increase in scarcity of water and pasture resources with worsening conditions as drought frequency and severity increases of recent. As the county gets drier, competition for water and pasture resources and replacement of livestock lost during droughts increases. This resulted to increase in number if raids over years so as to maintain the status quo. Also, the action of recovering them also poses serious question on the role of government in protecting private property especially where the property is the livelihood. As Opiyo et al. (2012) noted that in recent years, livestock raiding has become more frequent, violent and destructive. Further, Wamuyu (2014), on the effects of livestock rustling on livelihoods of pastoral communities in the Turkwel river belt along the Turkana/Pokot border, found that raided occurred weekly in some areas in Turkwel river belt.

On loss of lives, there was an increase in loss of lives over the last 10 years. Traditionally, killing of human being was not allowed during livestock rustling and this would attract cleansing. Moreover, recent descriptions of raids by pastoral people often emphasize the increased violence compared with “the old days”, particularly with reference to killing women and children. The killing of human beings is on the rise they to resistance the rustlers get from herders, livestock owners and police reservists. As a result, during raiding, the rustlers are ready to shot to kill in order to get what they came for and if they face any resistance next time when they raid, they first kill the herders before taking off with the livestock. Traditionally cattle rustling while often involving some violence tended to be small scale and involved the theft of only a number of the best livestock, broadly reflecting the number that had been lost or which were seen as being needed by the raiding group. It was therefore seen as an important means of livestock accumulation. Loss of human lives was rare and when they occurred, extra cattle from the killers' family were given to compensate the victims (Mkutu, 2003).

On firearms recovered, there has been increase in firearms recovered in the last ten years. Despite the government efforts to disarm the pastoralist communities or registering the arms in their possession, new firearms have been recovered during livestock rustling. From the OCS statement in Marsabit County, the use of firearms is on the rise amongst raiders despite the fact they have been effort to reduce the number of guns amongst the pastoralist. According to Kamenju, Singo, and Wairagu (2003), in northern Kenya, the gun culture or the value of firearms as a necessary possession among groups—has entrenched many people's view that firearms possession is an essential right. This has resulted in inter-ethnic arms races. Communities' marginal existence in underdeveloped parts of the country creates a demand for small arms as groups compete for



scarce resources and protect their livelihoods. This, coupled with inter-ethnic rivalries that turn violent, for instance, through cattle-rustling raids, pushes communities to self-arm for security. Worse still, the government's failure to impose its presence through service provision and enhancing law and order in northern Kenya has cumulatively fed communities' essential need for firearms.

### Relationship between raids, loss of lives and Arms Recovered

Pearson correlation analysis was used to find the relationship between numbers of raids and loss of lives the results indicated a significant positive relationship between raids and loss of lives with  $R=0.915^{**}$ ,  $P<0.01$ . This implied that increase in raids would result to increase in loss of lives both from Samburu and Marsabit Counties. Many of the raids are characterized by shedding of human blood due to forceful acquisition of livestock (Kaimba, Njehia, Guliye, 2011).

Similarly, there was significant relationship between raids and firearms recovered during the raids with  $R=0.909^{**}$ ,  $P<0.01$ . This implied that increase in raids resulted to increase in fire arms recovered and increased in number of firearms recovered leads to increase in number of raids.

According to Chemisto, (2010), even more worrying is the fact that there are weak accountability procedures within the KPR and home guard operations and it has been reported that some of them either use their official guns to conduct criminal activities like livestock theft or loan out the said guns to rustlers. Although

started with the noblest of intentions, it must now be categorically stated that the KPR and home guard community policing initiative has, on the contrary, aided in the fuelling of crime and livestock theft among the pastoralist communities.

On classifications of Cattle raids in the last 10 years, both household respondents and Key informants were required to state the extent of the contributing factor to livestock rustling in the last 10 years. The factors were classified as politically motivated, culturally motivated, and commercially motivated.

On politically motivated, majority of the household respondents from both Samburu and Marsabit County revealed that ethnicity motivated livestock rustling at moderate extent. 83.2% of the household respondents in the Marsabit revealed that livestock rustling was being motivated by political motive by great extent as compared to 87.6% in Samburu County. Ethnicity which was always exploited by politicians had been blamed for the increase in livestock rustling in Kenya. Politicians had taken the advantage of their ethnicity background to undermine and weaken other community for their political gain.

The judiciary and the police force in pastoralist communities were unable to investigate and persecute the perpetrators of livestock rustling due to political connections. The response was as shown in Table 1

**Table 1: Political Factors**

Political Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic intolerance and political mobilization	47	94%
Disarmament programme	22	44%
Poor policies on pastoralists community that have destabilized the livelihoods of the community	50	100%
Lack of government control (Inadequate policing and state security arrangements)	50	100%
Political incitement	44	88%
Land tenure system	45	90%

**Source: Field Data (2015)**

Further, 94% of the key informants blamed livestock rustling on ethnic intolerance and mobilization by the politician. It was noted that politician used their political influence to incite (88%) their subjects against their opponents.

The mere possession of firearms was surest way of obtaining livestock through rustling and communities strove to acquire as many firearms as possible. When disarmament process was declared by the government, not all arms were recovered. Those with arms would attack their weakened neighbouring communities who surrendered their arms. As a result they hired arms from police reservist then attack their neighbours killing them and confiscate their arms. However, this type of livestock rustling was violent as the aim of the raiders was not only to steal livestock, but also the take the guns and the firearms since they were to return those that they hired from the police reservists.

The link of ethnicity and dynamics politics had resulted to new trends in livestock rustling. The sheer existence of increase in livestock raiding along clans or communities during electioneering period and the increase in number of deaths and casualties was something new as far as livestock rustling was concerned. During this time, communities responded negatively to one another's actions – violence begets violence. Each group perceives the other's actions as increasingly hostile and as aimed at cultural and social targets rather than commercial livestock targets alone. According to the Structural Change Model (Pruitt et al., 2003), any refraining from an escalated response is generally perceived as weakness, and groups fear that failing to respond will invite further encroachment and aggression (Pruitt et al., 2003).

Land tenure system had resulted to new trends in livestock rustling as shown by 90% of the key informants. Historically, pastoral communities within East Africa operated on communal grazing lands rather peacefully. Because grazing lands could only be used for several months of the year,

arrangements on land sharing had to be made between nomadic peoples and other communities. Reciprocal institutional arrangements were born in which some communities allowed grazing on their lands during certain periods in return for grazing rights in neighbouring regions (Ngaido, 2005). In fact, reciprocity was the key mechanism which enabled collective action in traditional societies. Communal land ownership tenure systems grant pastoralists equal rights to exploit resources, but in practice the use of grazing areas is regulated between and within tribes. However, with the onset of colonial land policies and the encroachment on pastoral grazing lands by administrative policies, reciprocity was interrupted.

Thus, drought-related migration in search of pasture and water by one tribe into areas that belong to others often causes conflict between pastoralists or between pastoralists and settled farmers. The conversion of quality grazing land to semi-private crop production undermines traditional systems of herd mobility because the converted land is often land that had previously been set aside for dry season grazing.

Kizito (2013) indicated that land tenure systems has resulted in the reduction and fragmentation of grazing areas and increased the impact of droughts and scarcity. The communal land ownership tenure system mostly evident in pastoralist areas provides everyone an equal right of exploiting the resources. The lands are traditional tribal grazing areas, such that migration in search of pasture and water by one tribe into areas that belong to other tribes often causes conflict between pastoralists (Kaimba, 2011). Nomadic communities have tended to rely on communal grazing rights, which are not protected by law, and they have lost access to water and pasture as privatisation of land tenure has proceeded. This has intensified the problems of access to scarce resources and of managing competition for these resources. The consequent increased risks of violent conflict have become

particularly clear recently during the periods of drought, where lack of provision for pastoralist needs for pasture and water has led to ranch invasions and similar conflicts.

Raiders from one ethnicity raided the neighbouring communities especially those who are perceived to be weak or they lack firearms and other weapons to protect themselves. According to IRIN (2011), bandits and cattle rustlers were been used to force Turkana Community to leave their ancestral land so as other people can settle there. Greiner (2013) asserted that the democratic movement that had swept across much of Africa had caused a response by the party-in-power at the time to turn to Majimboism, a form of federal regionalism which disguised ethnic mobilisation and party support under territorial claims. The previously localised raids and clashes were now often seen as blossoming into full-scale ethnic conflicts. A conflict spiral of cattle rustling became embedded in which one ethnic group would respond to another's raids with their own, in an endless conflict spiral

Bad politics has also been blamed for the spread of the practice of livestock theft among the pastoral communities. Most of these political leaders are normally anointed by their respective ethnic spiritual leaders and as a result, the communities that they represent follow and obey what their leaders tell them faithfully. Some of the political leaders abuse the hallowed positions they occupy in their communities to mislead their

people and/or incite them against other communities, thereby contributing to an increase in tension among the different communities. Further, some of the political leaders have been reported to influence the appointment of KPRs and home guards their communities. These "yes men" of the respective politicians are more likely than not to act in a way that advances the interests of the said individual politicians as opposed to advancing the interests of the whole community (Weiss, 2004).

### Commercialization Motive

The new trends in livestock rustling was largely blamed on the commercialization motive from unscrupulous traders for the sake of profiteering. More than half of the household respondents in both counties (55.16% in Marsabit and 59.6% in Samburu) indicated new trends in livestock rustling had been largely due to commercialization motive and further 42.93% rated it as influencing livestock rustling trend moderately in Marsabit and 39.3% in Samburu County. However, only 1.90% rated it as small extent and there were no respondents who could not link new trend in livestock rustling with commercialization motive as compare to 1.1% of the respondents in Samburu County.

During interview session, the key informants were able to associate commercialization and economic motive and the new trends in livestock rustling as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Commercialization of livestock rustling**

Commercialization and Economic Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Readily available market for stolen livestock	40	80.0%
Opportunistic method of resource accumulation.	39	78.0%
Wealthy businessmen, politicians, traders or local people who offer firearms for raids	40	80.0%
Unemployment among youth	42	84.0%
Prevalence of poverty in the county	47	94.0%

### Source: Field Data (2015)

Cattle were indeed raided throughout the history of East African pastoral societies. However, these

raids were more of a form of wealth redistribution through cattle. Stolen livestock had been utilised

for bride wealth or redistribution of herds; however, beginning in this era, livestock raiding became incentivised for monetary gain and organised crime syndicates arose (Greiner, 2013).

### Cultural Motive

Livestock rustling was a cultural practice that was regulated by elders and the same elders sanctioned when to engage in rustling. However, the researcher sought to find out changes in culture has impacted on new trends in livestock rustling. The findings revealed that 56.8% of the household respondents agreed that cultural changes had resulted to new trends in livestock rustling in Marsabit County as compared to 56.4% of the respondents in Samburu while 32.7% of respondents in Marsabit and 35.5% in Samburu

did link changes in culture with new trends in livestock rustling.

The findings agree with Bujra (2007) who stated that traditionally, cattle rustling among the pastoral communities in other parts of the world were considered as a cultural practice which was sanctioned and controlled by the elders. Yet, over a period of time there have emerged new trends, tendencies and dynamics, leading to commercialization and internationalization of the practice contrary to the views of early scholars who trivialize cattle rustling as a mere cultural practice.

During the whole process of interview the following thematic areas were identified as reasons for new changes in livestock rustling as far as cultural changes are concerned of the total key informants as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3: Cultural Motive**

Cultural Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Competition for women	27	54%
Traditional values and practices	44	88%
Measure of wealth depending on the number of cattle	35	70%

**Source: Field Data (2015)**

### Availability of Firearms

Traditional livestock was carried using bow and arrows. The level of causality was low however, the new trends in rustling had witnessed loss of lives and injuries of the loved ones. The researcher sought to find out the contribution of weaponry in the new trends of livestock rustling in Samburu and Marsabit Counties. The household respondents by 88.9% indicated availability of firearms has resulted to new trends in livestock rustling in Marsabit County as compared to 91.3% in Samburu County. Only 3.8% of the respondents in Marsabit and 5.0% in Samburu County that link livestock rustling with the availability of arms.

During the interview with key the informants, arms were largely blamed on new trends of livestock rustling. It revealed that to acquire a gun you needed money and this money could only be obtained from sale of livestock as it is the main source of livelihood in both Samburu and Marsabit Counties. The business people could offer one gun in exchange of up to five cattle and bullets were acquired using sheep, goats and chickens. Further the researcher noted that the community valued firearms a lot than their wives and any one in possession of guns was considered rich. As a result there had been incidents of raiding not only for livestock but also for guns. The results are as shown in Table 4

**Table 4: Firearms and criminalization**

<b>Firearms and criminalization</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Livestock rustling have evolved into a pattern of organized crime with immense criminal sophistication and efficiency	45	90.0%
Livestock rustlers operate with modern weaponry and their operations are marked by trans-locational and trans-national syndication	47	94.0%
Livestock rustling has metamorphosed from ordinary subsistence or livelihood crime into an organized crime with glaring correlations to politics, power and organized violence due to availability of fire arms	43	86.0%

**Source: Field Data (2015)**

**Conclusion**

The research unearthed that there had been new trend in livestock rustling in both Marsabit and Samburu counties. This new trend had been characterized by increase in frequency of raid regardless of the traditionally known motivations, month and season. Commercial demand for livestock and livestock product had resulted to organized criminal gangs and political motive which has exploited negative ethnicity rustling to in indiscriminate raiding of livestock such as cattle, camel, donkey, sheep and goats, household properties, food stuffs, businesses merchandise and even dispensaries for medicines.

The study recommended that, there was need to contain livestock rustling in pastoralist

communities. Establishment of a project resource centre would ensure the pastoral communities ‘turn on a new leaf’ through embracing alternative source of living (alternative development). Improved infrastructure such as roads, supply of clean tap water, and electricity among other necessities to help the communities engage in more productive socioeconomic activities. Communities should also be empowered through formal education to diversify to other economic activities apart from over reliance on livestock rearing. Community, governments both county and national, NGOs, CBO and FBOs should put in place elaborate coping mechanisms for the purposes of dealing with the livestock rustling menace in Samburu and Marsabit Counties



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