



Co-operating to Disarm

**REGIONAL REPORT ON THE NEXUS BETWEEN ILLICIT SALW PROLIFERATION
AND CATTLE RUSTLING**

ETHIOPIA, KENYA, SOMALIA, SOUTH SUDAN AND UGANDA



Co-operating to Disarm

VISION

“A safe and secure sub – region in a peaceful continent free from arms proliferation”

MISSION

To coordinate action against Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation in the Great Lakes region and Horn of Africa

CORE VALUES

Flexibility
Gender Sensitivity
Integrity
Professionalism
Partnership
Team Work
Transparency

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACL	Authority, Capacity and Legitimacy
ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
EAPCCO	East Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KIDDP	Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Project
LITS	Livestock Identification and Traceability Systems
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
RDU	Rapid Deployment Unit
RECSA	Regional Centre on Small and Light Weapons
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UN	United Nations

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.

Cattle rustling in the Horn and East African regions has existed for many centuries. Traditionally it was sanctioned by elders and played as a game aimed at replenishing lost herds and for cultural practices including dowry payment and as proof of one's manhood and bravery. However, in the last 30 years, the practice changed from a noble practice to a lethal commercial activity involving diverse actors. The extent and seriousness of cattle rustling in the region has largely been attributed to the availability of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW).

This study sought to establish the nexus between cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW and their impact on development and livelihoods. The study covered five countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Uganda.

The strong correlation between cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW creates a vicious cycle where illicit SALW creates a more violent business of cattle rustling. This in turn leads to higher proceeds, which facilitates the acquisition of more sophisticated illicit SALW. It was also established that in Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia cattle rustling has become more militarised and commercialised. In Somalia, livestock theft has replaced traditional cattle rustling while in Uganda government efforts have seen it reduce to cattle theft.

Proliferation of illicit SALW, porous borders, socio-cultural perceptions, weak legislations and inadequate state presence were identified as the main drivers of cattle rustling. In all the countries of study, governments in partnership with regional and international actors have put diverse measures to control cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW. Many of these efforts have borne limited results. In order to build resilience, the study recommends the following; control of proliferation of illicit SALW, increased cross-border collaboration, investment in alternative livelihood programs, promotion of cultural dialogue on conflict resolution mechanisms, strengthen local governance structures, and development and harmonization of livestock identification and traceability systems (LITS)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Cattle rustling in the Horn and East Africa regions needs to be analyzed in relation to the proliferation of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), porous borders that allow for easy circulation of stolen cattle, arms trade, and weak governance that indicates the government's lack of capacity and authority to curb the practice. In this study, cattle rustling means 'the stealing or planning, organizing, attempting, aiding or abetting the stealing of livestock by any person from one country or community to another, where the theft is accompanied by dangerous weapons and violence.'¹ In most cases, cattle rustling entails the use of illicit SALW. The Nairobi Protocol defines small arms "as weapons designed for personal use" while light weapons "are designed for use by people serving as a crew."²

Cattle rustling, previously practiced as a cultural heritage, is nowadays in most cases undertaken for economic benefits especially in Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan and Ethiopia. The practice is common in pastoral areas along the border regions of Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Livestock is today seen as a valuable commodity that has attracted business people from within and outside the countries of study. The shift in the nature and extent of cattle rustling is majorly attributed to the proliferation of illicit SALW and the increasing demand for beef nationally, regionally and internationally³

Cattle rustling has increasingly become lethal leading to deaths and destruction of property. This is a hitherto unknown phenomenon that has become part and parcel of armed cattle raiding. Most pastoralist regions lack social amenities and have minimal government presence. As a result, pastoral communities have resorted to using illicit SALW for self-protection, conflict resolution, and protection of their livestock.

¹Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO), 2008.

²Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa."

³The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (2014).

⁴Jonah Leff, "Pastoralists at War: Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Border Region," *International Conflict and Violence* 3, no.2 (2009), 188-203.

The primary objective of this study was to establish the nexus between cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW and how these two impact on human development and livelihoods. The study covered Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Uganda; herein referred to as the countries of study. The following objectives guided the study:

- i. To examine manifestations of cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW in the countries of study;
- ii. To identify drivers of cattle rustling in the countries of study;
- iii. To explain the impact of cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW on human development and livelihoods in the countries of study;
- iv. To identify existing intervention mechanisms addressing cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW in the countries of study.

1.2 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework guiding this study is grounded on three concepts of authority, capacity and legitimacy (ACL model), which analyses the role of the state in relation to the extent and impact of cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW on human development and governance.⁴

Authority refers to the ability of the state to enact binding legislation over its population and to provide the latter with a stable and safe environment.⁵ In relation to the countries of the study, authority was measured by considering the extent to which the government ensured human security to the citizens.⁶This in turn helped explain why citizens opt for illicit SALW to protect themselves and their animals instead of relying on government security forces. In Uganda, it was noted that citizens of Karamoja are increasingly relying on state protection rather than the use of illicit SALW. This helped explain why Uganda has seen reduced cases of cattle rustling. Authority also included assessing the functionality and effectiveness of security forces in protecting the citizens against internal and external aggression. This helped in understanding why there have been increased levels of cross-border cattle rustling in the Elemi triangle and along Ethiopia's borders with Kenya, Somalia and Uganda.

⁴David Carment, and Yiagadeesen Samy. "Assessing State Fragility: A Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Report." *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy & Norman Paterson School of International Affairs* (2012).

⁵Wim, Naudé, Amelia U. Santos-Paulino, and Mark McGilivray. *Fragile states: causes, costs, and responses*. Oxford University Press, 2011. pg 48

⁶Rotberg, Robert I. "The new nature of nation-state failure." *Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (2002): 83-96.

Legitimacy refers to the ability of the state to command public loyalty to the governing regime and to generate domestic support for government legislation being passed and policies being implemented.⁷ Legitimacy was also established by considering the extent to which major legal institutions dispense justice freely and fairly. It was found that within pastoral communities in South Sudan, Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, state legitimacy is not felt and pastoralists rely on parallel security systems based on indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. Cattle rustling is largely commissioned by elders and cultural attachment to livestock has led to the use of illicit SALW to raid among pastoralists. These communities hardly observe national state laws regarding livestock theft.

Capacity refers to the ability of states to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development, and safeguarding of the security and human rights of the population.⁸ Within the countries under study, capacity of states was assessed by considering the extent to which governments provide basic public entitlements including health, education, and infrastructure. The study found that the extent of this provision was largely inadequate in Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan while in Somalia majority of the populations rely on humanitarian aid from the international community.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Study Design and Sampling

To achieve the above objectives, the study employed a mixed-method study design involving both the quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Peoples' perceptions and opinions regarding the relationship and impact of cattle rustling and proliferation illicit SALW were considered.

Purposive sampling was used to ensure that specific key informants were reached for the relevant information. The key informants were identified based on their roles and level of knowledge and organizational representation. The selected individuals and groups played important roles in the society as far as analysis of cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW was concerned. Thus, the samples were from the categories of former cattle rustlers, law enforcement agencies, elders, local community members, non-government organizations (NGOs) and government officials.

2.2 Data collection and management

In preparation for data collection, the researchers acquired permission from the relevant government authorities in order to facilitate ease of access to the respondents. Respondents' consent was also sought before the data collection could begin. Secondary data was mainly from desk reviews of online journals, reports from various organizations, as well as various government publications, reports, and policy papers. Primary data was gathered through in-depth individual interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. It included data on the perceptions, opinions, and belief systems that encourage the possession of illicit SALWs, sustaining factors of cattle rustling, sources of small arms, and their impact on development.

Collected data was stored in notebooks as well as electronically. Databases were opened for each of the groups interviewed. Questionnaires were also sorted and stored in databases for ease of reference and to avoid loss. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained through the removal of names where they had been indicated, unless otherwise allowed by the respondents.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were generated. Quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics (means, percentages) while qualitative data was analysed by use of content analysis of the responses by the research participants and as derived from the literature reviewed. Descriptive statistics were used to summarize categorical variables. Data is presented in figures, tables, and narratives while guided by the thematic representation of the objectives of the study.

2.3 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The political crisis in South Sudan and Somalia made it difficult for researchers to move around in the course of conducting the field study. However, the researchers managed to conduct interviews in hotel premises, through phone and Skype.

Despite the fact that the researchers had permits and all relevant permissions, some government officials in all the countries of study were reluctant to provide the researchers with the relevant information while

⁷Wim Naude (2011). Op.cit

⁸Jones, Bruce, and Rahul Chandran. "Concepts and Dilemmas of State Building in Fragile Situations: from fragility to resilience." Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2008).

some respondents expected to be remunerated as a pre-condition for filling questionnaires. This was the case in Baringo in Kenya. In other countries, discussions on cattle rustling rekindled memories of earlier attacks by raiders and the pain experienced by some anti-stock theft police and internally displaced persons (IDPs) particularly in Kenya and South Sudan. In such cases, the researchers stopped the discussions for a while and allowed those who did not wish to continue to exit at any point they wished.

In some cases, researchers were challenged to explain why there had been so many groups collecting data on cattle rustling, yet no tangible help was forthcoming even though this had been promised over and over again. The research teams were therefore cautious not to make any promises. Further, the researchers explained the purpose of the research to the respondents. There were also some cases of language barrier, which made the researchers enlist the service of local translators.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.

Traditionally, cattle rustling⁹ was a cultural practice among pastoralist communities while using traditional weapons like spears and arrows. It often involved some level of violence, was redistributive, and only involved the theft of cattle to replenish herds after deaths from drought or to pay bride price. In Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia cattle rustling has, however, become rather common and lethal owing to the proliferation of illicit SALW in the region.¹⁰

In Uganda, cattle theft is conducted in small scale by individuals or organized groups, often involving the theft of 1-10 cattle. The theft is mainly driven by commercial interests of selling meat locally and abroad.¹¹ Hence, commercialization of cattle theft will refer to the act of stealing cattle for trade in cattle products. In Somalia, cattle theft has gone down but changed into livestock theft involving cattle, goats, sheep and camel. More than 40% of Somalia's gross domestic product (GDP) comes from the sale of livestock products. For efficiency in the stealing of cattle or livestock, raiders use illicit SALW, mainly

⁹Cattle rustling in this case is understood to include all livestock; cattle, sheep, goats, camels and donkeys among others.

¹⁰Kees Kingma, Frank Muhereza, Ryan Murray, Matthias Nowak, and Lilu Thapa, Security Provision and Small Arms in Karamoja A Survey of Perceptions, Special Report, Small Arms Survey. Available at: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/C-Special-reports/SAS-SR17-Karamoja.pdf> (accessed on 03/03/2016)

AK-47 to forcefully steal from individuals or communities. This is so in Somalia and Uganda where cattle rustling has been replaced by cattle/livestock theft. For the purposes of this report therefore, cattle theft and livestock theft applies to Uganda and Somalia, respectively.

3.1 Manifestations Of Cattle Rustling/ Theft And Proliferation Of Illicit Salw

Cattle rustling and cattle/livestock theft in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, South Sudan and Somalia is not a recent phenomenon. In these countries, pastoralism is predominantly practiced in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs). These areas are hot and dry, with low and erratic rainfall. Therefore, the only viable mode of production is pastoralism.

The borderlands that connect Kenya, Uganda, Southern Sudan and Ethiopia, and Kenya and Somalia are majorly dry lands. Pastoral communities whose social and economic life is structured around the maintenance and well-being of their livestock predominantly inhabit these areas.¹² Studies indicate that such livestock raids and theft are a regular feature among pastoralists in ASALs and is particularly prevalent during droughts and after, when it serves as a means of restocking decimated herds.¹³

Cattle rustling in Kenya is common in eastern, north eastern and North Rift regions (Baringo, Samburu, Isiolo, West Pokot, Turkana and Marsabit). In Ethiopia and South Sudan, it is predominantly common in the southern parts of these countries.¹⁴ However, in Uganda it was common in north-eastern region, commonly referred to as the Karamoja cluster.¹⁵ In Somalia, the prolonged nature of armed conflicts has overshadowed any other form of conflict, albeit livestock theft continues to pose serious threats to security in the Southern and Northern regions of the country. Livestock exports account for up to 40% of the GDP of Somalia. This means that livestock theft has become very lucrative given the ready market for meat abroad and within the region.

¹¹Jonah Leff, "Pastoralists at War: Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Border Region," *International Conflict and Violence* 3, no.2 (2009), 188-203.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Kaimba, George K., Bernard K. Njehia, and Abdi Y. Guliye."Effects of cattle rustling and household characteristics on migration decisions and herd size amongst pastoralists in Baringo District, Kenya." *Pastoralism*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (2011): 1-16.

¹⁴Shitarek, T. (2012). "Ethiopia Country Report." Available online at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/197474/Econ-Res-Ethiopia-Country-Report.pdf (Accessed on 2/2/2016)

¹⁵The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN), Baseline Study for the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster. Addis Ababa: CEWARN/IGAD, 2004.

The pastoral community in Somalia is about 60% of the population. Many of these communities are found in the Northern part of Somalia specifically in Haudi and Sool plateau as well as in the Bay region.¹⁶

Commercialization of cattle rustling: In all the countries of study, traditional cattle rustling was a noble cultural practice that was sanctioned and blessed by community elders.¹⁷ Studies indicate that in traditional cattle rustling, only small-scale violence was experienced.¹⁸ Instances of loss of human lives were rare, and when they occurred, the victims' families were always compensated by the killers in the form of cattle.

This kind of raiding was carried out to replenish lost herds, as a game and for purposes of dowry payment. Young men were also required to show their strength by raiding as many animals as one could. Moreover, raiding was deemed preparation for transition to manhood. In recent years, a new form of cattle rustling and cattle/livestock theft has emerged and elders have little or no control over the motives and nature of the raids. Middlemen and business people have increasingly replaced the traditional motive of raiding for replenishing lost herds. Cattle and livestock have thus become commodities for trade in the markets and new actors have financed herders to steal livestock for sale regionally and abroad.¹⁹

a) Role of illicit SALW

The proliferation of illicit SALW has pushed cattle rustling into newer heights. This is why many pastoral communities have become highly militarized significantly rely on SALW to protect or steal livestock.²⁰ Many of these illicit SALW are in the hands of unlicensed individuals, militias and bandits. In Kenya and Ethiopia, groups of Turkana and the Dassanech young men respectively conduct the raids while in South Sudan and Somalia, militias have been accused of engaging in well-organized cattle/livestock raid or theft. Within the context of

¹⁶Little, Peter. Unofficial trade when states are weak: The case of cross-border commerce in the Horn of Africa. No. 2005/13. Research Paper, UNU-WIDER, United Nations University (UNU), 2005.

¹⁷Yohannes, Michael Gebre, Kassaye Hadgu, and Zerihum Ambaye. "Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: the case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo zone." (2005).

¹⁸Cheserek, G. J., P. Omondi, and V. A. O. Odenyo. "Nature and causes of cattle rustling among some pastoral communities in Kenya." *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2012): 173-179.

¹⁹Titus Kaprom, 2015. Effects of cattle rustling on economic development: a case of Masol Location, west Pokot County. Unpublished thesis. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

instability in the two countries, many of these militias control sections of Somalia and South Sudan. In Uganda, cattle theft is largely practiced by individual herders financed by middlemen.²¹

b) Security threat:

Generally, pastoralists from these countries have been politically and socio-economically marginalized and there is limited state presence. This has led to increased insecurity, which has encouraged the acquisition of illicit SALW. The communities see these arms as a necessity for individual and community security and as a guarantee of power over other rival clans.²² Cattle rustling and theft have thus become an issue of not only national security, but a regional security threat too. Hundie (2010) observes that raids invoke revenge raids, which generalize the conflict and insecurity in the countries concerned.²³ Inter-ethnic and cross-border raids threaten the stability of the country and region as well as weaken the institutions of governance. Armed pastoralist communities tend to run parallel systems of governance, which can drastically diminish the legitimacy of the state.

This has been the case in Ethiopia around the Southern corridor of the Oromiyya; Kenya's Upper Eastern, Northern and Eastern regions; and in South Sudan's pastoral regions.

3.2 Drivers Of Cattle Rustling

The following sections reviews literature on the drivers of cattle rustling.

3.2.1 Proliferation of Illicit SALW

The proliferation of illicit SALW has been at the centre of cattle rustling in Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Somalia.²⁴ Livestock theft in Somalia and

²⁰Kennedy, Mktutu., Pastoralism and conflict in the Horn of Africa. Nairobi: Saferworld, 2001.

²¹Kennedy, Mktutu. Pastoral conflict and small arms: The Kenya-Uganda border region. Nairobi: Saferworld, 2003. See also, Kaimba, George K., Bernard K. Njehia, and Abdi Y. Guliye. "Effects of cattle rustling and household characteristics on migration decisions and herd size amongst pastoralists in Baringo District, Kenya." *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice*. VOL. 1, No. 1 (2011) 1-16. P. 1.

²²Yohannes, Michael Gebre, Kassaye Hadgu, and Zerihum Ambaye. "Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: the case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo zone." (2005).

²³Bekele Hundie. "Conflicts between Afar Pastoralists and their Neighbours: Triggers and Motivations, Institute of Public Management and Development Studies." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. Vol. 4, No. 1 (2010), p. 140.

²⁴Jonah Leff, J. 2009. Pastoralists at War: Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Border Region. *International Conflict and Violence*. Vol. 3(2), pp. 188-203. See also Mburu Nene. "The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The case for appropriate disarmament strategies' Peace, Conflict, and Development. Vol. 11, No. 2 (2002).

cattle theft in Uganda have likewise been catalysed by the use of illicit SALW. While the exact number of illicit SALW in these countries is unknown, diverse estimations exist. For instance in Kenya, according to the Annual State of the Nation Security Report to Parliament as at April 2016 there were 650,000 illicit SALW in circulation in the country.²⁵ There are an estimated 320,000²⁶ guns (both licit and illicit) in the hands of Ethiopian civilians. The estimated number of firearms in the hands of civilians in Uganda range from 15,000 to as many as 200,000.²⁷ The most common illicit SALW used by cattle rustlers and cattle/livestock theft in all the countries is the AK-47.

Most of these illicit SALW are obtained from countries in conflict or transitioning from conflicts. The flow of arms across countries has been made possible due to porous borders and corruption among border policing agents.²⁸ The arms circulate between Somalia, Southern Ethiopia, Northern Kenya and North-Eastern regions of Uganda, especially the Karamoja cluster region.²⁹ The availability of illicit SALW is not only from unstable countries, but also through corrupt security officials who lease out their weapons to the cattle/livestock rustlers. For example, the Kenyan and Ethiopian military and police officers have been accused of lending out their weapons to warriors for raiding purposes.³⁰

3.2.2 *Protracted conflicts*

The cyclic conflicts within the Horn of Africa have fuelled cattle rustling through the proliferation of illicit SALW, which find their way into the hands of pastoralist communities. For example, the Karamajong of Uganda in 1979 broke into Moroto military barracks and took unspecified number of weapons, after it was abandoned following the deposition of Idi Amin. These SALW later diffused into the hands of pastoral communities in neighbouring countries such as Kenya, unhindered by the porous boundaries.³¹ A similar incidence took place in Kapoeta, Southern Sudan in 2002, during the North-South war, when Toposa tribesmen seized thousands of weapons.³² These illicit SALW later diffused into the hands of some pastoral communities in Ethiopia, such as the Nyagatom and the Dassanech. In Ethiopia, pastoral communities acquired illicit SALW from dealers or former soldiers from the Derg regime.³³ In Somalia, the fall of Siad Barre in early 1990s led to diffusion of state armoury into the hands of civilians.

These illicit SALW; therefore, continue to circulate and are recycled in the region due to shared borders and spill over effects of the prevailing political instability in some countries.

3.2.3 *Poor/weak governance*

The inability of governments to guarantee security and safety of all its citizens and their property is a major cause and justification for the proliferation of illicit SALW among pastoralists' communities.³⁴ Pastoral communities in the five countries of study have continued to be marginalised and underdeveloped by their states.

The Dassanech in Ethiopia, Samburu and Turkana of Kenya, Toposa of South Sudan and the Karamoja region in Uganda record the lowest access to basic public services such as education, human health services, and infrastructures roads, telephones and markets.³⁵ The communities have therefore armed themselves citing insecurity and neglect by their governments. The presence of illicit SALW has in return created threats to rival communities, which in response arm themselves. This is stimulated by porous and expansive borders and ineffectual security organs, which further reveal the governments' inability to protect their borders, hence the prevalence of cross border cattle rustling.

3.2.4 *Social cultural values and perceptions*

Cattle rustling among pastoralists is a phenomenon that stretches back to many centuries. It was however, not practiced as a commercial, but a cultural activity by the youth.

²⁵Moses Nyamori, 2016. "650,000 illegal firearms in circulation in Kenya, report reveals." Standard Digital. Available at: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000198259/report> (Accessed on 18/4/2016)

²⁶Aaron Karp. "Completing the count: Civilian firearms." Small arms survey (2007): 67.

²⁷Manasseh, Wepundi and Karina Lynge with Anna Alvazzidel Frate and Irene Paves. *Evolving Traditional Practices Managing Light weapons in the Horn of Africa and Karamoja Cluster*. Armed Actor Issue Brief, No. 3 (2012), p. 3.

²⁸Alemmaya, Mulugeta and Tobias Hagmann, 'Governing violence in the pastoralist space: Karrayu and state notions of cattle raiding in the Ethiopian Awash Valley' *Afrika focus* 21, 2, (2008), 71-87.

²⁹Kennedy, Mketu. *Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya- Uganda Border Region*. Nairobi: Saferworld 2003.

³⁰Jonah, Leff, "Pastoralists at War: Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Border Region." *International Conflict and Violence* 3, 2 (2009), 188-203

³¹Ibid. See also Kennedy, Mketu. "Impact of Small Arms Insecurity on the Public Health of Pastoralists in the Kenya-Uganda Border Regions." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 47 (1) (February 2007): 33-56.

³²Jonah, Leff, (2009). Op cit.

³³Yohannes, Michael Gebre, Kassaye Hadgu, and Zerihum Ambaye. "Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: the case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo zone." (2005).

³⁴Jonah, Leff, (2009). Op cit.

³⁵Solomon, Desta, "Pastoralism and development in Ethiopia." *Economic Focus* 9, no. 3 (2006): 12-20.

It was redistributive and only involved theft of cattle to replenish herds after death from drought or to pay bride price.³⁶ Livestock was also used for, conflict resolution, currency, celebrations, and rituals.³⁷ In addition, livestock was considered a source of wealth among pastoralists' societies, and thus, a lot of importance was (and is still) attached to livestock. Wealth bestowed prestige and influence on an individual and was measured in terms of the number of livestock one possessed among pastoralists.³⁸ For young men who have no assets, cattle rustling was important since it helped them start the process of accumulation.³⁹ Among all the pastoral communities the attachment to cattle is still strong. Among the Dassanech, Nyagatom, Murle, Turkana, Somalis and the Karamoja dowry is still paid in the form of cattle. Sentiments of heroism emanating from cattle rustling are also strong among pastoral communities.

3.2.5 Commercialization of cattle rustling

The emergence of local elites that aim to benefit from cattle rustling has led to commercialization of cattle rustling and cattle/livestock theft. This has been informed by the increased economic incentives that did not exist before. Local businesspersons and politicians perpetuate this emerging trend by funding raids in order to sell cattle on the black market or for export to the Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia.⁴⁰ For example, between the Pokot and Turkana of Kenya the situation has been perpetuated by the 'well connected' individuals through the exploitation of the communities' grievances against the government. This has enabled the creation of strong and heavily armed private armies, which, apart from providing local security, also go on cattle raids.⁴¹ Commercialization of cattle rustling and cattle/ livestock theft are largely attributed to the expanding global market for livestock and livestock products.⁴² In Somalia, livestock trade contributes to 40% of the gross domestic product (GDP), which could be an incentive for cattle theft.⁴³ The effects of commercialized livestock raiding is creating a black market for commercial livestock trading that spans

³⁶Jonah, Leff, (2009). Op cit.

³⁷Andrew, Green, 2015. "Cows and Conflict: South Sudan's "slow motion" livestock crisis," Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN). Available at: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/101012/cows-and-conflict-south-sudans-%E2%80%9Cslow-motion%E2%80%9D-livestock-crisis> (Accessed on 19/05/2016)

³⁸Andy Catley, *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins*. London: Routledge, 2013.

³⁹Yohannes, Michael Gebre, Kassaye Hadgu, and Zerihum Ambaye. "Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: the case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo zone." (2005).

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹G. Oguda, 2012. "Cattle Rustling and Banditry in Kenya: What You Need To Know" Available at: <https://oguda.wordpress.com/2012/11/15/cattle-rustling-and-banditry-in-kenya-what-you-need-to-know/> (Accessed on 4/4/2016).

the localities, urban areas and the wider region and is facilitated by individuals with strategic connections through local agents in the rural areas.⁴⁴

3.3 Impact Of Cattle Rustling And Proliferation Illicit Salw On Development And Livelihoods

3.3.1 Social impact

Increased cattle rustling/theft and illicit SALW have had adverse impacts on human development in the region. Raids lead to death, loss and destruction of property, deterioration of the health situation, and derailment of development projects. In some cases, children are locked out of school and as a result could continue to lag behind in all spheres of human development.⁴⁵ Generally, pastoral areas continue to report high illiteracy levels due to school dropouts, lack of education infrastructure and where they exist, they occasionally remain closed due to insecurity. For instance in South Sudan, there are cases where school have been destroyed and due to fear of attacks, teachers and children dread going to schools.⁴⁶ Moreover, many hospitals around pastoral areas in the countries under study have been attacked and looted.⁴⁷

Many people have been displaced and lives lost during cattle raids. In Kenya, between January 2012 and 2014, 580 people were killed.⁴⁸ There are also massive displacements of people due to fear of raids or attacks by armed raiders.⁴⁹ In South Sudan, cattle rustling happened on 15th April 2016 when the Murle from South Sudan crossed the border and attacked villages in the Nuer-inhabited districts of Jikaw and Lare of the Gambella Region in Ethiopia. The Murle killed more than 200 people and abducted 102 children.⁵⁰ While in Uganda, following the 1999 drought the Karamoja communities clashed with neighbouring communities forcing 135, 000 to leave their homes.⁵¹ In South Sudan, over 26,000 people died between 2011 and 2012 while hundreds have gone missing.⁵²

3.3.2 Economic impact

Pastoral regions in these countries have high poverty due to government marginalization and extensive livestock losses due to perennial droughts. As it has

⁴²Joshia, Osamba. "The sociology of insecurity: cattle rustling and banditry in north-western Kenya." African Journal on Conflict Resolution. Vol. 1, No. 2 (2000) 11-38. pp. 35.

⁴³Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015. "Somalia registers record exports of 5 million livestock in 2014." Available at: <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/283777/icode/> (Accessed on 19/05/2016)

⁴⁴Joshia, Osamba. "The sociology of insecurity: cattle rustling and banditry in north-western Kenya." African Journal on Conflict Resolution. Vol. 1, No. 2 (2000) 11-38. pp. 35.

been observed, livestock is the currency of many pastoralist groups; therefore, when all livestock is raided and breadwinners killed, those left behind live in abject poverty and food insecurity.⁵³ The increase in poverty is attributed to significant loss of animals because of cattle rustling/theft and drought. This scenario explains the high numbers of people who are dependent on food aid among the pastoral communities in these countries. The prevailing insecurity in these regions has also made it hard to implement development projects.⁵⁴ This has created high cost of doing business, therefore reducing productivity of businesses, and compromised entry of investments in these regions.

3.3.3 Political impact

Cattle rustling also causes political instability as manifested in some of these countries. South Sudan is a reminiscent case, since cattle rustling has been politicized and rebel leaders have used it to fuel tension and carry out revenge on rival community. In November 2012, for example, many incidences of cattle rustling were recorded in Jonglei State due to increased YauYau militia onslaught in the region.⁵⁵ The YauYau rebellion has used cattle rustling as a tool to carry out revenge on political rivals. Similarly, cattle rustling in Kenya has been used as a tool by political barons who organize raids to drive out their political rivals and extend their business interests.⁵⁶ In Northern Kenya, for instance, ethnic mobilization is used in distribution of resources and to influence elections and electoral outcomes.⁵⁷ The situation also plays out in Ethiopia and Uganda, with politicians taking advantage of communities' rivalry to advance their political interests. In this regard, cattle rustling/theft develops as a way of dealing with the rivals or the perceived enemies.⁵⁸ This leads to a cycle of violence, therefore, providing a recipe for acquiring illicit SALW.

4.0 KEY FINDINGS

This section presents the findings of the study and is divided into four subsections of manifestations, drivers, impact on livelihood and human development and existing interventions.

4.1 Manifestations Of Cattle Rustling And Proliferation Illicit Salw

Extent of Cattle rustling: Cattle rustling in Kenya is common in Eastern, North Eastern and North Rift

Rift regions (Baringo, Samburu, Isiolo, West Pokot, Turkana and Marsabit). The practice is predominantly common in the Southern parts of Ethiopia and South Sudan. According to 84% of the respondents, cattle rustling has significantly reduced in the Karamoja region in Uganda and to some extent has been replaced by cattle/livestock theft. Majority of the respondents (84%) in Somalia indicated that cattle rustling had drastically gone down despite the protracted political instability. However, livestock theft is common in the country, mainly for commercial purposes. Livestock exports account for up to 40% of the GDP of Somalia. This means that livestock theft has become very lucrative given the ready market for meat abroad, which equally makes the tracing of stolen animals difficult. Pastoral communities from South Sudan also kidnap children during the raids, so that they can be nurtured to be future wives of the raiders.

⁴³Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015. "Somalia registers record exports of 5 million livestock in 2014." Available at: <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/283777/icode/> (Accessed on 19/05/2016)

⁴⁴Kennedy, Mktutu. Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya- Uganda Border Region. Nairobi: Saferworld, 2003.

⁴⁵Lorelle, Jabs, "When two elephants meet on the grass suffers. American Behavioural Scientist." Sage Publications 50, no. 11 (2007): 1498-1519.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Richard, Downie, The state of public health in South Sudan critical condition. Washington, DC: CSIS, 2012.

⁴⁸Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN), 2014. "Cattle raiding and politics of business in Kenya." IRIN. Available at: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99846/cattle-rustling-and-politics-business-kenya> (Accessed on 19/04/2016)

⁴⁹Jeffrey, Gettleman, 2012. "Cattle rustlers kill police officers during ambush in northern Kenya." New York Times. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/13/world/africa/kenyan-officers-killed-in-attack-by-cattle-rustlers.html?_r=0 (Accessed on 4/03/2016).

⁵⁰Radio Tamzuj, 2016. "7 questions about the Gambella raid in Ethiopia," ECADF. Available at: <http://ecadforum.com/2016/04/21/7-questions-about-the-gambella-raid-in-ethiopia/> (Accessed on 20/05/2016)

⁵¹The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) Unit of the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), 2007. "Report of the IGAD Regional Workshop on the Disarmament of Pastoralist Communities, from 28-30 May 2007 The Imperial Resort Beach Hotel Entebbe, Uganda" Available at: http://cewarn.org/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&download=197:igad-regional-workshop-on-the-disarmament-of-pastoralist-communities&id=2:special-report&Itemid=545&lang=en

⁵²Aljazeera, 2015. "US proposes UN arms embargo on South Sudan." War and Conflict. Available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/arms-embargo-south-sudan-security-council-150819235655428.html>

⁵³Kennedy Mktutu, 2001. "Pastoralist and conflict in the Horn of Africa." Nairobi: Saferworld, 2001.

⁵⁴Titus Kaprom, 2015. Effects of cattle rustling on economic development: a case of Masol Location, west Pokot County. Unpublished thesis. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

⁵⁵Small Arms Survey Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) for Sudan and South Sudan, "David YauYau Rebellion," Available at: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.com/fileadmin/docs/facts-figures/south-sudan/armed-groups/southern-dissident-militias/HSBA-Armed-Groups-Yau-Yau.pdf> (Accessed on 28/04/2016)

⁵⁶Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN), 2014. "Cattle-rustling and the politics of business in Kenya." Available at: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99846/cattle-rustling-and-politics-business-kenya> (Accessed on 19/04/2016)

⁵⁷Clemens Greiner, "Guns, Land, And Votes: Cattle Rustling And The Politics Of Boundary (Re)Making In Northern Kenya," African Affairs 112, 447 (2013) 216-237.

⁵⁸Ibid

Role of illicit SALW: Illicit SALW trade is common within and across the borders of the countries of study, with the AK-47 being the most commonly used weapon. The flows and routes of the illicit SALW vary. For instance, 82% of respondents in Somalia observed that the proliferation of illicit SALW is largely attributed to the Al-Shabaab militia.

The study established that illicit SALW used for cattle rustling and livestock theft flow from within and outside of the countries of study through the porous borders. In Kenya, 63% of the respondents acknowledged that there is constant flow of arms between different pastoralist clans and ethnic groups as well as borders with Ethiopia and South Sudan. In Uganda, 58% of the respondents held the view that disarmament program by the government had drastically brought down the proliferation of illicit SALW. As a result, the flow and use of SALW is now limited to sporadic organized crimes. In South Sudan, 60% of the respondents attributed the flow

of SALW to various ethnic communities, military, militia groups and across borders. In Ethiopia, 74% the respondents identified inter-ethnic conflicts and cross border trade as the key channels for illicit SALW distribution.

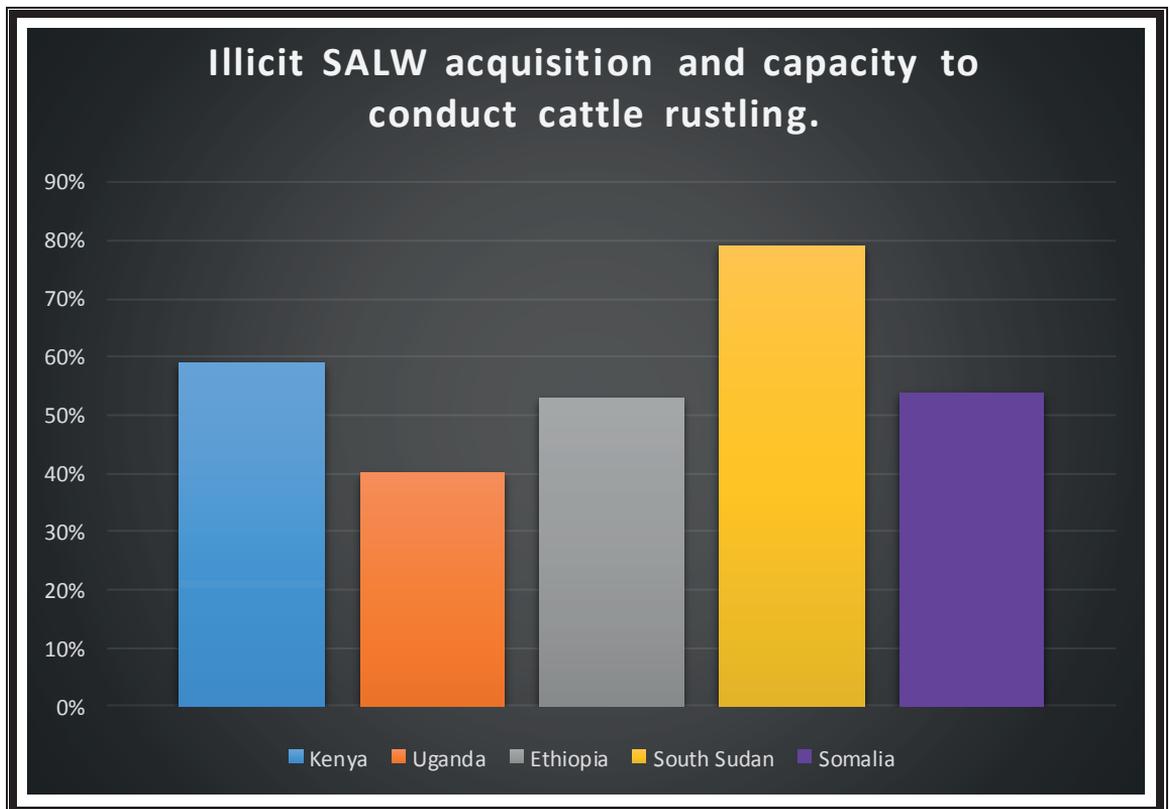
4.2 Drivers Of Cattle Rustling

The study established the following as the drivers of cattle rustling proliferation of illicit SALW, weak legislation, porous borders, inadequate state presence and politicisation and commercialisation as discussed below.

4.2.1 Proliferation of Illicit SALW

Other than Uganda, all the respondents observed that proliferation of illicit SALW among pastoralist communities was rife. These illicit SALW have in turn enhanced the capacity for diverse actors to engage in cattle/livestock theft and raids as shown in the figure below

Figure 1: Illicit SALW acquisition and capacity to conduct cattle rustling.



Source: Research Findings

Respondents largely attributed cattle rustling to enhanced capacity to conduct armed raids through the availability and use of illicit SALW. Varying percentages of respondents made this observation: in Kenya 59%; Uganda 40%; Ethiopia 53%; South Sudan 79% and Somalia 54%.

Uganda scored the lowest among the countries of study due to its firm control on illicit SALW and strong presence of security in the Karamoja region. Interestingly, in all countries of study more than 50% of the respondents were aware that AK-47 was the most commonly used type of weapon and that it was estimated to cost between \$100-\$200. In all countries, most participants (more than 50%) were certain that AK-47 cost more than \$50 in value. However, in some cases illicit SALW are acquired through exchange of a few cows, depending on an agreed price, this was the case in South Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia. The low value of acquiring firearms and the option of acquiring it through barter trade illustrates the ease of acquiring firearms for use during cattle raids.

The study established that illicit SALW used for cattle rustling and livestock theft flow from within and outside of the countries of study through the porous borders. In Kenya, 63% of the respondents acknowledge that there is constant flow of arms between different pastoralist clans and ethnic groups as well as across the borders. In Ethiopia respondents (74%), identified inter-ethnic conflicts and cross border trade as the key channels for illicit SALW distribution. In South Sudan, the flow of arms was identified by 60% of respondents to be between various ethnic communities, military and militia groups. However, in Uganda 58% of the respondents held the view that cattle rustling has reduced to cattle theft. This was due to the disarmament program, increased government presence and the provision of alternative livelihood to communities in Karamoja region.

4.2.2 *Socio-cultural values and perceptions*

In all the countries of study majority of respondents asserted that pastoralist communities place high cultural value on possession of livestock, particularly cattle and camels. This is because livestock is not only a source of wealth, but also the primary commodity for dowry payment. Heroism in cattle rustling and killing of opponent ethnic group, clan, or revenge attacks are acknowledged as cultural values among most of the pastoralist communities.

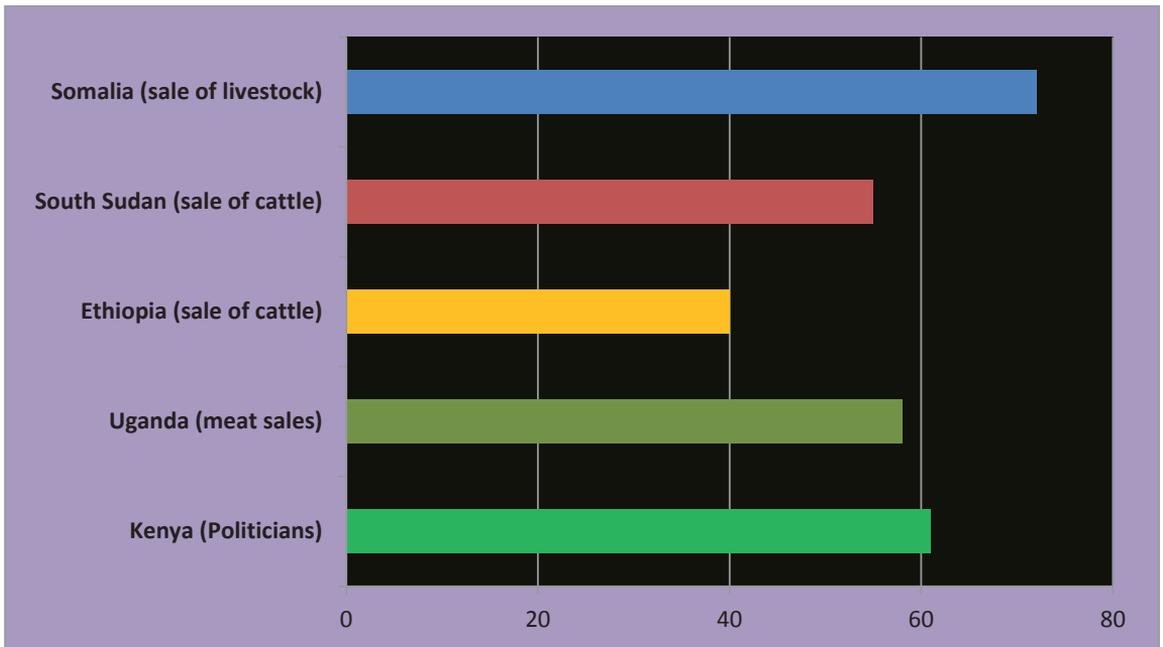
The socio-cultural perceptions and practices of the pastoralist communities combined with ethnic rivalry have intensified cattle rustling, and made it more lethal with the use of easily available illicit SALW. In this regard, communities have often engaged in raids as a way of outwitting one another. For instance, the Murle of Ethiopia and South Sudan believe that all cattle belong to them. They would therefore go to any length to acquire cattle. Conflicts have thus been witnessed among the Dinka, Nuer and Murle communities in South Sudan; Pokot and Turkana of Kenya and Karamajong of Uganda; Nyangatom, the Murle and the Nuer of Ethiopia and South Sudan as well as Somalis of Somalia; Turkana of Kenya and Dassenech of Ethiopia; and the Toposa of South Sudan and Karamajong of Uganda.

These rivalries always create a cycle of raids and counter raids leading to instability within the region. The most recent major incident of cattle rustling happened on 15th April 2016 when the Murle from South Sudan crossed the border and attacked villages in the Nuer-inhabited districts of Jikaw and Lare of the Gambella Region. The Murle killed more than 200 people and abducted 102 children. The Ethiopia forces pursued the raiders across the border.

4.2.3 *Commercialization and politicisation of cattle rustling*

In all the countries of study, the majority of the participants held the view that the evolution of cattle rustling from traditional practice to large-scale commercialization has intensified the violence associated with this practice. The results are shown in figure 2 below:

Figure 2: Perceptions on commercialization and politicisation of cattle rustling.



Source: Research Findings

The increasing demand for beef in urban centres across the region such as Kampala, Nairobi and Middle East countries (in the case of Somalia) has increased incidences of livestock rustling and theft for trade. In Kenya, 61% of the respondents identified business persons and politicians as key financiers of cattle rustling for commercial and political purposes. In South Sudan 55% of the respondents considered cattle rustling as a lucrative business given that stolen cattle are sold for beef as well as across the border into Ethiopia. According to 40% of respondents in Ethiopia, some of the stolen cattle are sold in Kenya which has a more lucrative market. In Somalia, 72% of the respondents attributed livestock theft to the ready market available in the Middle East. Often the stolen livestock is irretraceable and disappears fast into the foreign markets.

4.2.4 Porous borders

A regional average of the respondents (70%) attributed the proliferation of illicit SALW and cattle rustling to porous borders, which the governments were unable to control. Livestock stolen from one country can easily be sold in another country. In all the countries, there was consensus that due to unpoliced borders raiders can easily traverse South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya

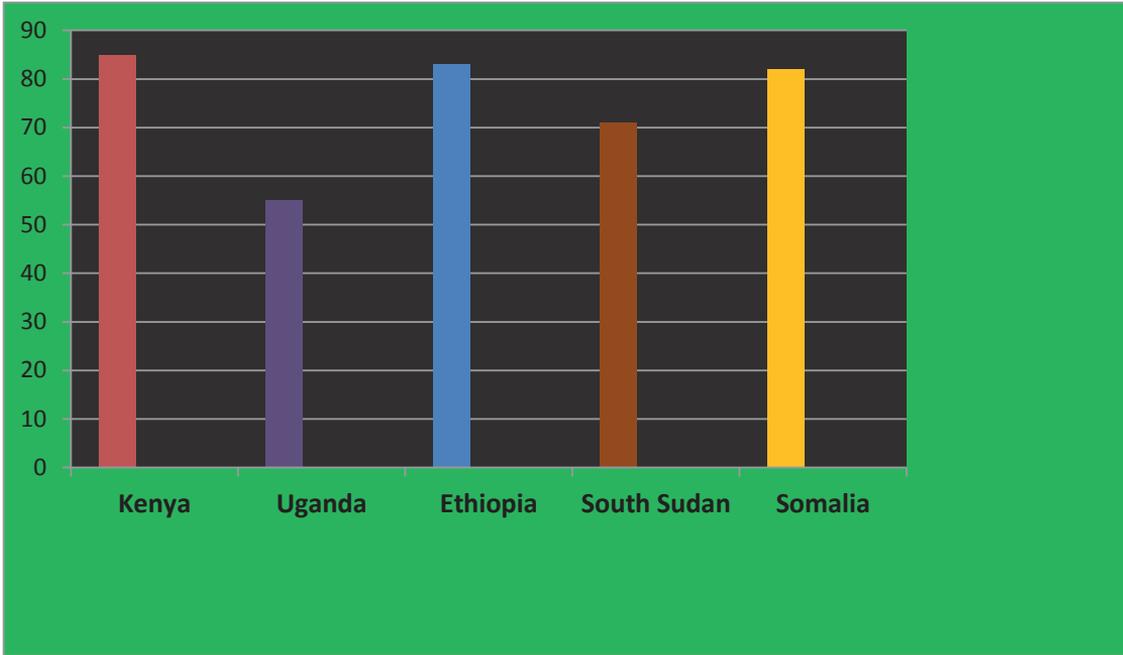
and Uganda with stolen livestock. This is strengthened by the linguistic and cultural similarities that many of the pastoral communities exhibit.

Interestingly, communities living along the Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan border are closely related. They have a common language and culture and stealing cattle has thus been complicated by the fact that one community could easily raid and cross the border without fear of being caught. For instance, the Toposa are found in South Omo in Ethiopia and in South Sudan. The Turkana and the Dassanech on the other hand are cross border neighbours, speak a similar language and often raid animals from the Toposa. In this regard, cross border attacks occur between the Turkana and Gabra of Kenya; the Toposa of South Sudan and border ethnic communities in Ethiopia; the Dassanech and Turkana; Nyagatom of Ethiopia or South Sudan and Turkana, among others. Many of these communities have their relatives in each of the countries. This has complicated efforts at disarmament. However, the case of Uganda is different since there is improved security along the borders thus hindering easy proliferation of illicit SALW.

4.2.5 Weak legislations

In all the countries of study legislation against proliferation of illicit SALW and cattle rustling or livestock theft has been weak and does not meet the changing dynamics of cattle rustling as demonstrated in the figure 3 below:

Figure 3: Perceptions on whether cattle rustling and cattle/livestock theft thrives because of weak legislations



Source: Research Findings

The majority of informants responded in the affirmative to the question on whether cattle rustling thrives because of weak anti-cattle rustling laws as follows: Kenya 85%; Ethiopia 83%; Somalia 82%; South Sudan 71%; and Uganda 55%. According to these respondents, proliferation of illicit SALW and cattle rustling continue in these countries due to the weaknesses and gaps of existing laws. Uganda scored the least because the government made deliberate interventions in Karamoja to get rid of illicit SALW in the region, by opening up roads, stationing of military and local police defence units, among others. However, the country is yet to harmonize its SALW law to international and regional standards.

4.2.6 Inadequate state presence

The study established that other than Uganda, all the pastoral regions were marginalized as evidenced by lack of social service delivery, inadequate security units and lack of alternative livelihood activities. The inadequate economic opportunities and security

has driven them to acquire SALW for protection. It is also important to note that these illicit SALW are diverted to undertake criminal activities including cattle rustling.

4.3 Impact Of Cattle Rustling And Proliferation Illicit Salw

4.3.1 Economic impact

The study observed that cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW as well as cattle/livestock theft in the ASAL regions has increased poverty and reduced or prevented foreign investments and growth of industries. The number of respondents who considered foreign investment to be the most affected varied per country as follows: Somalia 64%; South Sudan 42%; Uganda 7%; Kenya 60%; and Ethiopia 42%. These figures show that Somalia was the most affected given the protracted conflicts, while Uganda was least affected due to increased government infrastructural investment in the Karamoja region.

Responses varied concerning the impact of illicit SALW and cattle rustling on infrastructural development: Somalia 54%; South Sudan 61%; Uganda 12%; Kenya 69%; Ethiopia 58%. Other than Uganda, the general sentiments in all the four countries were that the regions have been economically marginalized. In essence, cattle rustling has created poverty among the communities. Cattle rustling and livestock theft tend to impoverish affected families who would be either tempted to mount revenge attacks or remain poorer. Such attacks have contributed to the lack of sustainable economy, subsequently leading to impoverishment of the pastoral communities in general.

4.3.2 *Decline in provision of social amenities*

Majority of the respondents in all the countries of study strongly held the view that the pastoralist regions did not receive adequate provision of social services like health and education. Education was cited by the majority of the respondents as one of the single most affected sectors: Somalia 77%; South Sudan 58%; Uganda 66%; Kenya 65%; and Ethiopia 75%. Provision of basic health care was also variably cited as highly impacted as follows: Somalia 54%; South Sudan 66%; Uganda 41%; Kenya 53%; Ethiopia 56%. Most pastoralist communities rely on traditional medicines for their survival due to inadequate health care services. Even where such facilities are available, they have been abandoned due to insecurity caused by raids and armed conflicts.

4.3.3 *Insecurity:*

The study established that there is a very strong link between cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW in all the countries of study. Majority of the participants cited insecurity in the region as a major issue of concern. The range of people who cited security as the most important issue of concern were as follows: Somalia 73%; South Sudan 69%; Uganda 62%; Kenya 80%; and Ethiopia 72%. Kenya scored the highest recognition from the participants particularly because it has had one of the highest incidences of fatal sectarian violence from cattle rustling. Coupled with this are the concerns over terrorism, which has been common in the pastoral community areas such as the North Eastern parts of the country. The same is replicated in Somalia where terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab have been fighting the Somali National Army.

In fact, due to lack of education and diversification of income opportunities, the pastoralist communities have remained at the mercies of political elites. Cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW breeds insecurity due to counter accusations and revenge attacks.

4.4 *Existing Interventions*

In all the countries of study, the study established that several measures have been undertaken at national and international levels to deal with cattle rustling as discussed below:

4.4.1 *National measures*

There have been diverse attempts to address the challenge of cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW. Uganda particularly stands out as an example to emulate. Uganda has conducted successful community based disarmament, increased the security within the Karamoja region and along its borders, as well as provided alternative livelihoods under the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Project (KIDDP). KIDDP also focussed on disarmament to create gun free society in Karamoja taking cognisance of the fact that disarmament alone cannot necessarily lead to sustainable peace following past experiences. Therefore, the program was to complement the disarmament process with not only focussing peace-building initiatives, but also promoting long-term interventions that support the new pastoral livelihoods projects. The KIDDP initiative also supports the development of viable alternative forms of livelihood to promote resilience.

Kenya and Ethiopia have also attempted alternative livelihood programs in the pastoralist communities through the introduction of sedentary lifestyle activities such as irrigation, farming, development of water points, and construction of schools at specific locations. In the North Eastern parts of Kenya, pastoralists are practicing rain-fed cultivation, aloe soap production and trading. In Ethiopia, some pastoralist communities in the South Omo have started charcoal trade, crop production and multiple trade in local products.

Arms registration has been used by Kenya and Ethiopia as a means of controlling illicit SALW and reducing incidences of cattle rustling. This process turns illicit SALW into legally recognized arms. However, the challenge lies in the identification of routes and flows of arms; control of the acquisition of new arms; and disposal of the registered arms. Besides, the government may not have control on how the arms are used. Kenya has attempted both voluntary and forceful disarmament, both of which have not been successful because they piecemeal nature. South Sudan on its part initiated a number of disarmament programs in 2013, 2014 and 2015. However, these efforts are yet to bear fruit given the diverse fragility situations that the country continues to face. In Somalia, there is no elaborate disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process given the presence of multiple armed groups and the government's incapacity to control the entire country.

4.4.2 Regional Approaches

a) **Bilateral agreements**

There have been regional efforts to improve security along the border regions shared by the pastoralist communities. Government officials from Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda affirmed the bilateral agreements between Kenya and Uganda and Ethiopia and Kenya. These countries conduct regular meetings to discuss peace and security in the border region. For instance, In December 2015, the Presidents of Kenya and Ethiopia agreed to improve security in the border region and develop alternative livelihood programs under the integrated cross-border and area-based Programme.

b) **The Nairobi Protocol**

All the countries under study are signatories to the Nairobi Protocol on the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States (2004). This protocol has helped in reduction of SALW proliferation and in return reducing cattle rustling. It is through this protocol, that RECSA was established and has been instrumental in coordinating the member states in marking and electronic keeping of firearms, arms destruction, review of the SALW legislation, and development of a national action plans on SALW control and management.

c) **Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)**

IGAD has also played a key role in the establishment of an early warning mechanism through the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN). This organization is important in monitoring conflicts and identifying the potential conflicts within the Horn of Africa. IGAD's Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative is a regional initiative aimed at assisting pastoralist communities in Kenya, Uganda, Djibouti and Ethiopia in responding to the challenges of drought, livestock and natural resources management, as well as development of alternative livelihoods through resilience projects (food and economic security).

d) **East Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO) Protocol**

EAPCCO developed a Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, which is yet to come into force.

4.4.3 International interventions

Bilateral and multilateral agencies continue to support the respective countries in development initiatives intended to improve the living conditions of people in arid areas (including pastoral communities). A good example is the African Development Bank funded Project through IGAD on Drought covering Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan. In Ethiopia, the European Union (EU) has funded the leasing and fencing of some of the pastoral land. This is aimed at maintaining pasture areas, which will cover the pasture needs of all communities during dry spell in order to prevent conflict in such times.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though the above interventions have been undertaken, they have not been effective enough in addressing cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW in the Horn of Africa; therefore, the study offers the following recommendations in building resilience:

Control of proliferation of illicit SALW: It is important to strengthen regional initiatives to control the flow of SALW across the border and to seal the common routes of arms trade. A comprehensive implementation of the Nairobi Protocol would be paramount in eradicating illicit SALW in the countries of study. Cross-border collaboration: there is need to improve cross border relations, develop and strengthen cross-border monitoring and information, evidence and intelligence sharing on cattle rustling and illicit SALW proliferation. The implementation of simultaneous operations on civilian disarmaments in the affected countries would yield long-term results.

Alternative livelihood programs: the improvement of service delivery by the government to the affected communities is paramount. Any alternative livelihood program should address the security and economic needs of the pastoral communities. The governments for example could build abattoirs and meat-processing factories that will provide both monetary incomes, control the population of the livestock and improve the social amenities in the region. Provision of water sources and drought resistant pastures would go a long way to build community resilience.

Cultural dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms: There is need for cultural dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms across ethnic groups or diverse clans. The governments will need to negotiate with the communities to develop hybrid mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms that include culturally and legally binding reparations in order to sustain long peaceful coexistence.

Strengthen local governance structures: The governments will need to negotiate with pastoralist communities on how to administratively manage the areas where government presence is inadequate. There are already initiatives in place in Ethiopia and Kenya where local ethnic and clan leaders work

closely with the chiefs and county commissioners to monitor peace. However, the governments can jointly train the local ethnic and clan leaders as well as the government administrators on how to jointly monitor the flow of illicit SALW and cattle rustling activities. This example of Ethiopia and Kenya should be emulated by other countries.

Development and harmonization of livestock identification and traceability systems (LITS): Increased use of the LITS system for managing infectious diseases and animal movements as well as creating access for information to different market chains would be important. LITS could also be used to deter cattle rustling since the movements of identified livestock can be traced. There is therefore need to for regional harmonization of livestock identification and traceability systems in different countries as well as integration of traditional identification mechanisms undertaken by different pastoralist communities.

CONCLUSION

The study established that there is a strong nexus between cattle rustling and proliferation of illicit SALW. The correlation between the two creates a vicious cycle where illicit SALW creates a more violent business of cattle rustling. This in turn leads to higher proceeds, which facilitates the acquisition of more sophisticated illicit SALW. It was also established that in Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia cattle rustling has become more militarised and commercialised. In Somalia, livestock theft has replaced traditional cattle rustling while in Uganda government efforts has seen it reduce to cattle theft.

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AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK GROUP



HOW TO CONTACT US

Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons
7th Floor, Timau Plaza, Arwings Khodek Road, Nairobi, Kenya
P.O. Box 7039-00200, Nairobi Kenya
Tel: +254-20-3876203, +254-20-3876023
Fax: +254-20-3877397

