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Sports in Cross Border Cattle Rustling Conflict Management: The Case of
Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation

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Declaration

This is my original work and has not been presented for the award of degree in any other university.

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DATE

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

DR. OCHIENG' KAMUDHAYI

DATE

Dedication

To my beloved husband, Stephen Maribie and my lovely sons Serian and Leyian, for your love and understanding during the compilation of this project.

Acknowledgement

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3.1 Introduction.....	37
3.2 Conflict Mitigation Programmes in Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation	38
3.2.1 Education for Peace Programme.....	38
3.2.2 Enterprise and Livelihoods Programme.....	40
3.2.3 Environment for Peace Programme	41
3.2.4 Peace Building and Conflict Mitigation Programme	43
3.3 Conclusion	48

CHAPTER FOUR..... 49

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF TEGLA LOROUPE PEACE FOUNDATION IN MITIGATION OF CONFLICTS	49
4.1 Introduction.....	49
4.2 Education	49
4.3 Peace Races.....	53
4.4 Alternative Sources of Livelihoods	55
4.5 Rehabilitation of Warriors	57
4.6 Community Peace Dialogues and Dispute Resolution	59
4.7 Capacity Building	60
4.8 Advocacy	60
4.9 Environmental Conservation	61
4.10 Transformation from a Conflict into a Relatively Peaceful Environment.....	63
4.11 Challenges Faced By TLPF	63
4.12 Conclusion	65

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION.....	67
5.1 Introduction.....	67
5.2 Summary of the Findings.....	67
5.3 Discussion on the Findings.....	68
5.4 Conclusion	71
5.5 Recommendations.....	71

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX: AN INTERVIEW GUIDE

Abstract

Sport has been a unifying factor amongst peoples of different races, culture, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Sport therefore has been very instrumental in cultivating peace in conflict regions if well utilized. Most of the studies have concentrated in conflicting groups, history and development, weapons, impact and management of conflicts. Much is ignored in the use of sports in the mitigation of conflicts and especially in cattle rustling. This academic study attempted to fill this lacuna.

In Africa, one of the organizations that have extensively used sports as a means of mitigating conflicts in the border regions is the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation (TLPF). This academic research sought to examine the contribution of sports in cross border conflict mitigation taking the work of TLPF in Kenya-Uganda border region as the case study. It sought to unearth the questions behind the strategies used by TLPF and the Foundation's impact in the mitigation of cross-border cattle raids and related conflict. Two hypotheses were tested: The use of firearms has metamorphosed cattle rustling and related conflict in the Kenya-Uganda border region and the use of sport by TLPF has significantly contributed to the achievement of relative peace in the Kenya-Uganda border region

In the attempt to make this research successful, I employed both primary and secondary materials. Secondary materials like books, journals and scholarly articles from the internet were expansively used. Primary sources included face-to-face interviews with TLPF officials, telephone interviews with reformed warriors, TLPF website and activities

reports of the TLPF. This research found out that TLPF has employed various strategies to mitigate conflicts in the Kenya-Uganda border region. These strategies are rehabilitation centres for the warriors, peace races, education and introduction of alternative livelihoods. TLPF has therefore efficaciously utilized sports to transform a conflict prone region to a region that can be termed as relatively peaceful.

Acronyms

CBO – Community Based Organization

CRA – Commission on Revenue Allocation

DPC – District Peace Coordinators

EAC – East African Community

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

KNPF – Kenya National Police Force

KPR – Kenya Police Reservists

KVDA – Kerio Valley Development Authority

LC – Local Council

LRA – Lord’s Resistance Army

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NRA – National Resistance Army

SALW – Small Arms and Light Weapons

SDP – Sport, Development and Peace

SPLA – Sudan People’s Liberation Army

TLEPC – Tegla Loroupe Education and Peace Centre

TLPA – Tegla Loroupe Peace Academy

TLPF – Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation

UN – United Nations Organization

UNLA – Uganda National Liberation Army

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Sports have been recognized as one of the unifying factors amongst peoples of different cultural backgrounds. They can help bridge division between divergent groups and create unity and tolerance. They can also rebuild confidence and trust between enemies breaking down barriers. Sports have been used to bring peace and reconciliation after conflicts for instance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Middle East, post-apartheid South Africa, Sierra Leone, Burundi and Liberia.¹ In Kenya, sports have been used to reconcile different ethnic groups after the post 2007 general elections conflicts.² Sports have also been used to bring together the people who have been affected by cattle raids along Kenya-Uganda border in the attempt to reconcile them and curb the conflicts that accompany the raids. This paper is an attempt to examine the role of sports in management of cross border cattle rustling conflicts in a specific study of Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation.

The malady of cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts can be traced in the availability of small arms in the hands of communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region.³ Though traditionally cattle rustling among pastoral communities was considered

¹ Jonathan Lea-Howarth, "Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction?" Contemporary War and Peace Studies MA Dissertation, University of Sussex, September 2006; Gerard Naughton, "Kicking around in Liberia. From Rehabilitation of Child Soldiers to Community Development: The Story of the Millennium Stars", Master of Arts in International Politics Dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, September 2011.

² Borsani Serena, "The Contribution of Sport within the Process of Peace and Reconciliation: The impact of Sports in Rift Valley-Kenya, after Post Election Violence", Master in Human Rights and Conflict Management Dissertation, Sant Anna School of Advanced Studies, 2008.

³ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 47.

a cultural practice and was sanctioned and controlled by elders, availability of small arms changed the tendencies of the raids. The communities in the Kenya-Uganda border changed their cultural perspective of cattle raiding by commercializing and internationalizing the practice.⁴

For centuries, traditional weapons like spears, bows and arrows were used in the raids; deaths were treated seriously and even compensated with cattle. Warriors rarely attacked women, children and the elderly.⁵ But where did all these arms come from? The huge influx of small arms and light weapons can be blamed on the impact of World War I, World War II and the Cold war. During World War I, private armies operated along the Kenya-Uganda-Sudan border region contributing to availability of arms. The concrete arming of the communities in the border region though, took place during the World War II. During this period, the British had heavily recruited the communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region thus giving them experience in using sophisticated arms.⁶

In the 1960s and 1980s, the rival superpowers USA and USSR and their allies facilitated a huge influx of modern firearms to East and Northeast Africa by arming particular states and guerillas which they considered to be on their side.⁷ The collapse of the Idd Amin regime and the civil war in Uganda worsened the arms situation in the beginning of the 1980s. The combination of the Ugandan crisis with the civil wars in

⁴ Joshia Osamba, "The Sociology of Insecurity: Cattle Rustling and Banditry in North-Western Kenya", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol.1, No.2, p. 12.

⁵ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 48.

⁶ Nene Mburu, "The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: the Case for Appropriate Disarmament Strategies" December 2002, Retrieved on 30th April, 2013 from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Guns.pdf>

⁷ Matthias Österle, "Armed Economies, Militarised Identities, Excessive Violence: Automatic Rifles and the Transformation of Nomadic Pastoralism in Northwestern Kenya", *Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa*, 2003, p. 195.

Somalia and Ethiopia resulted in the first significant decline in arms prices while increasing their availability in 1980s.⁸ The aftermath of the cattle raid conflicts has spilled in the 1990s to date as exhibited by killing of civilians, loss of property, mass displacement and other socio-economic impacts.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several studies examining cattle raids in Kenya and Uganda have concentrated on the groups involved, the history and development, the weapons used, the impact and the attempts to manage the conflicts.⁹ The contribution of Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation has been sparingly mentioned in the media and non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) reports with specific reference to Tegla herself as a heroine. In scholarship, much is left out on the role of sports as facilitated by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation to manage the cross border cattle rustling conflicts. This study aims at filling this academic lacuna.

Over time, cattle raids and related conflicts have led to political instability in Kenya-Uganda border region. This has further resulted to loss of life, loss and destruction of property, reduced economic activities and degradation of the environment and decay

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, pp. 47–70; Joshia Osamba, The Sociology of Insecurity: Cattle Rustling and Banditry in North-Western Kenya, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol.1, No.2, pp. 11-38; Cheserek G.J. et al, "Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya", *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS)*, Vol. 3 (2), 2012, pp. 173-179; Ruto Pkalya Mohamud Adan and Isabella Masinde, *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms, Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet*, Intermediate Technology Development Group - Eastern Africa., January 2004.

of socio-economic amenities like schools, businesses and health sector.¹⁰ The cattle raids and related conflicts have proved to be a thorny issue with the security agencies in Kenya and Uganda as well as traditional redressing procedures under the control of elders proving ineffective in halting the depredations of the raiders. The endeavor by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation to mitigate and manage these conflicts is a new and unique approach that attracts scholarly assessment.

Several questions have been left unanswered in the analysed literature: What sports strategies have Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation taken to manage cattle rustling related conflicts in Kenya-Uganda border region? What is the impact of sports in managing cattle rustling related conflicts in Kenya-Uganda border region as facilitated by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation? This study aims at investigating these questions.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

To investigate the role of sports in management of cross border cattle rustling conflicts

1.3.1 The Specific Objectives

- i. To explore the dynamics of cross border cattle rustling conflicts in Kenya-Uganda border
- ii. To evaluate the role played by sports in managing cross border cattle rustling conflicts as facilitated by the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation

1.4 Justification for the Study

Cattle rustling has been a thorny issue in the security of the Horn of Africa. Though several mitigation strategies have been put in place by the states concerned, the communities in question have continued to raid and kill each other. This depicted the

¹⁰ Ruto Pkalya Mohamud Adan and Isabella Masinde, *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms, Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet*, Intermediate Technology Development Group - Eastern Africa., January 2004, pp. 30, 35, 43.

strategies used by the states as insufficient. The use of sport by the TLPPF as a mitigation stratagem in the Kenya-Uganda border region is a unique way that not only attracts scholarly attention but also a call to the adjustment of the mitigation strategies that have been used before. This study therefore unearths new knowledge on cross border cattle raids mitigation. This knowledge will assist authorities in conflict management and practitioners to appreciate innovative methods of managing conflicts. In the endeavor to achieve the integration of the East African Community (EAC), this scholarly work will provide necessary information to the governments of the East African countries on how to use sports in overcoming the challenges that hinder faster integration which includes conflicts amongst different communities in East Africa.

Finally, this study will highly contribute in the field of scholarly research by making valuable additions to the literature on conflict management in reference to cattle rustling.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the work undertaken by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation. The reason behind the choice of this Foundation is that it is the only Kenyan peace foundation that has used sports to manage conflicts across the border.

The study concentrated on the use of sports only in conflict management and cattle rustling related conflicts. This is because cattle rustling related conflicts have become rampant in East Africa and a thorny issue even to security officers.

1.6 Research Hypothesis

The following hypotheses were tested in the study:-

1. The use of firearms has metamorphosed cattle rustling and related conflict in the Kenya-Uganda border region
2. The use of sport by TLPF has significantly contributed to the achievement of relative peace in the Kenya-Uganda border region

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Introduction

In this section, several studies by different authors have been analysed. These include studies on the use of sport in conflict mitigation in Kenya as a result of post 2007 elections conflicts and in other countries like Israel, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Bosnia Herzegovina. The literature examined also include studies on use of small arms by pastoralists in the Kenya-Uganda border region, new methods of cattle rustling and contributory factors and effects of rustling. Although these scholarly works have contributed a lot in the understanding of cattle raids conflicts in Kenya, there is no systematic study that has been undertaken to understand the contribution of sports as facilitated by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation to manage the cross border cattle rustling conflicts. This study will therefore attempt to fill this academic lacuna.

Lea-Howarth surveys the contribution of team-sports to peace building in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Israel and Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹¹ He argues that team-sports provide a flexible, sustainable, fun, apolitical peace building pivot that can play a part in the

¹¹ Jonathan Lea-Howarth, "Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction?" Contemporary War and Peace Studies MA Dissertation, University of Sussex, September 2006.

resolution of conflict, reconciliation and reconstruction of a post conflict society, notably as way to teach people how to deal with conflict and as a shared experience to help build relationships across the conflict divide. While Lea-Howarth concentrates of team-sports, this study will attempt to understand the contribution of athletics in management of cattle rustling related conflicts.

Giulianotti's article examines and theorises the use of sport as an interventionist tool to nurture peace making across divided communities by a variety of organisations, notably the UN and NGOs.¹² Giulianotti argues that the former analysts' understanding of sports as being associated with populist manifestations of militarism, jingoism and violent nationalism has paved way for the understanding of sports as a vehicle of promoting peace, tolerance and internationalism amongst participants and viewers. Though Giulianotti acknowledges several case studies like Liberia, Sri Lanka and Bosnia where sports have been used to foster peace, his approach is transnational. Giulianotti's work gives good insight in the understanding of the contribution of sports in peace building.

Naughton examines the contribution of football in the Sport, Development and Peace (SDP) sector in Africa.¹³ Taking the example of Millennium Stars Football Club – a grassroots football team that was started in 1997 in Liberia, Naughton argues that football can be very instrumental in rebuilding relationships viable for building peace. He posits that Millennium Stars Football Club brought together youths to campaign for

¹² Richard Giulianotti: "Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the Sport, Development and Peace Sector", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 34:2, 2011, pp.207-228

¹³ Gerard Naughton, "Kicking around in Liberia. From Rehabilitation of Child Soldiers to Community Development: The Story of the Millennium Stars", University of Newcastle upon Tyne, September 2011.

reconciliation. The football team was also used as a means of rehabilitating and reintegrating the former child soldiers back to the society as well as giving them an opportunity to fight trauma of their horrific past. Naughton's work forms a good basis in the understanding how sports contribute towards peace building.

Serena examines the role of sports in the process of peace and reconciliation in the post 2007 elections period in Kenya's Rift Valley.¹⁴ She posits that Sport for reconciliation projects can be used to promote social inclusion breaking down barriers and creating bridges between opposing groups. Sport can help the process of reconciliation building confidence and trust among diversity advancing healing process, encouraging resiliency, and giving a sense of normalcy. Serena notes that after the post-2007 election violence in Rift Valley – Kenya, significant number of NGOs and CBOs used sports to enhance healing and nurture reconciliation; for instance Shoe4Africa Peace Race, Sport League by World Vision, Amani Cup Tournament in Burnt Forest and Kerio Valley Peace Marathon. While Serena's work concentrates on post-2007 election violence, this study will survey the role of sports in the management of cattle rustling related conflicts with a close study of Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation.

Mkutu investigates the usage of small arms amongst the pastoralists along Kenya-Uganda border. Mkutu argues that the acquisition and usage of guns for raiding and self-protection is as a result of weak governance.¹⁵ He examines the acquisition of guns and ammunitions, their distribution and trading routes and how the pastoral communities have

¹⁴ Borsani Serena, "The Contribution of Sport within the Process of Peace and Reconciliation: The impact of Sports in Rift Valley-Kenya, after Post Election Violence", Sant Anna School of Advanced Studies, 2008.

¹⁵ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, pp. 47–70.

been using the firearms to acquire cattle, pastoral land as well as protecting themselves. While Mkutu's work concentrate on acquisition of fire arms, this study will attempt to understand how sports have contributed in management of cross border cattle rustling conflicts as a result of usage of those arms.

Osamba studies the upcoming methods of cattle rustling in north-western Kenya. He condemns poor administrative structures for the emergence of new systems of conflicts in north-western Kenya.¹⁶ The use of guns which came with proliferation of small arms has turned the traditional cattle raiding into a commercial venture. As a result of the commercialization of cattle raiding, communities in north-western Kenya have really suffered. The question that follows is whether the communities ever attempted to reconcile and this is what this study seeks to answer in the examination of contribution of sports to conflict management.

Cheserek et al investigate the causes and socio-economic effects of cattle rustling on the Pokot and Marakwet communities in Baringo East and Marakwet East districts.¹⁷ The authors argue that cattle rustling is caused by various reasons which includes; the availability of guns, commercialization of cattle raids, political incitement, poverty, traditional values, illiteracy and women. The raids also have had profound effects on the society including migration, change of livelihoods styles, eroded cultural values and adoption of education and farming. Cheserek et al interest is in causes and effects of cattle rustling which offers background information for this study.

¹⁶ Joshia Osamba, *The Sociology of Insecurity: Cattle Rustling and Banditry in North-Western Kenya*, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol.1, No.2, pp. 11-38.

¹⁷ Cheserek G.J. et al, "Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya", *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS)*, Vol. 3 (2), 2012, pp. 173-179.

Pkalya et al examine the factors that have contributed to violent conflicts involving pastoralists in North Rift and North Eastern regions of Kenya.¹⁸ The authors also discuss the issues and priorities for conflict prevention and peace building. They identify intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, land issues, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth as the causes of conflicts amongst pastoralists. The authors mention the need to promote youth's interactions across ethnic divide through sponsoring activities such as youth clubs, sports, music and drama festivals in order to build peace. Pkalya et al study gives a viable background for my study especially by its recognition on the need of using sports in management of conflicts.

Mburu traces the significance of arms in the customs of the agro-pastoral Karamojong and the Turkana of Kenya.¹⁹ Mburu argues that disconnected efforts by Uganda, Kenya and Sudan to disarm the pastoral communities along the borders will leave some communities vulnerable and make those resisting the disarmament find sanctuary in the neighbouring countries. The author therefore posits that there is need for Uganda to coordinate its disarming efforts with Kenya and Sudan. Mburu's work concentrates on the disarmament process.

¹⁸ Ruto Pkalya Mohamud Adan and Isabella Masinde, *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms, Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet*, Intermediate Technology Development Group - Eastern Africa., January 2004.

¹⁹ Nene Mburu, "The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: the Case for Appropriate Disarmament Strategies" December 2002, Retrieved on 4th April, 2011 <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Guns.pdf>

1.9 Theoretical Framework

Galtung argues that after violence, peace workers are faced with the problem of 3Rs: reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution. To tackle the problem of reconstruction, Galtung posits that reconstruction should not be limited to rehabilitation and rebuilding but should be extended to several issues including restructuring of culture.²⁰ Reconstruction in his understanding does not mean the restoration of status quo but a construction of the destroyed structure again.²¹ Galtung specifies reconstruction into rehabilitation, rebuilding, restructuration and reculturation.²²

Galtung terms rehabilitation as the collective sorrow approach. This is a period where the victor and vanquished alike express sorrow for the horrific past during the violence. This period provides for the healing to allow the victims to move forward. Sports can offer a healing opportunity by engaging a mourning mind in a constructive venture and bringing together people who have been affected by conflicts.²³

Rebuilding is the second specific which Galtung refers to as development approach. It is recreation of pre-war entities which are seen as desirable to keep.²⁴ Restructuration which Galtung refers to the peace structure approach involves elimination of social exclusion of the marginalized that might have been present before violence. It also involves building ties amongst communities through NGOs et cetera.²⁵ Sports have

²⁰ Johan Galtung, *After Violence: 3r, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution: Coping With Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence*, p. 53. Retrieved on 30th April, 2013, from <http://classweb.gmu.edu/hwjeong/Conf702/Galtung,%20After%20violence.pdf>

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, pp. 53-64.

²³ Ibid, pp. 54-55.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 56.

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 58-61.

been known to build ties amongst communities. This has happened during global football or athletics competition.

Reculturation is the last specific. It involves transition from a culture of violence to that one of peace. One way in which reculturation can be pursued is by training people at all levels of society in subjects such as human rights and conflict resolution.²⁶ For instance, in Liberia INGOs used a network of football clubs to deliver training on the Rights of the Child in an attempt to change the perception that it was acceptable to abuse children.²⁷ This also can be used in the analysis of the findings of this study.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

This study employed mixed methods design. This is where both qualitative and quantitative data are used.²⁸ This method was used to collect data in order to understand how sports through Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation have contributed to the management of cattle raids related conflicts. Any figures on cattle rustling or on the impact of the raids will be recorded.

1.10.2 Target Population

The target population for this study was officials of the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation and the participants in the sports projects by Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation. The interviewed officials offered information on the history of the Foundation, its strategies in the management of conflicts, successes and challenges while the participants in sports projects in the management of the conflicts gave firsthand

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 62-64.

²⁷ Jonathan Lea-Howarth, "Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction?" Contemporary War and Peace Studies MA Dissertation, University of Sussex, September 2006, p. 17.

²⁸ Johnson Burke. and Anthony Onwuegbuzie, "Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm whose Time has Come, *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 33, No. 7, 2004, pp. 14–26.

information on how sports have assisted in the management of cattle rustling related conflicts.

1.10.3 Sampling Design

This study employed purposive sampling. This is where the researcher samples with a purpose in mind. The purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses.²⁹ In this case, the information about cattle rustling related conflicts is knowledgeable to Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation and the locals hence requiring them as primary informants.

1.10.4 Data Collection Tools and Procedures

This study used both primary and secondary data. The researcher used the following secondary materials: books, journals, and periodicals. These were accessed from libraries and resource centres like Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi, Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation and British Institute in East Africa Library at Kileleshwa. The gaps found in secondary sources will be filled by use of primary sources.

Primary data was obtained from policy documents from Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation offices and through the Foundation's website. These policy documents included the Foundation's vision and mission statements and the layout of the programmes. I have visited the Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation offices along Ngong Road and was allowed to access their policy documents. These policy documents assisted

²⁹ Ma. Dolores Tongco, "Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection", *Ethnobotany Research & Applications* Vol. 5, 2007, pp.147-158.

in understanding how they have rolled out their activities. Their policy information was also plentiful in their well-documented website.

Telephone and face to face interviews were used in this study to fill in any gaps that might be in secondary sources and text primary sources. Oral interviews were performed by use of un-structured list of questions. This is the best tool for this research study because of the sensitivity of the issue; it also gave a chance for the respondent to give the information without restrictions. The questionnaire was semi structured to allow collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. I also took notes to document the answers given by the respondents which were later be used in the compilation of this study. To reach the locals along Kenya-Uganda border region, I made telephone calls to the respondents and was able to interview them. The contact numbers were availed to me by the officials of the TLPF.

1.10.5 Ethical Consideration

During the interviews I observed confidentiality and/or complete anonymity of respondents' where requested by the respondents. Data collection was done on respondents' free will and consent prior participation.

1.10.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

After completing data collection, both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods were employed. In the analysis of qualitative data, I employed thematic analytic technique. Thematic analytic technique is a process where related topics or major subjects that come up during the interviews are categorised in one group.³⁰ I placed the

³⁰ Donald Kisilu Kombo and Delno L. Tromp, *Proposal and thesis writing: An introduction*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2006, p. 119.

data on the history and dynamics of the conflicts in one group, data on impact of the conflicts in another group and data on the contribution of the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation in another separate group. Qualitative data is hereby presented in prose discussions in line with the study objectives. Quantitative data is presented in tables and graphs.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALIZING CROSS BORDER CATTLE RUSTLING CONFLICTS IN KENYA-UGANDA BORDER

2.1 Introduction

Cattle raiding has been a culturally accepted and tolerated practice in Northwestern Kenya and Northeastern Uganda. With the introduction and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Kenya-Uganda border region, the cultural practice was commercialized. The Kenya-Uganda border became one of the most severely affected by use of firearms in cattle rustling related conflicts. This chapter expounds on the nuances around cattle rustling related conflicts along Kenya-Uganda border. It attempts to bring into understanding the proliferation and use of SALW, the actors and the factors behind the cattle raiding related conflicts in Kenya-Uganda border region. The conceptualization of the development of cattle rustling conflicts in the region of study will inform the rest of this study to a better analysis of the impact and measures taken by TLPF to mitigate the conflicts.

2.2 The Geography and the Peoples in Kenya-Uganda Border Region

The understanding of topography and ethnography of Kenya-Uganda border region is vital in the analysis of the conflict as a result of cattle rustling. It is important to understand the ethnic distribution in the region across the geographical setting. The Kenya Uganda border as it is was established in 1926 during colonial period.³¹ It is a 933 kilometre boundary line. On the Kenyan side, there are major communities such as,

³¹ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 8.

Samia, Teso, Pokot, Sabaot and Turkana and on Ugandan, Karimojong who comprise of Matheniko, Bokora and Pian, Upe who are Ugandan Pokot, Jie and mountain groups.³²

Most of these communities are largely nomadic pastoralists who rely on cattle herding as their main economic activity. The area is arid and semiarid. It is marked by an escarpment which is 500 metres above the general plain and runs the entire length of the border. The land has numerous passes which have historically provided means of communications between ethnic groups along the border. These passes were channels for carrying out cattle raids. The land along the border is enriched with a number of hill ranges. For instance, there is Charangani hills which rise to 3,444 metres to form the highest non-volcanic point in Kenya and on Ugandan side is Mount Komerimeri.³³

2.3 The Metamorphosis of Cattle Rustling

The Kenya-Uganda border region has historically experienced cattle raids. These raids have transformed over time in the manner in which they are undertaken, the motive behind, the weapons used, the impact and cultural perspective. During pre-colonial period, raiding was undertaken to replenish numbers of livestock whenever scarcity or diseases depleted a community's herd. Traditional cattle raiding involved small scale violence and only a number of the best livestock broadly reflecting the number that needed to be replenished by the raiding group was captured. Occurrence of death during the raids was like a curse to the person who had caused it. When one killed during the raids, he could not enter the homestead before receiving ritual cleansing. A few cattle

³² Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 48.

³³ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 8.

were given to the community of the deceased community as compensation. Women, children and the elderly were rarely harmed.³⁴

Raids did not happen any time. They were planned at dawn and dusk. They were part of a ritual process where *Morans* who had just been initiated proved their worth to their community by raiding cattle. Cattle raiding was also carried out to increase the stock for paying bride price. The weapons used during this period were inferior compared to guns. They were spears, bows and arrows.³⁵ The proliferation SALW changed the environment of cattle raids and accompanying conflict.

The communities in Kenya-Uganda border region acquired firearms through exchange of ivory for guns during colonial period. The Turkana were first to acquire firearms to protect themselves from colonial agents who raided them as well as be able to better facilitate their raids against neighbouring communities. Arms originally introduced to protect colonial regimes found their way into Turkana hands. The Karamoja just like the Turkana traded ivory for arms and by 1910. They were even exporting arms to other parts of Uganda. In the larger Horn of Africa region, the Italo-Abyssinian war of 1935 and 1936 also contributed to proliferation of arms in the region.³⁶

The world wars contributed greatly to influx of SALW in Africa. In the 1960s and 1980s, the rival superpowers USA and USSR and their allies facilitated a huge influx of modern firearms to East and Northeast Africa in the by arming particular states and

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 48.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 51.

guerillas which they considered to be on their side.³⁷ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, arms were used as a tool of superpower diplomacy in the Kenya-Uganda border and the larger Horn region.³⁸

The overthrowing of Idi Amin's regime in April 1979 also contributed greatly to availability of arms to Karimojong. The Karimojong broke into Moroto barracks and looted guns left behind by the fleeing Amin's army. The Karimojong later in 1986 joined Obote's army Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) and ran away with arms when UNLA was defeated by National Resistance Army (NRA).³⁹

The combination of the Ugandan crisis with the civil wars in Somalia and Ethiopia resulted in significant decline in arms prices in the course of the decade. In the 1970s and 1980s there was increased insecurity in Ethiopia leading to growth in smuggling and sale of small arms and ammunition into Kenya. War and instability in southern Sudan and northern Uganda from the 1980s onwards exponentially increased the volume of small arms available.⁴⁰ At the same time the Pokot further influenced the prices of the arms by getting involved in cross-border gun-running and arms trade by

³⁷ Matthias Österle, "Armed economies, militarised identities, excessive violence: Automatic rifles and the transformation of nomadic pastoralism in northwestern Kenya", *Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa*, 2003, p. 195.

³⁸ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 51.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 13.

tapping sources in Uganda. This allowed the wholesale armament of the community by making guns affordable for almost every household.⁴¹

The aforementioned dynamics led to influx of SALW in the Kenya-Uganda border region. The Kenya-Uganda border is one of East Africa's most severely affected areas in terms of firearm-related insecurity. Over the last three decades, highly exceptional numbers of SALW have entered the cross-border regions. The resultant has been frequent reports of violent cattle-raiding activities, banditry on roads and attacks on the Ugandan army. In Karamoja, on the Ugandan side of the border, estimates of the number of arms in circulation range from 40,000, for a population of 950,000 men, women and children, to 80,000, or even 200,000 in some media estimates.⁴²

The availability of SALW led to the commercialization of cattle raiding. Wealthy businessmen and politicians mostly based in towns have been accused of funding cattle raids in their communities.⁴³ This has in turn increased the intensity of cattle raiding leading to major changes in economic, social and political structures in Kenya-Uganda border region. As a result of commercial raiding, black market has developed in the local rural and urban areas creating a new economic structure in livestock products especially meat. Migration from rural to urban areas has increased demand for meat both in Kenya and Uganda and especially roast meat which is popularly known as *Nyama Choma* in

⁴¹ Matthias Österle, "Armed economies, militarised identities, excessive violence: Automatic rifles and the transformation of nomadic pastoralism in northwestern Kenya", *Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa*, 2003, p. 195.

⁴² Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 48.

⁴³ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, pp. 13-15.

Kenya. Meat from raided cattle trade between Kotido district in Uganda and Kachiliba town in Kenya. This kind of meat is also transported to Dagoretti in Nairobi.⁴⁴

Another aspect that has developed in the new trends of cattle raiding is the emergence of warlords. Some of the businessmen involved in commercialized cattle raiding in Kenya-Uganda border region are actually warlords who fund and arm militias. The cattle warlords emerged first in West Pokot in 1980 and spread to Turkana later in the 1980s.⁴⁵ The warlords mobilized groups of youths of about 500 by enticing them with rewards of security and livestock. Most youths were recruited in the nearby centres where they worked as night watchmen, farmhands or other odd jobs. They were taken through vigorous military training under supervision of ex-military men. They were later deployed to raid the neighbouring communities in Kenya and Uganda.⁴⁶ This use of the youth dislodged the power of the traditional elders to commission raids as well as controlling the raiders. This has in turn led to erosion of traditional governance structures and the traditional meaning of cattle raiding.

Unlike in the traditional world, commercial cattle rustling not only involves raiding of cattle but also intentional or resultant displacement. Raiders sometimes target to displace communities to create more room for pasture and water. In Kenya, the Pokots have attempted to displace Marakwets for pasture resulting in further displacement of smaller pastoral groups like Biya. In Uganda, Karimojong have increasingly been attacking non-pastoralist communities in Teso, Katakwi and Kitgum districts, creating

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 15.

⁴⁵ Joshia Osamba, "The Sociology of Insecurity: Cattle Rustling and Banditry in North-Western Kenya", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol.1, No.2, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 24, 25.

significant internal displacement. For example, on March 14, 2000, Karimojong killed 19 people in Kitgum district and many others were abducted. They also issued death threats to villagers. At the same time, Karimojong raids on Teso district reached a point where the Ugandan Government was forced to deploy 3000 soldiers to police the border between Karamoja and Teso districts.⁴⁷ Cross border raids between Kenyan Pokot and Ugandan Karimojong has led to both displacement and deaths.⁴⁸

As mentioned earlier in this paper, deaths in traditional raiding were very much avoided. Women, children and the elderly were never attacked. With the commercialization of the raids, massive deaths and especially of women and children started to be experienced. For instance, in January 2000, Karimojong warriors from Nakapiripirit *manyatta* in Uganda invaded a Pokot village in Kenya and killed 60 Pokot pastoralists in a conflict over pasture. They attacked and killed 11 children and 16 women. Several women and children were seriously injured and 5,000 heads of cattle were stolen.⁴⁹ This kind of attack on women and children was unheard of in traditional raiding.

The traditional cattle raiding did not immensely affect the security of the region simply because its aim was not to cause havoc but was regarded as part of culture. The commercial raiding has impacted negatively on the security of the whole Kenya-Uganda border region and the neighbouring regions. Insecurity in the region has triggered panic

⁴⁷ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, pp. 21, 22.

⁴⁸ Will Ross, Ugandans Die in Kenya Cattle Raid, Retrieved on June, 21, 2013, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4802832.stm>

⁴⁹ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 47.

arming of the communities. To curb the insecurity, quasi-formal security arrangements, such as vigilantes, Anti Stock Theft Units, Local Defence Units and militias in Uganda, and by police reservists on the Kenyan side, have been used. In Uganda, several armed groups, both legal and illegal, are in operation. For instance, in the year 1992, insecurity in Karamoja was so high that Moroto District Council organized a local community vigilante recruited from among the armed warriors, with the responsibility of tracking raided cattle, answering alarms and securing roads.⁵⁰

General insecurity as a result of availability of SALW and cattle rustling has introduced banditry and attacks on innocent civilians. A culture of insecurity cropped up. The whole of Northern Kenya-Uganda border region has been marred with tension due to insecurity. In July 2007 the Ugandan soldiers were reportedly attacked by Pokot bandits from Kenya, where the soldiers killed 8 Pokot warriors.⁵¹ In October, 2012, the government of Uganda deployed 5000 soldiers to Kanyerus area to crackdown on cattle rustlers and mop up illegal arms after Kenya Pokot raiders crossed the border to Uganda.⁵² The insecurity in the region has even affected the investors in the region, visitors and officers working with non-governmental organisations. A World Vision Project Director, Davies Langat was shot dead by cattle raiders as he drove to a peace searching mission.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 53.

⁵¹ Sudan Tribune, Uganda says Killed 8 Armed Kenyan Bandits at Border, Retrieved on June 24, 2013, from <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22739>

⁵² Barnbas Bii, “Tension at Kenya-Uganda Border over Rustling”, Retrieved on June 24, 2013, from <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/-/1056/1523908/-/xtc5qbz/-/index.html>

⁵³ Panapress, “World Vision seeks end to Cattle Rustling in Kenya, Uganda”, Retrieved on June 24, 2013, from <http://www.panapress.com/World-Vision-seeks-end-to-cattle-rustling-in-Kenya.-Uganda--13-486178-18-lang1-index.html>

2.4 The Routes of Arms Acquisition and Distribution

There is quite a huge number of illegal arms in the Kenya-Uganda border region. In Karamoja side of Uganda, there are about 40,000, 80,000 or even 200,000 illegal arms in a population of 950,000 men, women and children. In other estimates, out of a family of ten people, three are often men who own illegal firearms. Some of these are teenagers. On Kenya side of the border, there are around 50,000 illegal firearms in the hands of civilians.⁵⁴ These arms are currently in circulation along the border forming a route or routes of their distribution.

There are several routes that arms traffickers use in Kenya-Uganda border region. It is notable that these routes are not fixed but vary with circumstances and the level of official security checks.⁵⁵ There are five main routes for the movement of SALW in to the Kenya-Uganda border region namely: Sudan to Karamoja route which is very common, Karenga to Lopoch to Kotido route which is a tributary from Sudan to Karamoja route, supplying Karamoja via the Jie peoples, Sudan to Lokichogio route, the “north eastern route” which is Somalia to Kenya and a less common route which is Ethiopia to Kenya border.⁵⁶

2.2.1 Sudan to Karamoja Route

A huge number of SALW is brought across Sudan border from Namule and Kopeta directly into Kotido town and surrounding villages in Uganda. They are further transported to Pokot and Samburu areas of Kenya and Moroto and Nakapiripirit districts

⁵⁴ Kennedy Mkutu, “Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area” *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 48.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 58.

⁵⁶ Manasseh Wepundi, *An Analysis of Disarmament Experiences in Kenya*, Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) Nairobi, RECSA, 2011, p. 12.

in Uganda. The people involved in this trafficking are businessmen who trade between Kotido and Kachiliba town in Kenya. These arms originate from former Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) officers who were laid off in 1993-94 and given arms as a retirement package. The retired officers then sold and keep on selling their arms to acquire cattle and grains.⁵⁷ The movement of Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) along Uganda-Sudan border has also aided circulation of arms. LRA soldiers are able to acquire arms in Sudan and sell them in Uganda. Fleeing LRA rebels sell the guns to the Jie *kraal* leaders and *karachunas* stationed in Acholi during dry seasons.⁵⁸

2.2.2 Karenga to Lopoch to Kotido Route

This route is a tributary from Sudan to Karamoja route and a major route to the Jie who then trade their arms with other Karimojong ethnic groups. Other sources to the Jie include arms from Didinga in Sudan and near Kidepo on the Sudan border. This route also originates from Sudan through Labalangit in Dodoth. It is alleged that in 1995, there were six major SALW markets along the Sudan-Uganda border which included Lobolanget, Kapedo, Kathile, Kangole, Moroto and Karenga.⁵⁹ Illicit arms continue to be shuttled between such old markets now and then although tight security since December 2001 hinders the historical smooth flow of arms.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 59.

⁵⁸ Human Security Baseline Assessment, "Responses to Pastoral Wars", *Sudan Issue Brief*, No. 8, September 2007, p. 3; Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 60.

⁵⁹ Kennedy Mkutu, "Small Arms and Light Weapons among the Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area" *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422, p. 60.

⁶⁰ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 25.

2.2.3 Sudan to Lokichogio Route

The historical war between the Sudan and South Sudan led to proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the Horn region. These arms were not locked in the Sudan but found their way in the neighbouring states, leading to realization of an arm route from Sudan to Lokichogio. This route runs from Sudan through Turkana villages in Kenya where arms are sold directly to the Turkanas. Turkana traders transport the arms to Upe Pokot areas in Karamoja region in Uganda for sale. These arms often find their way back across the border and they are re-sold in Kenya. Due to the rivalry between the Turkana and the Samburu, most arms that reach the latter come directly from Sudan to Lokichogio.⁶¹

2.2.4 Somalia to Kenya Route (North Eastern Route)

The main source of arms in this route is Somalia. Arms pass through Merille area in Ethiopia and then into Karamoja region in Uganda. SALW then move through Upe Pokot areas in Uganda and across the border into Turkana and Pokot regions in Kenya. This route is very expensive because the arms have to pass through a series of brokers over a long distance. This has in turn influenced the few arms trading in this route compared to other routes. In this route, Somali carry guns on donkeys and exchange them for oxen. The Somali also take part in *Miraa* (Khat) trade in Kachiliba in Kenya, Iri, Karenga and Namule in Uganda and secretly conceal arms in *Miraa*. The chaos in Somalia fuelled by the *Al-Shabaab* militants has augmented the influx of arms in Kenya. Foodstuff and arms are smuggled into neighbouring town of Kenya.⁶²

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Mohamed Yusuf, "Illegal Border Trade Thrives amid Somali Chaos, Retrieved on June, 25, 2013, from <http://www.somaliareport.com/index.php/post/1084>

2.2.5 Ethiopia to Kenya Route

This is the most underutilized route compared to the above discussed ones. The trafficking of arms through the Ethiopia-Kenya border is more difficult due to the comparatively tighter monitoring mechanisms. Despite the tight monitoring, SALW sourced from Ethiopia are trafficked through various routes to Kenya. Communities along the border move arms from the Ethiopia border to Burhaje in Somalia and then to Mandera in Kenya. Arms are also smuggled from Malkasufta in Ethiopia through Bula Hawa in Somalia into Kenya. Arms lastly are transported from Ethiopia's Moyale to Kenya's Moyale and Elwak. From here, arms are distributed to various parts of Kenya including Kenya-Uganda border.⁶³

⁶³ Manasseh Wepundi, *An Analysis of Disarmament Experiences in Kenya*, Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) Nairobi, RECSA, 2011, p. 12.

2.5 Factors Influencing Cattle Raiding Related Conflicts in Kenya-Uganda Border Region

Cattle raiding and subsequent conflicts in the Kenya-Uganda border region are as a result of several factors. These are: historical marginalization of the region by both Kenya and Uganda governments, poor strategies by Kenya and Uganda governments in curbing raiding and related conflicts, commercialization of cattle raids, cultural motivation of the raiders, harsh environment and environmental insecurity, political instigation of the conflict and idleness and poverty amongst the youth in the region.

2.5.1 Historical Marginalization of Kenya-Uganda Border Region

The northwestern Kenya and northeastern Uganda regions have been neglected by successive governments since colonial period. Colonial governments were interested not only to end cattle raids but also pastoralism itself because they found it a backward way of life. This contributed to a process of growing marginalization. In 1945, the District Commissioner for West Suk (now West Pokot) noted that, “West Suk after 34 years administration ranks as one of the most backward districts in Kenya.” Colonial government in Kenya and Uganda accorded themselves the right to appoint chiefs disregarding the traditions of the communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region. Their appointees therefore lacked legitimacy according to the communities in the region.⁶⁴

The introduction of private land ownership by colonial governments in Kenya and Uganda in 1950s greatly disregarded the pastoral way of life. The 1954 Swynnerton Plan introduced the concept of title deeds for the first time in Kenya. These kind of policies disoriented pastoralists. The successive post-colonial governments failed to reduce the

⁶⁴ Kennedy Mkutu, “Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region”, Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 10.

marginalization of pastoralists from mainstream national development. More attention has been accorded to growing of crops at the expense of pastoralism. For example, West Pokot has continued to lose much land to agriculturalists in the recent years. This disregard of pastoral way of life has fuelled conflicts among crop growers and pastoralists.⁶⁵

Pressure on land and other resources has been further increased in post-colonial period by the increased regularity and severity of drought. For instance, during 1999-2002, drought affected West Pokot while in Karamoja, in January and February 2003; the drought was severe and raids escalated due to the famine and drought.⁶⁶

There has been further weakening of traditional governance institution in the post-colonial period in pastoral areas in the Kenya-Uganda border region. This is partly due to the failure of the Kenyan and Ugandan governments to recognise the role of the traditional institutions in management at the community level, and partly due to changing property rights regimes. The Ugandan government though has accorded power to appoint chiefs and elders to the communities but Kenya is yet to do so. This deterioration of traditional governance institutions in pastoral communities has weakened the ability of community elders to exercise control over young men who take part in banditry and raids.⁶⁷

In Uganda, Karamoja area has been neglected by colonial and post-colonial governments making the district underdeveloped compared to other districts. Karamoja

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ NCCK, SNV and SARDEP, *Pacifying the Valley: An analysis on the Kerio Valley Conflict*, 2001, p. 9.

has a deficiency of hospitals, infrastructure and schools. For instance, there are a few missionary-ran schools in Karamoja. The literacy levels as per 1991 census were 6% for females and 11% for males compared to a national level of 52.5%. Most of the projects in Karamoja by NGOs and the government are geared towards eroding the traditional way of life of the Karimojong in the name of “modernization”.⁶⁸

In Kenya, West Pokot and Turkana are the counties along Kenya-Uganda border. These counties are socio-economically neglected for a period of time. The two counties were grouped by Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) as marginalized and therefore qualified for Equalization Fund.⁶⁹ At the same time, the Pokot people feel neglected by the government, the Church and the NGOs compared to their neighbours, the Marakwet, Keiyo and Turkana. In Elgeyo Marakwet and Turkana counties, you find major development projects like Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA) and Turkwel Gorge project which lack in West Pokot. The Marakwet also have working irrigation system, well-built schools and dispensaries while across the Pokot side such facilities are very few.⁷⁰ The feeling of marginalization create hatred between the communities and therefore conflict.

2.5.2 Poor Strategies by Kenya and Uganda Governments in Curbing Raiding and Related Conflicts

The governments of Kenya and Uganda have not been able to comprehensively deal with cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts. In Kenya, poor infrastructure, inadequate resources and personnel, unwilling officers and poor strategies have hampered

⁶⁸ Wairama Baker, *Uganda: The Marginalization of Minorities*, London: Minority Rights Group International, 2001, p. 13.

⁶⁹ CRA, “CRA Chairman Launches Marginalisation Policy”, Retrieved on June 26, 2013, from <http://www.crakenya.org/news/cra-chairman-launches-marginalisation-policy/>

⁷⁰ NCCK, SNV and SARDEP, *Pacifying the Valley: An analysis on the Kerio Valley Conflict*, 2001, p. 9.

government's operations. Communities along the border do not have confidence with security services offered by the government hence their lack of cooperation during disarmament. For instance, the government of Kenya has been accused of favouring the Pokot on account of the fact that the GSU and the Police follow the raided cattle on the Marakwet side but do not do the same on the Pokot side. This has in turn incited further arming of the Marakwet.⁷¹

The Ugandan government has been accused of using excessive force while curbing cattle rustling causing civilians' deaths. In 2006 and 2007, Ugandan military was accused of killing 69 civilians in the raids carried out to disarm the Karimojong. In February 2007, 66 children were shot, ran over by armored vehicles or trampled to death by stampeding cattle in Ugandan military operation in Karamoja.⁷²

The relationship between the communities across border and neighbouring country's military has been sour. In September, 2012 the Ugandan army allegedly seized 72 heads of cattle belonging to Kenyan Pokots during a security operation to recover illegal guns.⁷³ At some point during the inauguration of Kenya's 4th President, Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni urged the new government to restrain Kenyan Pokots from stealing Uganda's cattle, a statement that vehemently angered West Pokot leaders.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 12.

⁷² Alexis Okeowo, "Ugandan Army Accused of Abuses", Retrieved on June 26, 2013, from <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Detail/?lng=en&id=53280>

⁷³ Osinde Obare, "Ugandan Army Accused of Seizing Pokot Cattle", Retrieved on June 26, 2013, from http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000065593&story_title=ugandan-army-accused-of-seizing-pokot-cattle

⁷⁴ Abigael Sum, "Leaders Angered by Museveni Remarks, Wants Apology", Retrieved on June 26, 2013, from http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000081243&story_title=Kenya-Leaders-angered-by-Museveni-remarks,-wants-apology

2.5.3 Commercialization of Cattle Raids

The transition from cultural to commercial raiding has tremendously invigorated rustling and subsequent conflicts. The cultural raiding had rules that governed the number of cattle to be raided, the manner in which to carry out the raids and prohibited any killing especially of women, children and the elderly.⁷⁵ This assisted to control escalation of conflicts. The weapons used were inferior and incapable of mass destruction. With introduction of more sophisticated weapons like AK-47 rifles, conflicts resulting to deaths, mass displacement and annihilation of some villages became a new phenomenon. This in turn encouraged more arming of communities and cyclical retaliatory attacks.

The cattle industry out of cattle rustling is a huge one supplying meat in urban areas. It is controlled by business people who are not necessarily pastoralists but very well politically connected.⁷⁶ This has in turn increased black market for the meat out of stolen cattle thus further enhancing the illegal industry and demand for more cattle leading to more rustling and conflicts.

2.5.4 Cultural Motivation to Raiding Activities

Cultural practices have contributed to the escalation of cattle raids and conflicts in Kenya-Uganda border region. Cultural practices like payment of bride price in form of a huge number of livestock has fuelled and fanned conflicts. When a *moran* (warrior) is ready for marriage, he is encouraged to look for his own cattle to pay for bride price. The bride price is relative amongst different communities in Kenya-Uganda border region but

⁷⁵ Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region", Saferworld Report, November, 2003, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Cheserek G.J Et al, "Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya", *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS)*, Vol. 3 (2), p. 173.

it is about 20 cows and 20-30 goats. Most of the young men along this border region can only manage to raise such a number of livestock through raiding expeditions.⁷⁷

Among the Pokot and Turkana women also play a very vital role in precipitating cattle raiding by singing praise songs to raiders who bring cattle and mock and demean those who refuse to go for raids or those who fail to bring cattle home. Among the Pokot, women had power to stop raids. They would wear a belt called *Leketio*. *Leketio* is a belt studded with cowry shells which is believed to protect children from harm if won by their mothers around the waist. Before raids, warriors would request their mothers to wear *leketio* to protect them from harm during the raids. If the mothers refused to wear *leketio*, then the warriors would not go to raid because they would die in the raids.⁷⁸ The continuation of *leketio* wearing by women has encouraged raiding and more conflicts.

Amongst the Karimojong of Uganda, a *karachuna* (warrior) who goes for a raid is expected by elders to bring cattle home. If the *karachuna* fails to raid cattle, he is mocked and ashamed and he is further required to go for another raid and bring cattle with him. To avoid mocking and shame, *karachunas* would work hard to raid cows to earn praise and this encouraged a cycle of raids and resultant conflicts.⁷⁹

2.5.5 Harsh Environment and Environmental Insecurity

Fight over meager resources has influenced cattle raids. This is environmental insecurity brought about by historical drought cycles, diminishing water resources,

⁷⁷ NCKK, SNV and SARDEP, *Pacifying the Valley: An analysis on the Kerio Valley Conflict*, 2001, p. 9.

⁷⁸ Ruto Pkalya et al, *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms, Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet*, Intermediate Technology Development Group - Eastern Africa., January 2004, p. 39.

⁷⁹ Mubatsi Asinja Habati, "Karamoja's Long Walk from Cattle Rustling to Modern Life", Retrieved on June 27, 2013, from <http://www.independent.co.ug/features/features/4203-karamojas-long-walk-from-cattle-rustling-to-modern-life>

unreliable rainfall and shrinking pasture fields. This has increased competition for limited natural resources that form the mainstay of the pastoral way of life.⁸⁰

The harsh semi-arid and arid climate has led to deaths of cattle requiring restocking which is mainly through raids. At the same time, competition for limited pasture fields and watering points during drought periods culminates into violent confrontations as communities struggle to control these scarce resources for their own selfish use. Cattle raids therefore are a resultant retaliation mechanism to the aggrieved.⁸¹

2.5.6 Political Instigation

Politicians have been accused of instigating cattle raids and conflicts. They have done so through funding of the raids and verbally igniting the youth to engage in conflict during political rallies. The Kalenjin politicians have been accused of their active involvement in distribution of firearms to the Pokot in the mid-1990s to raid Ilchamus.⁸² In a period of several years, the Samburu and Pokot joined hands against the Turkana in Baragoi in a conflict that was politically instigated in order to disenfranchise the enemy community voters during electioneering period.⁸³

In Uganda, the members of Local Councils (LC) who are responsible for addressing issues related to justice and security provision have been accused of

⁸⁰ NCKK, SNV and SARDEP, *Pacifying the Valley: An analysis on the Kerio Valley Conflict*, 2001, p. 10.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Clemens Greiner, "Guns, Land, and Votes: Cattle Rustling and the Politics of Boundary (Re)Making in Northern Kenya", *African Affairs*, Vol. 112, No. 447, p. 232.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 227.

instigating and benefiting from cattle raids. Some of these members of LC have been apprehended by the government of Uganda.⁸⁴

2.5.7 Idleness and Poverty amongst the Youth in the Region

Idleness associated with poverty, unemployment, very low school enrolment and lack of social and economic activities have influenced conflict in Kenya-Uganda border region. In Pokot, most of the youth who form the army of cattle rustlers are a frustrated and poor lot who dropped out of school because of poverty and cultural demands. They have no source of livelihood forcing them to fall prey to cattle rustling.⁸⁵ In Karamoja, idle and poor youth form a pool for recruitment to cattle rustling. Poverty has been blamed as one of the major drive to the youth in the engagement in cattle rustling.⁸⁶

2.6 Conclusion

Cattle rustling in Kenya-Uganda border region has historically transformed. The manner in which the raids were carried out traditionally changed over time with the introduction of new sophisticated weapons. The raids developed from the cultural understanding to commercial ventures which came along with high intensity conflicts and disastrous impact on the security of the region. With time, the traditionally accepted raids became a serious cross border security issue for the communities in the region, the governments of Kenya and Uganda and the whole of the Horn region.

⁸⁴ Kees Kingma et al, "Security Provision and Small Arms in Karamoja", Retrieved on June 27, 2013, from http://www.danishdemininggroup.dk/fileadmin/uploads/pdf/DDG_PDF/AVR_PDF/DDG-SAS-Karamoja2012.pdf

⁸⁵ NCKK, SNV and SARDEP, *Pacifying the Valley: An analysis on the Kerio Valley Conflict*, 2001, p. 13.

⁸⁶ Saferworld, "Karamoja Conflict and Security Assessment", September 2010 Report, Retrieved on June 22, 2013, from <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/Karamoja>

CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDY – TEGLA LOROUPE PEACE FOUNDATION

3.1 Introduction

In chapter two, I analysed the dynamics of cattle rustling related conflicts along Kenya-Uganda border. In specific, I discussed the geography and the communities living in the area of study, the historical development of cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts, the route of arms acquisition and distribution and the factors influencing cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts. This discussion gives the understanding of the magnitude of work that TLPF is facing. In this chapter, I will discuss the work of TLPF in the mitigation of cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts along Kenya-Uganda border.

Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation was established in 2003 by Tegla Chepkite Loroupe, a three time world half-marathon champion, a two time world marathon record holder, amongst several other national and international athletic titles. The Foundation is a Registered Charity in Kenya under the Perpetual Succession Act, Chapter 164, Laws of Kenya. The aim of this Foundation is to use sports as one of the arsenals of achieving social interaction, establishing cohesiveness, healing past differences, building trust and ensuring amicable resolution of conflicts amongst the warring pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in Northern Kenya, along the Kenya-Uganda border and the entire Horn of Africa.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

3.2 Conflict Mitigation Programmes in Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation

Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation employs four major programmes in the mitigation of conflicts along Kenya-Uganda border and the Horn of Africa in general. These programmes are: education for peace, enterprise and livelihoods, environment for peace and peace building and conflict management programme.⁸⁸

3.2.1 Education for Peace Programme.

This programme was designed with the aim of assisting the less fortunate members of the society as a result of conflicts. It is divided into three sub-programmes; Tegla Loroupe Education and Peace Centre (TLEPC), Tegla Loroupe Peace Academy (TLPA) and education scholarships and sponsorships.⁸⁹

The TLEPC is a registered public mixed day and boarding primary school which includes nursery and pre-school units. It was started in 2005 but received the first pupils on January 3, 2012. The majority of pupils come from disadvantaged backgrounds; they are stricken with poverty and orphaned as a result of cattle rustling related conflicts and HIV/AIDS. The school is also a special refuge for girls who are at risk of traditional vagaries like forced circumcision and early marriages.⁹⁰

The TLPA is an incorporation of boarding primary and secondary schools, sports stadium, athletics training camp, health centre and staff quarters. Just like TLEPC, it offers education facilities to students stricken with poverty and orphaned as a result of

⁸⁸ Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, “About Us”, Retrieved on July 16, 2013, from http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?page_id=69

⁸⁹ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

⁹⁰ Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, “Tegla Loroupe Education and Peace Centre – Open at Last!”, Retrieved on July 18, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=1522>

cattle rustling related conflicts and HIV/AIDS. In specific, TLPA is divided in two facilities: There is a mixed primary and secondary boarding school, a library and a health facility for both the pupils and the community. This also acts as a rescue centre for girls who are faced with forced circumcision and early forced marriages as well as conflict victims.⁹¹

TLPA also incorporates a sports training facility with the aim of tapping and developing local athletic talent. The facility also gives an opportunity to the warriors who have ceased cattle rustling and related attacks to exchange their arms for sports training. The sports facility also acts as a means of harmonizing different communities by bringing them together in sports and hence cultivating a culture of understanding and tolerance.⁹²

The TLPF through its partners also supports education of the less fortunate by offering scholarships and sponsorships to children who have excelled well but are unable to raise their school fees. TLPF through its partners; Deacons Kenya have supported 2 girls through higher education while the US Embassy has supported 6 children from Pokot County on a full scholarship at the United States International University (USIU) out of which 4 graduated in 2011.⁹³

⁹¹ Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation, “Tegla Lorupe Peace Academy (TLPA)”, Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=207>

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

3.2.2 Enterprise and Livelihoods Programme

This programme was designed to offer the warring communities alternative livelihood different from cattle rustling. This programme is divided into three avenues namely; restocking/de-stocking, dairy projects and sports promotion.⁹⁴

TLPF has embarked on a restocking plan to assist reformed cattle rustler to have a legitimate livelihood by offering them cattle. Restocking has therefore been considered by TLPF as one of the most ideal and effective initiative that promotes conflict resolution, peace building and poverty reduction among the poor pastoral communities affected by conflicts occasioned through cattle rustling. Since not everybody who can be involved in athletics, restocking programme becomes the alternative sustainable assurance of honest and straightforward life for the reformed warriors.⁹⁵

TLPF has also initiated a dairy farming project which is geared towards sustaining other programmes like the TLPA. In this, the TLPF has initiated dairy farming in Siyoi in West Pokot County which has favourable climate for such kind of farming. The dairy farming project enable the school have enough milk, generate income for school's needs, stimulate income generating activities for the school and act as a pilot project for the community to learn from. It also creates job opportunities to reformed warriors tapped from the Tegla Lorupe Peace Races.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation, "Enterprise and Livelyhoods", Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?cat=6>

⁹⁵ Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation, "Restocking , De-Stocking", Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=202>

⁹⁶ Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation, "Dairy Projects", Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=783>

3.2.3 Environment for Peace Programme

The TLPF has set up the environment and climate change programme in the realization of the innumerable concerns that affect the country in respect to the environment. These issues include; air pollution, climate change, global warming, energy, land degradation through land pollution, desertification, and deforestation, soil erosion and conservation, overexploitation of natural resources, logging, and poor waste management. These issues have been found to affect the harmony of communities especially when these communities fight for resources available in their environment leading to conflict.⁹⁷

This programme aims at mobilizing the community to adopt new environmental patterns of life, increasing environmental awareness among women, students and youth in the Horn region, educating community on environmentally sound use in the day-to-day socioeconomic activities, promoting environmental protection measures through proper awareness, preparing and implementing programmes and projects that aim at sustainable development, ensuring effective collection of wastes, encouraging positive and responsible harnessing of natural resources, empowering women and youth through environmental agricultural resource project, inculcating environmental responsibility and ownership and promoting wildlife preservation as well as reducing human wildlife conflict.

⁹⁷ Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, “Environment and Climate Change Programme”, Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=143>

Key activities in this programme include: Awareness and advocacy, soil conservation, water harnessing and availability, sustainable environment and capacity building and harnessing of natural resources.⁹⁸

Awareness and advocacy is undertaken through conducting workshops and trainings, sensitization campaigns, broadcasting of environmental concerns, formation of environmental clubs in learning institutions, advocacy on drought preparedness-changing climate, donation of tree seedlings, fact finding missions to regions around the country with endangered flora and fauna, promoting eco/agro-tourism as a way of protecting both wildlife and indigenous plant species, consensus building, research and essay competitions in schools on environment.⁹⁹

Soil conservation is practiced through promotion of better farming methods that minimise on soil erosion, encouraging hybrid farming, tree planting, discouragement of degradation and dissemination and application of farming techniques aimed at curbing soil degradation while enriching soil composition.¹⁰⁰

Water is harnessed and preserved through drilling of bore holes, water wells for communities to use as an alternative water source, promoting tree planting and proper waste disposal and management of sanitation issues, increasing knowledge of water conservation and management within communities residing in water deficit areas,

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Oral interview with Juliah Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th August, 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

enhancing and broadening the use of water management systems and encouraging locals to harvest and sustain water.¹⁰¹

TLPF has encouraged locals to **sustain environment** by planting trees, cleaning up activities in various towns and centres within the country, beautification of local parks and game reserves, setting up dustbins within populated centres in urban and rural areas countrywide, digging up of dump sites away from areas of human activity, setting up of an agro forestry farm and harnessing mineral resources in an environment conscious manner. The Foundation has also encouraged special focus on our ecosystems to increase knowledge, application and sustainability of bio-diversity and bio-security programmes.¹⁰²

TLPF has been involved in **building capacity for safe harnessing of natural resources**. They have been engaged in training the community on environmental protection, involving the community in environmental livelihood friendly activities e.g. Bee keeping, silk farming, aloe vera, agro tourism, poultry farming and harnessing of solar power and wind energy.¹⁰³

3.2.4 Peace Building and Conflict Mitigation Programme

The TLPF has involved the communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region and the Horn of Africa in activities that breed harmonious interaction. The Foundation has done this through: Peace races, conflict sensitization and development planning, disarmament exercises, peace forums and peace gala, rehabilitation and training of reformed warriors

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, “Environment and Climate Change Programme”, Retrieved on July 19, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=143>

¹⁰³ Oral interview with Julia Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th August, 2013.

The TLPF has organized annual peace races amongst various communities in the Horn of Africa. Specifically, TLPF has organized Moroto-Uganda Peace Race, Southern Sudan Peace Race, Tana River Peace Race, Kapenguria Peace Race, Maralal Peace Race and Turkana Peace Race. These races are aimed at restoring trust amongst warring communities.¹⁰⁴

Conflict sensitization is done through sports with a name to instill changes such as reduction in conflict, rise of peace warriors, and improved intercommunity relations. The ownership of the sensitization initiative by the communities is an indicator of the unifying value of sports for peace and reflects its potential for sustainable peace. During the peace races, a peace torch which is a symbol of unity and lighting away the darkness of conflicts is passed from peace actors to the representative of different warring communities. After receiving the peace torch, the representatives of warring communities carry it up as they seek forgiveness from each other for the past deeds and promise to live in peace with each other. In one such occasion, a warrior from Sabiny community promised: *“We have sinned, we have killed, we have offended our neighbours, we ask for forgiveness to all those we attacked... we promise never to shed blood again....”*¹⁰⁵

The TLPF in conjunction with security officers from Kenya and Uganda has been involved in humane disarmament exercise aimed at wiping out illegal firearms and to enhance development along the borders. For instance, TLPF in Conjunction with the Government of Kenya through the District Commissioners office Kapenguria have been

¹⁰⁴ Julius M. Huho, “Conflict Resolution among Pastoral Communities in West Pokot County, Kenya: A Missing Link”, *Academic Research International*, Vol. 3, No. 3, November 2012, p. 464; Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, Peace Races, Retrieved on July 26, 2013 from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=209>

¹⁰⁵ Oral interview with Juliah Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th August, 2013.

involved in voluntary disarmament activities in the Greater Pokot Region. On account of this disarmament, several firearms and rounds of ammunition were recovered and surrendered to the Government.¹⁰⁶

The TLPF has also worked together with the Government of Kenya in providing all warriors with food stuff (Maize, Rice, Cooking oil and pledged Seeds and Fertilizers for crop production). Although this was a short term programme, it aided in offering the warriors alternative livelihood. The Foundation has continued to call upon well-wishers and other partners to come up with a long-term programme to offer alternative livelihood to reformed warriors.¹⁰⁷

Crucial forums and festivals have been organized by TLPF where warring communities have agreed to live harmoniously. One such forum was the stakeholders' forum which brought not only the partners in the TLPF but also all institutions who are concerned with the security and peaceful coexistence in Kenya-Uganda border region. In this forum, Kenya National Police Force (KNPF) director, David Kimaiyo challenged the warring communities to actualize their messages of truce. He also promised that KNFP would carry out a humane disarmament.¹⁰⁸

The warriors who were drawn from Pokot, Turkana, Sabiny, Marakwet and Karamojong communities and had previously been involved in cattle rustling and related conflicts to Surrender illegal weapons in their possession and help the government and peace actors in helping to reform other warriors who are still engaging in criminal

¹⁰⁶ Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation, "Disarmament Exercise", Retrieved on July 26, 2013, from <http://teglapeacefoundation.org/?p=1>

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Oral interview with Juliah Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th August, 2013.

pursuits. The warriors also noted the importance of sensitizing and advocating for voluntary disarmament and encouraging participation peace activities in their areas. This was aimed at fostering cohesion and integration among communities. The warriors also resolved to conduct business and farming activities together and assist each other with relevant entrepreneurial information and market opportunities as well as working with the police, Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) and other security forces to ensure peace and security prevails. They also called for the establishment of boarding schools for children from remote and inaccessible areas.¹⁰⁹

In same meeting, the women drawn from Turkana, Pokot, Marakwet, Sabiny and Karamojong communities and who are considered the primary victims in any conflict unanimously agreed to fully participate in peace building initiatives and actively take part in the implementation process, speak out loudly against violence and insecurity and rally their men (and sons) behind peace, actively participate in leadership roles (at all levels) in their areas, fight retrogressive cultural activities that deter personal and community development such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and carry out exchange visits among the involved communities (Pokot, Turkana, Marakwet, Sabiny and Karamojong) in order to improve on cohesion efforts and create exposure of their people.¹¹⁰

The District Peace Coordinators (DPC) and other peace actors observed that dialogue meetings were not enough and called on establishment of common projects and markets along the community borders to enable the pastoralists – who were once sworn enemies – to interact freely and carry out business together. They also noted the need to integrate

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

children from pastoral communities in schools so that they learn together and get to love and appreciate each other. They urged the government to improve infrastructure in pastoral areas, establish and a sustainable revolving fund for the youth to enable them carry out economic activities and offer alternative livelihood to warriors who have surrendered illegal arms and are willing to be integrated in the community. They recommended that grassroots meetings between communities should be enhanced so that peace building efforts begin from bottom to top, DPCs to be non-partisan in their operations in order to make the desired cohesion a reality. They urged TLPF to spread peace races to other parts of the pastoral communities especially Lokori in Turkana which also borders Baringo East (that is mainly habited by the Pokot) and Samburu.¹¹¹

The TLPF has embarked on rehabilitation and training of reformed warriors by establishing a rehabilitation centre for warriors. This livelihood project aims at enabling reformed warriors to engage in constructive livelihood production activities, sports as well as taking front role in what TLPF refers to “warrior to warrior” peacemaking process. By providing support to warriors to engage in competitive sports, business enterprises and small scale agricultural business and facilitating them in the warrior-to-warrior peacemaking, the rehabilitation and training project anticipates reduction in raids in terms of its magnitude and frequency.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Telephone interview with Daniel Letongaile, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013.

3.3 Conclusion

TLPF has established a multi-pronged approach in tackling cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts in the Kenya-Uganda border region. To bring all the actors together, TLPF has engaged the warriors, women, children, NGOs, Government agencies and the civil society. TLPF has used education to reach to the warriors and their families tackling the underlying causes of the cattle rustling and related conflicts. The Foundation has also understood that availability and sustenance of livelihoods as well as the environment plays a key role to the mitigation of conflicts and has established programmes that engage the locals in protecting of their livelihoods and environment. To evaluate whether the established programmes by the TLPF have had an impact or not is a subject that needs analysis. The next chapter will be an analysis of the impact of TLPF programmes in the mitigation of cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts in the Kenya Uganda border region.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF TEGLA LOROUPE PEACE FOUNDATION IN MITIGATION OF CONFLICTS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three, I examined the nature of work that the TLPF executes through its programmes. TLPF has four main programmes namely: education for peace, enterprise and livelihoods, environment for peace and peace building and conflict management. These programmes are designed to offer possible channels of conflict mitigation in Kenya, Kenya-Uganda border region and the Horn at large. This discussion sheds light to the understanding of the organization and the work of TLPF from which the analysis of the Foundation's work is based.

Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation's work since the year 2003 has brought a great difference in the Kenya-Uganda border region. The Foundation's work has had impact on education, livelihoods, environment and direct conflict mitigation.

4.2 Education

Education plays a fundamental role in promoting cultural understanding, change in points of view, interpersonal cooperation and initiates or enhances skills of future disengagement from conflicts. Education can transform the thinking process of a generation in an environment of interethnic hatred to breed a new generation where different ethnic groups not only perceive each other as members of the same society but also share and leave harmoniously with each other. Education therefore is key in reculturalising a people from a culture of conflict to a culture of harmonious interaction between members of different ethnic groups. One way in which reculturation can be

pursued is by training people at all levels of society in subjects such as human rights and conflict resolution.¹¹³

TLPF has pursued conflict mitigation by educating different classes of people in the Kenya-Uganda border region. Through education and talent development, TLPF has transformed the lives of the warriors by training them to disengage from cattle rustling and employ skills in legal means of earning their livelihoods.¹¹⁴ The warriors who had voluntarily surrendered their weapons were taken through vocational training in Kapenguria and Kitale towns where they acquired different skills in carpentry, driving or hair dressing. The TLPF later offered capital to the warriors who graduated from vocational training to establish businesses.¹¹⁵ They were therefore able to have an alternative livelihood which is legal and completely disengaged from cattle rustling.

TLPF has targeted the poor children in the society and incorporated them in an education sponsorship programme where their school fees are fully paid. This programme starts from primary to university level. There are three hundred pupils at primary school level that have been sponsored by TLPF; thirty six of them are from Tana River County while the rest are from Kenya-Uganda border region. Some of these pupils school at TLEPC while others are in different schools in the region. There are sixteen students who have been sponsored in different secondary schools by the TLPF, out of which six are girls. There are fifteen students in the universities in Kenya and in abroad under the

¹¹³ Johan Galtung, *After Violence: 3r, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution: Coping With Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence*, pp. 62-64. Retrieved on 30th April, 2013, from <http://classweb.gmu.edu/hwjeong/Conf702/Galtung.%20After%20violence.pdf>

¹¹⁴ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹¹⁵ Telephone interview with Daniel Letongaile, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013.

sponsorship of TLPF. Six are at United States International University (USIU), two at Strathmore University, one at Mt. Kenya University, one at Kenyatta University, one at Moi University and one at Pwani University. Three students have been sponsored to study in different universities in the United States of America, namely: Yale University, Harvard University and Huntington University. This sponsorship opens up possibilities of transforming a generation from culture of conflict to culture of peace and harmony.

In the TLEPC, peace curriculum is encompassed in the teaching in the attempt to reculturise the children into a peace culture. Children from Pokot, Turkana, Karamojong, Sebei, Teso, Marakwet et cetera, in this institution have therefore been able to interact with each other breaking the stereotypes. The Foundation is also working with University of Nairobi to develop a peace curriculum which will be used officially in the villages and schools around the Kenya-Uganda border region to educate the locals and students as well.¹¹⁶

TLPF has also established a rescue education centre within TLEPC for girls who are on verge of being subjected to female genital mutilation (FGM) and forced early marriages. In most cultures in the Kenya-Uganda border region, payment of bride price is in terms of herds of livestock. Most of the young men must raid for cattle to be able to raise bride price and this invigorates the bad culture of cattle rustling.¹¹⁷ By rescuing girls who are about to be forced in early marriages, TLPF has indirectly been able to curb cattle rustling. TLPF not only recues and educates the girl child but also goes ahead to

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Telephone interview with Jackson Lokwatom, from Turkana County, 9th September, 2013.

educate the parents of such children on the need of girl child education. The TLPF also are involved in reconciling the girl and the parents.¹¹⁸

TLPF has in its programmes encompassed education *barazas* where they educate the public about the demerits of cattle rustling and conflicts and encourage them to embrace peace. These *barazas* are well organized with the help of community elders and the provincial administration.¹¹⁹ The education *barazas* target the youth who are the warriors who undertake the raids and engage in conflict, the elders who give the youth cultural blessings prior to the raids and the women who sing praises to the warriors to encourage them to continue raiding.¹²⁰ These groups of people are sensitized on the need to have a peaceful community and legal means of attaining livelihoods.

Through these educative *barazas*, TLPF has been able to influence the minds of the elders who hold cultural powers to influence the end of cattle rustling. These elders have in turn supported TLPF's activities especially the education for girl child and peace races. A Pokot elder by the name Lopetakol Gabriel during Moroto Peace Race in April 2006 observed that taking children to school would assist them from acquiring bad habits of raiding and gun culture. He also observed that education provides an environment for those who are talented in sports and other areas of occupations to earn a legitimate earning instead of engaging in cattle raids. He therefore encouraged all people to take

¹¹⁸ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹¹⁹ Oral interview with Julia Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th September, 2013.

¹²⁰ Telephone interview with Eliza Lokilale, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013.

their children to school regardless of their gender and encourage them to learn good behaviour in the interest of peace.¹²¹

Advocacy for the establishment and expansion of education infrastructure in Kenya-Uganda border region and other pastoral areas has been one of the agenda of the TLPF. TLPF has lobbied the Kenyan and Ugandan governments and well-wishers to equip the existing schools and build more schools in the cattle rustling and related conflict areas to be able to disarm the minds of the youths. More schools in these areas would reduce the development gap between the pastoral and other developed areas.¹²² This has led to increase in support for education in pastoral areas by NGOs.

4.3 Peace Races

TLPF has used peace races as one of the main events to integrate warring communities. Since 2003, TLPF has been organizing peace races in both Kenya and Uganda. The races are categorized into five namely: the ten kilometres for women and men warriors, ten kilometres for the elite, two kilometres for children, two kilometres for family and dignitaries and five kilometres race for the physically challenged.¹²³ TLPF has organized twenty four peace races in Kenya and nine in Uganda. Specifically, TLPF has had ten races in Kapenguria, two in Tana River, one in Maralal, two in Turkwel and nine in Moroto in Uganda.¹²⁴

The peace races have been used as a forum for relationship building and restoration of trust amongst the warring communities in the region. The peace races have

¹²¹ TLPF, Moroto Peace Race Report, April, 2006, p. 13.

¹²² TLPF, Moroto Peace Race Report, April, 2006, p. 11.

¹²³ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

managed to include youths who are mainly the main actors in the conflict into the peace making process by detaching them from involvement in conflicts and attaching them to alternative livelihoods. Away from livestock-dependence, sport is one of the alternative livelihoods.¹²⁵

During these races, TLPF bring the warriors who are still armed and educate them on the need of maintaining peace. The warriors first need to understand why they are running. TLPF therefore bring the warriors from all warring communities for a period of four days prior to the racing day and educate them on how to relate with each other. This builds trust and breaks the antagonism. Before the races, there is also an organised dialogue forum for warriors where they discuss issues pertinent to region's peace. After the races, the winners are rewarded with cash prizes or livestock. At the same time, the sponsors end up supporting the winners in other projects or in further training.¹²⁶

Peace races have brought together all actors including the youth who are warriors, elders and general community members to communicate the value of peace through sports. The races have built intercommunity relations and trust building amongst warring communities and trust between communities and government security agencies.¹²⁷ Both Kenya and Uganda governments have been perceived as unfair and brutal in the disarmament process. The disarmaments are also perceived to be discriminative and inhumane; hence the resistance by the communities in the Kenya-Uganda order region. Past disarmament operations involved indiscriminate killings and subjected communities

¹²⁵ TLPF, Moroto Peace Race Report, April, 2006, p.3.

¹²⁶ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹²⁷ Telephone interview with Joseph Ikiriamit, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013.

to collective phobia. It also left pastoral households condemned to poverty, irreparable economic and emotional damage. Peace races have come to the rescue of this situation by bringing both the Kenya and Uganda governments and the communities along Kenya-Uganda border to share their concerns and plan future humane disarmament operations.¹²⁸

Peace races are also an avenue to encourage warriors to surrender their illegal guns. TLPF has established a training camp for those warriors who voluntarily surrender their weapons.¹²⁹ TLPF explores their talents and trains them and even organizes for them competitions to showcase their talents so as to earn income. Prior to and after the racing day, many warriors have voluntarily surrendered their guns to government's security agencies. It is also notable that voluntary surrender of guns does not end with the racing period but it has become a continuous process. For instance, after the Moroto Peace Race in 2005, Turkana warriors who had participated in the race went back home and surrendered their guns to the state. They also went out and advocated for peace in their own and neighbouring communities.¹³⁰

4.4 Alternative Sources of Livelihoods

TLPF has embraced activities that introduce alternative sources of livelihoods to encourage the warring communities to disengage from cattle rustling and ensuing conflicts. This has led to reforming of the warriors after the understanding that livelihoods can not only come from cattle rustling but also through other legitimate means. The warriors who have over time been using firearms to gain income need

¹²⁸ TLPF, Moroto Peace Race Report, April, 2006, pp. 4 and 7.

¹²⁹ Telephone Interview with Loriono Achile, September 28, 2013

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 12.

alternative sources of income if they were to surrender their only instrument – the gun, of achieving livelihoods. This realization by the TLPF made the foundation to design programmes that enhance the warriors’ capability to earn income legally. To ensure that the warriors do not return to their old ways of cattle rustling, TLPF has initiated several income generating projects. The Foundation has initiated bee keeping projects, interlocking soil stabilized blocks (ISSB) manufacture, buying and selling of livestock and zero grazing for the warriors. The Foundation has offered the rehabilitated and reformed warriors with capital to be able to start their own businesses. TLPF has also assisted the reformed warriors to find markets for their products. For continuity of the programme, one percent of the profits go back to the Foundation.¹³¹

Women who are perceived as innocent and only as the victims of conflicts are actually the custodians of the firearms. They are the ones who store, transport and service the arms for their husbands and sons. In turn, they get the share of the raids. TLPF has engaged these women in income generating projects, for instance greenhouses where they practice horticultural farming. TLPF also has purchased for the women farming equipment for example irrigation water pumps to facilitate their vegetable farming. TLPF has had exchange programmes where they arrange study visits for the warriors and their women to see how such projects have been implemented in other areas. This has seen reformed warriors and women from West Pokot, Marakwet, Turkana and Moroto visit Tana River, Mombasa and Nyeri.

¹³¹ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

TLPF has also employed restocking as one of the methods of mitigating conflicts. The Foundation ensures that the warriors are able to restock following raiding of their animals or after natural calamities. The warriors first go through educative workshops to make them understand that restocking does not only come from raids, but there are other ways of ensuring that one does not lose his animals.¹³² Restocking is undertaken strategically to avoid further loss of animals through raids. For instance, TLPF with the assistance of the donors only give animals or cash price after peace races or after one has lost their livestock through natural calamities. TLPF does not compensate by giving out the same local indigenous breed which can run fast and therefore prone to raiding; the Foundation gives high grade dairy cattle which cannot run fast and therefore not attractive to raiding. This in turn has encouraged zero grazing thus reducing over-herding and environmental degradation.¹³³

4.5 Rehabilitation of Warriors

Rehabilitation is a vital component of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation (DDR) process. It ensures that the conflict way of thinking is eliminated and new values of peace are encompassed in the lives of those who have actively been involved in conflicts as perpetrators. Their minds are therefore disarmed and their lives reformed. In this realization, TLPF has established a rehabilitation centre where warriors undergo training on the importance of peace making and vocational training. As per the date of my interviews, TLPF had forty two warriors in the rehabilitation camp who were engaged in legal business both locally and internationally. Eight of the warriors had

¹³² Telephone Interview with Loriono Achile, September 28, 2013

¹³³ Ibid.

graduated and are earning a living legally for their own families while eleven are still in vocational training.¹³⁴

The face of the achievements of rehabilitation by TLPF can be found in Julius Arile Lomerinyang. Lomerinyang who is a reformed warrior after undergoing rehabilitation at TLPF Rehabilitation Centre is a well-known peace ambassador who has toured many countries of the world preaching peace and fighting illegal firearms.¹³⁵ In 2006, Lomerinyang collected more than one million signatures over the world in support of his petition to eradicate illegal firearms in the world. His petition was dubbed “The Million Faces Campaign” which he handed over to the then United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan on the first day of the UN Small Arms Conference, which took place in New York from June 26 to July 7, 2006.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Julius Arile Lomerinyang, “The Million Faces Campaign”, Presentation to the UN Small Arms Review Conference 2006, Retrieved on August 25, 2013, from <http://www.un.org/events/smallarms2006/pdf/arms060630iansa-julius.pdf>

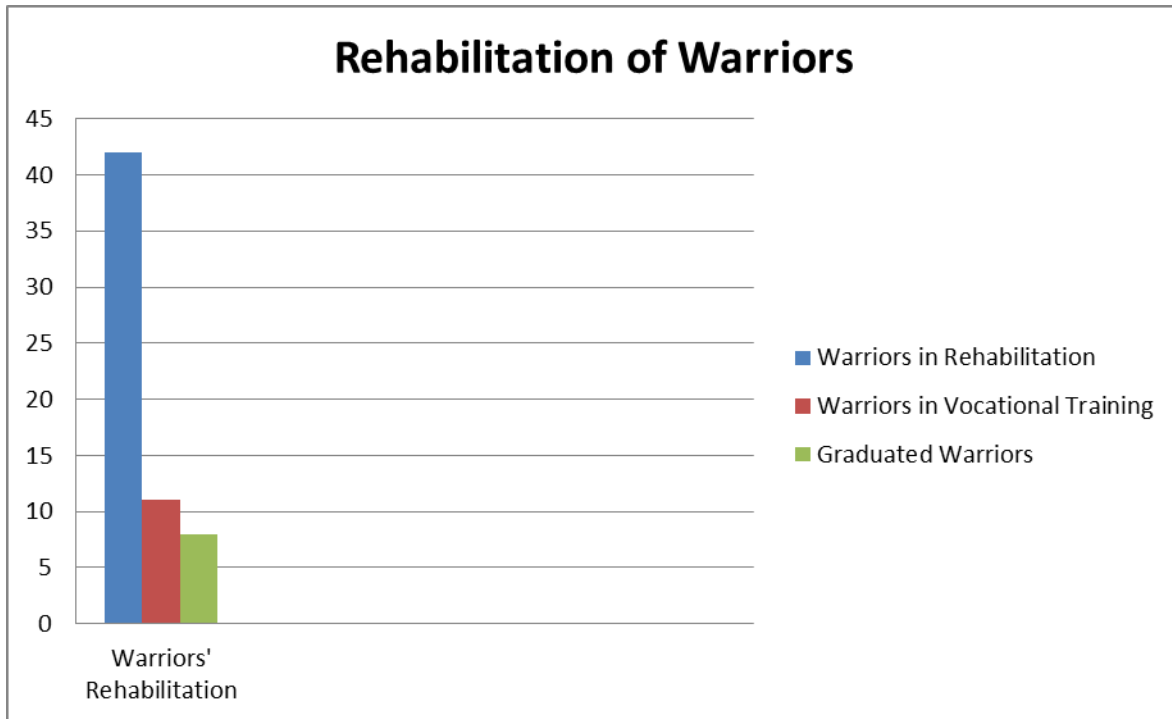


Figure 1: Rehabilitation of Warriors by TLPF as per September, 2013

4.6 Community Peace Dialogues and Dispute Resolution

TLPF has created platforms for mutual dialogue amongst the warring communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region. The Foundation has initiated forums in both Kenya and Uganda for arbitration, mediation and counseling. TLPF does not carry out these forums in towns but goes down to the grassroots where conflicts take place. During these forums, TLPF trains the locals on means of accessing justice and how to understand their rights as enshrined in the Constitutions of Kenya and Uganda and other written laws. TLPF has trained more than two hundred paralegals in West Pokot who assist in solving disputes before the disputes move to the courts. This approach has reduced petty conflicts in the grassroots.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Oral interview with Julia Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th September, 2013.

4.7 Capacity Building

Building the capacity of any community to resolve conflicts is a long lasting solution in ensuring that such a community will always be able to resolve its own conflicts without external assistance. TLPF has initiated capacity building trainings where members of communities in Kenya-Uganda border region are taken through units in conflict mitigation. TLPF works with District Peace Committees in Kenya and Uganda to identify and train locals. TLPF has also encompassed exchanged programmes where individuals in the Kenya-Uganda border region are taken to other conflict stricken areas to learn how other communities have been able to resolve their conflicts. There have been visits from Marakwet to Côte d'Ivoire. The trainees of these programmes have been able to help their communities resolve conflicts and therefore able to avert escalation of cattle rustling and related conflicts. This programme has led to formation of peace forums in West Pokot and Moroto in Uganda where the communities meet to discuss ways of obviating conflicts.¹³⁸

4.8 Advocacy

TLPF has advocated for peace in the Horn of Africa and in specific in Kenya-Uganda border region. The Foundation has raised the awareness of conflict issues in the region through media, workshops, seminars, conferences and through peace races. During the Foundation's activities, the TLPF's President and founder Tegla Chepkite Loroupe has called on the governments of Kenya and Uganda to address inadequacy of services like water, roads, electricity, education and health. Ms. Loroupe has also advocated for the change in approach during disarmament process to be all inclusive and humane. This

¹³⁸ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

has seen the change of disarmament strategies by governments of Kenya and Uganda into more humane and indiscriminate disarmaments. At certain points, Kenya and Uganda governments have carried out joint disarmaments as a result of advice from TLPF.¹³⁹ The government of Kenya through the army has been able to construct water pans in West Pokot.¹⁴⁰

4.9 Environmental Conservation

Scarcity of resources due to degradation of the environment or through natural calamities results in violent conflicts. Competition over scarce resources exacerbates existing cleavages in already torn societies. Degradation and scarce resources lead

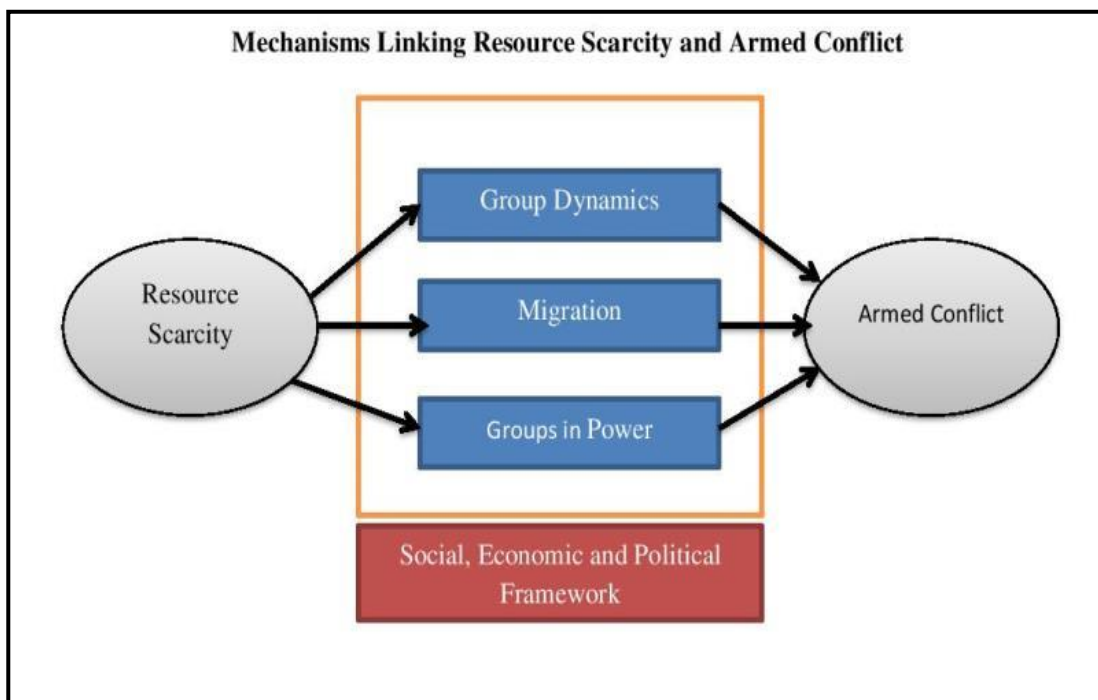


Figure 2: Mechanism Linking Resource Scarcity and Armed Conflict¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ministry of Defence, “The Many Faces of the Army”, Retrieved on August 25, 2013, from http://www.mod.go.ke/army/?page_link=army+faces

¹⁴¹ Judith M. Bretthauer, “When Does Resource Scarcity Lead to Conflict?”, Retrieved on August 25, 2013, from <http://www.afk-web.de>

conflict if social lines can be manipulated in struggles over social, ethnic, political or international power. In the case of Kenya-Uganda border region, social fault lines of the already divided society include ethnic division and ethnic power struggles over control of the scarce resources. In these struggles over control of scarce resources, conflicts arise.

Scarcity of natural resources in the Kenya-Uganda border region has been the root cause of conflict amongst the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. Competition for the scarce resources such as pastures and water has brought different communities in this region at loggerheads. The scarcity of the natural resources can be attributed to natural calamities and human activities in the region. Some of the human activities include: cutting down of trees for firewood, charcoal burning, overstocking leading to soil erosion and poor and/or no water harvesting techniques.¹⁴²

TLPF initiated activities to educate people on the conservation of their environment. The Foundation has led the reformed warriors in tree planting and digging of surface dams. The Foundation has also educated the locals on the need to halt charcoal burning and has been discussing with (UNESCO) on the introduction of alternative energy to the locals. During these activities, the Foundation has been educating the warriors on the need to surrender their guns and preservation of peace. As a result of the environmental conservation activities, more rainfall has been experienced in the region and more water has been conserved. There has been increase in pastures leading to decrease in conflicts over pastures. The water that has increased has been used for

¹⁴² Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

livestock and domestic utilization as well as irrigation. This has in turn reduced conflict over water resources.¹⁴³

4.10 Transformation from a Conflict into a Relatively Peaceful Environment

Before the establishment and development of TLPF's activities in the Kenya-Uganda border region, raiders attacked even at daytime. This led to closure of businesses in major towns and outflow of business men and women. This in turn hampered the socioeconomic growth of the region and deteriorated the relations amongst communities. TLPF has managed to return a general relatively peaceful environment in major town in the region. TLPF using peace races, educative forums, establishment of rehabilitation camp, rescue centres for girls who are forced into FGM and early marriages and TLEPC, has made great strides towards change of the conflict environment. Businesses in the region have reverberated as a result of relative peace. There has been increased interaction amongst communities which had not been the case. For instance, the Pokot community disregarded the Turkana just because of difference in culture; the Turkana unlike the Pokot do not undergo circumcision. Currently, intermarriages between the Pokot and Turkana are being witnessed. There have been increased security and reduction in highway robberies. There have also been increased opportunities in for building up sports as a way of earning income thus improving the lives of the locals.¹⁴⁴

4.11 Challenges Faced By TLPF

TLPF has faced various challenges in its endeavour to mitigate cross-border cattle raids and related conflicts. Funding of the Foundations projects and activities has not been sufficient. There are major projects that TLPF has initiated for instance, schools,

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Oral interview with Julia Hagayoye, Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 17th September, 2013.

stadium, health facilities, alternative livelihoods projects and events like peace races. These projects and activities necessitate a huge budget that TLPF has not been able to achieve. The issue of insufficient funds has also affected the staff who opt to leave the Foundation since their salary expectations could not be met. The high staff turnover has affected the smooth running of the Foundation's programmes. TLPF has also faced challenges in support of children from poor families who cannot raise school fees. TLPF lacks insufficient funds to pay school fees for all needy children. In the midst of these challenges, TLPF has introduced free lunch as a motivator to keep children in school.¹⁴⁵ TLPF continues to talk to the governments of Kenya and Uganda as well as various donors in order to expand its source of funds.

TLPF has faced resistance from the communities. Some members of these communities are still rigid and resistant to change concerning some of the cultural issues. For instance, some men do not allow their women to participate in TLPF's activities. Some of the elders do not allow women to address them. Since a number of the staff at TLPF and participants are women, the Foundation's work becomes very challenging. Another issue concerning the cultural rigidity is the FGM which is still highly practiced. Some girls who are supposed to be protected from the practice actually glorify it to an extent of running away from school to undergo the cut. This defeats the work of TLPF in educating and protecting such girls. The Foundation has continued to educate members of these communities who are still rigid to be able to understand the importance of dropping outdated and harmful cultural practices.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Oral interview with Eunice Hasango, Chief Executive Officer of TLPF, TLPF Offices in Nairobi, 15th August, 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Telephone Interview with Loriono Achile, September 28, 2013

The infrastructure in the Kenya-Uganda border region is in a sorry state. TLPF faces major challenges in the attempt to reach the grassroots where there are bad or no roads and poor communication network. The few vehicles that the Foundation possesses were donated by an NGO named Oxfam but sometimes they break down due to poor roads. The Foundation though has continued talking to the governments of Kenya and Uganda to improve the infrastructure of the region.

The Kenya-Uganda border region though relatively peaceful, experiences pockets of insecurity. In their endeavour, the Foundation's workers have been caught in between conflicts. For instance, there have been pockets of violence in Turkwel region where TLPF's work has been hampered. The Foundation keeps on mitigating conflicts in the area with an aim of bringing peace in the whole of the region.¹⁴⁷

4.12 Conclusion

TLPF has immensely had immeasurable positive impact in the mitigation of cattle rustling and related conflicts in the Kenya-Uganda border region. TLPF has employed various methods to reach out the warriors, women, elders, the government and all stakeholders in the pursuit of peace in the region. The Foundation has used education as a tool of disarming the minds of the perpetrators of conflict, peace races to bring out tolerance and build up trust among different ethnic groups in the region, introduced alternative sources of livelihoods to divert attention from cattle rustling as a source of livelihoods, organizing grassroots peace forum, building the capacity of local mediators and conflict resolvers and conservation of environment to enhance development of natural resources thus fighting the scarcity. Although the Foundation has faced various

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

challenges, TLPF have greatly assisted in the achievement of the relative peace being experienced in the Kenya-Uganda border region.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four, I analysed the impact of the TLPF's programmes in the mitigation of cross border cattle rustling conflicts in the Kenya-Uganda border region. This analysis is in accordance with the objective of this study to evaluate the role played by sports in managing cross border cattle rustling conflicts as facilitated by TLPF. In this chapter, a summary and a discussion of the findings based on the objectives, hypothesis and the 3R (reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution) theory is presented.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This study found out that the use of sports in mitigation of cattle raids and related conflicts has been successful. TLPF which has been in operation for the last ten years instituted four major programmes to enhance the mitigation process in the Kenya-Uganda border region. These programmes include: education for peace, enterprise and livelihoods, environment for peace and peace building and conflict management programme.

Through these programmes, TLPF has been able to educate the locals on the need to maintain peace and living harmoniously with members of different communities. TLPF has extensively used peace races to bring together members of different communities, rehabilitated and trained warriors on alternative sources of livelihoods, established community grassroots peace dialogues and dispute resolution, building the capacity of dispute resolvers, advocated for better education, transport, communication and health facilities in the Kenya-Uganda border region, assisted in conserving environment and transformed a conflict torn region into a relatively peaceful one.

TLPF has also faced a number of challenges in their endeavour to mitigate cattle raids and related conflicts. These include: insufficient funds, resistance from the communities at grassroots, poor transport and communication facilities in the region and pockets of insecurity during their day to day work. Though TLPF has encountered the above mentioned challenges, the Foundation has really worked hard to address them by approaching more donors and governments of Kenya and Uganda for further assistance as well as educating the communities to surrender their firearms and embrace peace.

5.3 Discussion on the Findings

The use of sports as an instrument of realizing peace is a new stratagem that has not been demonstratively explored. The United Nations (UN) acknowledges sports as universal language and a powerful device in the promotion of peace, tolerance and understanding by bringing people together across boundaries, cultures and religions. Sports according to the UN have intrinsic values such as teamwork, fairness, discipline, respect for the opponent and the rules of the game are understood all over the world. These values can be harnessed in the advancement of solidarity, social cohesion and peaceful coexistence.¹⁴⁸ Even with this recognition of sports by a major international organ, they still remain underutilized in mitigation of conflicts.

Naturally sports like athletics, soccer, rugby, basketball, baseball among others, have been able to bring peoples of different races, ethnic and cultural backgrounds together. However, sporting activities have yet to be specifically intensively utilized as a

¹⁴⁸ UN, “Sport for Development and Peace”, Retrieved on August 25, 2013, from <https://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/peace>

tool of achieving peace in the world. The power of sport in the mitigation of conflicts in the world therefore remains a mirage.

Sports have been perceived as a luxury or entertainment. Nevertheless, sports assist in developing core values such as respect and cooperation. Sometimes sports are seen as hobbies but various types of sports have proved to be an endeavour, a source of livelihoods just like any paying white collar job. In fact, sports pay better than most white collar jobs and can be used to obviate dependence on conflicts to earn a livelihood. If well utilized, sports can change the socioeconomic status of a whole generation.

It has taken great ingenuity by TLPF to realize the extent at which sports can be used in bringing individuals and communities together, bridging cultural and ethnic divides and changing the entire Kenya-Uganda border region. In this region, sports have been able to bring warring communities to relative peace.

TLPF has established and developed programmes on the foundation of sports that have significantly reduced conflicts and brought about relative peace in the Kenya-Uganda border region. TLPF has used peace races where the Foundation has been able to bring different communities together to run for peace. Using the platform of peace runs, TLPF has been able to educate the warriors on the need of surrendering their firearms and perpetuating peace.

The peace races have also been used as a podium for the officials of the Kenyan and Ugandan governments to build trust between the two states and the warring communities. The two governments have been able to explain the need for disarmament while the communities have been able to raise issues on the need to change the approach of the disarmament process. The two governments have also had an opportunity to

understand the challenges that the communities of the region face which includes poor or no infrastructure, education and health facilities.

TLPF has strategically used peace races to restock the lost animals through raids and natural calamities. The restocking is tactically undertaken to avert further raiding by introducing grade dairy cattle which run slowly and therefore not prone to raiding. This approach by TLPF has led to the change in socioeconomic understanding by the local who have now embraced zero grazing and agro-pastoral way of life. This has resulted in reduction in raiding activities and brought more profits to the locals. This proves right the 3Rs framework by Galtung where restructuring of culture by reculturation of locals from a culture of pastoralism dependence which encouraged raiding to a culture of zero grazing and agro-pastoralism. The change in the socioeconomic setting of the region as instigated by TLPF has resulted in more stability in the region.

The understanding of the underlying causes of the conflict in the Kenya-Uganda border region has been a breakthrough for the TLPF in the assistance to mitigate conflicts. TLPF's knowledge on the need to introduce alternative livelihoods in the region has countered the use of guns as a source of livelihoods. This has in turn led to voluntary surrender of firearms by the warriors and embracement of new legal means of earning income for the warriors. The warriors and their wives and mothers have been involved in income generating projects in bee keeping, interlocking soil stabilized blocks manufacture, zero grazing, horticultural and vegetable farming and livestock selling business. This way, they have been transformed from perpetrators to responsible citizens.

5.4 Conclusion

In a nutshell, TLPF has successfully built social relations and induced trust among the warring communities. The Foundation has showcased sports as an alternative economic livelihood factor, increased awareness on the girl child rights, fostered education, championed for peace and changed the perception of pastoralists towards cattle raiding as a form of livelihood. This is done through creation of awareness, advocacy and practical intervention. The Foundation has been able to influence the governments of Kenya and Uganda to change the manner in which they carry out disarmament. The joint disarmament exercises that were started by Kenya and Uganda in 2005 still continue in a very humane manner. The two governments have continued to desist from forced disarmament and victimization of gun owners; but rather they have taken a more sensitizing approach in ensuring that pastoralists understand the importance of surrendering illegal weapons.

5.5 Recommendations

Several recommendations to the governments of Kenya and Uganda, peace practitioners, TLPF and local communities are hereby presented. The governments of Kenya and Uganda should embrace continuous joint disarmament processes. This should be undertaken to ensure that all illegal firearms are faced out. This process should be all inclusive where the provincial administrators, peace practitioners and village elders are part of it. It should also be humane to avoid resistance and rearming. The Kenyan and Ugandan governments should also ensure that the arms trade routes are dismantled. Security officers should investigate the proliferation and movement of arms, arms traders and sources. This way, the governments of Kenya and Uganda would not only face out

illegal firearms already in the hands of civilians but also prevent more acquisition of arms.

The governments of Kenya and Uganda and peace practitioners should embrace use of sports as a unique way of mitigating conflicts. The two governments and peace practitioners should carry out a research on the traditional sports that were practiced by the communities in the Kenya-Uganda border region, restructure them and involve all the communities in such sports. This would enhance ownership of the sporting events by the communities and therefore create an avenue for peace building.

The governments of Kenya and Uganda both at national and local level should improve the infrastructure of the Kenya-Uganda border region. For instance in Kenya, the county governments of West Pokot, Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, Samburu and Baringo should invest heavily in the infrastructure of their areas. This would create investment and employment opportunities and enhance smooth movement and communication of peace practitioners and security officers.

TLPF should introduce other sports like soccer, basketball, rugby, volleyball, handball and other traditional sports in the mitigation of conflicts. The overreliance on athletics in the mitigation of cattle raids in the Horn region and in specific in the Kenya-Uganda border region locks out many other talents in other sports. The more the people get involved in sports for mitigation of conflicts, the more peaceful environments we create.

Finally, the local people in the Kenya-Uganda border region should have self-initiative to create a peaceful environment and build their local economy. TLPF lacks sufficient funds to train and support all peace initiatives in the area. The locals who have

had initial contact with peace educators should unite and assist each other by further educating the warriors to surrender firearms and embrace peace, parents to educate both boys and girls and discourage outdated bad cultural practices such as forced marriages and FGM.

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List of Respondents

Daniel Letongaile, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013

Eliza Lokilale, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013

Eunice Hasango, CEO, TLPF, August 15, 2013

Jackson Lokwatom, Resident, Turkana County, September 9, 2013

Joseph Ikiyamit, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013

Juliah Hagayoye, Officer, TLPF, September 17, 2013

Loriono Achile, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013

Moses Chilia, Reformed Warrior, September 28, 2013

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5. How many students have enrolled in TLEPC and how has this assisted in conflict mitigation?
6. How many warriors have enrolled in the TL rehabilitation centre?
7. How has the rehabilitation centre assisted in mitigation of conflicts?
8. How many peace races has there been in Kenya and specifically in the Kenya-Uganda border region?
9. How has peace races assisted in mitigation of conflicts?
10. How is restocking done and to what extent has it contributed mitigation of conflicts?
11. To what extent has the Foundation been successful to achieve its objectives?
12. What impact has the Foundation brought in Kenya and Uganda?
13. What challenges has the Foundation faced in its endeavour in the mitigation of cross-border cattle raids conflicts?

PART C (Questions to Reformed Warriors)

1. How has TLPF transformed the conflict status in the Kenya-Uganda border region?
2. What impact has the TLPF had on your life?

Thank you for your cooperation.