

**GENDER TRANSFORMATION IN CATTLE RUSTLING AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS ON SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN WEST POKOT
COUNTY, KENYA**

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C82/CTY/38566/2016**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SECURITY DIPLOMACY AND
PEACE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SECURITY STUDIES
OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

MAY, 2021

DECLARATION

Declaration by Student

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Mzee Kimani whose endless mantra is ‘be yourself’, mother dear, partner and my kids. Everywhere.

Be Yourself!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge with appreciation my supervisors; Dr. Casper Masiga, again for the keen eye-to-detail and Dr. Pacificah Okemwa, for the scholarly drilling and timeless sacrifice and collectively for their professional guidance throughout the research period without which the thesis would not have been successful. I further acknowledge my friends and some colleagues for their support, including the respondents who remain faceless. I acknowledge the endless support of our then Chairman, Dr. Kavivya who steered our Department and brought us here and our current Chair Dr sirera, the Dean too. Finally, I humbly express my heartfelt appreciation and acknowledgement to Kenyatta University through our VC, Prof. Wainaina. God bless us all.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implications on security management in West Pokot County in Kenya. Insecurity in some sections of Kenya especially the North Rift and North Eastern, has been in the past threatened any meaningful development. Further cattle rustling has metamorphosized from a traditional practice to organized crime where lives are lost and property destroyed; which has negatively impacted people's livelihoods and has posed a challenge to security management. The study therefore, sought to establish gender transformation in the practice of cattle rustling and its implication for security management. The study objectives were; to explain the gender transformation in cattle rustling among the Pokot community, to determine the effects of gender relations on cattle rustling among the Pokot community, to assess the effects of transformation in cattle rustling on security management in West Pokot, to evaluate from a gender perspective the strategies put in place to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot County. The study was anchored on Social Cubism Theory and the Harvard analytical framework. The independent variable for the study was gender transformation which included: role of men, gender relations, role of women and changes in identities ; whereas the dependent variable was security management which included: Security apparatus/committees, gender equality in the security composition officers, Law enforcement agencies, disarmament initiatives and reintegration and intervening variables were Kenyan Laws/Penal code ,the two thirds gender rule ,C.o.K (2010) and Mifugo Protocol. The outcome of the variables included: peace, development of infrastructure ,security enhancement, women leadership, high literacy level ,high school transition rate by both boys and girls, alternative and diversified livelihoods. The study involved 350 respondents (210 men and 140 women) selected from adult residents of Pokot community, community elders, opinion leaders, political and administrative leaders, the local youth, women and men as well as local and international NGOs dealing with cattle rustling issues in West Pokot County. Data collection instruments included questionnaires with closed and open-ended questions, key informant interview guide, FGD guide and an observation checklist. Stratified and simple random sampling techniques were used to select men and women who participated in the study. Content and construct validity of research instruments were determined using a pilot study and review of empirical and theoretical literature respectively. The coefficient of internal consistency was used to measure the reliability of the questionnaire. Thematic analysis was used to analyze qualitative data while Descriptive and Inferential statistics were used to analyze quantitative data. The key findings included: cattle rustling was once a cultural activity with structured rules and taboos for both men and women but has now become a murderous criminal endeavor; gender relations have changed over time as a result of cattle rustling; security implications, costs and solutions to cattle rustling do not take into account the impact of gender and hence are ineffective and lastly, some of the strategies applied to curb cattle rustling were fair while a few were considered to be rather extreme. The study concluded that significant changes have taken place in the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot. Thus, it is no longer a communal practice that ensures the sustenance of the community. Contemporary cattle rustling is a rather radical and disjointed practice that is shunned by both men and women because of its negative consequences. The study recommended that appropriate approaches that involve men and women such as peace talks, enlightenment on contemporary ways of livelihoods to help the Pokot community adopt alternative sources of livelihood. The study also recommends the use of more advanced technologies to enable cattle identification and tracking, sensitization on laws criminalizing cattle rustling and ensuring full-scale prosecution of its actors. Finally, the study gave a suggestion for further studies on cattle jacking as an emerging security concern in the region.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC: Assistant County Commissioner

BCMS: Bible Churchmen Missionary Society

DC: District Commissioner

DCC: Deputy County Commissioner

EAPCCO: Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization

FGD: Focus Group Discussions

GOK: Government of Kenya

KHRC : Kenya Human Rights Commission

KII: Key Informant Interviews

NCCCK: National Council of Churches of Kenya

NGEC :National Gender and Equality Commission

SALWs: Small and Light Weapons

WID: Women in Development

GLOSSARY

- Mundualdus:** A Latin word referring to a legal system whereby a woman is required to have a legal guardian (male adult) to validate her legal activities.
- Infirmitas sexus:** Woman's weakness in Roman law
- Boko Haram:** Militant Islamic group whose operations are based in Nigeria. Their main goal is to purify Islam in northern Nigeria. This group is responsible for many criminal acts including attempts to overthrow the government, terror, kidnapping and crimes against women
- Moran:** Warriors in the Pokot community
- Chepsokoyon:** A female diviner concerned with the problem of witchcraft in the Pokot community
- Bany Bith:** Dinka community spear master with spiritual authority over all the community
- BanyAlath, Magak** Dinka Chief who is appointed and exercises moral and judicial authority which is respected and revered by the community
- or Alama**
- Enkai:** The name of the god of the Maasai community. A plain Nilotic people
- Sapana:** A very important ceremony that an initiate must undergo to introduce him to the wider community and for him to be

accepted

Kiapo:	A Pokot cursing ceremony
Orkoiyot.	A Pokot religious leader
Parpara	An unborn baby blessing ceremony.
Tororot	The Pokot supreme god
Kenyangana	Pokot Song sung by women to extol virtues of bravery and shun cowardice.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Cattle Rustling: Has been defined to mean, ‘the stealing or planning, organizing, attempting, aiding or supporting the stealing of livestock by any person from any country or community where the theft is accompanied by dangerous weapons and/ or violence

Cattle Raids: Refers to the acquisition of animals held by another person by use of trickery, stealing or theft with minimal or no use of force

Gender: Refers to the socially constructed roles, responsibilities, tasks, undertakings, norms, traditions allocated to men and women which determine their relationship. It varies over time, space and society

Transformation: Refers to change of specific phenomena, characteristics, roles and responsibilities. Over time ,there were changes that had taken place in the cattle rustling for example; type of weapons used, causes and purpose of cattle rustling and commercialization of conflicts.

Gender Transformation: Refers to the dynamic change of gender roles within culture, traditions and other dispositions as well as their contribution to cattle and cattle rustling among the Pokot and their comprehensive effect on security in those regions

Cattle Jacking: The term is used to imply the act of withholding stolen livestock after a cattle raid with the aim of getting a ransom payment from the rightful owners before surrendering those animals.

Security: The general wellbeing and safety of a community. The perception and actual feeling of self-actualization and reported incidences that

threaten the peace and stability of the community and the neighbors
and the reaction of the Government.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Cattle rustling is a predominant practice among pastoral communities which involves the stealing of cattle and other domestic animals. The term is a colloquial etymology in United States history, in which pioneer farmers lost their livestock and graze while grazing large areas that are difficult to patrol in order to maintain law and order (Adeneyi, 2015). There are records that cattle rustling is the oldest aspect of the Proto- Indo-European culture as documented in artefact inscriptions such as the *Norse Golden horns of Gallehus*, *Cattle Raid of Cooley* and the *Mahabharat Cattle Raids* and cattle rescues among others. The rustle of cattle is a worldwide phenomenon because it has been drilled in many parts of the world, including Europe, Asia, the Middle East, North America and South America (Lees and Bates, 1974). It has been shown on different scales and metrics around the world. For example, in Scotland, it was calculated that 300 cattle were cleared before the end of 2013, which prompted the government to declare cattle theft as a public crisis (Okoli and Okpaleke, 2014).

In Africa cattle rustling is widely practiced by pastoralists who are found in over twenty-one countries most of them are in the Horn of Africa. Many of them are affected by and live in conflict (Pierli, et al, 2006). For example, in Nigeria, cattle stealing is unlimited, especially in the northern part of the country, where dairy cattle breeding is the main agricultural activity. Studies have shown that cattle stealing in the increasing barbaric waves in northern Nigeria, such as the Boko Haram uprising and the miracle of conflicts

between herders and ranchers, proves this point (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014; Okoli and Iortyer, 2014).

In Kenya, cattle rustling is broad and progressively extreme in the north western area of Kenya. The Pokot, Marakwet, Turkana and Samburu communities have a long history of cattle rustling centered around cattle. Cattle is ranked higher than other types of livestock, hence it is the object of rustling. Traditional cattle rustling in these communities involved small-scale, manageable violence and loss of human life was rare (Mkutu, 2008). Generally, criminal schemes encourage the theft of cattle to seize cows for meat or for grazing. In relation to this, it is likely to be used as a rough method for collecting livestock in resources and commercial horse riding (Blench, 2004). Over the years, whispering has become a model of coordinated crime with enormous criminal complexity and productivity. Therefore, contemporary bull bidders use current weapons and their activities are differentiated by translocation and public partnerships (Alemika, 2013). This undoubtedly highlights the churning of the cows, which is a common and significant moment of the 'establishment of the hidden world' in the contemporary social order (Okoli & Agada, 2014; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014).

From the foregoing, cattle rustling being indigenous in nature, its severity was guided by norms especially in its operations, however, modern cattle rustling is increasing in viciousness. Rustlers are increasingly killing and maiming herders and raping women, who they see as fellow combatants just like men, before dispossessing them off their cows. In some instances, girls and women are also kidnapped along with the cattle (Adeniyi, 2015). This means the place of women and men either as victims and/or

perpetrators would be instrumental in interrogating the practice.

Men Engage Alliance (2017) characterizes gender transition as an effort to change gender and accepted practices in order to resolve differences in power and strengths between people and free everyone from harm and destructive standards. . These standards include sexually oriented work, assumptions, generalizations, harmful thoughts, customs, and work, including gender-based violence.

Kelly (1984) noted that gender is generally related to the women under consideration and tends to be underperforming or meaningless. She believes that the question of whether there was a social explanation during the Renaissance was related to lack of participation and virginity, and to the ladies. As an advocate for the women's activism school, she and various activists questioned why women who care about her should be left out. Kelly also investigated the reasons why books and other materials written by women for women are not as common as memorial works produced by men because of their problems. This researcher, and other researchers of her time, may have used gender and women on the contrary, and related the above content to the above content. She compares the areas of time, stupidity, and fancy with themes more related to men, in which women take on the role of supporting tyrannical men.

Historically, roles and identities were assigned with regard to gender. Forests (2012) write on the famous Amazon women and describe them as. "First of all, Amazon! Short hands of women from the Eurasian steppe, they rode into battle on straddle. Throughout ancient times, they were described as pants, murderers, horseback riding and trouble."

However, the Hausa, Fulani abhorred the issue of female riding horsebacks and fighting like men for this could make them lose their inheritance (Muhammad, 2017). This is because in most pre-historic communities women were seen as the primary producers. Most research that predates early man was grounded on ethnohistorical and archaeological records to inform on or build hypotheses about past human behaviours and interpersonal gender relationships. The supremacy of the historical “Man the hunter” and community ultimate provider and protector and his contribution to the behavioral development of *Homo sapiens* has been extensively researched in terms of hunting, rustling, and eating as well as in the usage of weapons (Aiello and Wheeler 1995; Leonard et al. 2007; Lombard, 2019).

Women’s role has been shown to be that of a helper with major communities showing a strict defined relationship in the human evolution model. The activities of both men and women display a causal link of primary producers and providers throughout the various human evolutionary stages. Ethnohistorical records, however, show a considerable overlap between the work of men and women that was well defined with heavy lifting accredited mostly to the men and rearing relegated to women. (Hawkes 2001; Wadley, 2013).

Women were called and seen as gentle vessels of progenies. Since war is often associated with these universal masculinities, women are associated with giving life and men with giving life (Elshtain, 1987; Ferris, 1993; Lindestam de Vries, 2005). Wars and conflicts are organized by men and are the exclusive concern of men, while women are only seen as victims and beneficiaries. Furthermore, in wars for peace, women are considered

values that nurture, increase and strengthen patriarchy in peace (ibid.).

Cheldelin (2011) observed that when sexual assault and exploitation are used as a tool of war, women are the most affected. In addition, women in conflict zones have suffered distanced themselves, suffered long-term mental trauma and unwanted pregnancies.

Ibis (2011) continues to note that many communities had definite gender segregated roles. Most of them discouraged their women from using weapons or using any means of travel as they engaged in warfare. As culturally designated caregivers, women were socialized to struggle and support their families and keep their households together when conflict occurs. This is worsened by the fact that husbands and sons who are co-opted into wars would be unable to provide for their families while at the frontline.

Women are contemporarily shedding off the idea that only men can provide and protect. Machines that make work easy like vehicles that dissuade the need for walking long distances thus lower tibial or leg endurance and weapons that do not require a lot upper body strength like drawn bows, arrows, spears and machetes replaced by guns that require little effort in using, have redefined the role of women. Cattle rustling have also become a lucrative commercial activity that has attracted women not only as ‘middlemen’ and financiers of the activities, but also as viable buyers of stolen stock.

In a Western Australia Police Media release (20th March 2021), the police formed a special taskforce that identified a criminal enterprise and web that comprised of individuals and companies linked to the business of cattle theft including aerial and ground musterers, livestock trucking companies, truck drivers, stock agents and feed lots.

A notorious cattle rustler and businesswoman aged 37-years and her accomplice were charged with offences relating to the theft and sale of 803 cattle valued at approximately \$800,000 or Kenya shillings 80,000,000. This challenges the perception that the rustling business which was historically seen as tedious, life threatening is a purely masculine affair as women too are involved in it.

In some communities, women were taught the art of warfare and became warriors. They were adept at riding horses to escape or attack when fighting adversaries. Magoulias (c.1150-1213) writes that some women in the City of Byzantium in Asia Minor were adept at carrying weapons for self-protection against enemies or hunting Small weapons that could be sheathed and used at opportune times were preferred as they were cloaked, hidden but highly lethal.

Similarly, cattle rustling was historically a practice that was more masculine oriented as it needed in its execution a degree of ruthlessness, courage and perseverance, traits associated with men only. There are however, communities that traditionally disallowed women from carrying out any cattle raiding. These communities expected women to stay at homes, take care of the children and wait for their men who had gone out for raids. This is because women were perceived to suffer more for they are considered weak and needed protection unlike the men who were able to run or fight (Cheserek, 2007).

In recent times as observed by Cheserek, Omondi and Odenyo (2012), cattle rustling is no longer carried out by men alone. Women are very active in the practice; they carry guns just like the men and depend on cattle rustling as a source of livelihood to provide

for their families. However, this seem to have caused breakdown in the family order as competition as resulted between men and women hence more domestic violence cases have been recorded (NGEC 2016).

Malnekoff (2013) observes that in one fighting scene, women outnumbered men, riding horsebacks in the manner of men not on coverlets, carrying their weapons confidently with no fears in their eyes. Such events are evidence that gender roles are fluid and shaped by perceptions and access to power. While women were traditionally not allowed to handle weapons, they would receive training on how to use them based on personal or community needs. However, the contemporary cattle rustler depicts a trade that is both commercial and modern, driven by interests and having both genders, well-armed with modern weapons. The historical direct roles played by both genders in cattle rustling mostly focuses on the active role of men as both instigators and perpetrators and women as victims and homemakers (Kimani, et.al 2019).

This has been the running theme in most of the historical records and studies. This is however, raises concerns regarding the extent to which strategies implemented by security personnel to respond to cattle rustling encompass the involvement of both genders.

Doss (2008) pointed out that herder communities arm themselves to protect themselves from hostile groups. They are in permanent war mode. Therefore, everyone lives in fear of being attacked by reprisals and seeks opportunities to acquire more modern “cutting-edge” weapons to launch an attack first or get a good defense. Unlike before when young

girls and women were strictly kept off affairs like hunting, fighting, using clubs, spears and other rudimentary weapons that were used then, the contemporary pastoralists communities are increasingly teaching warfare and other tactics of self-defense in case of attacks by marauders and cattle rustlers (Kimaiyo, 2016). Doss (2008) further explains that in other instances in their transactions and trading, women have been said to be actively engaged in both arm-acquisition and transportation/trafficking because of their perceived nature and demeanor. Acquisition of firearms and use by women is an increasingly new and implicit activity that has roped in young girls and mostly for their self-protection and defense according to them (Sheley and Brewer. 1995)

In Canada for example, women and girls younger than 15 years were handed guns as gifts for their own protection against real or imagined threats (Ash et.al, 1996). Xu (2012) explained in more detail the terminology of international relation term or *arms race* and localizes it. Weapons are developed by individual networks due to concerns about additional attacks that will speed up the acquisition of weapons. Seek and buy more complex weapons, thus solving simple security issues. The rusting of cattle and other organized attacks have caused more and more deaths and losses of livestock, caused displacement and temporary elections, and the size of the organization, posing its dangers and undermining its resource base and livelihoods.

However the interrogation of how both gender relate in the cattle rustling practice and their exposure to these increased acquired arms has not been discussed. The idea that women suffer more during such displacements and violence is evident (Carol et.al 1996:2008).

Therefore, as women obtain greater economic and social liberation from patriarchal control, women's participation in activities that traditionally take men as a form of crime has increased. It can even be noted that their ownership of guns can be said to be as a result of their emancipated attitudes and behaviors and the trendy lifestyles whereby technology has highly contributed to this. This trend is evident in most countries in Europe that allow ownership of weapons.

Cheserek (2012) investigated the nature and causes of livestock theft in some herder communities in Kenya. The results show that there are many reasons for livestock theft, including: the availability of guns, the commercialization of cow attacks, political participation, poverty, loss of traditional qualities and lack of education. Due to the increase in small arms and the commercialization of cow shaking, both men and women are heavily involved in the theft of livestock. As a result, the violent theft of livestock among herders has greatly increased. The commercialization of cutting-edge dairy cows continues to increase, and the resulting high profits and illegal profits make it extremely difficult to control cattle theft.

Recently, women are more actively involved in cattle rustling as they are reported to own guns. This militarized practice seems well funded and coordinated (Kimaiyo, 2016). He further explained how wealthy businessmen and women, politicians, businessmen and locals pursue their personal economic goals in the pastoral community to fund raids. However, his study did not interrogate how gender roles have historically affected the cattle rustling and how even with modernization both men and women have continually played interchangeable roles in the practice, given these roles are not static. The intensity

and involvement of both genders and the killing of women and children was unheard of traditionally because of the various taboos and customs that guided the practice source.

As mentioned above, a great deal of literature on cattle theft has been published. However, due to the accessibility of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and the collapse of traditional technology, men and women participate in the gender relationship of whispering and its subsequent transformation. The leadership and control system needs further overhaul to promote the growth, safety and development of men and women in the region. Therefore, the study sought to determine the gender transition in whispering practice and its importance for the security management of West Pokot County, Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As shown in the background, cattle rustling in north Western Kenya is widespread with many fatalities and disruptions of men and women's livelihoods. The two genders play a crucial role, hence it's a source of concern. Gender roles in indigenous and contemporary cattle rustling reveal the progression of the practice over time and how in consequence these changes influence gender power relations. The severity and inclusivity of men and women in the practice and the increased fatalities show a dichotomous relationship that was worth exploring.

Observably, extreme conditions and changing spectrum in gender power relations have over time radicalized the practice. However, strategies employed to respond to cattle rustling over the years have hardly focused on women and the relations they share with men. This raises questions on the implications of limited knowledge of women's

involvement for security management in West Pokot. These are visibly gender blind, making cattle rustling a serious security risk. The observable transformation in men and women's involvement in cattle rustling, compounded with a breakdown of traditional leadership and control systems; easy accessibility of small and light weapons (SALWs) pose as a security threat that compromises meaningful efforts to curb the problem. This study thus sought to interrogate the transformation in gender roles and power relations manifested in cattle rustling among the Pokot community.

1.3 Study Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective was to investigate the gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implications on security management in West Pokot County.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are to:

- a. Explain the gender transformation in cattle rustling in West Pokot County.
- b. Determine the effects of gender relations on cattle rustling among the Pokot .
- c. Assess the effects of transformation in cattle rustling by gender on security management in West Pokot County.
- d. Evaluate from a gender perspective the strategies put in place to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot County.

1.4 Research Questions

- a. Which gender transformation has occurred in cattle rustling among the Pokot?

- b.** In what ways does indigenous cattle rustling differ from the contemporary practice among the Pokot?
- c.** What are the effects of gender relations on cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot County?
- d.** What are the effects of transformation in cattle rustling by gender on security management in West Pokot County ?
- e.** From a gender perspective, what are the strategies put in place to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot County?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Cattle rustling have led to high rates of insecurity in some sections of Kenya especially the North Rift and north Eastern has been in the past threatened any meaningful development. Transiting from a traditional practice to organized crime where lives and property has been destroyed .This has negative impacted the lives of many especially on men, women and other vulnerable groups such as the youth, the aged and the disabled. This study examined gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implications on security management in West Pokot County, Kenya. It is more attractive to adopt strategies that are effective for both men and women than health methods that only focus on gender issues and help solve the problem of cattle whispering.

This study is significant both in academic and policy spheres. In the academic sphere, the study investigated the gender transformation in cattle rustling among the Pokot and its implications on security management in West Pokot County, Kenya. Therefore, the data or information obtained from this investigation will be used to solve this difficult

problem. For different researchers, supervisors, security forces and the general public in understanding this slippery marvel, and specifically the impact of gender transformation in cattle rustling and its suggestions on security management.

The study suggested recommendations for further studies for scholars who might be interested to study a phenomenon related to this. The results of research are helpful to strategists, sex experts, and security professionals. They ensure that appropriate and viable public systems and plans can be adopted at the public and regional levels to mitigate the threat of livestock theft and impart great qualities in gender relations. Security faculty at the National level might be all around educated on the new techniques to adequately establish out cattle rustling in West Pokot County and its neighboring regions. While it is true that previous literature fails to recognize the changes in gender relations, there is also a challenge in the perception on the concept of gender. Therefore, a majority of studies do not accurately capture how changes in gender relations affect cattle rustling. Unfortunately, the limited coverage of the involvement of women only reflects the high likelihood of being overlooked in the development of strategies and interventions against cattle rustling. It is against this background that the study sought to establish the effects of gender transformation in cattle rustling in West Pokot County, an area that is vast, difficult, underdeveloped and one that has recorded many fatalities and instigations between the majorly Pokot community and its neighbors centered mainly around cattle.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study was carried out in West Pokot county. The county was selected due to the high

prevalence of cattle rustling incidences. Both men and women from the pastoral Pokot community were involved in the study. Another factor considered was the marital relations. Most households are headed by men, women are not allowed to give out any information or make decisions regarding the community thus fewer women participated in the study. Cattle rustling is outlawed in Kenya a fact that leave those informed skeptical for fear of arrest. This made some respondents hesitant to participate in the study but the researcher assured them that the information would only be used for academic purposes.

In addition, research protocols involved the production of an introductory letter from the University and the research permit from NACOSTI to confirm that the study was for academic purpose. This eased the situation and respondents participated freely. It also ensures that the respondent maintains confidentiality and anonymity in all responses. The ongoing regular security operations, weapons disarmament and general insecurity reported by the media were also mentioned as factors to be considered. However, this is avoided by using local and national security personnel who constantly advise on security matters.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a thematic review of the empirical literature related to research under four main themes. The proponents' views discussed this in detail. It also provides a brief overview of the opinions of other scholars on the cattle whisper, how gender relations directly affect various aspects, including cultural connections, and the extent to which they make connections. In addition, the author presented the theoretical framework applied in the research. This chapter describes overview of cattle rustling, the latest changes in the cattle rustling, and the opinions of scholars. It also identifies the research gaps that this study is trying to fill. Reviewing the literature can find gaps in research and establish a solid foundation for conducting research.

2.1 Transformation in Cattle Rustling

Ibrahim (2016) led a working study on local dairy farms and radio frequency identification (RFID) technology, which is an optional technology to reduce cattle theft in Katsina State, Nigeria. The examination explored the possibility of accepting local dairy farms as a procedure to curb cattle theft. These findings indicate that from the perspective of social behavior that tests the perseverance and bloody fighting ability of the individual has undergone a crucial change.

Cattle rustling is an ancient custom in the Kenyan cattle farming community. However, in postmodern Kenya, the whispering of cows has shifted from the standard method of herding cattle using conventional weapons (such as bows, bolts, and spears) to the commercial practice of using refined weapons. Advances have brought with them more dangerous types of cow agitation and have attracted attention due to their complexity. Modernity is everywhere and is ordered and executed with military precision, which is described by the use of current and destructive weapons. As we all know, bandits use small arms and light weapons, such as Mark 4, German Riffle 3, Alexander Klashikov 47, projectiles and mortars (Mwaura, 2005), which actually changed the way cows are shaken, going from a method traditional to unusually coordinated illegal behavior. An important part of these strikes is that these bulls will be brought to the metropolitan area where they will be slaughtered and sold as hamburgers. Only in rare cases are livestock used to replenish local areas where resources are depleted. This new advance fully benefited the dairy business and promoted its commercialization (Mburu, 2002).

Bunei, McElwee and Smith (2016) completed inspections from hedge to slaughterhouse: in Kenya, cow whispering is an aggressive interaction. These researchers must analyze the changing behavior of Kenyan cows, from the usual little detachment and cunning actions, to more planned and mindful innovative businesses, including despicable plotting and behaviors. The results demonstrated the great contrast in how to look at and assess attrition. At present, the brutality caused in Kenya with the Association of Rural Organized Crime Groups (ROCGS) is groundbreaking and pioneering, and they are committed to changing the food supply in Kenya and the African continent.

Subsequently, people's work changed for longer periods of time. Therefore, this review attempts to explore the impact of gender transitions on cattle rustling. Under this sub-theme the study analyzed the historical background of cattle rustling, social establishing of dairy cattle rustling and native and contemporary cattle rustling among the Pokot.

2.1.1 Historical Background of Cattle Rustling

The crisp history dates back to the pre-colonial era and has become the biggest security threat. Skoggard and Adem (2010) believe that in the early days, whispering was a cultural practice that involved the use of traditional weapons such as 4,444 spears, arrows, and 4,444 sticks to steal livestock from nearby communities. In those days, nomadic herders like Pokot roamed freely in search of pasture and water, to the plateau during the dry season and back to the plain when it rains. However, when Kenya became a British protectorate in 1895, land regulations for the White Highlands displaced multiple communities (Mungeam, 1966). Being pushed onto land with less arable land has led to long-term conflicts over resources such as water resources and pastures. So far, the reported impacts are still not inferior.

A study by Schilling, Opiyo & Scheffran, (2012) on raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in North-western Kenya in pastoralism argued that while the events before and during the colonial period were instrumental in shaping cattle rustling, major changes were not realized until the 1970s when less productive regions such as West Pokot and Turkana were excluded from the national development agenda. Other events recorded such as the 1991/1992 and the 1997 drought which showed the government committed in provision of relief food to the marginalized communities fell

below people's expectations. These scholars concluded that such acts pushed the communities further into poverty as well as reduced the people's trust with the government. With respect to Social cubism theory, such historical events significantly contributed to the development of conflict in the region.

According to Lamphear (1988) ,who carried out a study on the people of the Grey Bull: the origin and expansion of the Turkana ,observed that cattle rustling and other forms of conflict in northern Kenya were a phenomenon before the colonial period. The results explained that before the colonial period, conflict in the northern Kenya was mainly for territorial expansion of the Nuer, Maasai, Pokot and Turkana. British imposition of fixed ethnic boundaries scuttled this expansion. However, given the mobility of cattle, cattle rustling continued. He continues to note that at independence cattle rustling continued but this time under changed circumstances. The use of guns from the mid-1970s was the new phenomenon. From then onwards ,several factors have been advanced to account for the persistence and charges in the conduct of cattle rustling. These findings have been backed up by Fukui & Turton (1994) who conducted a study on warfare among East African herders. The results showed that a decade after attainment of independence, the analysis of cattle rustling largely centered on cultural and ecological explanations. Belief systems, identities, warrior ideals, prestige and competition between age-sets were identified as the leading factors .

2.1.2 Cultural Grounding of Cattle Rustling

Traditionally, cattle rustling was laden with rules governing its conduct such as theft of cattle, capture of women and children without murder and destruction of property. For

instance, from 1960s to 1980s, few cases of murder during cattle rustling were recorded. Rustling for commercial purposes, political incitement, poverty, traditional values and women were factors that explain the surge in cattle rustling (Cheserek, 2012). Besides, payment of bride wealth was identified as a key factor that propelled cattle rustling. Therefore, cultural fulfilments was seen as a motivating factor in cattle rustling. In the context of the Pokot community, the celebration of *sapana* has a strong connection to cattle rustling. It is a rite of passage to elder hood. The demands to fulfil *sapana* pushes young adults to engage in cattle rustling in order to accomplish this stage. During the *sapana* ceremony, all male initiates were required to kill a bull and feed elders and friends and to be officially introduced to the whole community .

2.2.3 Indigenous and Contemporary cattle rustling among the Pokot

2.1.3.1 Indigenous cattle rustling among the Pokot

Indigenous cattle rustling, occurring prior to the modernization era that dates back in the 1950s, is a deeply entrenched tradition among pastoral communities involving the stealing of livestock and in some cases women for sustenance of the community. According to KHRC, (2010), various taboos and cultural norms regulated the practice hence ensuring peaceful coexistence between pastoral communities.

According to Cheserek (2012), traditionally, the theft of livestock involves the use of traditional weapons, spears and arrows to obtain livestock from another community. The livestock held a central position in the Pokot community. Losses inflicted by rustlers impacted on both men and women. Kimaiyo (2016) asserts that the Pokot had organized

various roles and responsibilities for all men and women during sanction raid. Cattle rustling was a kind of organized sport and had to be sanctioned and blessed by elders

According to Kiplagat, (1998), among the Pokot, elders were considered to have wisdom and hence their decisions were respected and are men who had to undergo the various rites of passage before being granted the status as elders. The elders monitored raids carried by young men. They set down rules and techniques to start champions, settle debates, endorse striking undertakings and decide touching regions in their nomadic pattern. He continues to note that elderly women were appointed to provide leadership in the community as well as sharing wisdom on marriages, participate in ritual ceremonies such bride wealth payment and watch over the community activities in absence of the elder men.

Rands and LeRiche (2012); McCallum and Okech (2013), explained that although it is a generally accepted practice in the communities involved, livestock theft (royal assault) is carried out peacefully, mostly by young people/warriors in grazing areas ongoing. The main role of the warriors was to protect and provide security for the community. The warriors were reported to be responsible for protecting the community against their potential and actual enemies during raids and counter-raids. They also protected the animals during the dry season when they are moving from one area to another looking for pasture and water.

According to Robbins (2010), the Pokot community had prophets/religious men (*Orkoyoit*) who blessed the warriors by performing rituals to appease their gods so that their raids could go well. Their impact was equally significant as what they foresaw in most cases always came to pass. A goat would be slaughtered and its blood smeared on the weapons. The slaughtered goat would be offered as sacrifice to the gods. Its meat was not to be consumed. Generally, a cattle rustling was for the most part a method for the helpless families to gain abundance and cows (Hutchison, n.d.). Steers helped the economic wellbeing and real source of presence in the general public. In this manner, possessions of cattle give men eminence and abundance.

Guliye (2007) sees that livestock assume significant and various parts in the existence of pastoralists as their backbone, socially and financially. It is a way to store riches, pay settlement and other standard functions, remuneration, an indication of distinction and pride, regard, business ability among others. In this regard, owning livestock turns into a rewarding and subsequently risky endeavor as their portability and adaptability makes them obvious objectives. The proceeded with connect among cows and culture cause pastoralists to have no different way to get by as the proprietorship, proceeded with production and management of livestock is their *raison-d etre* (Ibid). A semi mutual independence framework is utilized by the enormous proprietors of cows to propagate the nonstop and advantageous significance of steers above different viewpoints including schooling. This guarantees a proceeded with supply of work and herders and an increment in crowd size without worry to the animals' welfare.

According to Pavitt (2001), all raids planned whether for retaliations or re-stocking of herds were believed and inculcated into the youth as a way of taking back what was rightfully theirs. It was believed that having a large herd of cattle was a source of a secure livelihood base and a sign of prestige as one grew older. Also, a cattle rustling was practiced mainly to restock herds that had been rustled, or decimated by disease outbreaks or severe drought (Wako & Daudi, 2005; Savery & Jeremy, 1999).

Studies by Odenyo (2012), identified payment of bride wealth as a key factor that drive cattle rustling. In the context of the Pokot, in particular, the celebration of *sapana* has a strong connection to cattle rustling. It is a rite of passage to elderhood. The demands to fulfill *sapana* push young adults to engage in cattle rustling in order to accomplish this stage. Women escalate cattle rustling since they celebrate and identify with the successful cattle rustlers and shun the unsuccessful ones. According to Kaplom, Egesah and Balidawa (2015) the young girls were initiated into womanhood that prepared them for marriage. This called for any prospective suitor must part with more cattle as dowry to the parents. Therefore, every young unmarried man would ensure he enlists his age-sets men to assist in getting livestock to ensure he marries such an initiated woman. The important *sapana* ceremony that all male initiates had to go through by killing a bull to feed elders and friends and to be officially introduced to the whole community as earlier discussed needed sacrifice of livestock.

Accordingly, Circumcision ceremony prepared young boys for manhood. It was believed that young men were more energetic and had the fighting skills that offered security in

the community at large during attacks. Young girls called *chemeri*, aged from ten years underwent female genital mutilation (FGM). No man was respected especially if he did not have any livestock and therefore could not marry because no woman could be given away for marriage without the exchange of dowry between the bride and groom's families. According to Mutsotso (2014), a woman must be given a cow (*chesarur*) by her husband before they had sex for the first time. Sexual intercourse was serious business, and to some instances this subtle sanctioning of a raid by a woman who wanted to be married could push a man to do anything to marry and sire with her. These enabled women have a share in the privilege by association to their husbands.

According to Omondi (2012), cattle rustling is not a haphazard engagement. Instead certain periods of the year are more vulnerable and appropriate than others. The rainy season is the most appropriate when most cattle rustling events are carried out among the Pokot community. However, in reference to the Somali more cattle rustling was in the dry season, mainly to replenish stock lost in the wet season (Nunow, 2000). Cattle rustlers were more active during the wet months of the year. They attributed this to availability of the following during this period: tall grass, healthy cattle, dense bush and abundance of water. These factors were conducive to drive and hide away rustled cattle (Adano, 2004). This finding supports the long held view that scarcity followed by plenty is a particularly violence-prone period as each community seeks to replenish livestock from the other.

A study by Greiner (2013), illustrated that there is a connection between claims over territory and cattle rustling in northern Kenya. However, the connection between cattle rustling and territorial claims often spearheaded by political interest still remains unclear. Relying on ethnographic data obtained from interviews with community elders, chiefs, district officers, politicians and peace committee for both men and women it was possible to piece together aspects of cattle rustling and territorial redrawing.

Research demonstrates a transformation from the indigenous to contemporary cattle rustling in Central and East Africa According to Huisman ,(2001) and in concurrence with Mkutu (2006); Mohamed (2014); Mose and Nyambura (2018) in the historical raids between the Karamajong and the Iteso of North Eastern Uganda, the Iteso considered cattle raids by the Karamojong an endurable irritation until the overall influence moved in 1979, when the last procured guns deserted in military sleeping enclosure following the conflict to cut down Idi Amin, the previous leader of Uganda. These researchers concur with the thought that the change on the methods and mode (execution) of cows rustling has generally changed because of different elements and by and large expanded. Indigenous cattle rustling began to weaken from around 1915 in Northern Western Kenya when modern weapons such as fire arms were acquired by the pastoral communities.

2.1.3.2 Contemporary cattle rustling among the Pokot

Over time, there were changes that had taken place in the cattle rustling for example; type of weapons used, causes and purpose of cattle rustling and commercialization of conflicts. Greiner (2013) established that despite the presence of this practice for

thousands of years, its size and atrocities has upsurge in modern times. In his opinion, the scale of violence was small compared to now.

According to the study carried out by Ahmadu (2017) contemporary cattle rustling is violent and fatal and explains the loss of many lives and destruction of property. In addition, Rastler kills and frightened owners use sophisticated fatal weapons before taking off livestock. As a result, modern day cattle rustling constitutes of threat that continue to prevent the development and repair initiatives of peace in several areas of pastoral peoples. In contemporary cattle rustling, the traditional safeguards and principles are rarely applied.

A recent research by Kaprom (2013) notes that cattle rustling today is radical and often leaves several casualties .As societies have changed over time, the character of cattle rustling has also changed in order to respond to the new environment in several ways. Traditionally, rustlers only used to take part of the herd. The intention was not to disable the herd owner, but today concern for the heard owner is hardly considered during cattle rustling. Therefore, today's cattle rustling totally deprives the herd owner both property and limb. Total deprivation, apart from destabilizing the victim households, also strengthens motive for revenge to restock and represents one strand of how this practice has evolved.

According to Cheserek (2012) rustling for commercial purposes, political incitement, poverty, traditional values and women were factors that explain the surge in cattle

rustling. Chemisto (2010) concurs that the expanded commercialization of cattle rustling has uplifted the strain between peaceful networks and expanded struggles among them, as proven in Kenya.

Christopher (2011) affirms that with the happening to the twentieth Century nonetheless, in contrast to some other time ever, there was a checked expansion in the multiplication of little arms, commercialization of animals and a sharp ascent in bride price; which made cattle rustling a more fierce and worthwhile endeavor in South Sudan. While cattle raids in the past were led to assist the tribe or local area, current patterns demonstrate that a great many people take cows for their individual, political and economic gain.

High prevalence and use of SALWs are the principal factors underlying Pokot cattle rustling (Cheserek, 2012). According to a report in "A Safer World" (2012), small arms and light weapons have been traded between youth and militias as a means of subsistence. In addition, since the beginning of the fighting between ethnic groups, the Kenyan government has not formulated an effective disarmament policy to manage guns and weapons. The South Korean government still lacks an effective security mechanism, so most of the county's security is inadequate or non-existent. The people of West Pokot County mostly use SALWs to provide protection and safety due to the rising level of insecurity between the communities and the neighboring communities. As a result, it is difficult to convince the people to put down the weapons. This is also exacerbated by a general communal feeling of disenfranchisement also.

2.1.4 Transformation of the Roles of men and women in the Cattle Rustling

Kimaiyo (2016) battles that peaceful networks are predominantly patrilineal and men are the heads of families. Women are viewed as lower than men in friendly pecking order. They are viewed as children and part of a man's property. Cheserek, (2012), further supports that, generally among the peaceful networks; men were answerable for taking care of the animals and shielding their families from outside aggressors. Women dealt with children or worked in the ranch and furthermore performed homegrown obligations like cooking and bringing water. Children generally cared for goats and sheep however in the cutting edge way of life, most go to class to accomplish formal education.

As indicated by Cheserek (2012), the contentions have caused a breakdown of this social request. They have influenced customary jobs and duties of people with the influenced networks. The general public is not, at this point stable since the gender roles and duties have changed and continue to change.

2.2 Effects of Gender Relations on Cattle Rustling

2.2.1 Gender roles and cattle rustling

Gender is the connection among people, both perceptual and material. Gender isn't resolved naturally because of sexual qualities of either ladies or men, however is built by nonstop recorded communications. It is a focal getting sorted out standard of social orders, and regularly oversees the processes of production and proliferation, utilization and circulation (FAO, 1997). The gender roles in indigenous and contemporary cattle rustling reveals the progression of the practice over time and how in consequence these

changes influence gender relations. Extreme conditions and changing spectrum of gender relations have made the practice rather radical over time. For instance, families that lost their fathers or elder brother no longer had someone to provide for and protect them while others lost care givers after losing important women in their lives.

Lacey (2013) recorded an investigation on Women for cows: An examination of kidnappings of women in South Sudan. The researcher saw that the kidnapping of women has truly been important for cows assaulting in South Sudan. As of late, the kidnapping of women has been broadly utilized as an instrument of war. Since 2009, a huge number of women were stole in Jonglei state in retaliatory assaults in the contention between the Luo Nuer and Murle people group. Slaughtering and brutality focused on ladies in the contention has expanded to a point where it very well may be said to have become a standardized practice where ladies are viewed as authentic crown jewels of battle, alongside animals and other asset. The specialist sees an augmentation of culture exemplified as common freedoms infringement and the proceeded with propagation of ladies who are feeble to a more prevalent male armed force.

Kimaiyo (2016) led an investigation on women association in cattle rustling between the Marakwet and the Pokot people group of the North-Western Kenya. The examination uncovered that cows stirring have been continuing for quite a while, and subsequently the parts of people have changed additional time. Customarily men were accused of the obligation of chasing, raiding/rustling creatures, grazing cows, while the women remained at home and dealt with family duties like structure the cottages, planting (limited scope), getting ready suppers, and taking care of the kids. With the ingenuity of

the dairy cattle stirring, the men have been slaughtered in the strikes leaving a ton of widows to fight for themselves. The widows and different ladies have embraced new exercises like preparing nearby lager and selling it, prostitution, peddling among others. The men's jobs likewise have changed additional time because of the decrease in number of their cows and the limitations to move over to different regions, they have now begun building houses, and doing some planting to enhance the help food offered by government.

As per Brand (1961) cattle rustling has not changed the characters of the people so a lot, yet there are not many occurrences where these personalities of manliness and gentility have confronted a few adjustments for example; men used to be the general home suppliers yet the impacts of the contention have delivered some to be reliant upon women for essentially everything.

As per Cheserek, Omondi and denyo (2012), as of now men will in general expect that women should care for them accordingly switching the jobs. The ones who can't attack for their families are exposed to remaining with their better half's family since they are not men enough to deal with their families and this emotionally affects men who thusly free confidence and regard locally. By and large, if a lady is hitched to a man who needs more cows and can't attack, the lady has an option to leave him and proceed to wed another person thought about stable. This has changed marriage rehearses by giving the women more force and opportunity to pick a marriage accomplice who best suits their necessities, yet this was not the practice.

According to Disney (2008), the Pokot traditions enforce a well-respected hierarchy in a family where the man was the head and his wife or wives were accorded authority and respect in chronological order. The first wife had the highest authority among the wives which helped maintain order. Consequently, both men and women benefited from the proceeds of cattle raids by right of being associated their husband. The proceeds of a cattle raid would be used as a source of food and wealth for the family which comprised of the man, his wives and children. However, individualism rather than communal ownership of land and wealth in the modern day West Pokot means that there is a high likelihood that a woman will demand equal rights and control over family wealth as provided in the customary law of the Kenyan constitution (Aldihaib, 2013).

As the practice of cattle rustling changes, the implications on gender relations with respect to control and ownership of cattle are inevitable. The relations among people in all social orders all through the world have consistently been scheduled in a difficult situation towards ladies. The duty of women before the feminists' development of the 1960's was constantly considered compliant. By and large, there are held and concurred similitudes in gender roles. There is a hypothetical position held by numerous researchers that women subjection to men is general. It depends on women's widespread jobs and duties as the two moms and homemakers (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974). The more the issues welcomed on the front at a particular time and spot, the more it impedes and stands out enough to be noticed. Nonetheless, issues influencing men because of the adjustment of gender roles deserve the consideration of feminists.

While it is true that previous literature fails to recognize the changes in gender relations, there is also a challenge in the perception on the concept of gender. Therefore, a majority of studies do not accurately capture how changes in gender relations affect cattle rustling. Unfortunately, the limited coverage of the involvement of women only reflects the high likelihood of being overlooked in the development of strategies and interventions against cattle rustling. Therefore, scholars in the past have failed to interrogate the relationship between the transformation of gender and that of the cattle rustling among the Pokot.

2.3 Effects of gender transformation in cattle rustling on the Security management in West Pokot County.

Lauriste (2014) conducted a study on seasonal patterns in criminal victimization trends in Europe and showed that insecurity pushes away developments hence, denying the locals the opportunity to benefit from the physical and ethnic heritage of the area. The scholar further notes that, most children grow up without knowledge and employable skills which predisposes them to poverty. Majority of the youths in these regions are idle thus engage in anti-social activities like thuggery, drug peddling and gambling.

Lando and Kochomay (2016) on their examination found that cattle rustling have prompted the deficiency of numerous living souls and the removal of different populace gatherings. NGECC (2016) reports likewise backs up these findings that women and kids appear to have borne the brunt of these new types of violence. Families have been dissipated and dislodged from what they called 'home' and ways of life have been disturbed. These discoveries additionally records that numerous families have been left so

destabilized and are presently obliged as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). A lot of psychological trauma dispensed on couples that are influenced, agony, sharpness and doubt. Lion's share of those slaughtered or debilitated in cows stirring are men. This has left numerous families without a provider and in degraded destitution. Numerous men have gone to liquor abuse and now inactive pretty much throughout the day since they don't have anything to do. The outcomes have been expanded abusive behavior at home and separation of relationships as detailed by KHRC (2010).

A research by Lizzie (2013) uncovered that increased cattle rustling have ransacked numerous women of life partners and a sources of job. Relocation has disturbed ways of life as women are moved to settlement focuses with their youngsters for security reason. From these focuses, ladies attempt to help their families through doing independent companies, peddling or consuming and selling charcoal. As they participate in these organizations, many have been presented to the danger of contracting HIV; some have gone to liquor addiction. In certain spaces, it was accounted for that a few ladies have been sent back to their folks on the off chance that they were of an alternate ethnic gathering. Frequencies of assault and kidnapping of ladies were likewise revealed. Lizzie (2013) further sees that numerous youngsters have been left vagrants and there are accounted for instances of expansion in kid headed homes. Therefore, youngsters isolated from their folks when they are obliged by different families. This opens them to craving and ailing health. Numerous infants have additionally passed on because of openness to cold and from pneumonia as moms rest and stow away in the bush and furthermore in light of the fact that kids pass up immunizations when moms are dislodged.

A research by Kaprom (2013) detailed that the majority of school going youngsters is out of school. This is either because of absence of school expenses because of destitution when the family abundance is taken or in light of the fact that their schools have been shut, or vandalized or consumed. On occasion it is on the grounds that youngsters have been dislodged from their home and can't get an elective school close by. Training of youngsters has likewise been influenced by absence of instructors when non-native educators leave because of dairy cattle stirring. Numerous youngsters are compelled to rehash classes when they move. Numerous youngsters are presented to manhandle and injury and as result kid relationships have expanded.

As per Mkutu (2006) numerous individuals have lost their lives and lion's share has been harmed forever. Many have been debilitated genuinely and sincerely and are presently a harsh, dubious parcel. Numerous never went to class. They don't have anything to do aside from participating in the cows stirring. Kimani, (2019 sees that government officials have prompted steers stirring and clashes in Kenya through financing of the attacks and loudly touching off the adolescent to participate in struggle during political conventions. It is also noted that there existed prohibitions on who could access weapons to be used in cattle raids and when. These prohibitions or taboos that were put had a lot of significance in the various communities.

Folke and Colding (2001) placed taboos into various types characterised by some attributes like; who is prohibited by the taboo, why it prohibits, when or what time and for how long? The segments types of taboos are those that prohibited based on aspects

such as age, sex or/and gender and social standing. There also defined what they called temporal taboos which denied everyone in the community access to a resource or an activity for a defined period of time. (Ibis) also defined what they called methods taboos. These can be said to be the type that prohibit certain methods of accessing resources. Finally, there were those that could be defined as life history taboos. These were the kind that prohibited the community from using certain vulnerable/fragile or weak stages of a species, for example age, sex, size and reproductive status. The Igbo and Hausa of Nigeria had other types of taboos that could be called, menstrual taboos. It was prohibited for a woman to touch a weapon that was to be used for a cattle rustling activity when she was in her menstruation period. This was believed that if she did, bad luck would follow those who had gone to raid. Akaranga (1996) explains that, among the Loogoli, a sub-tribe of the Maragoli of Kenya, tools and all weapons were stored safely in a house by an adult male who would use any or all of them with little or no restrictions. When he died, his weapons were kept next to his death bed until the burial was done. The weapons were then inherited by his eldest son in an elaborate ceremony. It was prohibited and a taboo to take away such weapons from the deceased's family or clan. Women and children however, strongly forbidden from using certain tools and all weapons. In that community, there were strong taboos that were put in place in the usage of knives and axes, spears and shields too. Women were also not allowed to carry weapons of war or raids in all communities that actively practised cattle rustling.

Calson (2013) however avers that in America, the strong Gun lobby group, the National Rifle Association, strongly supported women owning weapons and even strongly pushed

for the Violence Against Women Act in the mid-1990s. it vehemently advocated in various advertisements on the need of women to arm themselves because they were vulnerable to attacks by men given their size and strength. Having and bearing a firearm shifted advantage to women.

By consistently changing their marketing strategies and encouraging women to own firearms, access women only shooting ranges, women only tournament and manufacturing selling guns that are friendly to women including pink ones, women were consistently being pushed to the gun culture in the guise of self-protection. (T. Smith& Smith, 1995)

In communities that cattle raids and other aggressive activities were ingrained as a way of life, their war councils were exclusively male also and were elders also. Men and women of West Pokot County are known to have heightened alertness when there is an impending security risk, during an attack or shortly after an attack. This is a confounding phenomenon since it seems to be the norm and also it has not received much investigative scholarly attention. Unfortunately, this kind of behavior further reverses security mitigation measures that have been instituted and facilitates in further creating insecure environments.

2.4 From a gender perspective the strategies put in place to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot County

Scheffran, Akuno, Schilling and Weinzierl (2012), conducted a study on arms and adaptation: Climate change and pastoral conflict in Northern Kenya. The findings

indicated that the government of Kenya has instituted various measures to help stop the practice of cattle rustling in Northern Kenya. However, according to research findings by Olaniyan and Yahaya, (2016), the government has lost its legitimacy to the people a factor that as discussed under the Social Cubism theory of conflict makes any efforts made to restore peace in the region futile

Kaprom (2013) conducted a study on effects of cattle rustling in economic development in Masol Location, West Pokot County .The results revealed that poor economic development and lack of social amenities triggers conflict as people attempt to fight over limited resources. He also notes that educational gender gap has led to misallocation of national resources. Empirical literature doesn't provide adequate research findings on the effect of education on cattle rustling from a gender perspective. The migration of pastoralists as both a pacifier and an igniter of conflicts. He however suggests that the large-scale movement of people and changing of lifestyle to more sedentary ways of life like cultivation of crops drastically reduces cattle related conflicts.

Research by Amene (2009) established that while the Kenyan government has made efforts to establish and restore peace, disarm the local population, deploy many police officers, stop illegal trade, and combat illegal trade, the introduction of whisper resolution. In the livestock industry in northwestern Kenya, whispering activity seems unlikely to end anytime soon. Therefore, scholars agree that strategies that affect both men and women are more effective than strategies that focus on only one gender. Given the influence of gender transformation on the cattle rustling, the study deemed it

necessary the measures put in place to curb the problem of cattle rustling to include the gender perspective. Different from the tenets of the Social Cubism Theory, religion in West Pokot despite being as strong influence is not an agent of polarization among the different groups.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on Social Cubism Theory and Harvard Analytical Framework

2.5.1 Social Cubism Theory

To understand the complexity of cattle theft in Pokot, it is convenient to deal with it from the perspective of social cubism. In theory, social cubism has been used to identify the challenges faced by places where violence breaks out and to assess the applicability of interventions to alleviate this problem. As per to Byrne and Carter (1996), the theory of social cubism is mainly used to analyze territorial conflicts. This method is essential for understanding conflicts related to livestock theft. Discuss conflicts from historical, demographic, economic, psychological, religious, and political perspectives. According to the study by Byrne and Carter (1996), social cubism contains six interrelated aspects

1. *Historical Aspect of Social Cubism:* Byrne and Carter contend that history is an amazing casing of seeing nearly everything about human life. As one part of social cubism, understanding chronicled factors and additionally occasions assists individuals with seeing a portion of the purposes for intergroup elements and connections. In essence, cattle rustling practise has roots in all pastoral communities because of the nature of livestock and their quick mobility and as a store of wealth and value. In most African societies, most ceremonies involved the spilling of blood,

fat or/and milk to appease spirits and gods or for general appreciation or blessings before a major activity like a raid or praying for rain.

2. *Religious Aspect of Social Cubism:* Religion is one of the most polarizing aspects known to mankind. For centuries, societies have fought and died because of religious differences. With respect to social cubism, exploring religious dynamics helps people understand how religious beliefs affect intergroup relationships. Communities that were predominantly pastoralist were highly religious and involved the spirits of their forefathers and gods in everyday activities. In this respect, cattle raids were highly charged but structured religious ceremony. It would involve in most cases, burnt ceremonies being offered. A slaughtered goat, sheep would have vital organs removed and religious leaders ‘read’ from them. Good omens could be interpreted from the patterns and singularities of the sinews among other signs in the heart, kidneys, intestines among others. The neighbouring communities also had their diverse religious beliefs, occults and totems who defined times and bad seasons including predicting when a raid would be visited and why a raid came especially when a community had gone against the ways of their forefathers, ancestors and gods.
3. *Demographic Aspect of Social Cubism:* Demographic factors are important aspects of exploring ethnic conflict. At the centre of demography is the issue of population compositions—especially about the issue of who is superior and inferior? Which ethnic group is more influential? Who controls wealth? Answering these questions allows people to understand how demographic issues affect the way ethnic groups view each other. Most pastoral communities have and experienced high child

mortality rates because of the ecological and environmental conditions that surrounded them. A lot of children especially boys, were preferred and seen as a way of a community having enough defence against warring neighbours and a great mobilising mechanism for raids, war or other military excursions.

4. *Political Aspect of Social Cubism:* The political landscape in some random society influences the manner in which individuals and social orders see one another. This is additionally evident with regards to understanding ethnic elements. In nations where a specific ethnic gathering overwhelms governmental issues, there is consistently an ethnic doubt by those networks who see themselves outside the political range. All in all, nations where political establishments are overwhelmed by ethnic governmental issues risk ethnic division that, if not managed as expected, could in the long run lead to ethnic clash. Most pastoral communities had a defined structure with a council of elders and decisions had to be filtered meticulously. Others had an anointed chieftain and their approach to conflict and its resolution were different entirely.
5. *Economic Aspect of Social Cubism:* Economic differences among ethnic groups have immense effects on political stability and security of any given society. It is known that economic disparity exacerbates tension among people, communities, and societies and even nations, particularly among political institutions that practice favouritism and/or ethnic patronage. In such countries, ethnic competition between different ethnic groups over who manages national resources usually affects peoples' perception of the government. In a nutshell, a country in which economic institutions are controlled by people from a particular ethnic group is likely to experience ethnic

discontent or a sense of ethnic marginalization—whereas, a country in which economic institutions advocate for ethnic inclusion in all areas of its economy discourages ethnic discontentment. A large stock of livestock was a measure of economic wellbeing of a community or individual. Loss of livestock through drought, natural attrition or theft and raid could precipitate conflict and worsen it.

6. *Psychological Aspect of Social Cubism*: Ethnic tension and emotions are known to rise during struggle or emergency. Concerning ethnic contentions, clinicians regularly attempt to break down how changes in individuals and additionally cultural practices and additionally activities influence intergroup impression of others during tense minutes. It isn't astounding that political analysts frequently find that gatherings or social orders do depict negative mentalities about one another. For instance, advancing disdain discourse or bias, generalizations, and biases by featuring significant ethnic customs, images like ethnic personality, strict contrasts, legacies, and conviction frameworks to excite an ethnic or a partisan pressure, subsequently bringing about an upheaval of a physical or savage a conflict).

Nonetheless, Byrnes and Carter, (1996) didn't recommend that each contention could be dissected utilizing these six measurements of social cubism. All things being equal, they perceived the way that various circumstances contain factors that relate in an unexpected way. Nonetheless, the utilization of this hypothesis in the examination led on the steers stirring in West Pokot County guaranteed that contention investigation was drawn closer from various casings of investigation that show hints of the six point of view. The elements of sex in cows stirring was subsequently drawn

closer from these various bearings and perspectives. Gender serves as an underlying force whose transformation has shaped the progressing of cattle rustling and its role in fostering conflict in the region.

With the transformation in gender roles that has taken place over time, the study found evidence of historical, psychosocial, political, religious, economic and demographic factors underlying the progression of the practice of cattle rustling. Therefore, the theory was instrumental in facilitating the interrogation of the various variables and themes drawn from the objectives set earlier in the study.

2.5.2 Harvard Analytical Framework

This particular study used the Harvard Analytical Framework, also called the Gender Roles Framework as expounded by Ludgate (2016). The framework has its origins in the Harvard University for Women in Development (WID) training from the World Bank in the 1980. It was developed by three women experienced in WID work: Catherine Overholt, Mary Anderson and Kathleen Cloud. It offers a useful way of organizing information and can be adapted in many situations.

Ludgate (2016) observed that, Harvard Analytical Framework considers the interrogation of each component of the population given how they influence access and control of resources or involvement in the community affairs. Therefore, the researcher examined the bio-data considered to have meaningful influence on patterns and systems that have shaped gender transformation in cattle rustling in West Pokot County. The variables including gender, ethnic community or clan, religion, education level, marital status, age and source of livelihood were therefore considered.

Under the gender and age denominations: identifying whether adult women, adult men, their children, or the elderly carry out an activity was important and noted. Time allocation: specified what percentage of time was allocated to each activity, and whether it was carried out seasonally or daily. In this case the regularity of cattle rustling/raiding could be plotted and its irregularity especially the contemporary cattle rustling noted. Activity locus: specified where the activity was/is performed, in order to reveal people's mobility.

This tool enabled the user to list what resources people used to carry out the tasks identified in the study. It indicated whether women or men have access to resources. This tool allowed the study to chart factors which influenced the differences in the gender division of labor, access, and control. Identifying past and present influences can give an indication of future trends.

During the study, the Harvard analytical framework was applied in interrogating the various roles of men and women of Pokot community. By focusing on the three main questions, who, when and where, the author established that men and women in the Pokot community have different roles. These roles restrict or allow access and control to essential resources such as cattle, land and education.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

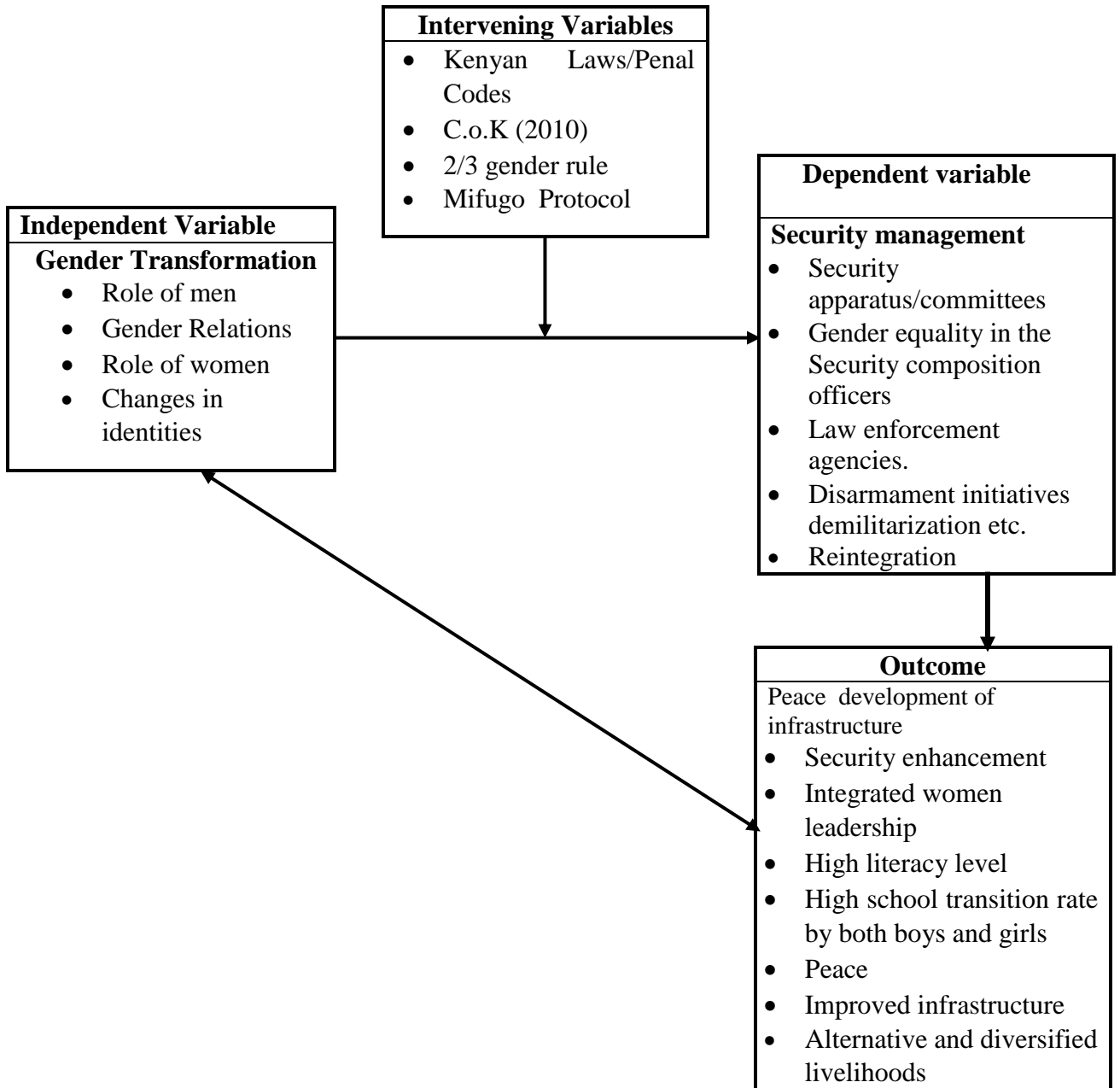


Figure 2.2 Conceptual Framework showing the relationship between gender transformation in cattle rustling and security management.

The conceptual framework presents the interaction between independent and dependent variables as well as intervening variables. The independent variable of this study is gender transformation which include: role of men, Gender Relations, role of women and changes in identities. Dependent variable is security management which include: Security apparatus/committees, gender equality in the security composition officers, Law enforcement agencies, disarmament initiatives and reintegration. This will lead to peace, development of infrastructure, security enhancement, women leadership, high literacy level, high school transition rate by both boys and girls, alternative and diversified livelihoods. The intervening variables involve; Kenyan Laws/Penal code, the two thirds gender rule, C.o.K (2010) and Mifugo Protocol.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology, the study area, the target population, the sampling techniques and sample size, research instruments, validity and reliability, sampling and sample sizes, research instruments, data management and informed and ethical consent procedures, participants' recruitment requirements and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey design. According to Ezeani, (1998) the purpose of descriptive research design is to collect detailed and factual information that describes an existing phenomenon. It attempts to describe such things as possible behaviour, attitudes, values and characteristics as they exist. This research design also facilitated the use of a questionnaire, an interview guide as well as other methods such as observation guide to collect both quantitative and qualitative data for the study. The study sought to describe the gender transformation in cattle rustling among the Pokot and its implications on security management in West Pokot County.

3.2 The Study Area

The study was conducted in West Pokot County, Kenya. West Pokot County is one of the 47 Counties in Kenya created after the promulgation of the New Constitution in August 2010. It covers the area which was initially covered by the larger West Pokot District. West Pokot County had a population of 512,690 people according to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics census of 2009. It is mainly occupied by the Pokot people and other

groups such as the Turkana and Marakwet in smaller populations .

It has a population density of about 285 people per Km2. West Pokot County was preferred for this study because it had highest reports of cattle rustling.

This therefore offers a perfect site for the study. Figure 3.1 shows the geographical representation and spread of the areas of study showing the various demographics and population densities including the boundaries.

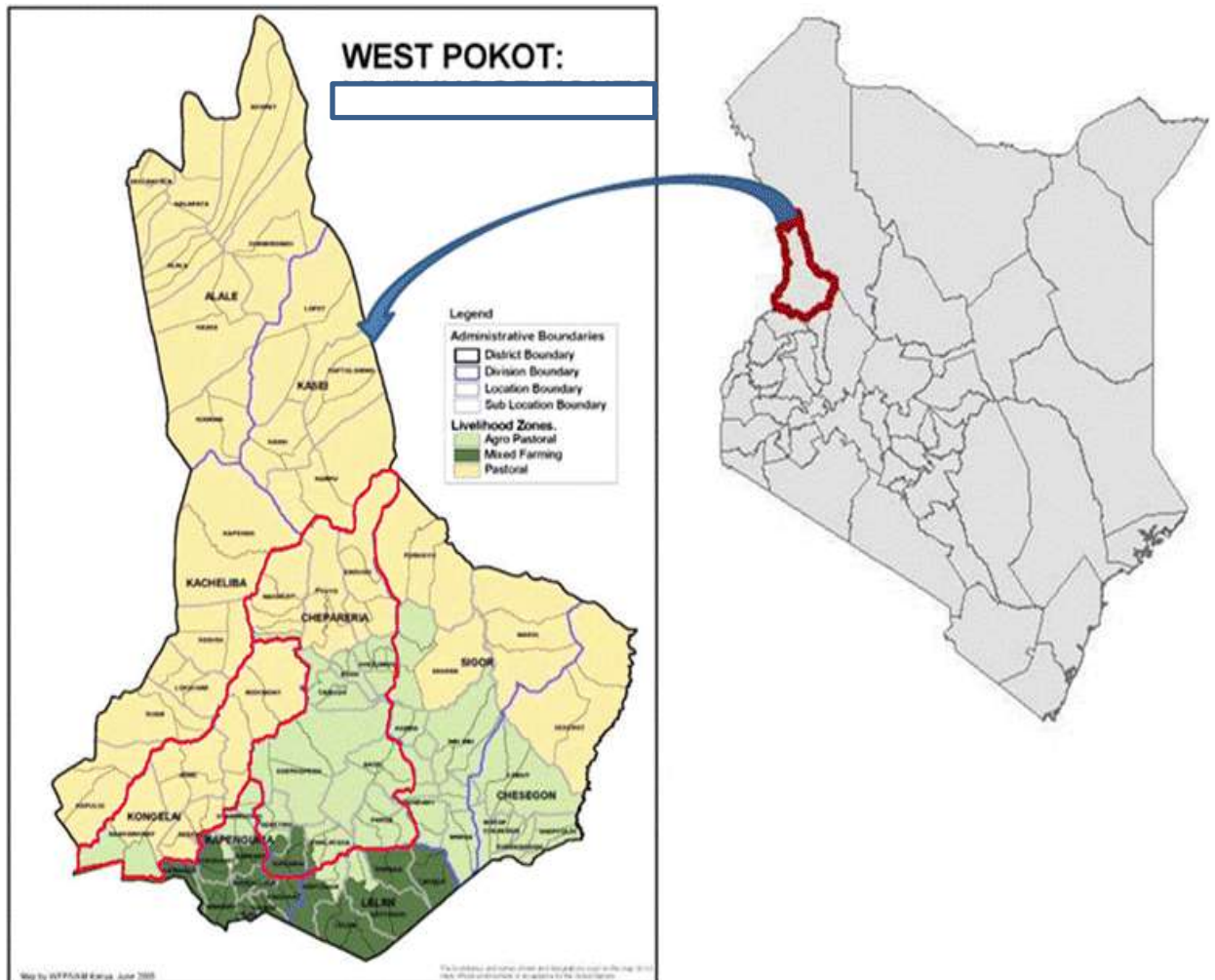


Figure 3.1. The Study Area

3.3 Target Population

According to Kisilu and Tromp, (2006), the population denotes a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement. Population can also be defined as all items under consideration in any field of inquiry (Kothari, 2004).

The target population included all adult men and women of 18 years and above in West Pokot County. The accessible population was Community elders, opinion leaders, political and administrative officers , community members and both local and international NGOs.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Target Population

Respondents	Target population
Opinion leaders	35
Political/Administrative	20
Community elders	90
Local& international NGOs	15
Community members	190
Total	350

3.4 Sampling Techniques

3.4.1 Sampling for pastoralists

The research used various combinations of sampling methods. Multi-stage sampling was applied in the identification of the specific areas for collecting data.

Stage 1: Sampling was done at the National Government administrative units which were as follows; the four sub-counties, 10 out of 16 divisions, 25 out of 65 locations and 100 out of 224 sub-locations. Administrative units in high prevalence of cattle rustling were purposively selected.

Stage 2: In each of the selected sub-locations, cluster sampling was used in selecting the villages that would be involved in the study. Households were identified in each sub-location in proportion to the population based on the 2009 population census. 10 to 15% of the households were used for generalization and this was above the minimum 10% recommended for such a descriptive study (Gay & Airasian, 2003).

Stage 3: Stratified random sampling was used in selecting respondents from the households. Thus, in some households, women were sought while in others the respondents were men. This was important since gender was a key variable in the study. Also, men and women's roles and responsibilities were dissimilar, hence the need for stratification.

Stage 5: Purposive sampling was used in identifying key informants. Key informants were selected due to their role in the community and in the fight against cattle rustling. The interviews were conducted among the sub-county team and county team to provide additional qualitative information. Ten (10) Key informants (7 men and 3 women)

interviewed included; the County Commissioner (1), the Deputy County Commissioners(1), the National Police Commanders(3), representatives of both local and international NGOs (4) and civil society (1) .

3.5 Sample Size determination

The determination of primary units for sampling was informed by a list of 350 ,both men and women within the area of study. Only 140 (110 men and 30 women) out of the total 350 were sampled out, an evidence that West Pokot County was a men-dominated society. The sample size was determined in terms of gender roles and biological sex whether male or female. The study employed Cochran (1963) sample size calculation formula which allows a sample size to be obtained from a finite or known population to arrive at a representative number of respondents as shown below:

Where:

n = Sample population (140 -men ; 110 and 30 women)

N= Target Population (350)

Z = 1.96 at 95% confidence level).

P = Population sample proportion to be 0.5 (50%) to provide the maximum sample size.

e = acceptable margin of error of 5% (0.05)

3.6 Instruments of Data Collection

3.6.1 Questionnaire

Quantitative data was collected by using structured questionnaires containing both open and closed-ended questions translated to Pokot language for ease of administration. The

study issued 350 questionnaires.

3.6.2 Key Informants Interview (KII) Guide

Interview guide was used to conduct interviews with 10 key informants (7 men and 3 women from the target population to compliment data collected using the questionnaires. The key informants included: the County Commissioner (1), the Deputy County Commissioners(1), the National Police Commanders(3), representatives of both local and international NGOs (4) and civil society (1). Therefore this is where the required information to complement questionnaires would be found.

3.6.3. Focus Group Discussion Guide

A structured Focus Group Discussion Guide was utilized to collect qualitative data. The study had 20 FGDs (12 for men and 8 for women). FGDs were arranged according to gender and age. All respondents were of a legal age. The respective area Chiefs of the various jurisdictions were very instrumental and sat-in, in the majority of FGDs. They also assisted in the selection of the participants. Consequently, men, women, boys and girls FGDs were organized and facilitated separately by the study to ensure full participation for everyone as each group had common experiences. Criteria for selection of FGD participants was varied. It was as follows: Women were required to be married, girls who had attained a marriageable age or gone through a cultural rite were considered for the inclusion. Boys who had been circumcised and had participated or intended to participate in a cattle rustling incident and men who were married and had participated in cattle rustling. FGD participants were sought using the local administrators who sat-in the discussion that involved 7-15 men and women. Interviewing men, women, and youth was

important if one was to the complete role of the specific gender dynamics in cattle rustling. An FGD guide was applied. The guide included topics that sought to obtain information that addressed the objectives.

3.6.4 Observation Check list

Observations enabled the study to describe the existing situations using the five senses, providing a written photograph of the situation under study (Erlandson, 1993). An observation guide was developed to directly observe the following aspects under study: How is the general conduct of the community in terms of clothes, household and livestock in public fora, Barazas, and meetings; What are the main occupation; Who are the majority Men/Women; Are there young men and youth idling in the villages; Are there evidence of cattle rustling (burnt houses/shells, many graves or burial sites); Does the public carry weapons around and is it Men/women, the kinds and how often; What modern facilities (school, health centre, posho mill, etc.) are available in the villages; How is the state of the general infrastructure; Are there visible government/security presence; Are there any ceremonies that are currently ongoing and How are cattle products used in their ceremonies.

The study developed 20 observation guides to collect data. The study chose 20 observers (10 adult men and adult 10 women) who had vast experience in the region and terrain, were residents and had a bit of knowledge in cattle rustling. The observers assisted him record the observations of all events/activities, behaviors and patterns surrounding gender transformation and cattle rustling as subject of the study.

3.7 Pretesting of research instruments

A pilot study was done in Baringo county, Tiaty, to test the feasibility of the study and also check the adequacy of the research instruments. A pilot study was carried out to test whether the respondents experience difficulties in understanding items, whether they omitted items and time estimate the respondents took to complete the questionnaire. From the pilot study, it was noted that the questionnaire was too long, as a result of which the study shortened it accordingly.

The purpose of pre-testing the questionnaire was to test the fluency of the questions, originality of the unit of study, clarity of the titles, elaboration and closure. This area had similar conditions as the West Pokot County, had experienced cattle rustling incidences in the past but recorded reduced incidences according to official police records of 2009-2017. This helped the study establish viability, time, and help in finalizing the tool for study. 35 area residents from Baringo were randomly sampled to test the tools.

3.8 Reliability and Validity of Instruments

3.8.1. Reliability of Instruments

According to (Mohajan, 2017), reliability test is not only significant in identifying the extent at which data collection instrument is error free but also insures consistent measurement cross time and across the various items in the instruments. Reliability demonstrates that the operation of a study, such as the data collection procedures, can be repeated with the same outcome.

This was also found to be in support of Campbel & Cook, (1979), who argued that

reliability is the consistency of measurement or degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same condition with the same subjects. The study conducted reliability test to ascertain the questionnaires consistency to measures variables under the same condition.

3.8.2 Validity of Instruments

According to Kimberlin and Winterstein, (2008), Validity is of a research instrument refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Validity requires that an instrument is reliable, but an instrument can be reliable without being valid. To ensure content validity of the questionnaire that was used in this study, a pilot test was carried out with 35 men and women of the study where the results were used to make adjustment where necessary.

3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data cleaning was done to correct any error that might have occurred during data collection and data was coded for analysis. After coding; qualitative data was grouped into respective themes and was analyzed using thematic analysis. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics was used to describe and summarize the data. Descriptive statistics of mean, mode, median and standard deviation computed to make it possible to interpret the information. Inferential statistics specifically multiple regression analysis was carried out to establish whether there is a relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables and the type of the relationship if there is using the regression model below.

3.9.1 Empirical Model

According to Tillmanns and Krafft, (2019), a logistic regression models can be used to predict adoption rates based on different dependent and independent variables.

$$RS = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GT + \beta_2 IC + \beta_3 GR + \beta_4 SR + \varepsilon$$

Where,

RS = Security Management

β_0 = Constant

β_1 to β_4 = The slope

GT= Gender Transformation in cattle rustling

IC = Indigenous Cattle rustling

GR= Gender Relations

SR = Strategic Resolutions

ε = Standard Error

3.10 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The study obtained obtain ethical approval of the Kenyatta University Ethics and Review Committee before commencing the study. Authority to carry out this study was obtained from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Clearance to conduct this study was obtained from the Graduate School of Kenyatta University. Permission to conduct this study in West Pokot was obtained from county authorities before proceeding with the study. The study obtained a written informed consent from the respondents before conducting the study. Data obtained was handled with confidentiality. Therefore, the investigator ensured total conformity with the ethics during and after the study was completed. All this evidence has been attached on the Appendices The work plan and budget guided the study. Data collection and Entry was done simultaneously.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings, analysis of data, presentation and discussion. It is organized as follows: First, response rate and demographic characteristics are presented. Secondly, thematic subsections in line with the study objectives. The thematic subsections include: the transformation of cattle rustling; effects of changes in cattle rustling on gender relations; security implications, gains and costs associated with the cattle rustling and strategic solutions to the cattle rustling problem from a gender perspective among the Pokot of West Pokot, Kenya.

4.1 Response Rate

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Data collection tools	Target Respondents		Successful Respondents		Response Rate (%)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Questionnaires	210	140	110	30	31	9
Key Informant Interview Guide	7	3	6	3	60	30
Focus Group Discussion Guide	12	8	10	8	50	40
Observation Guide	10	10	10	9	50	45
Average Response Rate					42	30

The study administered 350 questionnaire whereby 140 were issued to women while 210 were issued to men. Only 110 and 30 questionnaires for men and women respectively were completed and returned while 100 and 110 questionnaires for men and women respectively were not received even after follow-up. Only 31% and 9% of the questionnaires for men and women respectively were completed and returned owing to a number of technicalities in the field. This affected the accessibility and availability of the men and women to participate in the study.

40% response rate in respect to questionnaires was a bit lower, not appropriate for drawing conclusion of this study. Therefore, the study used KIIs, FGDs and Observation guide to compliment the data collected using questionnaires. Interview guide was used to conduct interviews with 10 key informants (7 men & 3 women) from the target population to compliment data collected using the questionnaires. The key informants included: the County Commissioner, the Deputy County Commissioners, the National Police Commanders(3), representatives of both local and international NGOs (4) and civil society (1). Therefore this is where the required information to complement questionnaires would be found. The response rate of the key informants was 90% (60% men and 30% women) which meets the 52.70% threshold by Baruch and Holtom, (2008).

A Focus Group Discussion Guide was utilized to collect qualitative data. The study had a total of 20 FGDs (12 men and 8 women). Only 10 and 8 for men and women respectively were received back making a response rate of 50 % and 45% of men and women respectively. An observation guide was developed to directly observe different aspects under study. The study developed 20 observation guides (11 for men and 8 for women) to

collect data. Only 19 observation guides (10 for men and 9 for women) were returned; the response rate was 50% and 45% for men and women respectively. This was very appropriate for data collection. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007), a response rate of 50 per cent is adequate, a response rate of 60 per cent is good, and a response rate of 70 per cent is very good. On average, the study recorded a high response rate implying that the data gathered would sufficiently inform the answering of the research questions.

4.2 Demographic Profiles of Respondents

i. Gender

This study sought to interrogate the gender categories of the respondents. The Pokot community , like many others in Africa is patriarchal. Power relations between men and women are manifested in those lines and this determines roles, including those in cattle rustling; the study subject. Gender was thus considered an important variable in the study as both men and women, though involved in similar roles; perceive them differently especially due to social and cultural perceptions of each. Findings are presented below.

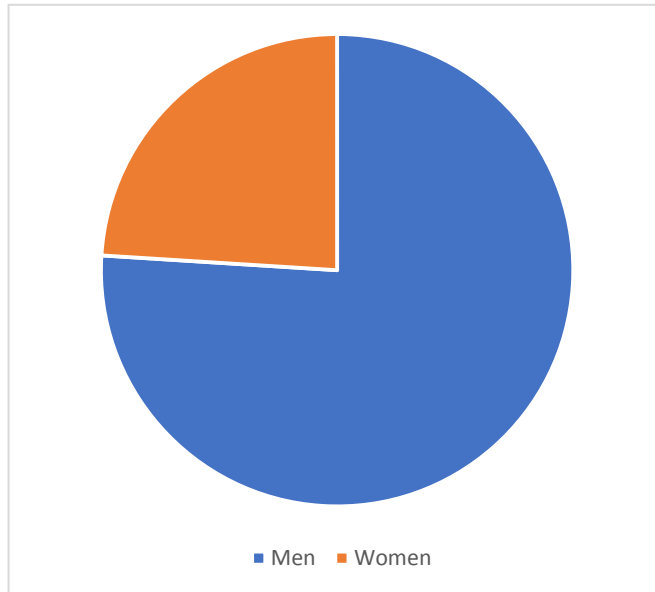


Figure 4.1 Response rate with respect to Questionnaires

Table 4.2 Response rate with respect to FGDs, KIIs and Observations

	FGDs	KIIs	Observations	Total	Percentage (%)
Men	10	6	10	136	73.12
Women	8	3	9	50	26.88
Total	18	9	19	186	100

From the findings as illustrated on the Table 4.2 and the Figure 4.1, it can be depicted that there were fewer women than men who participated in the study. The variance in the roles of men and women explain the wide gap between the participation of men and women in the study. Besides, the fewer women than men in the study illustrates the male-dominated, patriarchal West Pokot society ; where men are normally involved in social activities and are more ‘vocal’.

In line with this, Cheserek (2007) notes that a major problem is the low status of one gender in pastoral societies is because women have no inheritance right, and are isolated from decision-making concerning them directly or indirectly. They are deemed to be property and are socialized to respect and submit to male authority from an early age. The findings, underline the presence of women and men in pastoral community who as is shown later in this chapter; play different roles and have varying access to the use of cattle obtained from raids.

ii. Pokot Clans and ethnic communities

In order to understand the culture and beliefs of Pokot community the study examined the various Pokot clans and ethnic communities. Ethnicity is a primary characteristic of the environments in which people live ,affecting interactions both within and outside the community. This variable was significant in helping to bridge the gap between the Pokot men and women’s perspectives of the needs and their problems.

Table 4.3 Representation of the Pokot clan and ethnic communities of origin

	Count			Percentage (%)
	Men	Women	Total	
Pokot	101	27	128	91.4
Lokenu	3		3	2.9
Saniak	1		1	0.7
Koimo		1	1	0.7
Chepochepkai	1	1	2	0.7
Unobserved	4	1	5	3.6
N	110	30	140	100

The study showed that the Pokot had the highest representation forming 91.4 % of the sample as shown in Table 4.3 above. Thus, the Pokot ethnic community are the majority in the county and therefore, had a significant influence over other ethnic communities and clans which included: the Lokenu, Saniak, Koimo and Chepochepkai as illustrated in Table 4.3 above.

As a result, the study worked closely with the Pokot ethnic community in order to get adequate information on their traditions ,values and cultural practices since they were the majority and have been associated with most of the cattle rustling incidences.

In regard to gender, there were more men than women in each clan and ethnic community. According to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics census of 2009 showed that men were more than women in the specific areas under study. From the findings in the four sub counties showed that West Pokot -10 of the participants were women and 40 were men; North Pokot- 6 were women and 30 men ;Central Pokot- 7 were women and 20 men while Pokot South -20 were men and 7 women. Majority of the participants were men since women were less recognized in this region as men were the main decision makers and performed other crucial roles in the community. The study findings support the studies conducted by Kamenju, Mwachovi and Wairagu (2003),that the persistent raids and displacements by the Pokot have made large swathes of land largely uninhabitable to other communities. This unofficial expansionist policy has pushed other communities towards the peripheries or to neighboring Counties which they also raid and at times settle.

These findings affirm the Social Cubism theory (Byrne & Carter (1996), which underlines that demographic factors are important aspects of exploring ethnic conflict. The theorists affirm that at the centre of demography is the issue of population compositions especially about the issue of who is superior and inferior as well as which ethnic group is more influential. The study therefore, established that the Pokot ethnic community controlled the use of limited resources and that men had control over the women as well. However, in recent times, women are seen to have equal powers to men as women leadership has been embraced. Women are actively involved in the running of the community affairs (Kimaiyo,2016).

iii. Religion

The study sought to establish the relationship between religion and cattle rustling and how this affected Pokot men and women. The role of religion in resolving conflicts in society can be positive and negative .This is because religion is depicted as a trigger factor in many conflicts as people relate to it as part of their identities. As a key variable in this study, religion has been used to explain gender transformation in cattle rustling . The region has three main religions as espoused below in table 4.4 below:

Table 4.4 Religion.

Religion	Men	Women	Total	Percentage (%)
Christian	105	27	132	94.3
Muslim	3	2	5	3.6
Traditionalist	2	1	3	2.1
Grand Total	110	30	140	100

According to the Table 4.4 above, the majority of the men and women interviewed were Christians at 94.3%. Muslims accounted for 3.6% while those who profess the practice of traditional Pokot religion accounted for 2.1% of the population. These findings are supported by Kimaiyo (2016) who observed that embracing of the major Christian religion has gradually replaced the traditional religion that was practiced by the ancestors.

A studies by Gathogo (2011), revealed that religiosity in West Pokot has grown since the 1960s with majority of the people who ascribed to traditional beliefs converting to Christianity and other religions. The author opines that initially, men in this region were more religious than women however, a few years later there was an increase in number of women who were taking part in leadership positions. Women started accompanying their men to perform religious rituals and other roles that were only carried out by men.

With respect to Social Cubism Theory, exploring religious dynamics helps people understand how religious beliefs affect intergroup relationships.

Traditional religion supported cattle rustling as a structured religious ceremony to please the ancestors (Mkutu,2008). The study notes that despite the efforts by modern religious groups/organisations and the infiltration of the Christian denominations preaching love, peace and forgiveness and respect for other peoples' properties as ways to curb cattle rustling, the practice still persists. Many lives of men and women of Pokot have been lost and increased ethnic conflicts with the neighbouring communities.

iv. Education Level

The study sought to interrogate the education level of the respondents. This is because education could play an important role in reducing cattle rustling. As a key factor that has contributed greatly in transiting from traditional practice to modern cattle rustling, this variable explains the change in the roles of men and women in cattle rustling.

From the study results, there were more men than women who obtained education. As presented in Figure 4.2 below, only 12.9% of the men and women had attained a university degree .A majority of the men and women attested to having a primary or secondary certificate as their highest level of academic certification which was not the case about half a century ago.

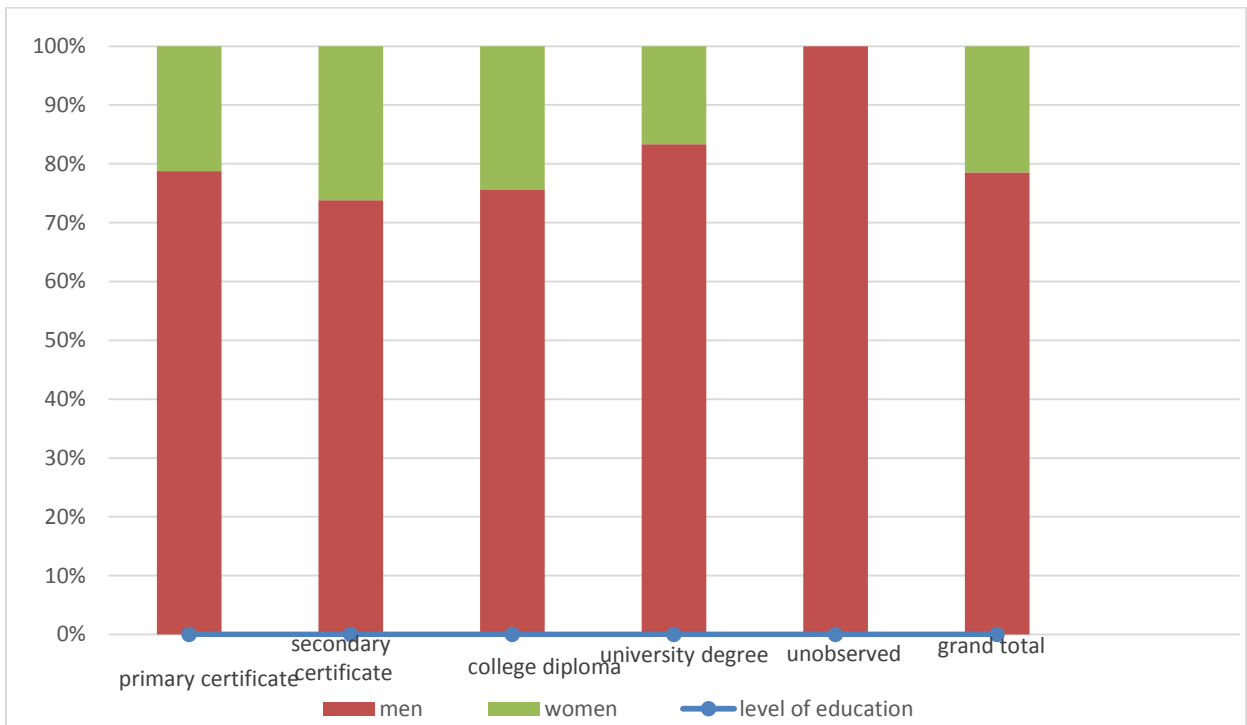


Figure 4.2: Education Level

Tepilit (2006) associates education with modernity and change of perspective in the roles of men and women in the community.

The study applied the Harvard analytical framework to interrogate the various roles of men and women in the Pokot community whereby these roles restricted or allowed access and control to essential resources such education. According to the study findings, men were more preferred to access education than women. Pokot community was a men-dominated society where men had control over all resources unlike women who were beneficiaries of what their men possessed.

Though, an increase in education level has been reported in this region, more cases of cattle rustling have been recorded. Through education the women and men of West Pokot County have become illuminated on the issues of wealth accumulation especially owing

to contact with other modernized communities and embracing women leadership.

v. Marital Status

The study gathered details on the marital status of the men and women in a bid to form grounds for the assessment of gender relations within the community. The marital status was essential in establishing the opinion of different marital categories in regard to the study objectives. According to Tulel (2013), marriage is one of the key drivers to cattle rustling since one has to give a certain number of cattle in exchange of a girl he is interested to marry.

According to the results, a majority (79.4%) of the men and women that took part in the study were married. The results of the study are as illustrated in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 Marital Status

	Men	Percentage (%)	Women	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentage (%)
Single	20	18.2	9	30	29	20.7
Married	90	81.8	21	70	111	79.3
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	110	100	30	100	140	100

The findings on table 4.5 above show that 79.3% were married, while 20.7% were single. This means that majority of both men and women over the age of eighteen were

married while small percentage were single. The study findings support the argument by (Anyango,2017) that marriage is critical in the determination of roles, access and control of resources. As depicted in Harvard Analytical Framework, marriage was factor that determined the different roles of men and women in regards to their marital status. Marriage is one of the key drivers to cattle rustling since one has to give a certain number of cattle in exchange of a girl he is interested to marry. It is however noteworthy that the Pokot woman even if divorced or widowed will be attached to a man as culture supported polygamy. Further, the Pokot culturally do not support the notion of separation or divorce.

vi. Distribution by Age

The study sought to know the age of men and women who participated in the study. Age structure is useful in understanding population growth and cultural generations. This variable was significant in grouping men and women of the study according to their age to share their experiences in cattle rustling as age is one of the variables that the Pokot employ in allocating roles.

The figure 4.3 shows that majority of the participants (50 %) who were young people between the age of 19 and 28 years with more men than women. The second largest group (27.9 %) comprised people between the age of 29 and 38 years with more men than women .Lastly, 22.1% represented the group of ages above 38 years with the highest number being men and the least were women as shown in Figure 4.3 below.

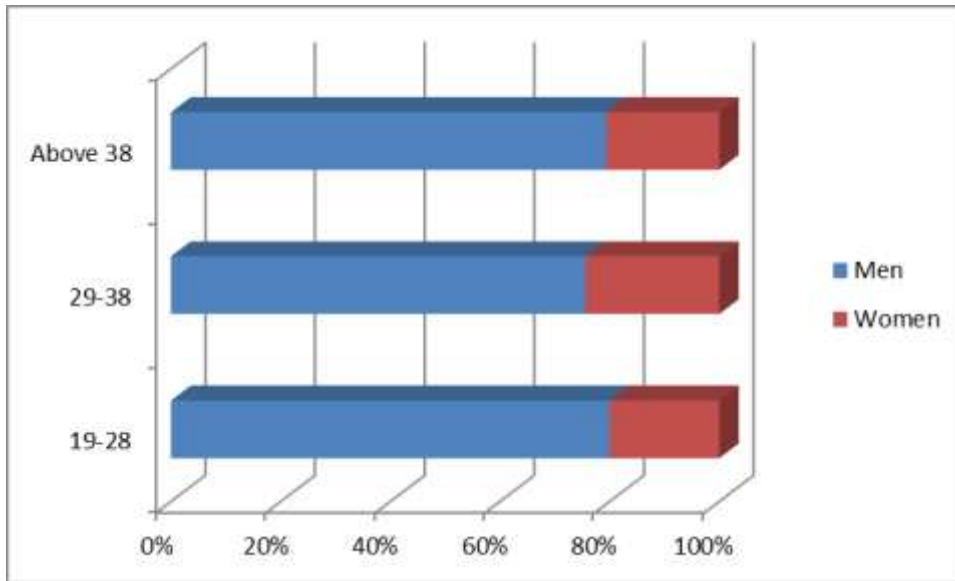


Figure 4.3 Distribution by Age

These findings are in line with the age distribution of the population of Kenya where young people make up the largest segment of the population. In addition, as Kaimba, Njehia and Guliye ((2011) highlight, also that cattle rustling was mainly executed by young warriors often beginning from puberty to late thirties.

This study also established that the youth constituted the largest number of men and women in the study. In all the three age levels as sampled out in the study ,men appear to be more than women. According to Kimaiyo (2016), pastoralist societies are patriarchal, and men are mostly assumed to be sole perpetrators of rustling, whereas the women are seen as the victims of the practice, therefore women are made invisible in the society. Social Cubism Theory asserts this aspect of age as a demographic factor whereby a population is composed of various age groups of that particular society.

Traditionally, elders played the key roles in cattle rustling right from planning and taboo setting in the practise. In recent times, however, majority of the cattle rustlers are the youths who are armed and also plan and execute the activity. These youth do not believe in taboos and kill up to innocent young children and women

iv. Source of Livelihood.

The study sought to examine the main sources of livelihood among the Pokot. Every society has its own set of activities essential to everyday life for subsistence. In recent times pastoralists are seen to adopt alternative sources of livelihood such as farming, fishing, businesses and mining. Therefore, this variable was used to illustrate this change of life among the Pokot. The findings are presented in figure 4.4 on the next page.

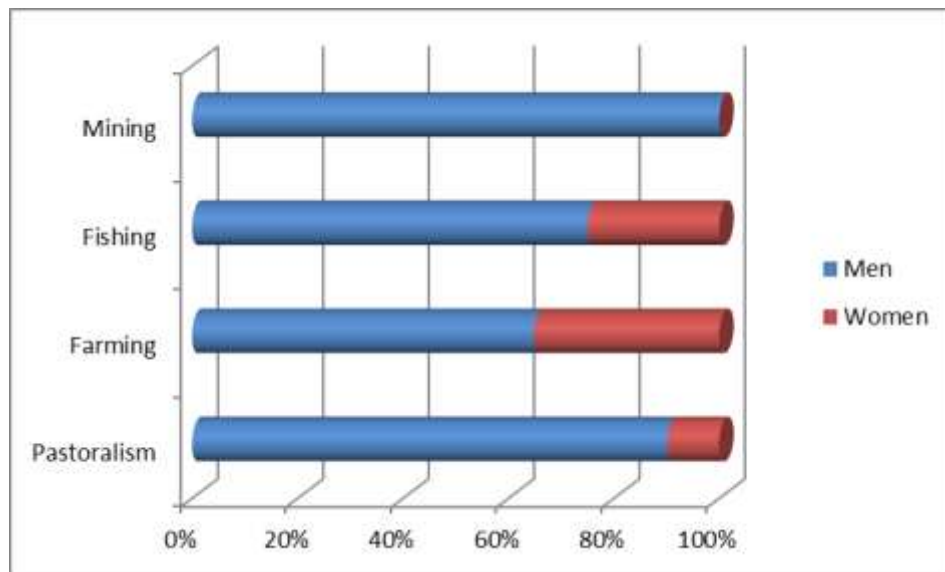


Figure 4.4 Main Sources of Livelihood

According to the results on figure 4.4 above, a majority of the men and women (51%) in West Pokot relied on farming as their main source of livelihood. Besides, the study

findings indicated that a good number of women carried out farming while majority of the men were in pastoralism and mining. Pastoralism or livestock farming followed closely as the second most widespread source of livelihood in the region with 42% of the men and women attesting to being animal keepers as shown in Figure 4.4 above.

The results also showed that about 2% were involved in mixed and multiple sources of income generating activities. These are those who are employed or engaged in mining, prospecting and other business activities. It was also observed that 4% of the men and women were actively engaged in fishing activities. The study found that most men and women practicing farming were majorly women in the hills and farmlands of Pokot South sub-county.

Qualitative data generated through FGDs indicated that the community has over time transitioned to embrace farming and agro-pastoralism, changes that have also influenced gender relations.

According to FAO ,(2017), increasing effects of El-Nino and climate change has increased and made droughts more widespread and severe. FAO points out that “drought-hit pastoralists face reduced milk production, rising malnutrition and have limited income-earning capacity and severely constrained access to food.” Alternatives to keeping livestock such as growing drought resistant crops is being seen as the panacea. Sorghum, wheat and chilies are being introduced as alternates and touted as game changers (AGRA). Galvin (2009:193) states that “As pastoralists become sedentary, cultivate and diversify their livelihoods, the move to increase control over land becomes

understandable.

As presented in the Social Cubism Theory, people embrace different livelihood strategies depending on the environmental conditions of the region. In West Pokot County, majority of the men and women keep livestock as source of their livelihood. However, due to modernization, they have opted for alternative sources of livelihood. Some have moved to towns to work in formal sectors. The Government of Kenya through the ministry of Agriculture are now exploring these regions to enhance farming and infrastructure.

4.4 Gender Transformation in Cattle Rustling Practice

4.4.1 Introduction

The first objective of the study is to explain the transformation of cattle rustling practice among the Pokot of West Pokot County. This is because although cattle rustling has a long history and is regarded as part of the pastoralists' culture, the once traditional practice has become increasingly destructive and fatal. Scholars have attributed this to various factors including cultural factors, inadequate policing, acquisition of SALWs, decline of traditional governance systems and shrinking of natural resources ((Fukui, 1979; Masinde et al., 2004; Mkutu,2008; Cheserek, et al.,2012). There is however a need to find out how gender factors have impacted to the practice. The findings on this section are presented under three themes, namely; indigenous cattle rustling, agents of change and contemporary practices in cattle rustling. However, to ground these themes, the study considered two sub topics, namely; the historical background of cattle rustling and the cultural grounding of cattle rustling. These are pertinent in the explication in this section.

4.4.2. Historical Background of Cattle Rustling

This section considers the historical background to cattle rustling in secondary sources. It attempts to document the practice in pre-colonial Kenya. Studies show cattle rustling dates back to the pre-colonial era and have transitioned to the contemporary security threat that it is today. According to (Byrne, 2002) the transition is attributed to numerous factors. Skoggard & Adem, (2010), establishes that in early days, a cattle rustling was a cultural practice that involved the use of traditional weapons including spears, arrows and sticks to steal cattle from neighboring communities. In the early days, nomadic pastoralists such as the Pokot would move freely in search of pasture and water moving to the highlands during the dry season and back to the plains when it rained. However, when Kenya became a British protectorate in 1895, land regulations that created white highlands displaced several communities (Mungeam,1966).

A study by Kimaiyo (2016) indicated that privatization of among other territorial policies restricted the pastoralists' movements in and out of their territories. Being pushed to less arable lands set off a long lasting strife for resources such as water and grazing land whose effects remain adamant to date. Jesse* a key informant in the study told the researcher that,

Indigenous Cattle rustling was redistributive. On many occasions, the Pokot stole cattle to restock. In addition, men from poor families would steal cattle to pay dowry or have their first herd after which they would allow the herd to multiply (Kapenguria, Makutano. Key Informant interview on 20/1/2019)

Ideally, the information from the study suggests that cattle rustling was self-sustaining. Another important aspect that the key informants mentioned is that the practice is interlinked with pastoralists' way of life and has always existed from their foreseeable past through folklores, traditions, myths and legends. A study by Mkutu (2006) indicates that during major rituals and ceremonies among the Pokot cattle products were used. Mangat * a key informant in the study told the researcher that ,

“During important occasions milk, skin and blood were mainly used. Milk was used in ceremonies as food and for blessings, while the skin was used to make baskets for transporting water and milk. Blood was used when appeasing to the gods or during cleansing by elders. During these important occasions, male elders, women and young men each eat their meat separately. Children ate with their mothers while the young boys sat next to elders. This sitting arrangement was honored as it was believed if one went against it something bad would befall them.” (Kapenguria. Key informant interview on 18/1/2019).

Fenstermaker (2002) argues that while the events before and during the colonial period were instrumental in shaping cattle rustling, major changes were not realized until the 1970s when less productive regions such as West Pokot and Turkana were excluded from national development agendas. Other events such as the 1991/1992 and the 1997 drought during which the government commitment to providing relief food to marginalized communities fell below the people's expectations (Schilling, Opiyo & Scheffran, 2012); pushed the communities further into poverty as well as reduced the people's trust in the government. With respect to the cubism theory, such historical events significantly contributed to the development of conflict in the region as presented by Byrne & Carter, (1996).

Extreme conditions and changing spectrum of gender relations have made the practice rather radical over time. For instance, families that lost their fathers or elder brother no longer had someone to provide and protect them while others lost care givers after losing important women in their lives.

4.4.3 Cultural Grounding and Indigenous Cattle Rustling

Traditional cattle rustling was laden with rules governing its conduct such as theft of cattle, capture of women and children without murder and destruction of property. A study by Omondi (2012) observed that 1960s-1980s only six cases of murder during cattle rustling were recorded, but again it is highly doubted they were a direct result of cattle rustling but personal differences.

Rustling for commercial purposes, political incitement, poverty, traditional values and women were factors that explain the surge in cattle rustling (Cheserek, 2012). The study therefore, sought to establish the cultural underpinnings of the practice, that is, the importance of cultural fulfilments as a motivating factor in cattle rustling. Three of the cultural rites are explained below.

First, initiation into adulthood. The Pokot circumcise girls and boys. However, while the rite is a social indicator that the girl is ready for marriage, it triggers additional expectations for boys. Hence upon completion of the seclusion period, Pokot initiates engage in raids as a demonstration of their newly acquired status as Morans. In this regard, a key informant explained that the anticipated end of the seclusion period is also a time the security personnel in Pokot are put on high alert. Jesse* a key informant told the

researcher that,

“Seclusion period was symbolic of death and its end was like the resurrection of a new and responsible life. The initiates were given teachings during this period to prepare them for the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood. The girls were trained on their roles during cattle raids. They were taught how far could escort the young warriors as they went to attack their enemies, composing heroic songs, ululations among other roles in the cattle rustling activity. (Kapenguria. Key informant interview on 18/1/2019)

Second payment of dowry was identified as a key factor that propelled cattle rustling. As indicated earlier in chapter two of the study, it took between 20-60 cattle and 10-40 goats for one to get a wife among the Pokot. Further, this figure could fluctuate either way depending on the beauty, character and education level of the girl. Lenana* a key informant told the researcher that,

‘Women especially the first wife who was to become the central pole of a family were extremely important. Those who desired to marry an extremely beautiful woman, whose bride price of course was higher, could even engage their fellow morans to assist them to plan and execute successful raids for that sole reason. (Alale. Key Informant interview on 19/1/2019)

Third, the celebration of *Sapana* has a strong connection to cattle rustling among the Pokot. *Sapana* is a rite of passage that men had to go through in order to graduate into elder hood. This involved young men who are recent circumcised initiates, acquiring and spearing a bull as elder men and women witness. The ritual allows young men to sit with the elders to make decisions concerning the community. Young men to gain acceptance into their community must perform this important ceremony. Those poor men whose families could not afford a bull for the ceremony could either borrow one from a rich

villager or raid for one. Most however chose to raid and engage their fellow *morans* for assistance. Jesse *a key informant told the researcher that,

‘In our culture, *Sapana* is the most important rite for a man to be able to gain authority within his community. Only then will he be able to speak to elders and in return he will be listened to and respected’. (Kapenguria- key informant interview on 18/1/2019)

Studies have noted that women escalate cattle rustling since they celebrate and identify with the successful cattle rustlers and shun the unsuccessful ones (Odenyo, 2012). However, the role women play in the preparatory stages is not discussed. Cattle rustling is not a haphazard engagement. Instead, certain periods of the year are more vulnerable and appropriate than others. There are however, notable variations in regard to which seasons are most susceptible to raids. The rainy season is the most appropriate when most cattle rustling events are carried out between the Pokot and Marakwet communities (Omondi, 2012).

However, in reference to the Somali community, more cattle rustling was in the dry season, mainly to replenish stock lost in the wet season (Nunow, 2000). Cattle rustlers were more active during the wet months of the year. They attributed this to availability of the following during this period: tall dry grass, healthy cattle, dense bush and abundance of water. It is to be noted that the community also isolated pasture, practiced rotational grazing and paddocks in some areas wide apart to be used during the dry seasons.

These factors were conducive to drive and hide away rustled cattle (Adano., 2004). This finding supports the long held view that scarcity followed by plenty is a particularly

violence-prone period as each community seeks to replenish livestock from the other. There is a connection between claims over territory and cattle rustling in northern Kenya. However, the connection between cattle rustling and territorial claims often spearheaded by political interest still remains unclear.

Relying on ethnographic data obtained from interviews with community elders, chiefs, district officers, politicians and peace committee members it was possible to piece together aspects of cattle rustling and territorial redrawing (Greiner, 2013).

Cattle rustling and other forms of conflict in northern Kenya were a phenomenon before the colonial period.

Before the colonial period conflict in the region was mainly for territorial expansion of the Nuer, Maasai, Pokot and Turkana (Lamphear, 1988). British imposition of fixed ethnic boundaries scuttled this expansion (Waller, 1985). However, given the mobility of cattle, cattle rustling continued. At independence cattle rustling continued but this time under changed circumstances.

The use of guns from the mid-1970s was the new phenomenon (Fukui & Markakis, 1994). From then onwards several factors have been advanced to account for the persistence and changes in the conduct of cattle rustling. A decade after attainment of independence the analysis of cattle rustling largely centered on cultural and ecological explanations. Those writers who favored the cultural dimension associated cattle rustling with the prominence of traditional social structures of the pastoralist communities.

That belief systems, identities, warrior ideals, prestige and competition between age-sets

were the leading factors (Fukui & Turton, 1994). Some recent views seem to imply that cattle rustling is a maladaptive strategy in which the lives of the people are ranked lower than that of cattle. That in the attempt to preserve their cultural identity, rustlers undermine their own biological survival (Markakis, 1998). Emphasis was also put on the cultural dimension (Ng'ang'a, 2012).

The role played by women in the modern cattle rustling is not discussed. Those who favour the ecological dimension to explain cattle rustling argue that pastoralist areas are characterized by scarcity of resources and the struggle to access them inevitably leads to conflict. The non-equilibrium ecosystems approach emphasizes the necessity to restock livestock after their decimation by drought or disease. The necessity to restock explains cattle rustling (Toulmin, 1994).

This perspective seems to suggest that territorial conquest does not explain the persistence of cattle rustling. A new dynamic in the study of cattle rustling began to be emphasized from the 1990s. This was the professional marketing of rustled livestock. Cattle rustled in the period prior to 1990s was mainly used for traditional purposes, mainly redistribution, payment of bride wealth (Fleisher, 2002).

However, the tendency towards organized crime is now part of today's cattle rustling, even though its magnitude and scale are yet to be ascertained (Kaprom, 2013). The Kuria cattle rustlers from northern Tanzania sell their stolen cattle in the markets of Nairobi (Fleisher, 1999).

Aspects of climate change and environmental security is another strand of literature on the debate about cattle rustling in the arid and semi-arid northern areas of Kenya. Population pressure, climate change and scarcity of resources are the main motivators of conflict between pastoralist communities (Scheffran., 2012). In the context of the East Pokot pastoralists their raids are not aimed at separating expanding territory, hence administrative boundaries did not constitute the basis of conflict. Instead the cattle raids were motivated by issues of prestige, high bride wealth and the increased use of guns (Bollig, 1993).

The buffer territories that separated the East Pokot from their neighbouring communities were no longer in existence due to encroachment (Bollig & Osterle, 2008). Similarly, the character of cattle rustling changed to include acts of “ethnic cleansing” and extreme violence in contrast to more traditional cattle raids (Greiner, 2013).

One of the most profound adjustments to cattle rustling is the Lelan Dairy Company founded in 2008 (Obbo, 2013). Tired of cattle rustling, the Pokot and Marakwet calmed down following the 1998 warfare that decimated most of the improvements on the borderline between them. The two communities agreed that cattle had brought division to them and cattle could too unite them. The zebu cattle that the Pokot and Marakwet kept were resilient but they were vulnerable to rustling as they could be easily driven away over long distances. The zebu cattle had also another uniqueness of regaining large pasture areas which also easily triggered pasture wars between the two communities.

Hence the indigenous cattle are a magnet to the rustlers. In comparison, the Friesian

cows were the anti-thesis of cattle rustling – fed in paddocks, less tough, can hardly run fast; therefore, from a rustlers' point of view they were useless.

Today the Lelan association is a thriving cooperative bringing together 1,800 Pokot and Marakwet dairy farmers (Obbo, 2013). The case of Lelan, besides being a new business idea, is also an example of how modern economic activities can be used to resolve age-old and traditional practices that have no value in the modern society. Lelan Dairy Company also led to the birth of Lelan Financial Services which today have over 600 savings accounts and 45% of the accounts holders are women, in a society hitherto known for warriors and bravery. The people resolved that for every top position held by a Pokot, the deputy would be a Marakwet and vice versa (Obbo, 2013).

With money in the pocket and fair representation in leadership, sustainable peace was born. Although this is a good example of governance both locally and nationally, it is not yet clear why it has not diffused to other regions within in the county. The social cubism theory in its perspectives and rubrics, breaks down the complexities that defines the Pokot-Marakwet interactions. Given the historical rivalries that have always existed between the two communities, both having lost properties and lives, the cooperation and mutual benefit was seen to outweigh the costs of frequent raids, thefts and animosities. Thus the path to the economic parity and equity between the Pokot and the Marakwet rightfully justify that the pursuit of economic emancipation for a community and mutual trust in a joint agreeable project can reduce even historical hostilities if all players are benefitting.

In this section, we consider indigenous cattle rustling practice. This is important because, key elements that will be interrogated to outline gender transformation in the practice are explained. In order to generate the required data, research participants were asked to identify the key elements of indigenous cattle rustling practice among the Pokot of West Pokot. The findings are presented under these subthemes, types of weapons used, actors and their roles in the practice, preparation and execution for raids and the various safeguards and taboos that guided the practice.

4.4.4.1.Types of Weapons used

The Pokot were traditionally known to use long hand held spears, shields made of cow hides, bows and arrows to attack their enemies. They have always been known to be fierce warriors and fought other communities in the pre-colonial days during their southward migration. Matwete (2017) asserts that when they settled in their present geographical spread in the 18th and 19th Century, they started raiding their fierce neighbors and seeking them ought over livestock and grazing area. They thus openly fought the Turkana, Maasai and the Karamoja over these resources.

The viciousness and tactics employed by the Pokot who were then armed with spears, slings, bows and poisoned arrows and who were fierce and ruthless in battle and whose appearance in the battle field stroke fear in many communities, led to the defeat and consequent assimilation of some communities. Some of those indigenous communities that were assimilated are the Ogiek, and Sirikwa, the Senquer, Orkom, Llpkop (Kwavi Masaai), and the Sekelai (Mwakikagile, 2014)

With time however, these tribes became extinct and others were forced to migrate southwards to Tanzania and Westwards to Rwanda. In the Pokot community, there were special families that were renowned for making weapons and preparing the poison for the arrows and spears. The men were the weapon makers and they passed these skills to their sons to continue with their trade. Kamkatet* a key informant held that,

‘Weapon making traditionally was a skill and art that was predominantly practised by specific families and men. Weapons were usually exchanged with livestock. I recall my grandfather telling us about a famous wealthy weapon and iron-smith who had many wives and children but had never gone for raiding himself, but made weapons that were said to be blessed and very accurate’ (Chapereria, Key informant interview. 21/1/2019)

However, this practice of weapon making began to weaken from around 1915 in Northern Western Kenya when modern weapons such as fire arms were acquired by the pastoral communities. Moreover, the *Moroto incidence* of the overrun of the Military barracks by the Karamajong and others, after the fall of the deposed Ugandan Dictator Idi Amin Dada Circa 1970 ensured that many more weapons like the dreaded AK47, Mark 4, G3 and some heavy duty and General-Purpose Machine guns (GPMG) were now available to the pastoral communities. Bows and arrows were now discarded for lethal guns and bullets that could be better traded for livestock. Then, two to five cows could equal a gun. The Pokot gun culture was born.

Recently cattle rustling has evolved into large scale operations involving taking away of thousands of cattle done in daylight and involving exchange of gunfire, rape, abduction, wounding and killing of men, women and children and cattle market networks (Mkutu,2008).

4.4.4.2 Preparation and execution of cattle raids

The study sought to examine how the use of SALWs had transformed the gender roles in cattle rustling under the sub-theme of preparation and execution of cattle raids. It is undeniable that the Pokot had always raided and being raided by and from their neighbours. As a result Pokot relied on themselves for defense and on their warriors for aggression and cattle raids. They were assisted to acquire more deadly SALWs by their community leaders and point men (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Prior to the availability of firearms, they used to have traditional weapons such as poisoned arrows, spears and other iron tools and slings

According to the study findings, the researcher used testimonials to probe further to the men and women and ask how pastoral gender relations were configured, how they have been altered in the context of armed conflict ,including violent cattle raiding practice.

During the focus group discussion, the following was gathered;

‘The role of both men and women in the planning and execution of a successful cattle raid is well defined by the council of elders and there are various taboos guiding it. Wives knew that before a raid, they should not engage in sexual relations with their husbands, but prepare their favorite meals and for the sons going to raid, also have a small ration of food and say a small prayer and supplication for a successful raid and a safe return. Elders and prophets who were men, could read various signs including from the fresh entrails of a slaughtered goat to know how a raid would go.
(FGD in North Pokot Sub-County on 23/1/2019)

With the community increasingly embracing the gun culture, the execution and drawn out planning of raids became skewed increasingly. Since guns are light and lethal and kill

fast and many, sections of the community did not see the need of a long and laborious process of male elder planning for a cattle raiding activity. Young boys who were now continuously trained to be sharpshooters from when they were young and their male benefactors, could bypass any decision body and embark on cattle rustling activities in a non-sanctioned group. It was here that women were required to take on new roles for their survival and the survival of the family, including making decisions about acquiring guns and ammunition, and branching out into alternative livelihoods. The study observed that men were gaining power over women in some respects because they remained the owners of weapons, but cattle rustling practice had also created space for women to gain independence and status.

The study considered the benefits of this situation for women, but also noted the new risks to their physical and mental health. It then argued that in turn there were both positive and negative aspects for the whole family and stability and sustainability of the Pokot community as a whole

4.4.4.2 Key Actors in the Indigenous Practice of Cattle Rustling

Here, the study assessed the highly patriarchal society of Pokot in regards to various roles and responsibilities for all members of the community during sanction raids, (Kimaiyo, 2016).

It is noted that the cattle rustling practice had key players that enabled it's a success or failure. It of importance therefore, to find out who was tasked with what responsibility especially with regard to the gender roles within the practice. This helps highlight those

who have played important roles over time, in curbing the cattle rustling menace.

Scholars explain that despite being a common practice recognized among the communities involved, cattle rustling (actual raids) were conducted peacefully and majorly by youth/warriors in grazing areas for example (McCallum & Okech, 2013; Rands & LeRiche ,2012).

It is evident that responsibilities for each group of persons were gendered and culturally sanctioned and accepted. Thus, gender as a reality permeates specific ceremonies are built into the values, norms and beliefs of the Pokot.

This section therefore, considers all actors in the practice of cattle rustling. While collecting the data, it was noted that elders in the Pokot community were adamant to relay information as they feared that it would be used to manipulate them since the information was some of their community's 'classified information' ; findings on the variable are presented on figure 4.3.

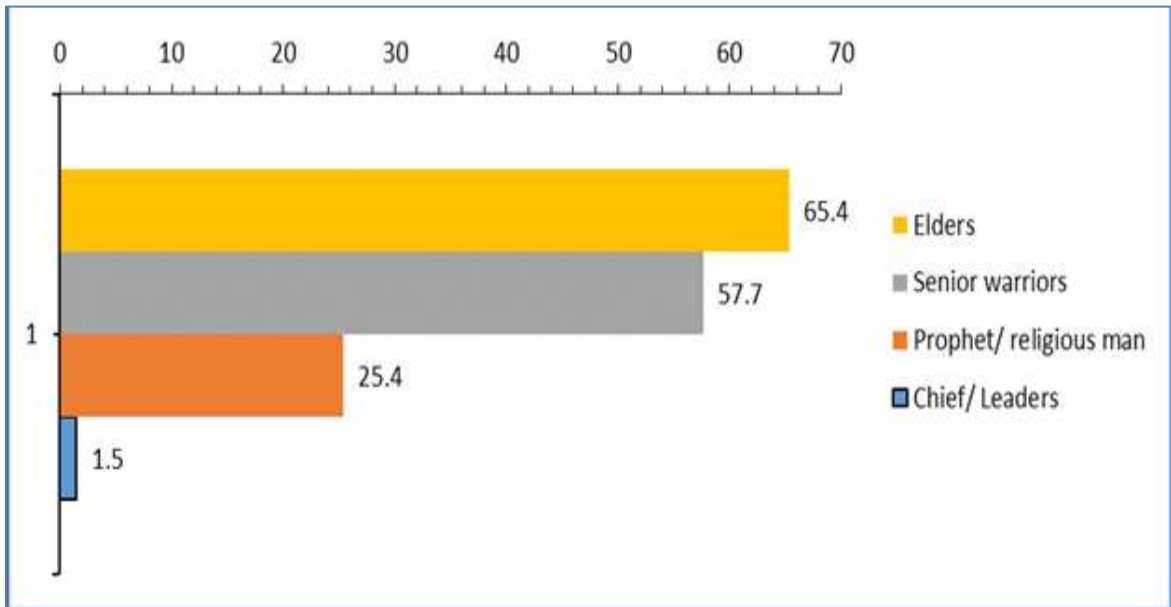


Figure 4.5 Key actors in Indigenous cattle rustling practice

According to figure 4.5 above, respondents noted that elders, senior warriors, prophets, religious men and leaders are key actors in the cattle raids. As shown, the levels at which they are involved differ significantly.

The following section presents the role of various key actors in cattle rustling practice.

i. Elders

The figure 4.5 shows elders as involved in sanctioning raids at 65.4%.

In the Pokot community, elders make decisions regarding executing cattle raids in the community. Consequently, they constitute the biggest percentage of the decision makers. In the Pokot community they consider elders who had wisdom and hence their decisions were respected and are men who had to undergo the various rites of passage before being granted the status as elders. Consequently, the community believes they exercise sound decision making to ensure its continuity and expansion. (Kiplagat, 1998).

The study revealed that elders play several roles in cattle rusting such as blessing the warriors before going to war ;here the warriors were recruited, trained, took an oath approved and blessed by the community elders through a ceremony that was open and very elaborated as it ushered in a new group of community security.

The elders monitored raids carried out by young men. They laid down rules and procedures to initiate warriors, settle disputes, sanction raiding expeditions and determine grazing areas in their nomadic pattern. They therefore, ensured the cattle raids were be conducted within well accepted rules of engagement, and the practice was acceptable to the participating communities. Their interest was to ensure good relations in order to widen access to resources, to facilitate commercial activities and in general to promote security during and after raids. Through the rules and procedures laid down, it was possible to share the cattle rustled equally among families of the rustlers.

The community therefore, relied on their wise guidance, prayers and blessings. Also, the study noted that while the elders were mainly men, elderly women could be appointed to provide leadership in the community. Elderly women, therefore were wholly involved in the major activities of the community without exclusion, apart from male-reserved roles such as hunting, warrior-hood and iron smelting, which required highly specialized skills.

Elderly women would share wisdom on marriages, participate in ritual ceremonies such bride wealth payment and watch over the community activities in absence of the elder men.

According to a key informant interviewed, after the raid, the elderly women cleanse the

rustlers. The *laibon* bless them after agreeing on a price in form of two to three cattle. The blessing and cleansing ceremonies are conducted around 8 p.m. by the elders (old women past childbearing age and men) with the guidance of the *laibon*.

Circumcision has always had a central role in the communal way of life of the Pokot community (Mutsotso, 2018). Once initiated, one attained manhood or womanhood and full membership of the community. Specifically, it permitted one to take part in the obligations of the community, including procreation. Here, both men and women are initiated mostly between the ages of nine and twelve (Selassie, 1999).

Other roles played by the elders included running special errands on behalf of the community, overseeing community cultural rites, settling disputes and planning and making decision regarding the community activities. According to Kamkatet*

Elders have always being the central cog of the Pokot community. They defined when major activities could be held including cattle raids, circumcision, the *sapana* and the various cursing and blessing ceremonies. What most people do not understand is that elders traditionally made all decisions that involved the Pokot way of life and they were respected and loved by all with their edicts never questioned.

(Chapereria, Key informant on 21/1/19)

ii. Senior Warriors

As shown in figure 4.3, senior warriors could also sanction cattle raids. The main role of the warriors was to protect and provide security for the community. The warriors were reported to be responsible for protecting the community against their potential and actual enemies during raids and counter-raids. They also protected the animals during the dry season when they are moving from one area to another looking for pasture and water.

The community used the warriors to raid other communities when necessary therefore, the role of warriors either perpetrated conflicts in the area through raids or provided security when raided. The respondents indicated that the warriors were used in the recent conflicts to either raid or counter-raid the other communities.

They were blamed to have been the major source of the conflicts. The conduct and activities of these groups in discharging their duties and responsibilities were governed and regulated by rules. The council of elders were the custodian of these rules in the community.

According to (Pavitt, 2001), all raids planned whether retaliations or normal 're-stockings' were believed and inculcated into the youth as a way of taking back what was rightfully theirs. They also continuously socialized that having large herds of livestock was seen as a source of a secure livelihood base and a sign of prestige as one grew older.

A very high premium is placed on the ownership of cattle, which is an integral part of the pastoralists' culture. High pressure is therefore placed on pastoral communities as culture demands that a successful member of community is one who has the biggest herd of cattle. (Chemisto, 2010)

From the field notes on FGD 8 on 14/1/2019 the researcher learnt a popular adage among the Pokot says, "*it is better to die in between cows than in bed*", to imply that courage is highly encouraged and a warrior was identifiable by the skills he exhibited in cattle raids . With the interests of the community at heart, senior warriors were perceived to make sound decisions about when and where to raid mainly for the sustenance of the

community as opposed to greed. However, modern day cattle rustling rarely takes into account the needs of the community as will be seen later in the study.

iii. Prophets or Religious Men

The prophets have a 25.4% representation of the key actors in the conducting of cattle raids, according to figure 4.3.

The religious men/prophets played the role of mediators or facilitators to ensure peace among the community members during and after raids.

There is cultural belief in raiding perpetuated by prophets/seers who have an economic and political interest in promoting the very cultural system that places them in a powerful position. Prophets and religious men despite not being the major actors in sanctioning cattle raids in the traditional setting were extremely important.

First, they could forecast using various rituals, including observing from a freshly slaughtered goat's intestines to foresee, the success or failure of a raid (Robbins, 2010).

The seers and religious people blessed the warriors by performing rituals to appease their gods so that their raids could go well.

Their impact as equally significant as what they foresaw in most cases always came to pass. A goat would be slaughtered and its blood smeared on the weapons. The slaughtered goat would be offered as sacrifice to the gods. According to the study findings, by the way, 25.4% of the participants indicated that prophets and religious leaders were also responsible in sanctioning cattle raids.

Prophets were charged with the role of mediating between people and god and hence they could decide when it was appropriate for the warriors to go on a raid. From the FGD 5, the researcher gathered that,

Raids were not successful without the approval of prophets. Warriors needed the blessings of religious men so as to succeed in their endeavours. (FGD in Alale, 5Pokot North on 19/1/2019).

iv. Chiefs or Community Leaders

According to the findings in figure 4.3, a small percentage of the participants indicated that chiefs and leaders shared the responsibility of sanctioning raids. These views accounted for only 1.5% of the responses. However, these observations were valid especially since chiefs and leaders were leadership positions instituted by colonial administrators. Consequently, they were not recognized as credible authority figures in the community especially with regard to indigenous cattle rustling.

4.4.5. Contemporary Cattle Rustling

In this section, findings on contemporary cattle rustling are presented. This is important as it enabled the researcher to document the changes that are noted within the practice. The findings are presented on table 4.7 below.

Table 4.6: Aspects of Evolvment of Cattle Rustling (multiple responses were given)

N=350

Aspect of change or evolvment	Frequency		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Weapons such as spears, arrows and machetes are less used in recent times.	70	30	75	25
Cattle rustling has become more radical and violent today	135	5	92	8
Women are involved than previously	65	75	46.4	53.6
Elders always sanction cattle rustling today	7	133	5	95
Both men and women's roles have changed as compared to previous	124	16	88.6	11.4
Preparation for raids is still observed today.	115	25	82.2	17.9
Chiefs and ritual leaders always sanction cattle rustling today	7	133	5	95

From the table above, critical aspects of evolvment of cattle rustling are presented in comparison from the cattle raiding. Cattle raiding in this case is presented as the ideal type characterized by considerable civility and restraint. It is against this that cattle rustling activities today are measured to determine the extent to which it has deviated from the ideal type. The frequency of cattle raids today is reported to be 50% but another 50% of the respondents do not notice a change in the frequency. Elderly respondents who were youth in the 1950s – 1980s were able to compare the two time periods. Hence their view is that there is no change in frequency over time.

Most respondents (75%) were of the view that most comely used weapons in

contemporary cattle rustling are SALWs unlike traditional weapons which were arrows, spears and machetes. This explains why cattle rustling has become more radical and violent. The use of modern weapons also ensures that there is little resistance hence tasks are accomplished within a very short period of time, sometimes even in a day. Similar findings were reported (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). It was reported that almost every Pokot family living in Kerio Valley has at least one gun which they use for protection and for cattle rustling activities. Therefore, increased use of guns represents a substantive evolvement in the conduct of cattle rustling in Pokot.

A total of 46.4% respondents said that women were more involved in cattle during rustling today than before. This study notes, the fact that SALWs require minimal strength in using, have redefined the role of women. In furtherance, cattle rustling has also become a lucrative commercial activity that has attracted women not only as 'middlemen' and financiers of the activities, but also as viable buyers of stolen stock.

According to 92 % of the respondents, more people are killed during cattle rustling today than before. This was largely blamed on the use of guns by both parties that rustlers now target to shoot anybody on sight. Even those scared and running away are not spared. Again, this is mainly blamed on the use of guns which has made it much easier to maim the participants (whether actively involved or not).

According to elderly respondents who have seen both time periods, there was scarcely deaths occasioned by cattle rustling before. Accordingly, previously the idea of cattle rustling was to scare away the opponent but not to exterminate them. The targeting of

children has also been reported during cattle rustling today. Traditionally, women and female children were abducted as wives of rustlers and socialized into the culture of the dominant community, but today they are killed.

In traditional cattle rustling, the main motive was cattle and cattle alone. Cattle rustling is now intertwined with destruction of the herd owners' property especially burning of houses. The respondents indicated that there is a new form of cattle rustling that has little concern for the people. Whether the cattle rustlers meet resistance or not, a common fact today is that houses are burnt including other household goods. Therefore, contemporary cattle rustling is destructive and is meant to totally dismember households and/or communities. This new dimension reflects a new evolution that is different from the traditional practice.

In summary, the researcher established that significant changes have taken place in the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot. From being a communal practice that ensured the sustenance of the community, cattle rustling today is rather radical and disjointed and also shunned by the wider community because of the negative perceptions associated with it.

According to a focus group discussion, it was agreed that,

‘Nowadays cattle raids are extremely violent. We have lost a lot of our youth especially when schools close to this menace. Young boys are going for raids and are used by unscrupulous persons to go out there and steal. As long as one has a serviceable gun, their only concern are bullets. Honestly, this so called present day cattle rustling is no longer carried out for the sustenance of the community, but for selfish interests of a few people who do not want to work hard but just steal and even kill. (FGD in North Pokot Sub-County on 24/1/2019)

4.4.6 Safeguards and Principles of cattle rustling

A salient and distinct feature of contemporary cattle rustling is that traditional safeguards and principles are rarely applied. Kaprom (2013) notes that cattle rustling today is radical and often leaves several casualties. And because of the use of technology including mobile phones for coordinating attacks and gathering intelligence, modern weapons have also exacerbated the practice. As societies have changed over time, the character of cattle rustling has also changed in order to respond to the new environment in several ways.

The researcher observed that while young people continue to be the main demographic group that actively participates in cattle rustling, they are doing so without the blessings of their elders.

During the interview with Wafula* a Key informant in the study, explained that the young bandits conducting cattle rustling often failed to heed to the advice of the elders a phenomena unseen in the indigenous cattle rustling. Further Wafula* gave an account of a story that recently appeared in the local news where Pokot elders decided to curse the bandits who were responsible for disturbing the peace in the area. However even after the cursing ceremony that was elaborate, a few more destructive raids took place right after that. This disregard of the safeguards that had traditionally being respected shows a decline in the respect for any form of authority in the cattle rustling practice. Principles like the respect and sanctity of life and the taboos therein when it comes to the death of an enemy are no longer respected.

Instead of the traditional methods and prophets that were sanctioned by the community,

present day raiders rely on present-day witchdoctors for the process of *Kutegenezwa* or *Kuchanja* or self-administered potions that are body-marked and placed inside their arms or chests. These are to protect the raiders from enemy bullets (including from Government officers) and render them invisible and also skillful when they go for the raids

4.4.7. Transformation of the Roles of men and women in the Cattle Rustling

This section considers transformation of women and men's roles in cattle rustling. During the study, the researcher explored the changes that have taken place in the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot and how the changes have impacted on the roles of women and men. This is deemed important because cattle rustling has since become extremely destructive. National Council of Churches of Kenya (2009) notes that, cattle raiding is an ancient practice that was carried out by most pastoralists communities in Kenya and it was regularized by gender, culture, traditions and other customs.

In post-colonial Kenya, cattle rustling has transformed from being a traditional means of livestock restocking and/or reclaiming earlier stolen stock, where traditional weapons such as bows, poisoned arrows and spears were used, to a large scale practice where sophisticated weapons and small and light weapons are frequently used.

Scholars have also noted that during raids, it was not a taboo to abduct women and children peacefully. These abductees were later assimilated in the raiding communities. In this respect, the researcher noted that there are factors that have also influenced the transformation of the role of men and women in the cattle rustling practice.

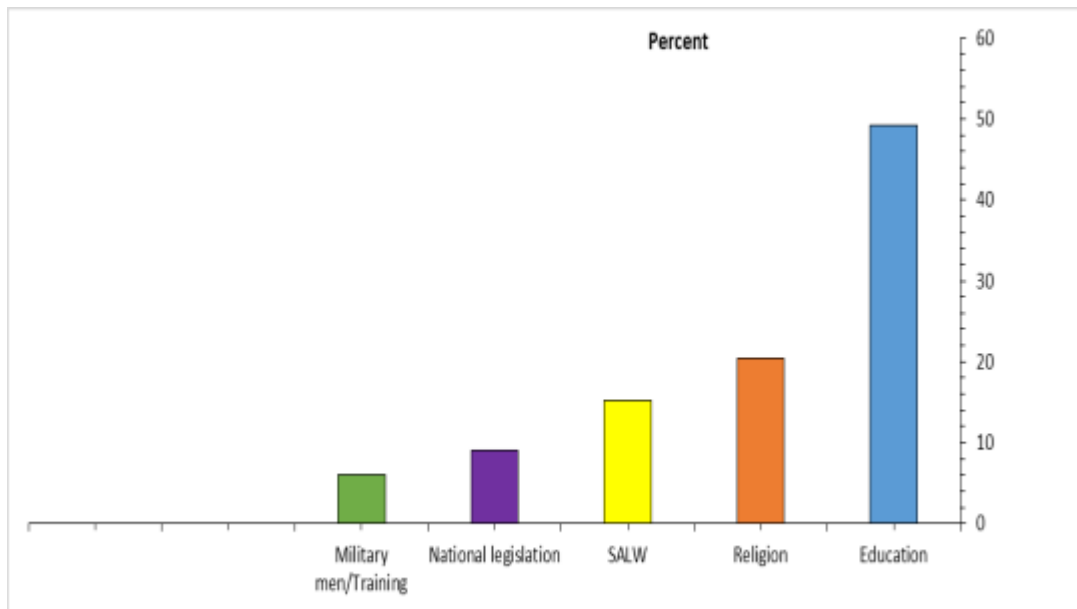


Figure 4.6: Factors that have influenced the transformation

a. Education

Access to education is one of the critical changes in the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot, Kenya. According to figure 4.6, the majority of the respondents at 49% stated that access to education has overtime shaped and influenced the involvement of the youth in the cattle rustling practice. From works of previous scholars; Ono & Uchida (2018) notes that with more children enrolled into schools, there is little time to practice fighting techniques and prepare for cattle raids. Instead, young boys and girls could now seek formal employment and other opportunities once they finish formal education. The provision of free primary education for both genders ensured that access to basic formal learning was enhanced. Gemmelt (1996) noted that for increased economic growth in low and middle income developing countries, the provision of education especially, primary level, was extremely important. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, (2008) report shows an increase in the number of children of both gender aged 6 years and above who

attended formal schooling from less than 5% to 32.3% in drought prone areas including Pokot.

Nevertheless, diminishing herds, modernization and the basic need to explore the outside world has greatly influenced and increased school enrolment. In essence, access to free basic education and introduction of mobile classes that move in tandem with the seasons and migrating families, have greatly increased and encouraged Pokot children to embrace this alternative to the other cultural practices, given the school calendars and the different type of socialization school offers.

The study established the following;

‘Parents are encouraging all their children to go to school because cattle rustling has become a very serious security threat, to both their lives and the fact that livestock has diminished has not helped. With an education, we can rely on our children since unlike livestock that can be stolen and immediately make a family destitute, our children can provide for us in our old age and for their children economically’ (FGD in Kapenguria, 15/1/19)

As noted earlier, majority of the respondents have both basic and tertiary education and therefore will also expose their children to the same if not higher levels. This has greatly transformed some cultural practices like cattle rustling because the time the young boys took out to attend to cultural events coincides with their school going days. It has been noted by Achoka and Maiyo (2012) that the reducing amount of pasture due to persistent droughts, have left the community with scarce resources and livestock. This has led to conflicts with their neighbours and this frequent disruption also lead to schools shutting down and pupils going home. It is however noted that in more than one occasion, armed police officers are stationed in schools in some areas in Pokot and the neighboring areas

to offer security and ensure learning goes uninterrupted, showing the increasing importance of education to the typical Pokot. Education has also ensured that equal opportunity in alternative livelihood opportunities after completion of studies, has made women and girls to be self-reliant and in other cases to be sole breadwinners unlike before when only a man could provide.

b. Religion

Religion has also transformed the gender roles in the cattle rustling practice in West Pokot. According to Mwatwetwe (2017) religion plays a key role in life among the Pokot. Each step of life, from birth to death (or even after death), is marked with some form of religious practice or ritual involving sacrifice, prayers, song and dance, or bowing in holy places. Sacrifice of bulls and other forms of livestock in this events were the highest form of submission to divine beings. Worship in caves, on mountains, at river-banks, under trees, and at other sacred places where divine beings are presumed to inhabit is common (Kasomo, 2010).

Their religious ceremonies are characterized by charismatic singing, dancing, chanting, jumping, and other forms of expressive passion that appease the gods. Men mostly were the religious leaders called *Orkoiyot*. They normally came from a line of a special and specific clan. Mentees and apprentices to the religious men were a coveted and special place especially if a young man was fingered to be an *Orkoiyot's* bag carrier

Women were traditionally designated to be the medicine people or healers. They were called *Chepsakitian* and their roles were identifying the kind of ailments that afflicted an

individual and prescribed the type of herbs or concoction that would be used. According to Mutsotso et al. (2014), this role of women as medicine healers was necessitated increasingly because men mostly were out grazing and raiding their neighbors for cattle.

The indigenous Pokot believed that there was a world above and below. The heavens that were mysterious and unknown were the homes of three gods. These were *Tororot*, *Asis* (*sun*), and *llat*. *Tororot* was the supreme god and listened to his creatures below, *asis* was the witness to all men activities and *llat* was the messenger of the gods to human. There were also ancestral spirits that were looked upon to assist in avoiding drought, diseases, lightening or even at times death (Patterson,1969)

Religion to the Pokot men and women was highly structured. They believed that human beings were to independently ensure that they cultivated peace and prosperity in this world that they inhabit, but they must rely upon divine vitality and knowledge to achieve and maintain these conditions. (Peristiany, 1951).

Chepkwony* an elder in the community informed the research on the various religious practices among the Pokot.

‘The Pokot hold their traditions with high regard. Their relationship with Tororut and Ilat, his representative on earth are extremely valued. The Pokot performed rituals for protection of their animals from disease and calamities such as flood, healing, cleansing and other functions such as bringing back lost animals or even wives. Diviners would read animal intestines to predict the future or determine the will of god in a given situation. In addition, we had taboos designed to keep the members of the community safe, In many cases, a man would lead the community in prayers while men and women participated in recitals, singing and playing of drums.’ (O.I-oral interview, Kapenguria on 18/1/2019)

These findings are an indicator that even before the introduction of western religions the Pokot valued their spirituality. Traditional religious practice ensured that the divide between both gender and their roles and responsibilities during worship was clearly guided and segregated. The introduction of Christianity by the Missionaries and the colonialist influence in Kapenguria, West Pokot, did not receive a lot a resistance. The high number of Pokot people embraced it fully due to the need of education and modernity.

Matthias (2008) state that Christianity has reshaped Pokot cosmology, primarily by reducing the number of deities, while augmenting their attributes. He continues that, in Christianity, the Pokot could minimally enjoy the best of both worlds, be labelled modern and enjoy the trappings of civility with its tenets and still believe in their deities that closely mirrored the Christian Trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and seek the gods of their forefathers before they embarked on the activities of cattle rustling.

The researcher arrived at the conclusion that although a majority of the Pokot have embraced the western religious ways discourses many still maintain their traditions with regard to spirituality.

In recent years, there has been an increase in the practice of various religions including Christianity and Islam in addition to the Pokot religion.

However, as Cheserek, Omondi and Odenyo (2012) observes, the Pokot have not abandoned their traditional beliefs entirely despite the adoption of other religions. According to the figure 4.5, about 20.5% of the respondents stated that religion was one

of the main factors that has brought changes in the roles of genders in the practice of cattle rustling in the region. According to Mwanika (2011), young people who ascribe to Christianity or Islam are not likely to engage in cattle rustling. These findings were affirmed by information gathered during focus group discussions where the participants in consensus explained that:

Many people today are religious. Therefore, they are opposed to negative traditions such as stealing. Women are the ones that go to church first and then influence their husbands. However, the men are quite adamant to leave their traditions behind. A woman must obey her husband even if she is Christian. (O.I in Pokot North,19/1/2019).

These religious practices play an important and central role in the practice of cattle rustling. The introduction of these foreign religions did however structurally change the relationships and transform the gender roles. Christianity for example did teach equality of the sexes before one god. Ideally, being religious caused some disturbance in the communal engagement in cattle rustling. Wives were to be submissive to their husbands and husbands were to be strictly monogamous. This cultural conflict where despite the livestock wealth of an individual, they were restricted to one wife caused an imbalance therefore necessitating the hand-picking of some values in traditional religion and choosing others in the new religion. However, the strictly ethnocentric men and women still upheld and adhered to traditions such as cattle raiding but with different roles brought about by embracing these new religions.

National Legislation

According to Hoffman & Rohde (2007), the invasion of the European set off a series of events that changed the indigenous cattle rustling practice into the menace it is today. The European settlers settled on the fertile highlands of the rift valley, pushing away the Pokot people to the less arable lands (Osamba, 2000). In addition, boundaries were introduced limiting the movement of the nomadic community during times of scarcity. Also, the colonial government introduced other restrictions and impediments in the form of market taxes, quarantine and campaigns that discouraged cattle farming which eventually made the trading of livestock especially across borders non-profitable.

Owing to the socio-economic strain brought forth by the changes, communities such as the Turkana formed armed resistance against the white settlers.

According to Figure 4.5, various government legislations have transformed gender roles and the planning of cattle raids. From the study findings, the researcher observed that (9%) participants associated government intervention with the change in the gender roles thus affecting the planning and execution of cattle raids.

Accordingly, these findings corresponded with Mwanika (2011), argument that government legislation and interference can often be responsible for steering conflict under the Cubism theory of conflict. This is especially true for those steeped deep in traditionalism and who have refused to embrace modernity or live outside the 'system.'

According to a Focus Group Discussion.

‘ Women and children represent a change that has influenced the relationship between men and women in Pokot. For instance, children nowadays cannot even be forced to look after cattle. Government said that they must be in school or we are arrested as parents. We have also stopped circumcising our women or the Chief will arrest us also (FGD in Kacheliba 16/1/19)

c. Training of warriors

From the study, it was established that changes in the training of warriors had caused a major transformation in the way that cattle raids were organized. According to the study results, gender role changes in the way warriors were training in the olden days, transformed the planning. Women are increasingly getting involved in the cattle rustling planning and execution since it now meant that a successful raid means money after disposing of the stolen cattle. Some women act as brokers for the cattle buying traders while majority are girlfriends of the rustlers.

With regard to how the women were resourceful during the raids, preparation, the table below shows the respondents’ feedbacks.

Table 4.7. Resourcefulness of the women during the raids’ preparation

Roles	Responses			
	Men	%	Women	%
Making pre visits	4	2.9%	3	2.14%
Performing rituals to protect the warriors	20	14.2%	10	7.14%
Singing and dancing to motivate the warriors	86	61.42%	17	12.14%

For instance, intensive training outside the constraints of cultural norms meant that rustlers could engage in raids more frequently unlike when it was constrained by norms, practices and traditions.

4.4.8 Gender relations between men and women in cattle rustling

The centrality of cattle to the Pokot is tied to myth and everyday livelihood. As noted earlier, cattle were to be acquired by all means. A cattle raid could traditionally be sanctioned by men- either elders, senior warrior or opinion makers like headmen and chiefs. According to Fedders and Salvadori (1979) offensive warfare was sanctioned and initiated by pastoralist men leaders and warriors. These raids as discussed were purely for reclaiming stolen animals or restocking after a drought period from another community.

The fundamental question was how has the transformation in gender roles changed the cattle rustling practise in the sanctioning of a raid? As noted, women were the pillar of the home and were seen as homemakers. Their work involved taking care of the family.

The important *Sapana* ceremony that all male initiates had to go through by killing a bull to feed elders and friends and to be officially introduced to the whole community as earlier discussed needed sacrifice of livestock.

No man was respected especially if he did not have any livestock and therefore could not marry because no woman could be given away for marriage without the exchange of dowry between the bride and groom's families.

According to Anyango (2017), the various initiation ceremonies and the elders allocating

age-sets, ensured that these bonds by the initiates and young men were for posterity. In most cases, the young men instigated and sanctioned cattle raids themselves against their neighbours even without the knowledge of the elders as was the norm. According to *Mutsotso* (2014), a woman must be given a cow (*chesarur*) by her husband before they had sex for the first time.

Sexual intercourse was serious business, and to some instances this subtle sanctioning of a raid by a woman who wanted to be married could push a man to do anything to marry and sire with her.

These enabled women have a share in the privilege by association to their husbands

One of the defining trend that the cattle rustling practise and the Pokot way of gender relations is the idea that women are subservient to men and subordinate to them. This might be true. But they have also developed tools for their association with men. In the female circumcision ceremony, the girls are taught of things including the manipulation of men. The young girls thus change to women. They therefore play a productive role and have different functions in the cattle rustling practise. To note, girls have their own ceremony similar to the *Sapana* called the *chepopunyon* or girl's battles.

The modern economic dispensation and modernization has forced transformation in the roles of both genders in the cattle rustling process. According to *Karanja* (2003), the demand for meat in the big cities has increased the brutality and viciousness of cattle raids. The trade has become extremely profitable since there is a permanent supply resulting from a reduction in cases of rustling.

This leads to a cycle where there is always push and pull factors in the livestock business. This creates an underground market that is legitimized by the high profits got despite the risks.

It has thus being established that the changing gender roles have also had tremendous effect in the cattle rustling practice both gradually and culturally. Infact the social cubism theory relooks at the inner struggle in their individual roles. The historical aspect of the relationship between men and women is being challenged as the male patriarchal status comes under 'attack'. Roles that have being socially accepted as male in the cattle rustling practice are being taken in a forced coup by women and gradually getting reception from the society. This push and pull is threatening the stability and social fabric of the Pokot people.

4.5. Effects of Gender Relations on Cattle Rustling

The study's second objective was to assess the effects of gender relations on cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot, Kenya. To explain the effects of changes in cattle rustling on gender relations, the study examined various subthemes among them; the gender roles and raids, role of women, involvement of unmarried young men and women; Knowledge and responsibility over various stages of cattle rustling and how the practice of paying bride wealth is related to cattle raids. and women in the community.

The Harvard analytical framework was also used and implied in the various subthemes as will be noted. This is because the activity each gender undertook and how it affected the cattle rustling practice and the time allocated for each and the resources employed

was investigated

4.5.1. Gender roles and cattle rustling

This section considers gender roles and cattle rustling to interrogate the roles and responsibilities men and women in the practice. Focusing on the gender roles in indigenous and contemporary cattle rustling reveals the progression of the practice over time and how in consequence these changes influence gender relations. Using the Harvard activity profile, data on the actual roles of women and men in cattle rustling were collected. Data from the study reveals that the responsibility of sanctioning, managing and utilizing proceeds of a raids varied significantly by gender both in the past and today as in Figure 4.6.

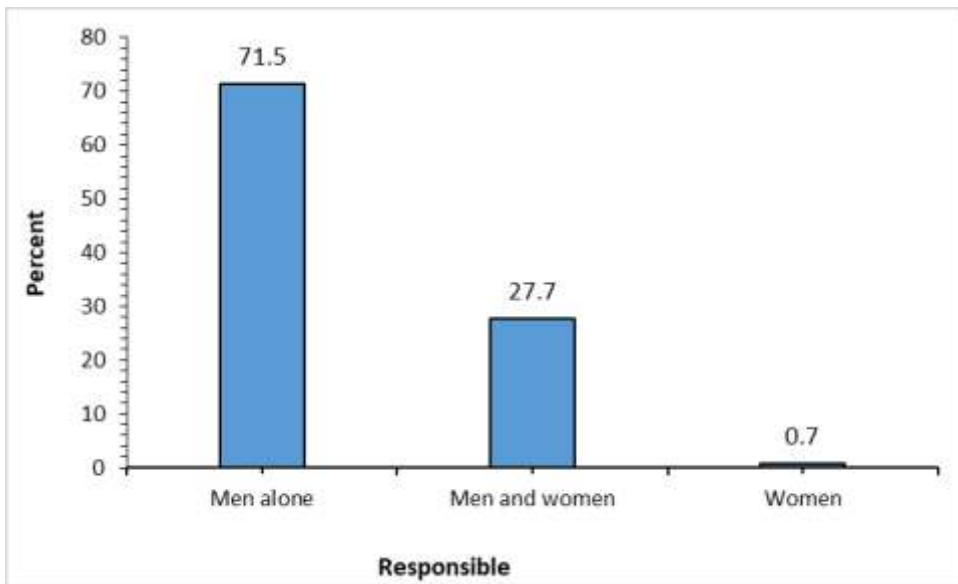


Figure 4.7 Gender Roles and Cattle rustling

a. Men Alone

According to the study findings, majority of the men and women (71.5%) indicated that men were solely responsible for planning, executing and managing livestock acquired from raids. Among the Pokot a man is the head of the family and hence, entitled to the ownership or control of wealth in the family.

Langat -: Men are respected and termed as heads of the families (Questionnaire)*

As a result, the man makes decisions regarding the wellbeing of the family a role that is transferred to the firstborn son when the man of the family dies and this meant leading during battles especially raids by cattle rustlers.

The study established that men were responsible for the design and making of weapons, developing raid strategies, and carrying out raids. men and women in the study also explained that since cows are an important currency and a sign of wealth and power in the region, livestock was very important to men. For instance, among the Pokot a man was to accumulate cattle to use as bride price (*kandin*) before marrying. In view of this, *Kachapin ** explained -: “Men and women *with many livestock are honored and respected*”

Jack*:- “They (men) make decisions concerning cattle”

Lucy*:- affirmed that, “men use livestock for dowry payment” (Questionnaire Responses)

The differentiation of roles of men and women when juxtaposed in the Harvard tool, shows a clear and distinct set of responsibilities that were socially accepted.

b. Men and Women

From the study findings, 27.7% of the men and women stated that men and women were jointly responsible for the management, control and use of proceeds of a raid. While the opinion that cattle rustling was a joint mission between men and women was not very popular opinion, the study found relevant grounds to support the notion. The findings indicated a certain degree of progressive thinking regarding the role that each member of the society plays.

For instance, while women do not necessarily engage in active cattle rustling a significant number of the men and women acknowledged and accepted the practice of cattle rustling, and women would encourage the men to take part mainly through influence (Mose and Nyambura, 2018).

On the other hand, a girl who had undergone circumcision was considered ready for betrothal by a potential husband with the capacity to pay bride price. Consequently, men would go to raids in order to acquire livestock so as to afford the bride price or they would risk being seen as outcasts or subjects to taboos and superstitions according to the traditions of the Pokot.

According to Disney, (2008), the Pokot traditions enforce a well-respected hierarchy in a family where the man was the head and his wife or wives were accorded authority and respect in chronological order. The first wife had the highest authority among the wives

which helped maintain order. Consequently, both men and women benefited from the proceeds of cattle raids by right of being associated their husband.

The proceeds of a cattle raid would be used as a source of food and wealth for the family which comprised of the man, his wives and children. However, individualism rather than communal ownership of land and wealth in the modern day West Pokot means that there is a high likelihood that a woman will demand equal rights and control over family wealth as provided in the customary law of the Kenyan constitution (Aldihaib, 2013). As the practice of cattle rustling changes, the implications on gender relations with respect to control and ownership of cattle are inevitable.

c. Women

Many of the men and women were of the opinion that women were not responsible for the planning, management and use of cattle obtained from raids. According to the study findings, only 0.7% of the men and women (Negligible) indicated that women were responsible in executing and managing the proceeds of a cattle raid. These findings correspond to the discussion by Lando & Kochoma, (2016) where he observes that traditionally, women were protected and not involved in the practice of cattle raids. For instance, the men and women in the FGDs unanimously agreed that women and children were not hurt during a raid. Ideally, women involvement in cattle raids was limited in the traditional Pokot culture.

During a cattle raid, women and children hide. It is the men that go out to fight and chase away raiders. Young Morans also protect the community at night when there are rumours that a raid is imminent. (FGD Pokot North on 19/1/2019)

4.5.2. Active Roles of Women in Cattle Rustling

The study noted, by a small percentage, that women traditionally played a role in the sanctioning of a raid. The various roles played by women were further probed by interrogating a select FGD 7 that involved women only.

According to Cheserek ,(2007) women are also identified to initiate or escalate cattle raiding both directly and indirectly. This they did through actions like celebrating successful rustlers with song while using mockery against those who did not participate in raids. Women instigated raids. The women regarded highly men with huge herds of cattle, while those without are seen as cowards.

Elder Kamket* informed the study that,

Our women wear this *Loketio* as an honour to us. It can be both a blessing and a curse. One's mother is very important. For a successful raid, our women, mothers should sanction it by tightening the *Logetio*. This will ensure that a son or father will come back alive. When it is unfastened and removed, the *Loketio*; like the womb opens in child birth; it is believed she exposes her sons to the elements which include curses or even death. It is a good charm if a son can wear the beads and cowries from her *Loketio*, for his own safety and protection. Therefore, a raid becomes successful. Women support a raid if they wear it. (Kapenguria- Makutano ,KII on 18/1/2019)

Pokot men abandoned planned raid on the Marakwet community and further invasion was prevented. (Branch, 2011). The study sought to establish the various ways through which women were actively involved in modern day cattle rustling.

The study established that women active involvement in cattle rustlings was through activities such as praising warriors, honoring brave warriors, supplying food and water; acting as spies, hiding raiders, nursing wounded warriors and going to raids.

These roles are illustrated in figure 4.8

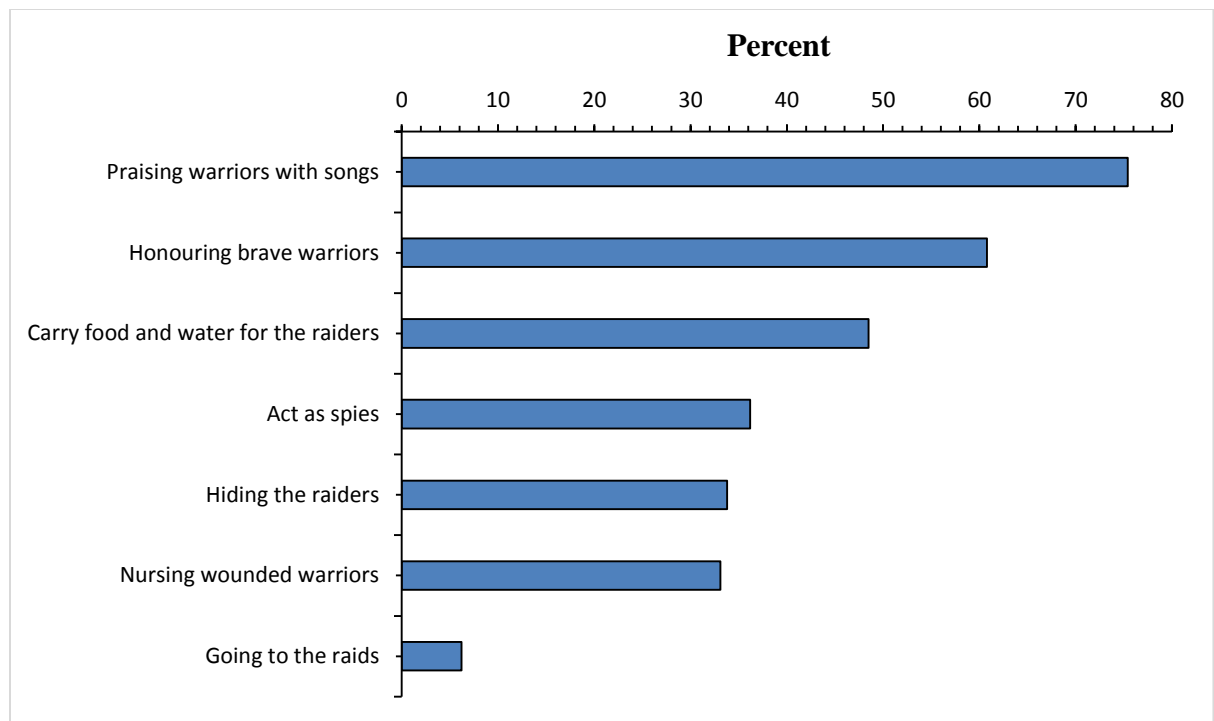


Figure 4.8 Active role of Women in Cattle Rustling (*Multiple responses were required)

a. Praising and honoring Warriors

Praising and honoring warriors was the most popular role played by Pokot women in relation to cattle rustling. The study gathered that women used songs to encourage and congratulate men while going and returning from a raid. These findings are coherent with the observations made by Lando & Kochomay,(2016), who acknowledges that songs among the Pokot were powerful instruments for influencing behavior.

According to the author, songs were capable of bringing conflict or peace. Accordingly, songs of peace would bring forth peace while those that spoke of conflict would steer hatred or war. The women always had songs for each occasion when raids are conducted. These songs were taught to the young girls by the elderly women.

The following is one of praise songs sung by women alongside young men, inciting them to undertake a cattle rustling event.

Pokot Translation	English
<i>1-Leli pi Lokorio Lonapa a</i>	<i>1-People are saying Lokorio Lonapa</i>
<i>2-Kamunyaita Chemalima</i>	<i>2-Of Kammunyaita Chemalima</i>
<i>3-Nyo nyokiyaat lalwa na nya</i>	<i>3-Who opened that river from the enemy</i>
<i>4-Oh Kamina</i>	<i>4-Oh Kamina</i>
<i>5-Itepa Cherekut a Kamina</i>	<i>5-Ask the white mouthed beast</i>
<i>6-Nyo kirya Lokotoro a kipel ko</i>	<i>6-Who went to Lokotoro and burned a house</i>
<i>7-Lokotepa wero Tulyany</i>	<i>7-Lokotepa the son of Tulyany</i>
<i>8-Irwenye ngo oyu nya Kabelo?</i>	<i>8-You are sleeping up to when, Mr Kabelo?</i>
<i>9-Kipitei susweku koro Chepleng! Marakwet land!</i>	<i>9-Your grass has already grown in</i>

(Extracted in June 2015 from Audio Recording of Pokot Praise Songs by Paul Kipchumba) .

This is a typical example of a song prompted by Pokot women in *adong'o* and joined by the young men in unison. It incites the Pokot cattle rustlers into planning for a raid against the Marakwet. Therefore, praise songs by Pokot women contribute a lot towards cattle rustling

a. Supplying food and Water to Raiders

According to the study findings, a significant number of the men and women 48.5% stated that supplying food and water to raiders was the second most critical role that women played in process of cattle rustling.

This helped a lot using the raids as the men would come back to find food and water. Sometimes they would be provided with the essential products out in the fields during raids.

The women facilitated the actions of the warriors by ensuring that they had supplies.

Elder Mangat* an elder in the Pokot community reported that,

Women and children did not go out to raid. They supported cattle rustling by taking part in complementary roles such as giving them food and water. Warriors would be met with milk on return after a successful raid. (Sigor, KII on 18/1/2019).

b. Acting as Spies

Young women also actively served as spies informing warriors about the plans and strategies of other communities. Information about the preparedness of the neighbouring communities was essential in ensuring that the warriors were not caught off guard. Women travelling to fetch water would watch out for approaching raiders from higher grounds. While it was not a designated role for women to spy on other communities, they had an obligation to relay any information on potential threats if they came across any.

Besides, Pokot women married outside the community would warn their tribesmen or women of a forthcoming raid especially when they met in the forest while gathering firewood or at the water pans. The information would be passed on to an eligible confidant such as an elderly woman who would then pass the message to the elders. The elders would then make decisions on how to defend the community or attack the aggressors. In a KII an elderly lady Lucy, reported:

Women have a lot of information. I always knew when my husband was preparing to go on a raid. Sometimes I would overhear men discussing their strategies. I understood the proverbs, saying and metaphors they used when discussing matters of war. (Key informant interview in Kasei on 15/1/2019.

These findings affirm the discussion by Mose and Nyambura, (2018), who purports that women served as valuable informants for the warriors. Precisely, this meant that women, although not actively involved were keen to gather intelligence on the raids.

c. Hidings and Nursing Wounded Warriors

According to the study findings, women played an active role in hiding and nursing wounded warriors. As illustrated in Figure 4.8 above, a third of the men and women 33.8% and 33.1% stated that women were actively engaged in hiding warriors from law enforcement agents and nursing wounded warriors respectively. A key informant in the study reported:

Women alert their husbands to go and hide when there is an operation. They take food to the hiding places. (Chesegon, 26/01/2019)

Moreover, a key informant in the study reported that, women still serve as informant for their husbands and sons whenever there is a disarmament operation. Jared*, a KII

reported:

Women and children transport guns from Kenya to Uganda when there is a mop-up or operation. They will also talk to the police and inform their husbands if there are signs of danger. Often they can be heard saying, let me leave I feel like there will be trouble here today. (Key informant interview in Kibichbich on 17/1/2019).

Through the various key informant interviews, the study gathered that women also helped the men transport guns. These findings are coherent with Ali, (2011), observation that women are accomplices in the propagation of the cattle rustling in northern Kenya. In addition, the study observed that women and children in the community did not speak to strangers making them good confidants for the men or warriors. Therefore, the relations between men and women were instrument to the progression of the cattle rustling.

d. Going to Raids

Women's active involvement in raiding cattle was the least popular among the roles of women in the practice with only 6.4% of the participant partisan to the view. These study findings were affirmed by Adeniyi (2015), who reports that in various pastoralist communities such as the Amazon women were allowed to go on raiding sprees if they had the necessary skills and training. Nevertheless, women's roles in cattle rustling were important and critical to the progression of the practice. The study gathered from the focus group discussion that;

Women and children were left out of the indigenous cattle rustling. However, in contemporary cattle rustling wealthy women are the masterminds and financiers under the guise of businesswomen, of rogue warriors (FGD Kogelai on 19/1/2019).

4.5.3. Roles of Young Unmarried Men and Women

To further explore the impact of cattle rustling on gender relations, the study examined the traditional roles of young unmarried men and women in the Pokot community. In this respect, the study examined a number of subthemes including performing rituals to protect warriors, making a pre-visit or spying, making weapons and singing and dancing to motivate warriors.

As in figure 4.4.4 below, young unmarried men and women had different roles in the practice of cattle rustling. Women took precedence in certain roles while man had a bigger responsibility in others. Evidently, there were some roles that involved men alone while in other stages both men and women had a part to play.

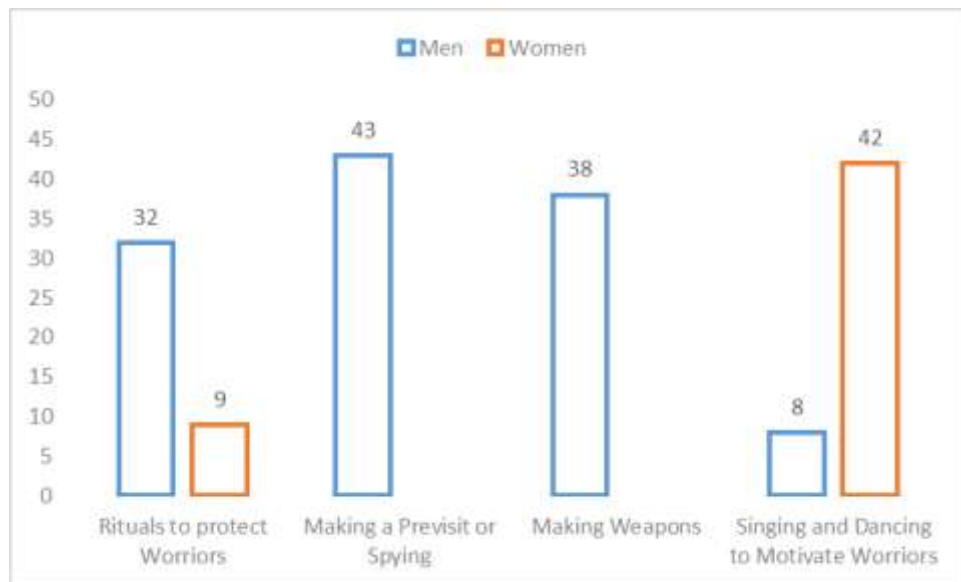


Figure 4.9 Roles of Men and Women in Different Raid Stages

a. Performing Rituals to Protect Warriors

From the study results, a majority (32) 22.9% of the men and women were of the opinion that men assumed a greater responsibility than women in performing rituals to protect warriors. On the other hand, only 6.4% of women were involved in performing ritual to protect warriors. These findings collaborate the observations by Lando and Kochomay, (2016), that elders and spiritual leaders such as healers and seers conducted rituals, before and after the raids. Since men were historically viewed as God's ordained leaders, they took up major roles in spiritual and community leadership (Lando and Kochomay, 2016). On rare occasion a woman would qualify to be a spiritual leader by right of birth or gifts within her family lineage.

These findings were collaborated by insights gathered during the FGDs in Kibichbich. In consensus, the men and women explained:

“Unmarried men and women do not perform rituals. Those are special roles and can only be performed by an elder woman or man (*wilkoyong or laibon-pokot*) especially one who is past the child bearing age. A young spiritual leader has to learn for many years before performing a ritual such as cleansing of warriors.” (FGD in Kibichbich on 17/1/2019).

Chief, Kivoi* a KII reported:

A spiritual leader had to observe certain precautions such as secrecy. Seers and prophets who blessed the warriors before they would leave for battle kept the secrets about planning and strategies of a cattle raid to their graves. Such a responsibility cannot be left to a young person. So, it takes many years for one to become a spiritual leader and to be able to perform rituals. (Kapenguria- key informant interview on 18/1/2019).

According to Lando and Kochomay ,(2016), the Pokot sought the protection and blessings of God before conducting a raid which implies that the practice was seen as sacred or acceptable within the spiritual guidelines of the Pokot.

b. Making a Pre-visit or Spying

The study recorded that men were mainly responsible for making pre-visits and spying on neighbouring communities before a raid. Results from the questionnaires indicated that 43 (30.7%) of the men and women were of the opinion that young unmarried men were charged with the role of conducting pre-visits and spying. According to Greiner (2013), the treatment of young unmarried men and women varied within the community.

While women were protected from harm young men were expected to protect their community even before circumcision. This explains the fact that none of the men and women associated the role of spying and conducting pre- visits to unmarried young women in the community. However, the study gathered from the FGD that older women spied and passed secrets to their clans.

“A woman married off to the Turkana or Marakwet shares secrets with her clan about the plans and strategies. This helps her clan or community to prepare before a raid. However, young girls cannot travel long distances to go spy on the Turkana or Marakwet.” (FGD in Pokot North on 19/1/2019)

These findings agree with the arguments put across by Gitagno ,(2015) when stated that while women do not actively take part in cattle rustling, they often suffer the aftermath of the practice. For instance, in the recent years, women and children mainly fall victim of the practice with many having to pay the price with their life.

c. Making Weapons

The study established that the role of making weapons was solely a man’s duty in the traditional Pokot culture. A majority of the men and women 38 (27.1%) stated that young

unmarried men in the traditional Pokot culture made most of the weapons used during cattle rustling. These findings are in line with K H RC, (2010), conclusion that while women are involved, it is the men who conducted or rather executed the raids.

Consequently, they developed craft and experience on the practice which included the development of weaponry. Gerald, a KII reported that,

“Young boys learnt the art of making arrows and bows from a young age. They would use them as play toys while grazing. Those that had special skills would graduate into making sophisticated weapons such as spears and swords”. (KII in Kibichich on 17/1/2019).

Evidence from the focus group discussion indicated the life of a girl before marriage was steered in a different direction. The men and women agreed that:

“A young girl was prepared for marriage since birth. The mothers taught their daughters the various roles of a woman such as taking care of children and the husband.” (FGD in Pokot North on 19/1/2019).

Nyabokey* a KII also supported the position. He reported that:

“The Pokot did not value women. They force them into marriage where a group of young men kidnapped a girl and took her to her husband’s homestead without her consent. If a lady sees cattle being brought to her home she knows it is not good and that her consent or denial thereof will not matter.” (Key informant interview at Kapenguria on 15/1/2019).

In essence, making weapons was not aligned with a girl’s destiny as a wife. Consequently, the girls were not allowed access to skills that were deemed manly. In later years as Kvara ,(2011) observed the same justification was used to bar girls from attending school. Although many girls in Pokot attend school today, practices such as

circumcision and early marriages still prevail in remote areas.

The findings in this section, underline the gender roles in cattle rustling which were determined using the Tool one of the Harvard analytical framework. As shown above, women and girls as well as men and boys are engaged in different activities all of which are instrumental in the execution of raids. The findings above indicate that the involvement of individuals in cattle rustling is determined by gender and age. Thus, while warriors (young men) are involved in executing the raids, other men and women who do not fall into the category of warriors also played significant roles. The study, therefore established that men; classified as warriors, elders and community leaders play more visible roles in cattle rustling. These include: warriors protected and provided for the community security during raids; elders gave blessings to warriors when going to raid while the leaders performed ritual ceremonies before and after raiding. The study, also established that women and girls too play roles that cannot be ignored including: spying, supplying food for the warriors, singing and praising the warriors and elder women participated in ritual ceremonies together with the elderly men. In our view therefore, the activity profile as presented in the Harvard analytical framework outlined in detail the involvement of all members of the Pokot community in cattle rustling. Hence while men's roles are more visible, those played by women are not as obvious, yet all actors (women and men) are instrumental for successful cattle raids.

4.6 Effects of the gender transformation in cattle rustling on the Security management in West Pokot.

The third objective of the study examined whether security management implications, costs, gains and solutions took into account the impact of gender and hence assess their effectiveness in resolving the problem of cattle rustling. This was considered important due to the apparent involvement of women and girls as well as men and boys in cattle rustling. Hence, the study considered employing a gender perspective in approaches employed by security personnel aimed at responding to cattle rustling. In order to address the research question, the study interrogated a number of subthemes including, seasonal variability of cattle raids, effects of cattle rustling, mostly on personal and communal security, beneficiaries of cattle rustling, possession and accessibility of weapons and the implications of cattle rustling on economic development. These subthemes are discussed at length in the sections that follow.

4.6.1 Seasons Associated with Heightened cases of Cattle Raids

The study endeavored to find out whether there were certain seasons during which cattle rustling activities increased significantly. According to the study findings, dry seasons and during political campaigns, the number of cattle raids increased significantly.

According to the study findings shortage of water and grass (59.4%), cultural ceremonies (57%), and movement of pastoralists (36.7%) ranked high among the causes of heightened cases of cattle rustling as indicated in Figure 4.10. below. Question 24 of the questionnaire give the responses tabulated in the figure below. This helps highlight the

peak seasons when rustling was rampant.

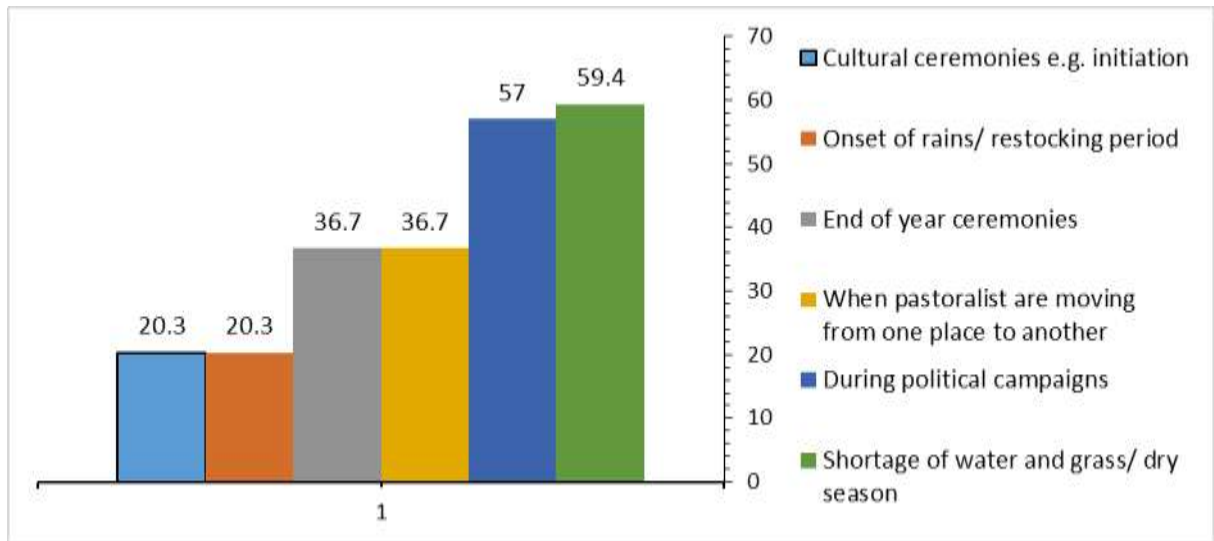


Figure 4.10. Seasons associated with heightened cases of cattle rustling

a. Cultural Ceremonies

The study established that cattle rustling incidents surged during cultural ceremonies such as initiation period.

According to the study findings 20.3% of the men and women stated that there were more cases of cattle rustling following cultural ceremonies such as initiation. From the FGDs, the study established that young boys would raid cattle as their first act into manhood.

“After initiation, young boys are taken to the forest where they are trained and hardened in preparation for their duties as men. Life changes for them. After initiation, young boys cannot enter the kitchen even if some are as young as 8 years. Circumcised boys are also ready to prove their ability to be warriors and eventually marry. They do so by acquiring their first herd of cattle.” (FGD Kapenguria 15.01.2019)

Accordingly, circumcision ceremony prepared young boys for manhood. It was believed that young men were more energetic and had the fighting skills that offered security in the community at large during attacks.

William*, a KII reported that:

“Police officers are always on alert and on standby after a traditional initiation ceremony during the months of August and November. During this period, the incidents of cattle rustling rise drastically” (O.I 27/1/2019).

The views of the KII mentioned above, show that security personnel are aware of the connection between initiation rites and cattle rustling. Being alert and on standby implies they are in a position to respond to such incidents if and when they happen. Further interrogation indicated that the strategies employed by the security personnel are reactive rather than proactive. In line with the Harvard Analytical framework’s activity profile, it noted that roles of initiates at the end of the seclusion period is a pointer to who are involved in incidents of cattle raids and what the influencing factors are. However, more often than not, security personnel operations to flush out cattle rustlers are generalized. Consequently, the whole community suffer when such operations often leading to confrontations that result in loss of lives of security personnel and Pokot community members. In this regard, studies note for example that the massacre of over forty police officers may have been carried out by very young boys most of whom could be overlooked as children. The study notes that most of these could be overlooked by the security personnel due to their seemingly tender age. These findings are supported by Kimani (2019) who argued that cattle rustling has being infiltrated by young criminals,

most of them school-going in East Africa due to light modern weapons and this consequently has led to multiple deaths of security forces. No wonder, cattle rustling incidences drastically go up during the school holidays (ibis)

Young girls called *chemeri*, aged from ten years underwent female genital mutilation (FGM). According to Kaplom, Egesah and Balidawa (2015) the young girls were initiated into womanhood that prepared them for marriage. This called for any prospective suitor must part with more cattle as dowry to the parents. Therefore, every young unmarried man would ensure he enlists his age-sets men to assist in getting livestock to ensure he marries such an initiated woman. In regard to their involvement in cattle rustling, this study noted in section (4.5.2) that women and girls are involved in singing songs in praise of gallant warriors as they make their way back to the community upon successful execution of a raid. This means women and girls are well aware and are participants of cattle rustling who have information that would be useful to security personnel. Studies have however shown that cattle rustling is considered a man's affair. Hence, planning and execution of responses to incidents of livestock theft are targeted at men. As noted earlier in section (4.5.2), however, women and girls act as spies for their communities and also hide and transport firearms. The study therefore, underlines that initiatives to respond to cattle rustling that target men only are inadequate as they have loopholes due to the stereotypical and generalized approaches employed by security personnel in response to cattle rustling which associate these raids with men leaving out women and girls. In line with this, Kimaiyo (2016) indicated that in the recent times women are very active in cattle rustling. Therefore, measures put in place to curb

cattle rustling should include both men and women.

b. Onset of the Rainy Season

The study noted that raiders took advantage of distractions such as rains that drew men and women into their houses leaving the community walls and boundaries unmanned. From the study, it was found out that incidents of cattle rustling would increase with the onset of the rainy season a period during which the Pokot restocked the livestock they had lost during the dry season. The men and women noted warriors would take advantage of times when the neighboring communities had let their guard down and attack. For instance, during heavy rains many men and women stay indoors which means that raiders can invade without facing much confrontation. From the focus group discussions, the study gathered that:

“During the dry season the warring communities could agree to share the paddocks. But once the rainy season commences men and women want to go back because there is grass in their respective areas.” (O.I 26/1/2019)

The findings above underline the importance of considering climatic/ seasonal drivers to cattle rustling. Thus, the onset of rains triggers the urge for restocking herds among the Pokot. By use of the Harvard framework tool three, the onset of rains is considered an influencing factor for cattle rustling by the Pokot. The study notes that such knowledge is pertinent for security sector response to cattle rustling.

c. End of year Ceremony

The study also observed that there was an increase in cattle rustling incidents during the,

the end of year ceremonies. According to the study findings, 36.7% of the men and women were of the opinion that end of year celebrations were associated with an increased number of cattle raids. These findings were affirmed by Kaimba, Njehia & Guliye ,(2011), who argues that end of year celebrations result in a heightened crime rates. Sindani*,a KII reported that :

“Towards the end of year celebrations, young men engage in cattle rustling to get money for the festivities. They use the proceeds to purchase alcoholic drinks and celebrate the holidays” O.I Kapenguria, 15/1/19)

The views shared by the KI imply that the desire by young men to have disposable monies during the end of year festivities. It is also clear, who would be behind the end of year raids and why. The study, therefore, underlines that this is a major transformation in cattle rustling. It implies that it is not only climatic seasons that influence execution of raids but also the religio-social seasons such as Christian Christmas celebrations that are associated with heightened festivities and the resultant demands. Consequently, the high demand for meat during festivities means that cattle fetch good prices in markets and the desire by male youth to have money with which they can purchase alcohol and other luxuries, implies that young men will often be willing to raid communities to steal livestock.

The economic Aspect of Social Cubism as illustrated by Byrne & Carter, (1996) that economic disparity exacerbates tension among people, communities, and societies and even nations. Therefore the lack of money and the wherewithal to enable that segment of the Pokot society to enjoy the privileges that come with money, is a common trigger to

cattle theft and rustling.

According to Kimaiyo (2016) a large stock of livestock was a measure of economic wellbeing of a community or individual. Therefore, majority of Pokot male carried out more raids to have good status and respect in the community especially during these special ceremonies.

d. When Pastoralists are Relocating

Further a significant number of the men and women 36.7% indicated that the relocating warriors would raid cattle during movement. These findings were affirmed in the FGDS where men and women noted that:

“Pastoralists leaving the grazing areas after the dry season leave in haste. Especially the Turkana take livestock belonging to other men and women and move them north. Such actions trigger retaliations . (O.I. Alale 21/1/19)

Kaprom (2013) affirmed these findings when he argues that the problem of cattle rustling is persistent since aggrieved communities tend to retaliate previous attacks.

e. During Political campaigns

A majority of the men and women 57% established that the incidents of cattle rustling were significantly high during the elections. These findings were collaborated by observation by Greiner (2013) who asserts that politicians are responsible for instigating cattle raids and conflicts in west Pokot, Kenya.

Kiriindiit*, a KII reported:

Politicians give the Pokot guns in exchange for favorable prospects during the elections period. Also, warriors ask political leaders to bring cartons of ammunitions if they want to be elected into political positions. Such actions by politicians have led to the proliferation of cattle rustling in west Pokot and the neighboring communities.” (Kapengūria- on 15/1/2019)

According to Greiner (2013), political influence was considered a key contributor to the chaos in West Pokot with regard to the problem of cattle rustling. Politicians tend to polarize marginalized communities by turning them against each other with the aim of gaining an upper hand during elections. In addition, ensuring the communities remain poor and dependent on handouts is an effective strategy for winning elections. Kaprom, (2013), therefore, explains that politicians who give handouts in the form of money and ammunitions are often favored by residents during the voting period.

The study notes that multiple factors such as the role of politicians, the involvement of businessmen supplying meat to towns and cities as well as unemployment, especially among the youth, are some of the elements that have modified the traditional ‘face’ of cattle rustling. Politicians have in the past been adversely mentioned as playing an active role in instigating cattle rustling and conflicts in Kenya through ‘funding of the raids and verbally igniting the youth to engage in conflict during political rallies (Kimani, 2019). This finding is in line with the cubism theory, Byrne & Carter, (1996) which states that political landscape in any given society affects the way people and societies see each other. Therefore, most pastoral communities have a defined structure with a council of elders and decisions have to be filtered meticulously. Others have an anointed chieftain and their approach to conflict and its resolution are different entirely.

4.6.2. Effects of Cattle Rustling on Economic Development and Communal Security

The study made an inquiry on the implication of cattle rustling affected economic development and personal or communal security in the region. The study observed that the fear of living and working in the affected areas is one of the implications of cattle rustling that hurt the region the most. The study also investigated other subthemes among them the loss of lives, loss of cattle, inaccessibility of social and educational amenities, economic stagnation, destruction of property and displacement of men and women from their homes as demonstrated on Figure 4.11.

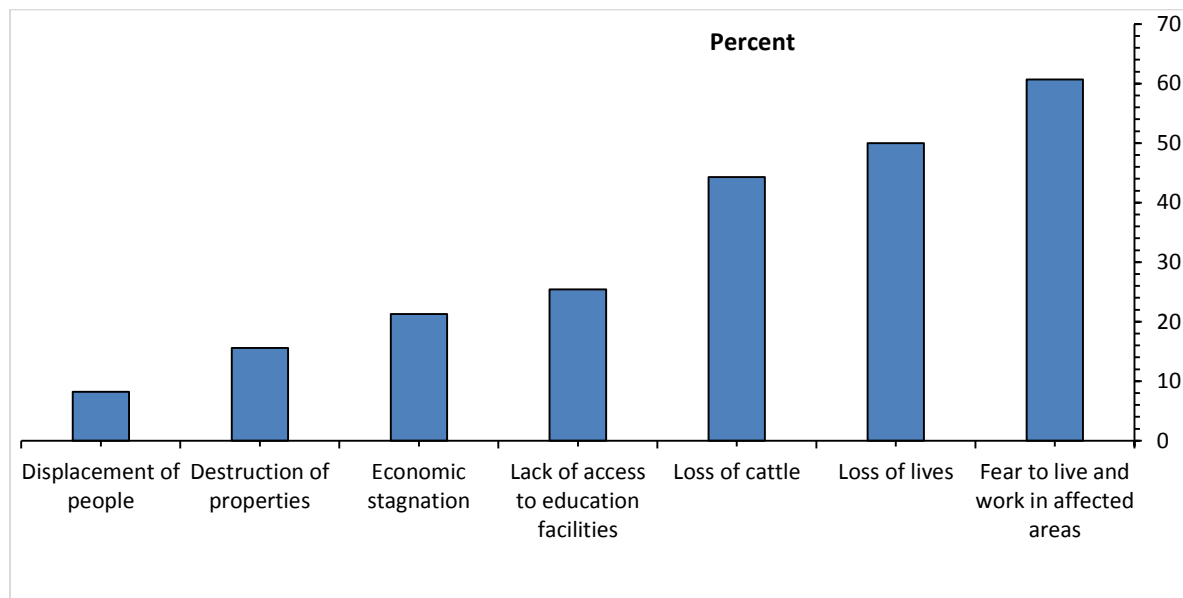


Figure 4.11 Effects of cattle rustling on communal security

The figure 4.11 highlights the major effects that rustling had had on the economic status and the levels of security among the West Pokot. Key among these is fear to live and work in affected areas at 60.7%; loss of lives at 50% and loss of cattle at 44.3%. other effects mentioned are lack of access to education facilities, economic stagnation,

destruction of properties and displacement of people. These are further explained in the sections that follow.

a. Fear of Living and Working in affected Areas

According to the study results shown on figure 4.11, fear of living and working in affected areas was identified by a majority of the men and women as the most detrimental effect of cattle rustling to the socio-economic wellbeing of the region and security. Personnel deployed in cattle rustling prone areas therefore, hardly reside in the area. Majority will stay in the main town and only visit their places of work when it is peaceful because they fear for their lives.

The study observed that contemporary cattle rustlers use lethal weapons and attack any person who stands in their way including law enforcement agents working in the region. While the Pokot rarely attack or raid their own, it is not the cases when it comes to other communities and business men and women who are seen as intruders by extremist warriors (Kaprom, 2013). The study sought to determine whether there were cases of shootings anywhere in public including at bars and at the drinking dens. In this regard, it was revealed that shootings happened but they were rare since men and women detested the sight of a dead body. Guns were also not exposed especially in public and urban centers and towns. In view to this, Lamngate*, KII noted:

“Both men and women seldom commit crimes against each other because of strong taboos. In the drinking dens, men and women shoot others but rarely, since a majority of them are superstitious about dead bodies. It is believed that anyone who touches a dead body must be cleansed. That is why in the olden days, a dead body would be discarded and left to be eaten by animals. The community has however changed since in the modern day, dead bodies are moved and buried on the same day (O.I in Pokot North,19/1/2019).

Further information from the FGDs revealed that young men herding cattle were worried about their security especially when accessing resources such as water and grazing land outside the community. The men and women were of the view that:

“Sometimes the Turkana or Marakwet warriors restrict access to water source especially during the dry season. Also, they might attack and take away the cattle. According to Pokot culture, a herder would rather die than let them have attackers take the livestock. That is why herders carry a gun loaded with at least one bullet which they can use in case there is an attack” (FGD in Pokot North on 19/1/2019).

b. Loss of lives and Displacement of men and women

Loss of lives was also identified as a significant implication associated with cattle rustling. A majority 50% of men and women stated that modern day cattle rustling is the main cause of death in the region. Consequently, women and children are forced to run away from their homes every time their raiders come to steal cattle.

Through the key informant interview, the study established that possession of firearms has become a significant security threat that has cost most residents their lives. In view of this, Mangat*, a KII reported :

“We lose more men and women to cattle rustling than to malaria, HIV and other disease. Many of the men and women we have buried in the past year were killed in a cattle rustling incident. In the past, cattle rustling was not very bad because they never killed women and children. Today, they rape, kills and kidnap our women and children.” (Kapenguria- key informant interview on 18/1/2019)

These findings were affirmed by an article by KHRC, (2010), which recorded that cattle rustling in West Pokot was no longer a cultural activity but a menace to security and development in the area. The study observed that the warriors carried guns and shot at law enforcement agencies sent to protect the residents to avoid arrest.

Further, Lando and Kochomay ,(2016) establishes that cattle rustling is seen as a major security threat. According to the author, recent cattle rustling incidents leave many dead and others injured which explains why residents of West Pokot perceive cattle rustling as a rather significant threat. It also worth noting that such deaths and injuries have also been reported among the security personnel. The study therefore notes, that cattle rustling threatens not only the lives of local communities from which animals are stolen but also the different security arms who have lost personnel. The findings are in line with those of Cheserek (2012) who notes that cattle rustling is not only a threat local to communities that suffer regular attacks but also to state institutions such as the security sector.

c. Lack of Access to Educational Facilities

According to the study findings 25% men and women stated that children could not access educational facilities owing to the effects of cattle rustling. Further, the information was affirmed in the FGDs where men and women stated that children missed school when raiders attacked the area.

“When raiders attack, children cannot go to school. I am a teacher in Kasei location where students can miss school for prolonged period because they fear for their lives. Sometimes, we will hear rumours about an impending attack and have to send the children home for safety reasons. Since attacks can go on for several months, this interferes with learning. The attackers hide in forests such as Embobut Forest and send spies to keep track of the security agents.”(O.I in Pokot North,19/1/2019).

These findings were affirmed by Ono & Uchida (2018), who established that it is difficult to find teachers willing to continue working in the area especially after witnessing an attack.

Fredrick*, a chief reported that:

“Many schools have less than five teachers. Some have only two and there are no classrooms or offices for the teachers. (O.I in Pokot North,19/1/2019).

Accordingly, cattle rustling interferes and limits access to education for a majority of children in the area. This is because any impending raids or actual raids are associated with deaths, destruction of property, abductions and sexual violence against women among other vices. These scare individuals as well as communal security hence interfere with the living conditions. The long-term implication is that the children grow up without knowledge and employable skills which predisposes them to poverty (Lauriste, 2014)

As a result, they tend to opt for criminal endeavors such as cattle rustling to cater for their needs.

d. Loss of Cattle and Economic Stagnation

The study examined the implication of cattle rustling on loss of cattle and as a cause of economic stagnation. The study observed that 44% of the research participants identified loss of cattle as a major economic implication of cattle rustling on the community, while 21% of men and women cited that the practice causes economic stagnation in the area. Given that cattle rearing is an important economic activity in the area, cattle rustling was deemed as detrimental to the economic growth in the area since it pushed away investors and business men and women. Besides, when families lose their cattle, they are bound to face significant economic implications. The families can no longer afford basic needs such as health and food since cattle products are a major source of food. In addition, the Pokot often sell or trade livestock to access such amenities as would be required in the family.

Wafula*, a KII reported:

Cattle are the main economic resource. When a family loses a herd of cattle, children cannot go to school or get medical care. Livestock also provides food. (*O.I* in Sigor, 27/1/2019)

Under the cubism theory, economic disparity between groups was shown to introduce polarity hence forming the basis for conflict (Byrne & Carter, (1996)). As result, cattle rustling can be shown to contribute significantly to economic difficulties in the region and hence the main cause of the conflict that burdens West Pokot County. As social cubism theory states that economic differences among ethnic groups have immense effects on political stability and security of any given society. Therefore, a country in

which economic institutions advocate for ethnic inclusion in all areas of its economy discourages ethnic discontentment. A large stock of livestock was a measure of economic wellbeing of a community or individual. Loss of livestock through drought, natural attrition or theft and raid could precipitate conflict and worsen it.

Consequently, the region has seen significantly low development as compared to other regions in the country. As Cheserek, Omondi and Odenyo (,2012), observes, insecurity also pushes away tourists hence, denying the locals the opportunity to benefit from the physical and ethnic heritage of the area.

Among other effects of cattle rustling discussed further is the destruction of property. The study findings indicate that 15.6% of the men and women identified destruction of property as a major effect of cattle rustling according to Figure 4.11. Destruction of property cost business men and women their resources discouraging others from investing in the affected regions. Consequently, the locals are deprived of opportunities to earn a living which further steers the conflict according the cubism theory of conflict (McKay, 2001).

4.6.3. Beneficiaries of Cattle Rustling

The study also sought to establish whether members of the community benefited from cattle rustling in contemporary society. In this respect, the men and women were asked to indicate whether they had benefited from cattle rustling by acquisition of stolen cows or payment of dowry.

According to the research findings, a majority 85.7% of the men and women indicated

that they had never benefited from the proceeds of a cattle raid. Only 10.7% of the men and women reported to have reaped the benefits of cattle rustling as indicated in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8 Beneficiaries of Cattle rustling

Have you ever benefited from cattle rustling	Count		Percentage
	Men	Women	
Yes	6	9	10.7%
No	56	64	85.7%
Unobserved	3	2	3.6
Total	65	75	100

Cheserek, Omondi and Odenyo (2012) argued that, cattle rustling had over the years ceased to be a communal practice that benefited all residents and became a fortune for a few beneficiaries. His findings confirm the observations made during the study. This implied that in the contemporary cattle rustling, only a small proportion of the population benefitted from the proceeds of the raids.

A majority, especially women and children are victims of the consequences of the practice where many are injured or killed. Skoggard and Adem, (2010) notes that, children have been left orphans following the murder of their parents in cattle raids that were very rare in the traditional practice of cattle rustling.

In summary, the third objective sought to establish the impact of gender transformation in

cattle rustling on security management. It is noted that although women and men participate in the practice, security personnel approach the vice using strategies that are oblivious of gender perspectives in cattle rustling which often leads to security lapses that result in loss of lives especially of security personnel. According to the study findings, women were involved in various stages of cattle rustling, hence they are not just victims but actors involved in hiding and transporting firearms, financing raids and encourage male raiders through song and dance. The fact that security sector employs strategies that are gender blind means that guns are transported and hidden even when operations against cattle rustling are on. As discussed by Omolo, (2010), the study established that warriors sought opportunities during which the communities are vulnerable and then launch their raids. Mainly, raids increase when men and women of Pokot are distracted by ceremonies or national events such as political campaigns. During such times, raids can be executed successfully without much resistance. Unfortunately, recent trends in the region are worrying especially owing to the use of fire arms and other sophisticated weapons as discussed by Mkutu, (2006). Cattle rustling poses a major security threat in the region which further affects economic development in West Pokot County as well increased death cases.

According to Social Cubism Theory as illustrated by Byrne & Carter, (1996), it was possible to identify challenges experienced in West Pokot County where cattle rustling has become more radical and violent costing people's lives and destruction of property. The study therefore, notes that interventions employed by security personnel are gender blind and therefore, inadequate in responding to contemporary cattle rustling in West

Pokot county.

4.7 Strategic Solutions to Cattle Rustling from a Gender Perspective

The fourth objective of the study was to evaluate strategic solutions to the problem of cattle rustling while taking into account the function of gender within a society. In fulfilling the objective, the study focused on three subthemes namely; awareness of government measures against cattle rustling; perspectives on the fairness of government approach to cattle rustling and, long-term solution for eradicating cattle rustling. These subthemes are discussed as in the following sections.

4.7.1. Awareness of Government Measures Against Cattle Rustling

The first subtheme that the study examined the men and women's awareness of government measures that have been put in place to curtail cattle rustling in West Pokot, Kenya. According to the study findings, a majority of the men and women 61.4% stated that they were aware of government measures to curb cattle rustling in the region. The findings on this variable on awareness of what the government was doing enough in creating awareness yielded the Table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9 Awareness of Government Measures against Cattle Rustling

Awareness of Government Measures against Cattle Rustling	Count				Percentage
	Men	%	Women	%	
Yes	53	62	32	38	61.4%
No	40	78	11	22	35.6%
Unobserved	2	50	2	50	13%

According to Scheffran, Akuno, Schilling and Weinzierl (2012), the government of Kenya has instituted various measures to help stop the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot and other regions in the country. This means that the residents of West Pokot have had contact with government agents and operations targeting cattle rustling. 61.4% of the men and women held that they knew that the Government had placed various measures to arrest cattle rustlers and rehabilitate others.

4.7.2 Strategies employed by government to root out cattle rustling

Further the study wanted to find out how the residents perceived government measures introduced to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot, Kenya. The study analyzed various government measures against cattle with the aim of crediting or discrediting the claims of government's unfairness. Data collected for this study brought out the strategies government is employing root out cattle rustling among the West Pokot. These include; provision of education facilities, creating public awareness, holding peace meeting, deploying armed police, development of infrastructure, arresting and jailing of raiders

and setting up police camps as illustrated on Figure 4.12 below.

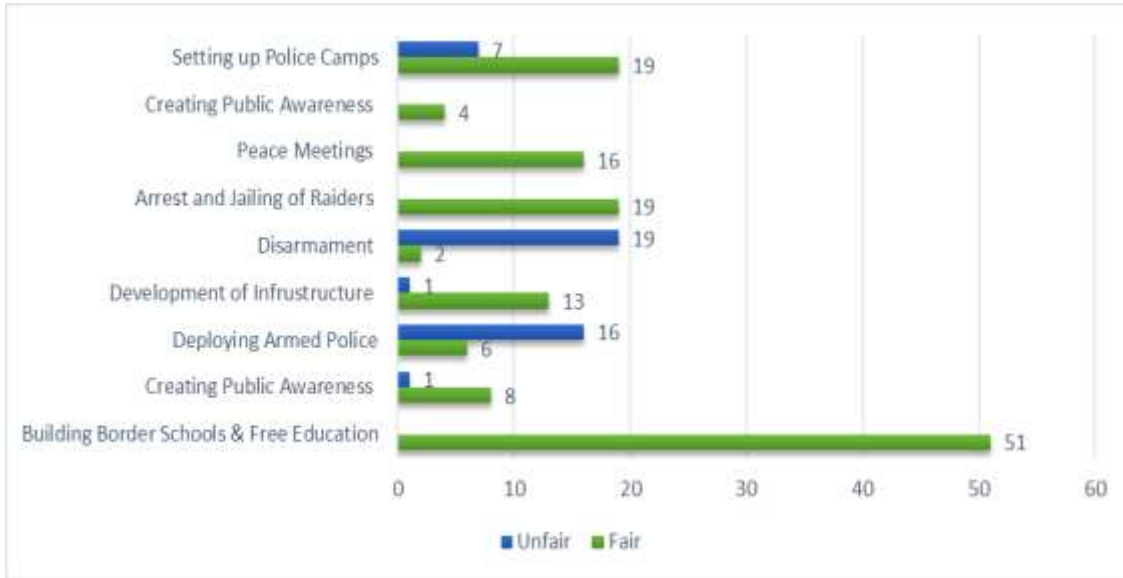


Figure 4.12 Perspectives on the fairness of government Approach to Cattle Rustling

a. Building Border schools & Free Education

From the study findings, the study observed that a majority of the men and women 51 (46.4%) believed that building border schools and free education was a fair government intervention towards the resolution of the cattle rustling problem. It was a plea by the community that education be promoted to curb the involvement of the school going group from actively getting involved in the raids.

It was further noted that governments' investment on education through the provision of scholarships for bright students from disadvantaged families would help curb cattle rustling.

The observation was further affirmed in an FGD:

“Education opportunities through border schools would bring a lasting solution. When children from different communities learn together, they learn that they are more similar than different. It will be harder for such men and women to be polarized through political agendas. Also, building more institutions is important since some student study under trees and schools have one or two teachers. These children can also as adults appreciate and marry girls from other tribes and shun some retrogressive practices. Job opportunities after formal education should also be fairly distributed and there should be no tribalism” (FGD Kacheliba on 22/1/2019).

According to Kennedy ,(2008), empowering the community through education reinforces the government’s position as a contributor and not an intruder in the community. In addition, young men and women who have acquired education through the help of the government could serve as ambassadors against retrogressive practices such as cattle rustling. Additionally, young people who have acquired an education have a chance of embracing alternative livelihood strategies. Hence they would have no need of engaging in cattle rustling as is the case for male youth who embrace cattle rustling as a livelihood strategy. In regard to the value of education, studies show that instilling knowledge in the community would expose them to the downsides of cattle rustling. Tansel and Gungor (2012), for instance, cite education as one of the long-term solutions to the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot and the North Rift. Education as a strategy should however be broadened to include the older community members too. As such, using churches as avenues for providing adult education was also identified as an approach that can be used to enlighten women on ways of generating and accumulating wealth and reduce their chances of being accomplices in cattle raiding ventures.

b. Creating Public Awareness

Creating public awareness was also identified as a fair measure towards resolving the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot, Kenya. Accordingly, these findings were backed by observations by Lando and Kochomay, (2016) who recognizes creating public awareness and mass education as critical strategies for resolving the problem of cattle rustling.

The study had observed that, the government had initiated programs and partnerships with NGOs that informed the community on dangers of cattle rustling ,its effects on different populations and the men and women were adapting to new sources of livelihood such as farming, fishing and other income generating activities.

c. Deploying armed Police and Disarmament

The study sought to find out how the residents of West Pokot perceived disarmament and deployment of armed police in the region. According to the study results, majority of men and women who answered the question 16 (11.4%) stated that both disarmament operations and deployment of armed police officers were unfair approaches.

These findings were affirmed by the information obtained through key informant interviews during which Ben*, a law enforcement agent in the area reported that,

“Cases of murder go unreported since both men and women view the law enforcement agents as enemies. In the 1990s, the government beat them a lot and many still recall the hideous experience. Older residents show wounds sustained during the operations.” (O.I, Kapenguria on 18/1/2019).

In reference to disarmament, Michael* a KII in the study reported that:

“Disarmament could work if the residents did not feel victimized. Since the communities are not involved in choosing strategies, it feels like bad things are happening to them and they cannot help but ask why me. Also community leaders and local politicians are not always on board. Some will say, let me arm my people, the government does not care anyway.” (O.I, Kapenguria on 18/1/2019).

Therefore, it was evident that the local communities in West Pokot view the government as an enemy. Their moves to obtain the firearms from the Pokot residents have borne few fruits but it has caused a lot of damage. Many of the residents still recall incidents during which government agents beat them ruthlessly particularly in the 1990s. This study therefore, notes that disarmament could be an effective solution particularly if it is executed fairly and in a way that ensures respect to human life. As such, disarmament could work if the right strategies are put in place to ensure proper execution. Observably, contemporary approaches to disarmament by security personnel are considered unfair.

As such, the government has lost its legitimacy to the people a factor that as discussed under the Cubism theory of conflict makes any efforts made to restore peace in the region futile (Olaniyan and Yahaya, 2016).

According to Byrne & Carter, (1996), Social Cubism Theory was predominately used in analysing territorial conflicts. Therefore, through social cubism theory, the study was able to identify certain challenges experienced in West Pokot County where violence has erupted and in the assessing the appropriateness of the government interventions initiated to curb cattle rusting.

Based on the study findings, government measures may be considered an attempt to interfere with the operations of the community for the benefit of the government. Progress in resolving the problem of cattle rustling may require fostering of a better relationship between the law enforcement agents and the locals. For instance, actively engaging local leaders and allowing them to assume leadership in the operations since they are trusted by their fellow tribe's men. The study participants further explained that by deployment of large number of police officers who they could see transported to affected areas, the Government was serious about the cattle rustling issue. The majority of the men and women, stated that the government had established police posts in the area. This was one of the main strategies put in place. The study participants however, noted that the lack of Government presence and the fact that security officials are few and spaced out also exacerbated the cattle rustling menace.

According to Kimani, (2019), in neighboring Uganda, their Uganda People's Defence Forces has a greater presence along the common border than the Kenya Defence Forces, which has only one camp at Kacheliba, with limited border patrols. The general conclusion was that ungoverned spaces have the potential to provide 'ideal' grounds for organized crimes such as cattle rustling. The absence of or poor infrastructure, notably roads and telecommunication, tend to compromise effective border control severely, especially in situations of hot pursuit, where security agents need to cross borders or exchange information with their counterparts across the border.

These strategies that have not worked before like demilitarization and disarmament should be looked into from a different perspective. They have been employed from the late 70s, 80s up until now with the same cyclic tendencies and no concrete proof of success after the exercise. That use of force and violence is not well received by the West Pokot community as they generally perceive it as aggression against their way of life.

Taboos are prohibitions that are placed on speech and behavior and other activities based on the sacredness or repulsiveness of some components. Taboos have always regulated human relations and interactions and their engagements with the environment.

Chigidi (2009) breaks down taboos by saying that in their form, the avoidance rule is made up of some two distinct parts. The first one is a kind of prohibition, -thou shall not do this, while the second one comprises of a statement expresses the consequences of going against the interdiction. In the indigenous Pokot community, women were engendered and disallowed from carrying weapons that were to be used for cattle raids or rustling activities. In fact such weapons were kept in a special room that was only accessible to the men.

This secluded place could only be visited by the men of the household and was out of bounds to all womenfolk.

The Harvard analytical tool showed that the roles allocated to women in the indigenous cattle rustling practice were limited greatly when it came to handling weapons of war. They could not even carry a weapon let alone touch it. According to Lamachar* a KII

A warrior preparing himself for a raid also sexually isolated himself from his wives for at least a week. These warriors would go to an unknown place and plan the raids and would only return to their homes after the raids. These places were only accessible to men only and women were not permitted to even point at it. It is noteworthy that a Pokot man could also not cook or engage with his wife when they were menstruating since the menstrual taboos disallowed that. A menstruating woman would isolate herself for a few days and if in need could not touch utensils to be used by the man of the house. She would opt to use a stick to forward a cup if need be. (O.I Alale, 23/1/2019)

The forgoing shows an elaborate system that was established in the whole cattle rustling practice and the different roles each gender was allocated.

However, contemporary cattle rustling with the introduction of guns and other weapons have changed the scenario greatly. Small children as young as five years or as soon as they can handle a firearm are meticulously taught how to strip, arm and fire a rifle. Indeed there are no discrimination for any gender that is to be exposed to usage of guns. Both male and female children and youth are exposed to firearms.

According to Lamachar* a KII

The community must be protected by all both male and female and when the male folk go raiding, the women must fill in their shoes in case of retaliatory attacks. Transporting of weapons is easily and ably done by women who carry the stripped parts of AK47s and other weapons because they cannot be easily suspected. Bullets are carried in jerricans that pass off as water or *uji* (fermented porridge) containers transported by women. (O.I. 24/1/19)

This has generally destabilized the security apparatus because, despite armed police officers and military personnel patrolling these areas, weapons and other munitions still get smuggled in. the question therefore is who smuggles these weapons. Women are

known to trade with their neighbors and weapons are also traded.

As a matter of policy, the Kenya National Police Service does not post female police officers in zones that can be defined as operations or forward areas. These active zones are the preserve of the Rapid Deployment Units, Border Patrol Response Units, the Military and the Anti-Stock Theft Unit, of course coordinated by the respective National Government Administrative officer.

This researcher observed that there were no lady officers posted in these areas as active operations personnel. In fact the only few National Government Security lady officers that were working in West Pokot according to my observation were in Kapenguria and Makutano Town. There is no two thirds gender rule practiced in the posting of officers in West Pokot in general. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, envisaged a situation where appointments and consequent filling of offices both state and public would respect the two thirds gender rule and the face of Kenya. But the situation in West Pokot is different.

Thus the composition of the respective Security Committees right from the Rift Valley Region Security and Intelligence Committees up-to the West Pokot County Security and intelligence committee and the subsequent Sub-Counties Security Committees are over 95% male dominated with others not having a single woman.

Therefore, the apex bodies making security decisions end up taking strategies that are more male dominated and forceful because the contribution of women is absent

The Kenya Criminal Procedure Code (CAP 75) on Section 27 on the Mode of Searching Women directs that; 'Whenever it is necessary to cause a woman to be searched, the

search shall be made by another woman with strict regard to decency', so what happens in West Pokot an area that has negligible number of security personnel to carry out searches on suspected female gun-runners, smugglers and transporters?

This issue of one gender dominating the security decision making organs and the executing or operations arm in West Pokot especially on the existential threat of cattle rustling should be addressed

Deliberate efforts to include both genders at almost proportional levels should be looked into as their softer approach to most issues is welcomed in almost all spheres of life.

d. Development of Infrastructure

Further, 13% men and women who responded to the question indicated that development of infrastructure was a fair strategy towards the resolution of the cattle rustling problem in West Pokot. According to Kaprom ,(2013), poor economic development and lack of social amenities triggers conflict as people attempt to fight over limited resources.

The Kenyan side of the border in West Pokot, there is poor or non-existent investment in infrastructure. The poor state of roads and the limited access to water and telecommunications remain major impediments to combating cattle rustling and contribute to general insecurity in that remote and expansive region, with its difficult terrain and harsh climatic conditions.

In contrast, infrastructure on the Ugandan side of the common border was visibly more advanced. (Kimani,2019).

Development of infrastructure in West Pokot will help promote economic development hence providing a wide range of opportunities to the residents. With more alternatives to cattle rearing and farming, many young men and women can productively utilize their time instead of engaging in criminal activities such as cattle rustling. This has been echoed by the responses to the question number 27 of the questionnaire.

e. Arrest and Jailing of Raiders

The men and women noted that arresting and jailing cattle rustlers was a fair intervention towards curbing cattle rustling in West Pokot. Today, the practice is seen as an act of taking another's property or possession forcefully and without their consent. As such, offenders should be publicly arrested and prosecuted by law.

Further, since the practice does not benefit men and women of Pokot it is only fair that cattle rustlers are arrested to allow peace-loving citizens to live in harmony. (FGD Kibichbich, Pokot South on 20/1/2019).

According to Hope (2019), cattle rustling is considered a crime according to the Kenya Criminal Penal Code.

Those arrested should not hide under the cultural guise. The judicial process should be well broadcast in a medium that is well understood to all parties and the general community and the proceedings made available

f. Peace Meetings

Men and women to the question determined that peace meeting were a fair intervention towards solving the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot. According to the study

findings, 16 (11.4%) men and women stated that holding peace meeting was a fair strategy for resolving the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot. The research findings correspond to the observations made by Lizzie, (2013), identifying peace talks as a critical strategy for engaging warring communities towards ending conflict.

However most peace meetings are also male -dominated and specific elders double up in many of them. The women voices are hushed given the patriarchal system of the Pokot. A more subtle approach and combination of these meetings should be insisted on. The composition should reflect the diversity of the West Pokot County and its gender distribution.

In summary, the study sought to establish the long-term solutions that would resolve the problem of cattle rustling. As noted, study participants suggested building of border schools, further disarmament initiatives, development of infrastructure, settling land disputes, intermarriages, diversified job opportunities, eradication of corruption and well, luring warriors to surrender their weapons through negotiations and providing alternative business ventures to avoid delinquency.

In addition, educating women was cited as a long- term strategy in addressing the problem of cattle rustling in the areas. As noted earlier, women have great influence on the roles of men in cattle rustling. While they encourage them, they also help the men by hiding weapons and sharing intelligence about law enforcement.

Based on the findings presented earlier in this chapter, study notes that to achieve success, the government should look at the problem through the lens of gender relations

as it is the interplay of gender and dynamics of cattle rustling that has kept the practice alive. In addition, rather than depend on top -down approaches, the participants were of the view that there is a need to actively engage local leaders and allow them to assume an active leadership in disarmament operations since they are trusted by their fellow community members. There are also influential local leaders who can lead the men and women from communities prone to cattle rustling in peace talks to facilitate cohesive coexistence. Peter*, a KII in the study reported that:

“Government to directly engage the community through its local and county networks and look for a sector to teach peace.” (O.I, Kapenguria on 18/1/2019).

In all these, the study underlines the need to involve women, youth and men as this could be helpful in curbing the problem. As noted earlier, women have a great deal of information regarding what happens in the regions and could form important allies to government agents in the process of restoring peaceful coexistence between the Pokot of West Pokot, Baringo and Uganda and ending cattle rustling. This is because the strategies identified in this section, underline a top-down approach to ending cattle rustling. In addition, the focus is men who are associated with ownership and use of SALWs. These approaches hardly employ gender perspectives, yet as shown in an earlier section (4.5) in this thesis, women play significant roles in cattle rustling. Thus, they are not just victims but active participants and beneficiaries of cattle rustling practice. In view of these Kimaiyo (2016) mentions that women and girls play visible and pivotal roles in cattle rustling.

As demonstrated earlier in section (4.5) in this thesis, gender power relations play a critical role in understanding the dynamics in cattle rustling. The strategies that are employed to address the vice in West Pokot County are in our view gender blind. Measures that do not pay attention to gender related issues and social dynamics, however, are ineffective as these do not address core Pokot peoples' beliefs and practices which in our view sustain the practice. In view of this studies have underlined the need to consider how close marital and filial relations play out within cattle rustling practice. Odary et al. (2020) mention that the impact of the role played by mothers in blessing and cleansing their sons before and after raids, the songs sung by girls in praise of warriors as the return to their community after successful raids cannot be underestimated.

Development of infrastructure although slow was also identified as an important measure towards resolving the problem of cattle rustling and facilitating economic progress in the region. The Kenyan side of the border in West Pokot County, has poor or non-existent investment in infrastructure. The poor state of roads and the limited access to water and telecommunications remain major impediments to combating cattle rustling hence high insecurity rate in the region. In contrast, infrastructure on the Ugandan side of the common border is visibly more advanced.(Kimani,2019).Therefore, improving the infrastructure in West Pokot County would promote economic development and create a wide range of opportunities to the residents. With more alternatives to cattle rearing and farming, many young men and women can productively utilize their time instead of engaging in criminal activities such as cattle rustling.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study based on the study objectives. In addition, it gives suggestions on the area of future research. The study sought to investigate and understand gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implication on security management in the county of West Pokot, Kenya.

5.2. Summary of findings

This research sought to investigate and understand gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implication on security management. The research objectives were; first, to explain gender transformation in cattle rustling among the Pokot community, second ,to assess the effects of gender transformation in cattle rustling on security management in West Pokot County, third, to determine the effects of gender relations on cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot County and finally , to evaluate from a gender perspective the strategies put in place to curb cattle rustling in West Pokot County.

This study employed a descriptive research design, this describe the phenomenon associated or characteristic of a subject population. This approach sought to collect data without manipulating the research variables or the men and women an attempt to assess the effects of gender transformation in cattle rustling and its implication on security management in West Pokot County. Among other findings, cattle rustling has negatively

impacted gender transformation and security management in this region. The sections below present a discussion of the findings according to the objectives.

5.2.1. Transformation of Cattle Rustling

Transformation in the region has seen what was once a cultural activity with structured rules and taboos for the young men and women to demonstrate their courage and wit, has now become a murderous criminal endeavor. The community no longer benefits from cattle rustling, but only a few who are driven by greed to reap where they never sowed. Illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, community conflicts, possession of fire arms and insecurity were identified as the main causes of cattle rustling.

Access to formal education has seen many in the school going age among the West Pokot get exposed to literacy which has seen the community gradually record a positive transformation with regard to its cattle rustling.

5.2.2. Effects of Gender Relations on Cattle Rustling

It has been observed that there are changes affecting cattle rustling mostly on gender relations among the Pokot. Evidence from the study indicated that women although highly undervalued in the community had a significant role to play in steering the practice of cattle rustling. In addition to praising warriors through song and dance, women hide warriors from law enforcement agents and also help them transport weapons whenever there is an ongoing security operation. Besides, women would also supply refreshments and food to the warriors.

For instance, women would gather information about their in-laws and act as informants to their own clans. Equally, the finding revealed that young warriors raid the neighboring communities to acquire cattle in order to pay dowry as demonstrated by Karneback, Wairore, Jirstrom and Nyberg ,(2015). Notably, gender relations have changed over time. While cows are still used in the payment of dowry, negotiations now can sometimes be made monetary.

5.2. Effects of transformation in Cattle Rustling on security management

The study evaluated the hypothesis that security implications, costs and solutions do not take into account the impact of gender and hence are ineffective. According to the study findings, women were involved in various stages of cattle rustling.

As discussed by Omolo, (2010), the study established that warriors sought opportunities during which the communities are vulnerable and then launch their raids. Mainly, raids increase when men and women of Pokot are distracted by ceremonies or national events such as political campaigns. During such times, raids can be executed successfully without much resistance. Unfortunately, recent trends in the region are worrying especially owing to the use of fire arms and other sophisticated weapons as discussed by Mkutu, (2006).

Cattle rustling poses a major security threat in the region which further affects economic development in West Pokot. Poor infrastructure has also made it harder for men and women to access essential social amenities such as schools and hospitals. Insecurity scares off investors reduces the growth opportunities and subjecting the men and women

to abject poverty. Porous border region between Kenya and Uganda allows the movement of weapons which inhibits disarmament operations by law enforcement agencies.

5.2.4 Solutions to Cattle Rustling from a Gender Perspective

Given the influence of gender transformation on the cattle rustling, the study deemed it necessary the measures put in place to curb the problem of cattle rustling to include the gender perspective. Different from the tenets of the cubism theory, religion in West Pokot despite being as strong influence is not an agent of polarization among the different groups.

From the study, the concept of ethno-centrism as discussed by Berger ,(2003) became apparent particularly with regard to how the people viewed government intervention through disarmament initiatives and security probes in the area. According to most of them, promotions of communal security may be difficult to achieve when there is no trust between the law enforcement agencies and the people.

Building the bridges between law enforcement and the communities may establish good grounds for tackling the problem of cattle rustling. In addition, the study established that engaging women in the fight against cattle rustling may facilitate the attainment of greater progress. Some of the proposed interventions included provision of adult education to both men and women through churches and elders.

Women especially will serve as great informants as they are the confidants of the warriors who propagate raids in the region. Additionally, building of infrastructure will promote economic growth hence providing alternate sources of livelihood and hence

ensuring peaceful coexistence.

5.3. Conclusion

The following conclusions were made according to the research objectives as illustrated below:

5.3.1 Transformation of Cattle Rustling

According to objective one, the study concluded that significant changes have taken place in the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot. From being a communal practice that ensured the sustenance of the community, cattle rustling today is rather radical and disjointed and also shunned by the wider community because of the negative perceptions associated with it.

The study established that there has been transformation in gender roles associated with the involvement, use of weapons, training and planning of cattle rustling events from the indigenous to contemporary forms of cattle raids among the Pokot. Education, religion and government legislation were seen as the main factors that have transformed the gender roles and the cattle rustling to what it is today.

5.3.2 Effects of Gender Relations on Cattle Rustling

The second objective of the study ,concludes that cattle rustling influenced the relationships between men and women in the community on several fronts. Many changes in cattle rustling have had effects on gender relations among the Pokot. Both men and women have had a role to play in the transformation. Men engaged in roles such

as planning, making weapons and carrying out raids. On the other hand, women participate mainly by influence where they encouraged the men to pursue the practice and also served complementary roles such as spying. Elderly post-menopausal women, with children who have married, similarly with men, could participate in performing of rituals to protect warriors. The gender interface directly affect the practice of cattle rustling because each one has a defined role and a change in one affects the outcome and relations in the practice.

5.3.3 Effects of transformation in Cattle Rustling on security management

The study noted that increase in cattle rustling activities was associated with high levels of insecurity. Livestock is the main economic resource in the region and its loss has significant implications on the wellbeing of families in the region.

However, influences from different avenues such as education to young men and women, political influence and use of lethal weapons such as guns have transformed the dynamics gender and involvement of both men and women in cattle rustling in the region. What was once a self- sustaining culture has been decorated as a crime, hence making it a major security threat to the residents and visitors to the region.

Incorporation of the gender perspective in future initiatives will significantly improve the security outcomes in the region. As discussed the composition of the Security and Peace Committees should be deliberately skewed to reflect the contribution and participation of both gender. Posting of more women security officers to those regions and including more local women in the peace committees is critical. Their roles, however, should be

well defined and their contribution noted and actioned. Hard tactics should be relooked into as they have barely worked.

As such, the study concluded the current study will go a long way in informing future policies addressing the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot.

5.3.4 Solutions to Cattle Rustling from a Gender Perspective

For a very long time, cattle rustling has led to great suffering to the men and women of Pokot and it has defied all interventions from the local community, civil society and the state. Therefore, scholars are in agreement that strategies that impact on both men and women are more effective than those that concentrate on only one gender. The study observed that while some of the strategies applied were fair, a few were considered to be rather extreme. Progressive approaches such as peace meetings, free education and border schools were appreciated and considered to be fair. Further, the study found out that considering gender relations would increase the effectiveness of interventions against cattle rustling.

5.4. Recommendations

The study recommends the following in accordance to the research objectives :

5.4.1 Transformation of Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling today is rather radical and disjointed and also shunned by the wider community because of the negative perceptions associated with it. The study recommends for more appropriate approach, sensitization about the law criminalizing

cattle rustling and ensuring full-scale prosecution of its actors. The study also recommends for enlightenment on contemporary ways of life among the Pokot community that will help the men and women adopt alternative sources of livelihood hence reduce cases of cattle rustling.

5.4.2. Effects of Gender Relations on Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling has led to change in gender roles. This has negative impact on a family set-up. It has undermined development and disrupted the livelihoods of households and communities. The study recommends for opening a platform for peace talk and persuasions. This will promote peace and unity among the Pokot community.

5.4.3. Effects of transformation in Cattle Rustling on security management

The study recommends that the government should enhance security in the border areas. More female security personnel should be recruited and deployed in the county. Security forces should be armed with appropriate facilities and instructions to apprehend conflict perpetrators of both genders. For example, intelligence gathering forums through partnership with women will be instrumental in improving the security situation in West Pokot. An appropriate gender analysis framework should be applied in any disarmament and other operations undertaken by security forces, right from planning to execution. The Constitutional body, the National Gender and Equality Commission should be coopted in a new Security Framework as a partner to the other security organs to enable them comprehensively manage the analysis framework.

5.4.4. Solutions to Cattle Rustling from a Gender Perspective

The study recommends that the direct engagement of both genders who were active participants in cattle rustling through the ages would serve as the solution towards the eradication of cattle rustling. Cattle rustling has defied all interventions from the local community, civil society and the state for a long time. More police officers to be deployed on the borders to prevent cross border cattle rustling and entry of illegal arms into the country. Provision of free education should be made compulsory to enable the young men and women from the disadvantaged families access education in order to secure formal employment opportunities. More advanced technologies on cattle identification and traceability which will reduce cattle theft.

5.5. Suggestions for Future Research

The study found that cattle jacking which was an unusual development cattle rustling. Cattle jacking is an emerging security problem where the raiders hold the livestock for ransom payment. Evidently, this demonstrates the sophisticated nature and developments that have arisen in cattle rustling. More research is required to provide an updated view of the problem if there is any hope to ever restore law and order in the region.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Observation Date _____

Location and time of observed aspect _____

Observed Event: _____

1. How is the general conduct of the community in terms of the following?

a) Clothes

b) Household

c) Livestock

2) In public fora, Barazas, meetings

3) What are the main occupation? Who are the majority Men/Women?

4) Are there young men and youth idling in the villages?

5) Are there evidence of cattle rustling? (Burnt houses/shells, many graves or burial sites)

6) Does the public carry weapons around? Men/women? (which kinds, how often)

7) What modern facilities (school, health centre, posho mill, etc.) are available in the villages?

- 8) How is the state of the general infrastructure?
- 9) Are there visible government/security presence?
- 10) Any other observation relating to the study?
- 11) Are there any ceremonies that are currently ongoing?
- 12) How are cattle products used in their ceremonies?

APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

I am Andrew Kimani, a PhD student from the School of Security and Correctional Services, Kenyatta University, Nairobi. I am undertaking research on gender dynamics in cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot County. I am doing data collection and collecting your general views on the topic. The data collected is purely academic and will be treated with utmost confidence. I do not require personal details of any of you or the other participants. Kindly sit anywhere and welcome, contribute to the discussion. I wish to thank you immensely for agreeing to participate in this discussion.

Thank You

Date and Location: _____

Time: _____

Number of Participants: _____

Moderator: _____

1. In your opinion what were the roles of: (i) men

(ii) younger

(iii) older women

(iv) Youth historically in cattle rustling?

2. In your view what has greatly changed in the planning of a raid in terms;

a) Arms/weapons

b) Age of participants

c) Purpose

3. In your opinion what roles have changed that were attributed to men in cattle rustling?

4. In your opinion do you believe women's role in cattle rustling has changed today?

How?

5. In your own view, how does contemporary cattle rustling affect your security and development?

6(a) In your view what were the role played by :i)the elderly

ii)religious leaders

iii) politicians

6(b) Role played by mothers of rustlers.

6(c) How the cattle acquired are shared.

7.In your view ,is there need to end cattle rustling?

8(a).In your opinion, how does the government respond generally to cases of cattle rustling?

8(b)Are the strategies successful or punitive? Kindly explain

9.What in your view are (i) the best people

(ii)solutions or strategy to end cattle rustling?

APPENDIX C: KEY INFORMANT GUIDE

Dear Participant,

I am Andrew Kimani, a PhD student from the School of Security and Correctional Services, Kenyatta University, Nairobi. I am undertaking research on gender dynamics in cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot County. I am doing data collection and collecting your general views on the topic. You have been chosen to be among the participants for the study

The data collected is purely academic and will be treated with utmost confidence. I do not require personal details of any of you or the other participants. You can opt to terminate the interview at any point. I wish to thank you immensely for agreeing to participate in this discussion.

Thank You.

Location and time of interview: ____

Name of Key Informant(optional) and Organization represented

Position of Key Informant:__

Gender of Key Informant: _

1. What are your general views about cattle rustling among the Pokot?
2. What do you think fuels cattle rustling among the Pokot?
3. In your view, is there an easy accessibility to SALWs ?

4. In your view, what impact does contemporary cattle rustling have among the Pokot?
5. In your opinion what are some unique roles women play in the Pokot community in relation to cattle rustling?
6. In your perspective which gender was mostly involved in the planning, execution and management of cattle rustling? Explain.
7. In your view what are some roles that the political leaders, peace committee elders/chairmen, National and County Government and civil society play to help reduce cattle rustling conflict?
8. In your view what are the real drivers / motivators for cattle rustling and what implications do they have on national security and development?
9. In your view why has the strategies previously used not being effective?
10. What can you propose as some solutions to reduce contemporary cattle rustling from a gender perspective?

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD UNITS

I am Andrew Kimani, a PhD student from the School of Security and Correctional Services, Kenyatta University, Nairobi. I am undertaking research on gender dynamics in cattle rustling among the Pokot in West Pokot County. I am doing data collection and collecting your general views on the topic. You have been chosen to be among the participants for the study. The data collected is purely academic and will be treated with utmost confidence. Your assistance on the following questions is highly appreciated

Thank you

SECTION A.

- a) Age: _____
- b) Gender: _____
- c) Nationality: _____
- d) Tribe/Clan: _____
- e) Education level:(tick)
 - i. Primary certificate _____
 - ii. Secondary certificate _____
 - iii. College Diploma _____
 - iv. University degree _____
 - v. Other _____

f) Marriage status: (tick)

- i. Single_____
- ii. Married_____
- iii. Divorced_____
- iv. Widowed_____

g) What your main source of livelihood? (tick)

- i. Pastoralism(livestock keeping)_____
- ii. Farming_____
- iii. Fishing_____
- iv. Other(define)_____

SECTION B-

What are the main causes of cattle raids?

2. Which community(s) has historically raided from your community and why?

Community

Reasons

3(a)Who were responsible historically for planning, executing and managing livestock gotten from a raid?

i) Men alone

ii) Men and Women

(b) Did both gender carry out raids historically jointly?

c) Are you aware of cases of both genders jointly raiding in contemporary cattle rustling?

4. From (3) above, describe how women are actively involved in cattle rustling process nowadays?

5. Do you think livestock were important to men, women and the youth?

YES

NO

6. If (YES) from 5 above, give 3 reasons why.

a.

b.

c.

7. Name four roles of a typical Pokot unmarried Youth(man) traditionally in relation to cattle rustling.

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

8. Name four roles of a typical Pokot unmarried woman traditionally in relation to cattle rustling.

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

9. What factors have transformed the roles and responsibilities of Pokot men and women in regards to cattle rustling?

10. What are some contemporary roles and responsibilities of a Pokot man that are different from a traditional one?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

11. In the past, who sanctioned the beginning of a raiding season?

12. Do you know the stages of a successful cattle rustling raid?

YES NO

b) If Yes, please name those stages.

13. From question (12) above, what was the role of both men and women in the

various stages?

14. Who according to you in particular is instigating cattle rustling?

15. What are some changes that have occurred in cattle rustling, in terms of planning, weapon used and youth involved?

a). Planning

b). Weapon

c). Youth Involved (Ages)

16. Which periods do you experience an increase in cattle raids in your community or neighbors?

17. Historically, which communities did you raid against and how far did your warriors go?

18. How were warriors who returned successfully after a raid treated historically?

b) Nowadays are all cattle rustling activities sanctioned by the community leadership and other members of the community?

c) How does the community receive raids after raids nowadays?

d) How were those who lost their youth(children) in cattle raids treated by the returning warriors, community and the leadership?

Mother _____

Father_____

Siblings

19. Has the bride wealth payment substantially changed from the traditional one? If Yes explain.

20 How has the effects of cattle rustling affected your personal and communal security?

21. Does your family, relative or neighbor have a weapon for self-protection?

YES

NO

22. If yes what kind of weapon and how many cattle did you purchase it for?

23. What are the effects of cattle rustling on the economic development in your area?

24 . Have you benefitted personally from cattle rustling? Hint-Marriage, dowry, property etc.

25. What factors according to you, contribute to contemporary cattle rustling:

26. Do you know of any measures put up by the Government or other bodies to stem cattle raids? Kindly explain.

How well do these measures take note of emerging trends such as women's active involvement in cattle rustling?

b). Of the measures above, is the Government fair or unfair in their roll-out?

Method.....

.....

Fair/Unfair.....

.....

Method.....

.....

Fair/Unfair.....

....

Method.....

.....

Fair/Unfair.....

.....

27. What do you believe are the long-term solutions towards eradicating the cattle/livestock thefts and raids?

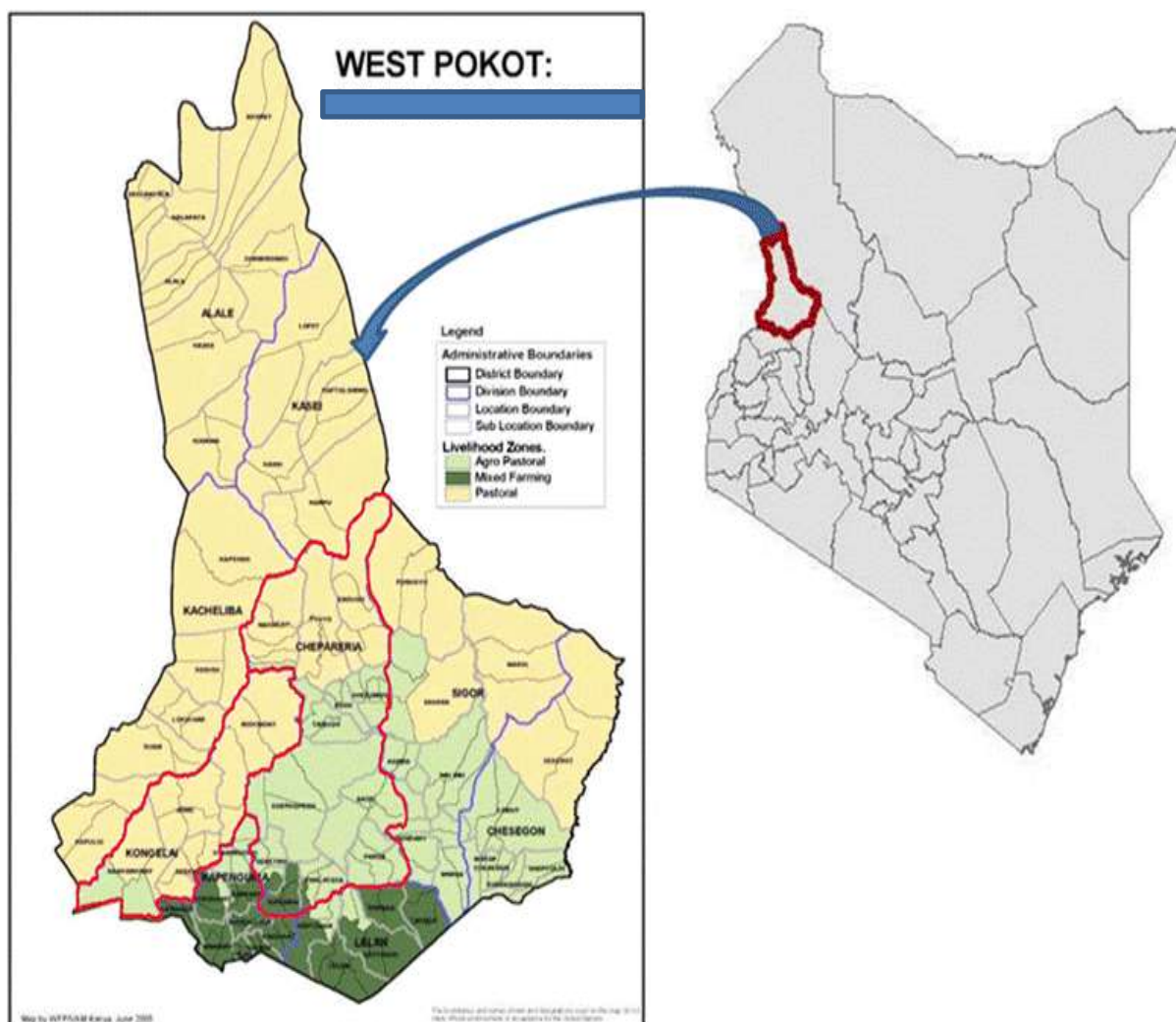
APPENDIX E: WORK PLAN

NO .	ACTIVITY	TIME IN MONTHS/YEAR								
		Aug.20 17/2018	2018 to date	2018	2018	2018/ 2019	2019/ 20	2019/ 20	2020	2021
	Developing Proposal									
	Consultation with supervisor									
	Literature Review									
	Printing of proposal & Submission									
	Proposal defense & approval									
	Questionnaire Digitization									
	Testing for Questionnaires Validity & Reliability (Qualitative & Quantitative)									
	Review of final data collection instrument									
	Training of Research Assistants									
	Data Collection									
	Data Management									
	Qualitative data transcription									
	Statistical analysis									
	Interpretation									
	Thesis Writing									
	Review of Thesis with Supervisor									
	Submission & defense of Thesis									
	Corrections and Final Review of Thesis									
	Submission of final Thesis									

APPENDIX F: BUDGET

ITEM	TOTAL COST (KSHS.)
Secretariat and other operating (R.A) services	100,000
Stationery and editing expenses	30,000
Travelling and accommodation expenses	100,000
Communication expenses	10,000
Entertainment and miscellaneous	25,000
Binding expenses	15,000
Total	280,000

APPENDIX G: MAP OF THE STUDY



APPENDIX H: Authorization Letter



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: C82/CTY/38566/2016

DATE: 27th September, 2018.

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology
and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR ANDREW G. KIMANI – REG. NO. C82/CTY/38566/16

I write to introduce Mr. Andrew G. Kimani who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for Ph.D degree programme in the Department of Security & Correction Science School of Humanities & Social Sciences.

Mr. Kimani intends to conduct research for a Ph.D Research Proposal entitled, “Gender Transformation in Cattle Rustling Practice and its Implication on Security Management in West Pokot, Kenya”.

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Paul Okemo', written over a white background.

**PROF. PAUL OKEMO
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**

APPENDIX I: Research Permit from NACOSTI

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. ANDREW GITAU KIMANI
of **KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 4671-200**
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in **Westpokot County**

Permit No : **NACOSTI/P/18/0072/26305**
Date Of Issue : **30th October, 2018**
Fee Recieved : **Ksh 2000**

on the topic: **GENDER**
TRANSFORMATION IN CATTLE RUSTLING
PRACTICE AND ITS IMPLICATION ON
SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN WEST
POKOT, KENYA

for the period ending:
29th October, 2019


.....
Applicant's
Signature



.....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

**THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND
INNOVATION ACT, 2013**

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

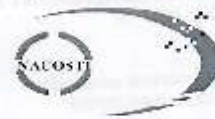
CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0*13 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation
RESEARCH LICENSE**

Serial No.A 21509

CONDITIONS: see back page