

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**WOMEN INVOLVEMENT IN CATTLE RUSTLING BETWEEN THE
MARAkwET AND THE POKOT COMMUNITIES OF NORTH-WESTERN
KENYA**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been presented in any other institution or forum for any other award or favour prior to this declaration.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family for their patience and support extended to me all through when I was working on this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASAL:	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
EPLF:	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization
FRELIMO:	Mozambique Liberation Front
GOK:	Government of Kenya
KHRC:	Kenya Human Rights Commission
NCCK:	National Council of Churches of Kenya
TPLF:	Tigrerian People's Liberation Front
UN:	United Nations
UNITA:	Union for the Total Independence of Angola

ABSTRACT

Cattle rustling between the Nilotic communities of north western Kenya has been a problem of concern to development for long and has also defined inter-ethnic relations. There is plenty of literature on cattle rustling; however, the role women play has not been adequately researched. This study was designed to investigate the role played by women among the Pokot and Marakwet communities in cattle rustling. The specific objectives of the study were to investigate the changing faces of cattle rustling, to document the cultural processes and practices in cattle rustling, to establish the perceptions of women regarding cattle rustling, to establish the roles of Pokot and Marakwet women in cattle rustling, and to determine how the agro-pastoralist Marakwet women and pastoralist Pokot women adjust to the effects of cattle rustling.

The study reviewed literature based on key themes on cattle rustling: the global view of cattle rustling, cattle rustling in the colonial period in Kenya, cattle rustling and the state, women and cattle rustling, emerging trends in cattle rustling, and the rise of violent cattle rustling. However, it is clear that the literature does not capture the role women play in the phenomenon.

The theoretical approaches that were utilized are Marxist feminist theory, human ecology theory, and conflict theory. All of them were analyzed to show their relevance to the understanding of the role of women in cattle rustling.

The study was undertaken in Kerio Valley which is the region in which the Pokot of Baringo and West Pokot counties interact with the Marakwet of Elgeyo Marakwet County. A cross-sectional design was employed in which a total of 284 household heads were interviewed out of the targeted 300 household heads. Key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and observation were complementary methods of data collection. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used in data analysis in order to bring out the significant differences and similarities between Pokot and Marakwet women with respect to their participation in cattle rustling.

The findings of the study were that there were significant changes in the conduct of cattle rustling, especially in the use of highly sophisticated small arms and light weapons, the scale of operations, and the increasingly active role played by women. Cultural practices in which women played key roles were a precursor to cattle rustling. On the perceptions of women regarding cattle rustling, most women were dissatisfied with it because of inadequate benefits from it and the suffering they were subjected to. The study also found out that women were deeply engaged in marketing of rustled cattle as well as providing intelligence and concealment of information.

The study concluded that there was a significant difference between the participation of Marakwet and Pokot women in cattle rustling. Pokot women were deeply engaged in cattle rustling as opposed to Marakwet women. For instance, more Marakwet women had embraced crop farming and informal businesses compared with Pokot women.

The study recommends the introduction of modern education in both communities to counter the prevalence of outdated cultural practices, adoption of dairy cattle, peace efforts, promotion of alternative livelihood systems, adoption of a framework for reduction and subsequent elimination of illegal small arms and light weapons, and need to sensitize the Marakwet and Pokot communities on constitutional underpinnings and the existing legal regime regarding cattle rustling.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Involvement of women in conflict situations including in cattle rustling is a global phenomenon. Cattle rustling is the modern concept of forceful and punitive acquisition of cattle by one community from another using weapons and leaving behind devastation in form of lives and property lost (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). It is conceptually different from cattle raiding, which is its traditional form and, for long, has been practised by pastoralist communities using crude weapons such as sticks, spears, arrows, bows and clubs and that it was largely a mechanism of wealth redistribution (Skoggard & Adem, 2010). Cattle rustling has become commercialized largely due to the ease of access to firearms and ready markets for cattle (KHRC, 2001).

The role of women in conflicts has been recognized in UN and other global platforms such as through UN Security Council resolution 1325 of 2000, 1820 of 2008, 1888-9 of 2009, 1960 of 2010, 2106 and 2122 of 2013, or the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. All these resolutions and declarations focus more on protection of women in armed conflict situations and in recognizing the role women play in conflict resolution and peace keeping. For instance, women were deeply involved in the Second World War in which they comprised the reserve and support units. In Britain and Germany women actively worked in ammunitions factories (Rehn & Johnson, 2002). In liberation and/or guerilla warfare, women played a vital role in the armed forces or in support roles. Women were often the preferred choice in infiltration and strike missions as suicide bombers. In ethnic conflicts women participation includes passing on stories or socialization of children into the ethos of conflict, usually at bedtime or by the fireside, so that future generations are aware of their past (Rehn & Johnson, 2002). Besides combat roles, women participate in conflicts as cooks, porters, administrators, doctors, spies, sex slaves and broadcasting hate speech. Between 1990-2003 women were involved in fighting in fifty-five countries across the world (Bonta, *et al.*, 2005).

In armed conflict in Africa women played an active role in active conflict as well as providing “supportive” duties to armed groups (Rehn & Johnson, 2002). In Angola, for instance, women played an active role during the fourteen years of anti-colonial war, including teaching children songs and dances that celebrated the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) heroes and victories. Young women were kidnapped by UNITA forces and trained to play combatant roles (Parsons, 2004). Similarly, FRELIMO soldiers in Mozambique lured young girls by convincing them that they would be admitted into special national training programmes for those who wanted to study medicine. The young girls convinced their parents, who gave them permission (Disney, 2008). In Ethiopia, Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and Tigreian Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) actively involved girls and women who constituted one third of the fighting force. They were actively involved at the grassroots, politicization and motivating the male fighters. In some cases laws were changed to raise the minimum age of marriage from 15 to 18 years to enable them serve in the forces longer (Veale, 2003). In Kenya, women involvement in conflict situations is best captured in the Mau Mau uprising and the fight against female circumcision in Kikuyuland in which they played an active combat role, intelligence gathering, and smuggling of weapons (Gachihi, 1986, 2014).

Women are not passive victims of conflicts, but they actively participate in it in several ways including the hard and softer aspects. Irrespective of the causes of conflict and its magnitude, women are part of society and it is inconceivable that they will remain neutral (Anderlini, *et al.*, 1999). Women, as part of societies to which they belong, owe allegiance to their communities, ethnic groups, nation and social classes, and when these units are threatened, they naturally become involved.

Pastoralism is practiced in many parts of the world including Europe, Asia, Middle East, North and South America (Lees & Bates, 1974). In Africa pastoralism is widely practiced. Pastoralists are found in over twenty-one countries in Africa and most of them are in the Horn of Africa. Many of them are affected by and live in conflict (Pierli, *et al.*, 2006). In Kenya pastoralists are found in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) which

cover about 80% of the Kenyan landmass, support about one third of the country's human population and 70% of the national cattle population. Pastoralists' areas support about 13 million cattle, 25 million goats, 14.9 million sheep, 1.7 million donkeys and 2.9 million camels (GOK, 2010). The highest cattle populations are found among the Pokot and Turkana pastoralists of North Western Kenya, and pastoralism contributes about 12% of the country's GDP (FAO, 2005). Pastoralism provides about 90% of household income in ASAL areas (Kaimba, *et al.*, 2011). In the north-western Kenya region the pastoralist Pokot, Marakwet, Turkana and Samburu have a long history of cattle rustling centred around cattle. Cattle is ranked higher than other types of livestock, hence it is the object of rustling although traditional cattle rustling involved small-scale, manageable violence and loss of human life was rare (Mkutu, 2008).

Possession of cattle among pastoralists plays multiple roles: social, economic and religious. Cattle also provide a reliable or regular source of food such as milk, meat, blood and cash income with which to purchase food crops, pay for education, health and other services. Among pastoralists cattle is important for payment of bridewealth, compensation, symbol of prosperity, prestige, social recognition, store of wealth and security against drought or other calamities. Therefore cattle ownership is fundamental to pastoralists' existence (Mkutu, 2008).

Cattle rustling in Kenya is at two levels: regional and national. At a regional level the Nilotic-Hamitic communities in the north western part of Kenya and eastern part of Uganda have been actively involved, especially the Pokot-Karamojong, Turkana-Karamojong and Turkana-Jie have been quite involved (Mkutu, 2006). In 2005 both Kenyan and Ugandan governments agreed to step up efforts to disarm the pastoralist communities in their respective countries involved in cattle rustling, but this was allegedly either not done or halfway done (Cocks, 2006). In January 2003, Ugandan cattle rustlers had left thirty Kenyan people dead (Ross, 2003a). In April 2003 dozens of people were killed and thousands displaced after an attack by cattle rustlers in eastern Uganda. This prompted the Ugandan government to confiscate cattle from the Karamojong to compensate for the lives lost in the rustling (Ross, 2003b). The frequency

and intensity of cattle raids in the last decade have increased, hence a sense of concern (Kratli & Swift, 1999).

At national level cattle rustling has been between Pokot-Marakwet, Pokot-Turkana, Pokot-Samburu, Samburu-Turkana, Pokot-Il Chamus, Pokot-Tugen, Samburu-Borana and Samburu-Somali. For instance, in 2008 cattle rustlers, suspected to be Pokot, shot dead eighteen herdsmen at Suguta Valley in Baringo County in Kenya. The herdsmen were allegedly chasing after cattle rustlers but ran out of ammunition (Ng'asike, 2008; Opondo & Namunane, 2008). In 2009 seven cattle rustlers were killed as they attacked Napoi Enatuny village in Turkana West District. In September 2009, thirty one people were killed in a cattle rustling incident at Mogurak, Laikipia North District (Mureithi, 2009). In November 2009, ten people were killed when Samburu cattle rustlers attacked Kisima Village in Isiolo County. In 2013 a total of forty-two police officers were killed by Turkana cattle rustlers in Baragoi, Samburu County, after an attack on the Samburu pastoralists (Saitoti, 2012). Therefore, cattle rustling has pauperized thousands of pastoralists in East Africa.

Investigations into the motives and effects of cattle rustling in north western Kenya have shown that most cattle rustlers were mainly young males below 30 years of age, therefore unlikely to be married (Schilling, *et al.*, 2012). Pokotland in particular has been labeled as a sea of poverty and that any mention of Pokot conjures up images of an unruly region that is dry with hot conditions, a difficult land plagued by bloody cattle feuds between Pokot and Marakwet and Pokot against the Karamojong (Obbo, 2013). On a more positive note, however, the Pokot and Marakwet innovated the Lelan Dairy Cooperative Society which stands as a jewel of success devoid of cattle rustling and is a testimony of how once antagonistic communities found value in a different way mutually beneficial to them (Obbo, 2013).

Cattle rustling has a long history and is part of the pastoralists' culture. However, the once traditional event has acquired a new dimension in terms of being increasingly destructive and less manageable than before (Pkalya, *et al.*, 2003). This is partly

attributed to inadequate policing, acquisition of modern weapons, decline in the power of the traditional governance systems and shrinking natural resources (Masinde, *et al.*, 2004). From 1970s the frequency and scale of cattle rustling escalated with the acquisition of firearms, hence changing its original function (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012; Mkutu, 2008). With particular reference to the Pokot men, the perceptions of the causes of cattle rustling are diverse. Results of a previous study showed that the perceptions ranged from desire for wealth (84%), heroism or cultural prompts (72%), payment of bridewealth or marriage (84%), and poverty (76%). In the context of the Marakwet men, the causes of cattle rustling were desire for wealth (90%), heroism or tatooisism (33%), payment of bride wealth or marriage (40%), and poverty (70%) (Pkalya, *et al.*, 2003). Initially the focus on explaining the persistence of cattle rustling was mainly cultural and ecological considerations. Cultural factors motivating cattle rustling in pastoralist societies include belief systems, identity, warrior ideals, prestige and competition between age-sets (Fukui & Turton, 1979). Subsequent studies of cattle rustling, especially from the 1990s, introduced the commercialisation of rustled cattle which now borders on organized crime (Mkutu, 2008). This new dynamic is quite apart from the traditional cattle rustling for redistributive purposes (Hendrickson, *et al.*, 1998). With particular reference to the Pokot, cattle rustling is not aimed at expanding territory nor do administrative issues lead to rustling, but the rustling is centred around issues of male prestige and high bridewealth (Bollig, 1993).

Studies of conflict between the East Pokot and Marakwet and cattle rustling in general have been undertaken (Mutsotso, 2010). In terms of resolving conflict resulting from cattle rustling in north western Kenya, the focus has been on ridding the communities of modern weapons (Kamenju, *et al.*, 2003; Mkutu, 2008).

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Cattle rustling is widespread and increasingly severe in the north western region of Kenya. The pastoralists in the region are either nomadic or semi-nomadic. They live primarily in arid or semi-arid areas and depend on livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and camels) for their livelihood, while relying on access to pasture and water for the survival

of their livestock. 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. Presentations about cattle rustling are made as if there are no women or as if Pokot and Marakwet communities are men-only societies. This is misleading as women are made invisible. The study sought to go beyond these common presentations and investigate cattle rustling, especially the roles women play. There is the tendency to subsume women roles under the dominant male participation. Equally important is that the role women play in the resulting negotiations or resolutions following cattle rustling are not documented. There is a clear picture of cattle rustling but scarcely on how agro-pastoralist and pastoralist women participate and cope with it. The knowledge available about cattle rustling in north western Kenya is that the phenomenon is widespread and it leads to many fatalities and disruptions of livelihoods, hence a source of concern; however, the role women play in it remains largely unknown. The study was focused on inter-ethnic cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet communities.

The phenomenon of cattle rustling in Nilotic communities in the north western region of Kenya has been a subject of discussion for long among missionaries, adventurers, scholars and administrators. Cattle rustling accounts for loss of lives and destruction of livelihoods of the victims and rustlers as well. There exist several documentations of cattle rustling by the Pokot and Marakwet, including the preparations that precede the cattle rustling event, but all have been blind to the role of women. Hence the current study was designed to investigate the particular contribution by women, how it affects them and how they cope with it in both communities. In addition, the study sought to unearth the motivators of cattle rustling, effects on women and how it is connected to their cultural realms, social institutions, social relationships and other traditional practices as well as commercialization. This study investigated the cultural adjustments and/or coping strategies used by the agro-pastoral Marakwet and pastoral Pokot women, as the scale of cattle rustling has kept widening.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the depth of women involvement in cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities?
2. In what ways has cattle rustling changed in form over time?
3. What are the views of women on cattle rustling in their respective communities?
4. What ways can be devised to address the problem of cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to investigate the role of women in the phenomenon of cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the changing faces of cattle rustling over time between the two communities.
2. To document the cultural processes and practices around cattle rustling among the Pokot and Marakwet communities.
3. To establish the perceptions women among Pokot and Marakwet communities hold towards cattle rustling.
4. To establish the changing roles which Pokot and Marakwet women play in cattle rustling.
5. To determine how agro-pastoralist and pastoralist women cope with the effects of cattle rustling.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Cattle rustling among the Nilotic communities of north western Kenya generally and the Pokot–Marakwet specifically, is a source of concern to many. Cattle rustling has become widespread, severe and with ever greater impact. A total of 592 cattle rustling episodes

were recorded between 2006 and 2009; 640 deaths in 2009 alone (TUPADO, 2011). And the most chilling was the massacre of forty-two police officers on a cattle rustling rescue mission in Baragoi area of Samburu County in 2012 (Saitoti, 2012). Therefore the high number of deaths, thousands of cattle stolen, destruction of livelihoods, forced relocations, closure of schools, and so on, occasioned by cattle rustling calls for attention. In recognition of the fact that cattle rustling affects thousands of people, uproots communities from their homes, kills and maims many and causes fear, hence the concern at both community and national levels. The scale and atrocities occasioned by cattle rustling prompted parliament to appoint a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the root causes of cattle rustling in north western Kenya. Its report was debated and adopted on November 4, 2010 (GOK, 2010). It acknowledged the many dimensions of cattle rustling, its causes, the failures of local leadership, the inaccessibility of the areas, and recommended what government should do to eradicate the menace. The report observed that former North Eastern Province (the present day Garissa, Wajir and Mandera counties) which was also inhabited by pastoralists had no incidents of cattle rustling while in the Pokot and Turkana areas, it was more like a game. The parliamentary report glossed over the role of women in cattle rustling by mentioning them as merely victims and praise singers. In spite of this effort at national level, the phenomenon of cattle rustling has intensified, begging for alternative approach to understanding individual and collective gender roles that encourage the practice, hence the focus of this study.

As the Parliamentary Select Committee noted, guns are now used in cattle rustling, which it now borders on the security of the north western region and the entire country. Although cattle rustling is localized, its ramifications can be wider. This study therefore generated information or knowledge that will be used to address this persistent problem and will be useful to other scholars, administrators, security forces and the general public in understanding this elusive phenomenon, and in particular the role played by women.

The study brings out key information on the participants in cattle rustling. Besides contribution to knowledge about cattle rustling in general and specifically the role of

women, it also provides information that can be used to resolve the problem by policy makers.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The study focused on the role of Pokot and Marakwet women in cattle rustling in north western Kenya. The role women play, including both physical and facilitative, the changing faces of cattle rustling and the perception of women towards it are the parameters within which this study was based. Geographically, the study was concentrated in the cattle rustling corridor of Kerio Valley where the Pokot and Marakwet communities share a boundary. This corridor is the epicentre of cattle rustling, hence the ideal research area. This study is not about administrative counties, but about the life of the people who live in the particular area and how they live it. The study was not only limited to understanding cattle rustling as a cultural practice and women's contribution, but also how it affects them and how they cope with it. The study did not focus on the criminal aspects or the legal aspects, nor was it a gender analysis study.

The focus, however, was on Pokot and Marakwet women and the findings will not be generalized to cover all women in other cultural traditions. Since cattle rustling is a highly emotive issue (especially among the losers) and borders on criminality and organized crime, one of the limitations was difficulty in getting respondents to divulge information freely. This was overcome by getting to the communities through the community leadership who introduced the researcher to the people. Accessibility to some of the areas of the study also was challenging since the area is hardly integrated into the national mainstream and lacks reliable infrastructure. This was a limiting factor during data collection.

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

Cattle raiding: Is the practice of forcefully taking of cattle from the other community using traditional weapons and minimum force. It was governed by norms which the elders upheld and the raiders followed. This traditional practice began to weaken from

around 1915 in north western Kenya when modern weapons were acquired by the communities.

Cattle rustling: The practice in some pastoralist communities of using modern weapons to take cattle from another competing community, using maximum force. More recently, cattle rustling has evolved into large scale operations involving taking away of thousands of cattle, done in daylight and involving exchange of gun-fire, rape, abduction, wounding and killing of men, women and children and cattle market networks.

Cultural expectation: In this study this concept is used to refer to compelling indigenous factors that predispose the Pokot and Marakwet to undertake cattle rustling. Fulfilling cultural expectations, desire to acquire cattle with which to attain a higher status is key in cattle rustling. Among the Pokot and Marakwet, men are expected to acquire cattle.

Effects of cattle rustling: In this study it is used to refer to the aftermath of cattle rustling in both communities. The consequences are both positive and negative to women. In this study the consequences implied fall more disproportionately on women.

Kerio River valley corridor: The area generally defined by both sides of Kerio River which is the boundary and in some sections the confluence of the three counties of Baringo and West Pokot where the Pokot community are found, and Elgeyo-Marakwet County in which the Marakwet live. This corridor is defined by intense forms of cattle rustling. The Parliamentary Select Committee on cattle rustling focused on and toured this corridor during their fact finding missions in 2010.

Women involvement: In this study this concept is used to refer to the activities or roles played by women in cattle rustling. The involvement may or not be active or field based but have great influence on the frequency and/ or conduct of cattle rustling events. It also denotes the intensity of activities in which women play a central role before, during and after a cattle rustling event.

Moran: A warrior group among the Pokot and Marakwet whose cardinal responsibility is to acquire cattle. Acquisition of cattle from other communities is a show of cultural prowess. This is the group that executes cattle rustling.

Pastoralism: An economy of people living in marginalized and arid and semi-arid lands that is dependent on keeping of livestock such as cattle, goats, sheep, camels, and donkeys. It has a higher mobility threshold that involves moving the livestock from place

to place in search of pasture and water. This situation often makes the pastoralist engage in conflict with their neighbours over such resources.

Value of cattle: Among Pokot and Marakwet cattle is highly valued and those with cattle are highly respected. Cattle defines social status and the amount of honour. Cattle guarantees a Pokot and Marakwet man a wife. Cattle is used to fulfill a host of cultural requirements, hence cattle is compelling and is the object of rustling.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter one presents the background to the study, the problem statement, the research questions, the objectives, rationale, scope and limitations, and operational definition of concepts. Chapter two presents literature review and theoretical framework, while chapter three presents the methodology used in the study. Chapter four presents the magnitude of cattle rustling based on secondary data. Chapter five is devoted to the role of women in cattle rustling, chapter six is about the changing faces of cattle rustling. Chapter seven discusses the findings in line with the existing literature. It also presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on global view of cattle rustling, cattle rustling activities between the Marakwet and the Pokot communities of north western Kenya from pre-colonial through colonial to the present, interaction between cattle rustling and the state, the causes of cattle rustling, emerging trends in cattle rustling, and also the rise of violent cattle rustling in north western Kenya. In addition, the chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives to the study, especially Marxist feminist theory, human ecology theory, and conflict theory from a criminological perspective, and, finally, the conceptual framework.

2.2 A Global View of Cattle Rustling

Historically the concept of cattle rustling is quite ancient and the first suspected rustling took place about 7,000 years ago. Cattle rustling in the pre-industrial world was also a common phenomenon. However, urbanization and advances in technological innovations and education have contributed to the death of this age-old culture in many communities across the world. In some civilizations it was considered a normal practice to raid other people for cattle, but in others it has always been a serious offence. Cattle rustling goes by many names. For instance in Australia, it is called *duffing*, whereas in the United States of America it is known as rustling and often associated with the cowboy culture (Baker, 1945).

In ancient times, cattle played a key role in the Indo-European mythology in which, for instance, the Homeric hymn to Hermes encouraging him to steal the cattle of Apollo in Greece. These myths are often associated with the abduction of women. In several Sangam Tamil writings, cattle rustling was used as a warning given by the group intending to attack. In Mahabharatha several incidents mentioned cattle rustling and rescuing. In the American Old West, rustling was considered a serious offence and frequently resulted in lynching by vigilante groups. One of the motivators of the

Mexican-American war was the tension resulting from frequent rustling of cattle by native Mexicans in the border region. Following the independence of Mexico, the northern half of the country was left bare in the hands of the Comanche, Apache and Navajo Indians who took advantage of the weak Mexican government and made far reaching forays to steal cattle for supply to Texas. The cattle raids affected hundreds of thousands of families and left much of northern Mexico decimated. In 1846, when the American army entered northern Mexico they found a battered people. Mexican cattle rustlers later became a key factor in the American civil war and the Mexican government was accused of supporting the culture of raiding. Failure to brand the cattle made rustling much easier (Baker, 1945).

In Argentina cattle rustling was a common affair as stolen cattle were sold in Chile in exchange for alcohol and weapons. Many indigenous groups and other outlaw groups combed large sections of Argentina for cattle which prompted the government to construct a system of trenches called Zanja de Alsina in 1870s. However, most cattle rustling ended after the military conquests of the desert areas and after the partitioning of Patagonia region by Chile and Argentina by the 1881 Border Treaty (Derricourt, 1899).

2.3 Cattle Rustling between Pokot and Marakwet in the Colonial Period

For the Pokot and Marakwet cattle rustling is not a recent phenomenon. It has always been part of their culture. Records show that the period 1900–1913 experienced many cattle raids between these two communities. For example, the account of Colyer, W. J. M. shows there were frequent cattle raids by the Marakwet into East Pokot and the government could not do anything about it (Republic of Kenya, 1911-1958). The report, however, does not state the magnitude nor the involvement of women in cattle rustling raids recorded.

However, the 1990s witnessed an upsurge in cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet to a scale never witnessed before (Mkutu, 2004). This was attributed to external influences such as politicians and events taking place in neighbouring countries like Somalia, Uganda and Sudan, which spilled over to these communities. These events

include the overthrow of Idi Amin in Uganda in 1979, the collapse of the Government of Somalia in 1991 and the upsurge of civil war in the Sudan. Following a heated argument between a Marakwet and Pokot in 1991, in which a Marakwet shot dead a Pokot in Tot Division of Elgeyo Marakwet County, the intensity of cattle raids peaked. The balance of fire-power favoured the Pokot, thereby prompting the Marakwet to charge that the government favoured the Pokot. In order to strengthen their position, the Marakwet allegedly purchased modern firearms. In one incident a Pokot arms dealer who crossed Kerio River was allegedly shot dead by the Marakwet soon after delivery of the guns. This incident intensified cattle raids by the Pokot. The epicenter of the Pokot raids or armed attacks was in 1999 in Tot when they disrupted a polio immunization campaign in which many Marakwet, from toddlers to adults, were massacred (KHRC, 2001).

The Pokot–Marakwet cattle rustling conflict since 2000 show particular incidents surrounding cattle that demonstrated a violent relationship between the two communities (Kamenju, *et al.*, 2003). The study reported that following a biting drought in 2000, the Pokot sent some of their emaciated cattle to Marakwet for pasture in Kerio Valley on the side of the Marakwet. The Marakwet warriors confiscated the cattle and slaughtered them indiscriminately under the pretext that they did not wish to be associated with cattle that the Pokot would inevitably re-possess. The Pokot, in revenge, killed a Marakwet policeman in 2001. In retaliation the Marakwet stole more than 500 cattle from Pokot in Cheptulel and Kibaimwa areas. Still in March 2001 Pokot warriors raided and took away thousands of cattle from the Marakwet in what has come to be called the Murkutwo Massacre (KHRC, 2001).

These raids in the 1990s to early 2000s witnessed a new dimension. For the first time a systematic shift from pure cattle rustling to murder using sophisticated arms, destruction of livelihoods, massacres and a drive towards commercialization began to be relatively explicit. Women and children for the first time became victims of the raids (Mohammed & Pkalya, 2005; NCKK, 2002). In these studies the role played by women was not captured.

2.4 Cattle Rustling and the State

Regional protocols such as the Protocol on the Prevention and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa (2005), to which Kenya is a signatory but is yet to ratify, recognize cattle rustling as a serious offence. It recommends cattle identification and awareness of the challenges faced by pastoralists in the context of cattle rustling. The Nairobi Protocol on the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa (2005), of which Kenya is a signatory and ratified subsequently, aims at prevention and curbing of proliferation of illicit small arms. Small arms have had a particular effect on the scale of cattle raiding (Bollig & Osterle, 2007).

In Kenya, cattle rustling is not recognized under the Penal Code and it is not defined in the Constitution of Kenya (2010). Instead, the offence of cattle rustling when committed is treated under the Penal Code CAP 63 of the Laws of Kenya as either robbery, robbery with violence or cattle stealing. However, some of the preferred charges may be derived from the various available legislations including: The Firearms Act (CAP 114), The Stock and Produce Theft Act (CAP 355), The Meat Control Act (CAP 356), The Branding of Stock Act (CAP 357), The Hides, Skins and Leather Trade Act (CAP 359).

The crimes, especially cattle rustling, carry a much less punitive penalty. For example, the maximum sentence for stealing stock is fourteen years in jail as specified in section 278 of the Penal Code, whereas robbery with violence is a life sentence. Yet cattle rustling is often replete with armed violence. Section 9(1) of the Stock and Produce Act states that anybody with stock suspected to be stolen and without reasonable proof of ownership but believed to be stolen is liable for stock theft penalty.

Therefore, cattle rustling is not a clearly defined offence according to the existing legislation, which is a critical gap considering its scale, frequency and impact on communities and households. In the Constitution of Kenya (2010), The Bill of Rights 44(1-2) the Government undertakes to defend the enjoyment of cultural practices and in 40(1) (9) it provides that the state shall not enact laws that arbitrarily deprive a person of

property of any description. However, cattle rustling goes against the spirit of the constitution as it involves arbitrary deprivation of one group by another. The Constitution of Kenya recognizes the violation of the rights of some Kenyans by others through cattle rustling, which is labeled among the harmful cultural practices.

2.5 The Role of Women in Cattle Rustling

There is a dearth of current information in the existing literature about the role women play in cattle rustling. However, women's support and their instigation for cattle rustling are more captured in oral narratives (Savery & Jeremy, 1999). Women are actively involved in conflicts including cattle rustling through provision of non-military support for fighters or raiders (Rehn & Johnson, 2002; Selassie, 1999). They provide food and nurse the wounded. In conflict situations women are reported to play the role of porters or transporters of looted property as well as being carriers of intelligence information. In particular women serve as arms smugglers in conflict situations (Selassie, 1999). Given the cultural inhibitions that characterize African communities, male policemen can hardly inspect women hence women easily pass as smugglers. The role of women in conflicts has centred on regional or national level conflicts, hence there is glaring lack of information on the role women play in cattle rustling.

Circumcision has always had a central role in the communal way of life of the Marakwet (Kipkorir, 1973) and Pokot (Mutsotso, 2010). 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. In northern Kenya, both men and women were initiated mostly between the ages of nine and twelve (Selassie, 1999). Women, therefore, were wholly involved in the activities of their communities without exclusion, apart from male-reserved roles such as hunting, warrior-hood and iron smelting, which required highly specialized skills. Being a full member of society indeed required that one had to support the activities carried out by members of such a society. Women, therefore, identified with their communities, taking sides in support of their community in times of conflict.

Livestock held, and still holds, a central position among the pastoral communities of northern Kenya. Losses inflicted by rustlers impacted on both men and women. Most of the pastoral communities experience some form of livestock rustling. In the traditional context, livestock 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).

The spirit of ethnic nationalism, glory and fear of domination by the enemy were other factors that pushed women into giving support to their warriors during the conflicts. Women cherished successful men and always told the story of such men to their children, as a source of encouragement. Conversely, since men saw women as precious, they did all they could to please them and this included raiding and bringing livestock home, which were valued most by the women (Wako & Daudi, 2005). Women were also actively involved in conflicts through their provision of non-military support for the fighters involved in the conflict (Rehn & Johnson, 2002; Selassie, 1999). They supported their warriors by feeding them and nursing the wounded. These services provided the physical support needed to wage protracted wars. Women also cooked and served warriors with food even when they had killed and were hiding.

In addition, women played a major role in smuggling of arms. The activity maintained a steady flow of arms that were used in the conflict. The police hardly did thorough checking on women, because it was considered a taboo to inspect what a woman was carrying under her clothes unless it was done by a policewoman. The number of policewomen was low, because the terrain in pastoralist areas did not favor the deployment of female police officers to patrol the region. Women capitalized on this to easily transport arms from the border points of war-torn countries. Most of the time, no policeman bothered to check the women's luggage, thereby allowing them to smuggle the guns by concealing them in foodstuffs (Selassie, 1999).

2.6 Emerging Trends in Cattle Rustling

Traditionally, cattle rustling was a kind of organized sport and had to be sanctioned and blessed by elders (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). But currently a good proportion of literature seems to point out that arms, especially firearms, now play a significant role in their execution (Markakis, 1993). As a result, in the last few decades pastoralist communities have increasingly taken on a militaristic characteristic in cattle raids. It now verges on ethnocide as women and children are not spared. The guns have become vital instruments for a successful cattle raid. Guns have now been used in the pauperization of some pastoralist communities (Mkutu, 2004, 2006).

From 1979 the *Ngoroko* (Turkana cattle rustlers) attacks escalated and coincided with the collapse of the government of Idi Amin of Uganda, which marked the turning point in the conduct of cattle raids in East Africa. This led to cross-border smuggling of illegal small arms and light weapons, which found way into the Pokot, Turkana and Marakwet communities (Mkutu, 2004). The Turkana attribute their present predicament with respect to frequency and intensity of cattle rustling on the collapse of traditional structures of decision making, especially after the emergence of *Ngoroko* (Skoggard & Adem, 2010). However, increased use of guns in the ensuing cattle raids is not discussed (Odegi-Awuondo, 1990). The rise of warlords in north western Kenya around cattle is the new phenomenon witnessed in the study of cattle raiding in Kenya. However, the extent of warlords around cattle and how they are connected to cattle raiding as well as the role of women in this new dimension is not yet clearly understood. Between 1984–1986 the Government of Kenya sent a punitive disarmament mission in West Pokot. In the operation, thousands of cattle were confiscated. Heavily armed cattle raiders from Pokot launched one of the bloodiest attacks on the Marakwet in which many people were killed and thousands of cattle stolen (Muiruri, 1998). The increased use of guns in recent cattle raids explains the large scale impact. In 1996 Pokot cattle raiders in Suguta Valley shot down a helicopter in which senior government officials and military officers were using to monitor the movement of stolen cattle (Kamau & Mwangi, 1996).

The 1990s marked a significant break from traditional cattle raiding for restocking and the emergence of cattle rustling with guns playing a key role. Therefore, the divide between the traditional practice which involved scaring away owners and the emergence of cattle rustling which now involves destruction and death in their wake is clear-cut. This period also witnessed the commercialization aspect which is often mentioned but its depth, networks and organization have not yet been documented. Traditional values, including high bridewealth and ceremonies like *sapana* (for the Pokot) were identified as some of the motivators of cattle rustling. However, the extent to which bridewealth pushes the communities to engage in cattle rustling was equally not well documented, hence the focus of this study. The high bridewealth among the Pokot 20–60 cows in addition to 10–40 goats depending on the “quality” of the girl – defined by chastity and good family background - and 3-6 cows and 5 goats for the Marakwet represent two very contrasting demands by two communities engaged in cattle rustling (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). This disparity between them is yet to be investigated in terms of how it can be used to explain cattle rustling.

The pattern is complex, and many factors involved are mutually reinforcing. Some of the conflicts such as cattle raiding have a long cultural basis and have strong marks of traditional culture (Pkalya, *et al.*, 2003). However, what was once traditional has increasingly become unmanageable and more destructive. The major causes were identified as cattle rustling, proliferation of modern weaponry, inadequate policing, declining role of traditional governance structures, increased competition over natural resources and political incitement. However, the specific role contributed to the conflicts by cattle rustling was not adequately addressed. In the context of the impact of cattle rustling on communities with specific reference to the communities living along the Kerio River Valley 32,000 (23% of the total population in Elgeyo Marakwet County) had been displaced. In West Pokot County 30,361 people were displaced in the area bordering Turkana, Marakwet and Karamojong. In the former Samburu County 17% of the district population was displaced (Pkalya, *et al.*, 2003). This statistic implies that the Marakwet were the most affected community, but again the role played by women and how women have adjusted to cattle rustling was not analyzed or discussed.

2.7 Causes of Cattle Rustling

High prevalence and use of guns are the principal factors underlying Pokot and Marakwet cattle rustling (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). Traditional values only accounted for 8% of the cattle rustling. This implies that the decline in traditional bases of cattle rustling and the rise in modern facets accounts for 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. For instance, between 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 individual differences. Rustling for commercial purposes, political incitement, poverty, traditional values and women were factors that explain the surge in cattle rustling (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012).

Payment of bridewealth was identified as a key factor that explains cattle rustling. As indicated earlier, it takes between 20-60 cattle and 10-40 goats for one to get a wife among the Pokot. This figure could fluctuate either way depending on the beauty, character and education level of the girl. Among the Marakwet bridewealth is standard at 3-6 cows and 5 goats (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). This figure could also fluctuate downwards depending on the socio-economic status of the bridegroom. Therefore, the importance of cultural fulfillments is a motivating factor in 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* pushes 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 (Odenyo, *et al.*, 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. The rainy season is the most appropriate when most cattle rustling events are carried out between the Pokot and Marakwet communities (Omondi, *et al.*, 2012). 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, *et al.*, 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 centred on cultural and ecological explanations. Those writers who favoured 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 bridewealth (Fleisher, 2002). However, the tendency towards organized crime is now part of today's cattle rustling, even though its magnitude and scale is 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, *et al.*, 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 it 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 the country.

2.8 The Rise of Violent Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling among pastoralist communities in Kenya has increasingly become violent, especially in the north western Kenya region occupied by the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities (Skoggard & Adem, 2010). In the Turkana case the violence was attributed to the collapse of the intergenerational organization thereby giving rise to a lawless group of raiders known as *Ngoroko* (Skoggard & Adem, 2010).

The violence occurring among pastoralist communities of East Africa has been accounted in terms of external factors like climate change, ease of access to guns, political manipulation and introduction of commerce into cattle keeping (Meier, *et al.*, 2007; Straight, 2009; Mwiturubani & Wyk, 2010). This shows that the cattle induced conflict has attained characteristics of indiscrimination as women, children and the elderly are not spared. These vulnerable categories of the population are killed, wounded, traumatized and forcibly displaced (KHRC, 2001). The *ngoroko* (Turkana outlawed cattle rustlers) are particularly notorious for this as they sometimes demand cattle at water holes, demand sex from adolescent girls and even throw children into fire (McCabe, 2004; Osterle, 2007). The *ngoroko* case exemplifies a significant transformation in the norms of cattle rustling. Homesteads found in the remote sections are particularly vulnerable to *ngoroko* attacks. Apart from livestock they also plunder foodstuffs, firewood, and other household valuables (Eriksen & Lind, 2005).

The erosion of culture among some pastoralist communities has been a subject of discussion for almost a decade now. The pastoralist Suri ethnic group of southern Ethiopia exemplifies one of the cases of how communities lose the authority of elders and, in the process, was unable to control the conduct of junior members (Abbink, 2007). The loss of authority between the older and younger generations could be to some extent responsible for the new faces of cattle rustling now being experienced, as moral ideals are not followed (Skoggard & Adem, 2010). Although violence has been a characteristic of the African continent in general, but more specifically in pastoral communities, the conflict is related more to cattle rustling (Buchanan & Lind, 2005). In East Africa, livestock related conflict is more pronounced among the Karamojong cluster which includes the Turkana, Karamojong, Jie and Nyangatom (Meier, *et al.*, 2007).

There is scant literature on the *ngoroko* as the originators of the violent form of cattle rustling. However, their roots are traceable to the entry of guns and the splinter of an armed Turkana youth group in 1918 (Lamphear, 1992). Myths around *ngoroko* abound - besides the meaning of the concept. The white and black markings on a cow are called “ngoroko” in Turkana language. The interpretation of the white and black is that they can

be your friend during the day and your enemy at night (McCabe, 2004). Among the north western Kenya pastoralists, guns were first introduced in 1917 following the splinter of an age-set that later became the *ngoroko* (Lamphear, 1992).

In the Turkana case, for example, the elders' authority was partial but overall control over all the people was found more in mutual respect and filial affection between the age-sets (Gulliver, 1955). Therefore, the collapse of cultural norms inevitably led to the emergence of lawlessness. In the context of the Pokot the ritual preparations before cattle rustling which included dance, singing and advice by elders to a mood desirable of warriors was instrumental (Bollig & Osterle, 2007). After a raid, those who had killed were purified and integrated into the community. Cattle are the basis on which affection is built. In East African pastoral societies cattle are the nodal points of social relationships (Ahmed, 2004). The great affection around cattle is similar to the context of the Nuer:

Start on whatever subject I would, and approach it from whatever angle, we would soon be speaking of cows and oxen, heifers and steers, rams and sheep, he-goats and she-goats, calves and lambs and kids. I have already indicated that this obsession – for it seems to an outsider – is due not only to the great economic value of cattle but also to the fact that they are links in numerous social relationships. Nuer tend to define all social processes and relationships in terms of cattle (Pritchard, 1968).

2.9 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by three theories: Marxist Feminist Theory, Human Ecology Theory, and Conflict Theory.

2.9.1 Marxist Feminist Theory

Marxist feminism refers to a feminist theory that advocates for the liberation of women through removal of all forms of discrimination and domination. In this theory, property that is meant to lead to inequality between men and women is known to be the major

cause of women oppression. Ever since the initial writings by Mary Wollstonecraft (1792) in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Marxist feminism as a subtype of feminist ideology that focuses on dismantling of all forms of oppression against women has increasingly found support. It states that unhealthy social relations between men and women are the root cause of women's oppression in the current social context.

Marxist feminism has its initial roots in Friedrich Engels (1972) in his analysis of gender oppression as articulated in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. He argues that woman's subordination is not a result of biology but of social relations and that men's efforts to achieve their demands for control over women's labor are understood in this perspective. Engels (1972) traces women subordination to their lack of control of private property that is dominated by patriarchs. Gender oppression is closely related to class oppression and the relationship between man and woman is similar to that of bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Although Marxist feminism was initially developed from a capitalist point of view, the theory is relevant and applicable in traditional social relations such as in a pastoralist context in which women ostensibly play an important role in acquisition of highly valued resources but from which their benefits are inexplicit. The pretext used in a pastoralist setting is that the high demands of women on men for cattle as bridewealth is what motivates cattle rustling. Payment of bridewealth ranks high as a key motivator for cattle rustling. The demand for cattle by women before marriage could be taken at face value to mean that they are the eventual benefactors of the cattle exchange. Instead it plays out as the usual story of men using women to appropriate the highly valued resources in society. Once cattle are rustled in the name of women they are shared by men. In actual fact therefore, women subordination continues in such a relationship (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012; Schilling, *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, Marxist feminism is relevant on the account of its ability to help explain the eventual benefactors or appropriators of cattle rustling. However, this theory is limited in explaining how cattle rustling takes place in peasant societies.

2.9.2 Human Ecology Theory

Human Ecology theory has its unique focus on human beings as both biological and social organisms in interaction with their environment. It observes that human beings operate within a human-built and socio-cultural milieu. Emphasis is put on the creation, use and management of resources for creative adaptation, human development and sustainability of environments (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). The concept ecology is associated with Ernest Haeckel, a German zoologist. The individual was a product of cooperation with the environment (Haeckel, 1869). The word ecology has its Greek origin in *oik* for house or living place. Hence ecology is defined as the study of the interrelationships between the organisms or life and the environment. It rests on the assumption that social life and the environment are inseparable parts.

Human ecology theory arises from diverse disciplinary explanations and past evolutionary theories (Park, 1936). In a relationship between pastoralism and the environment in which it thrives, overgrazing and environmental degradation were as a result of having herds beyond what is necessary for a livelihood (McCabe, 1990). Two views on this topic exist in the context of pastoralism. One is that pastoralism is inextricably caught in the cycle of cattle accumulation leading to overgrazing, environmental degradation and famine (Lamprey, 1983). The other is that pastoralism is environmentally sound (Hogg, 1987; Swift, 1988).

What is now observable in the context of ecology is that certain social institutions function to cope with the effects of environmental problems. In this context, given the frequency and ferocity of droughts in pastoral areas, it follows that there must be a suitable and culturally relevant redistributive mechanism among the inhabitant pastoralists. One of the redistributive mechanisms is cattle rustling. In the context, the new environment in which guns have been acquired adds a dimension to the frequency, intensity and scale of cattle rustling. Therefore human ecology theory is relevant in this study for it explains why cattle rustling occurs from a traditional perspective, and secondly its intensity. It argues that changed social circumstances call for changed

responses, hence cattle raiding is a culturally and environmentally adaptive response in the two communities. Human beings satisfy their wants by exploiting or taking advantage of what is available or abundant in their environment. However, this theory is limited in explaining the relationship between women and the cattle rustling environment.

Closely related to ecology is ecofeminism or ecological feminism, a concept coined in 1974 by Francoise d' Eaubonne. It refers to a movement born out of feminism and ecological thinking. A key tenet in ecofeminism states that male ownership of cattle has led to the dominator (patriarchy) exploiting people and animals valued only as economic resources. That the degradation of nature equally leads to the degradation of women. Women have a special connection to the environment by their daily interactions and this has not received the attention it deserves. Women in subsistence economies produce wealth in partnership with nature and have wide ecological knowledge in nature's processes (Vandana, 1988). Ecofeminists hold that there is a separation between nature and culture which is the root cause of our planet's ills arising out of unsustainable forms of livelihood, and in the context of pastoralism leading to the tragedy of commons (Hardin, 1968). The relevance of ecofeminism is that those communities that lose or gain cattle arising from cattle rustling in the end contribute to the degradation of nature through overgrazing or recourse to alternative livelihood activities unsuitable for that environment. The end result of the degradation of the environment is the degradation of women. Hence ecofeminism is relevant in helping to understand how the strains arising from cattle rustling disproportionately fall more on women among the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Cattle rustling generates conflict between the communities.

2.9.3 Conflict Theory

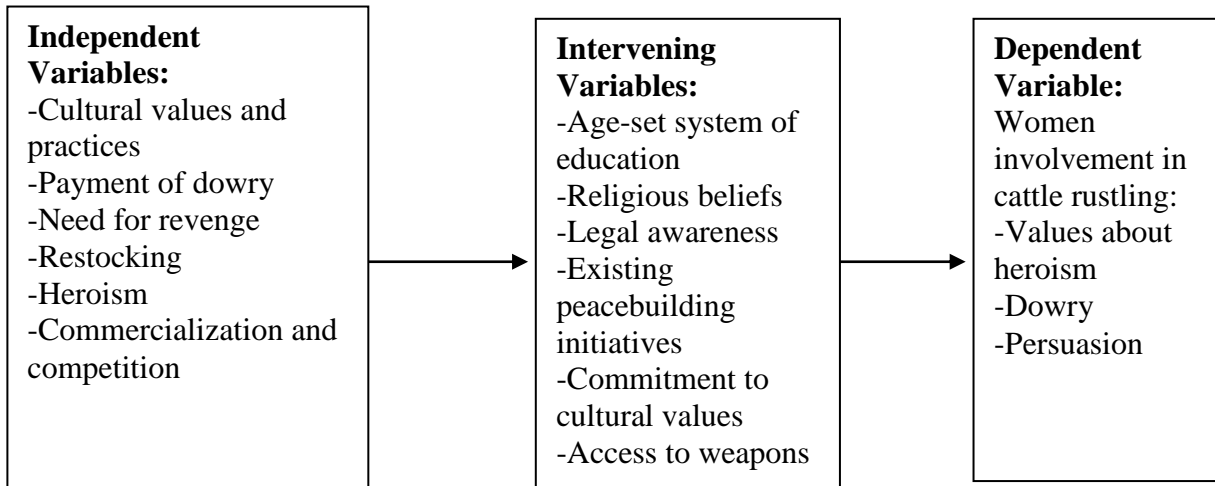
Conflict theory is associated with Karl Marx (1818-1883) in which he argued that human nature is basically harmonious but is corrupted by human competition and conflict. All societies are based on human physical needs that are satisfied as humans produce what they need to live on from the environment. Hence the history of all existing societies is a history of class struggles to acquire and control the highly valued resources. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, oppressor and

oppressed all stand in constant opposition to one another and carry on sometimes hidden or open fights that end in either a reconstitution of society or destruction of the contending classes (Bottomore & Rubel, 1963, quoting Marx). Such class organization categories do not exist in the same forms in Kenya.

The Pokot and Marakwet communities stand as two social classes in constant opposition to one another over control of cattle. Although Marx developed conflict theory to explain the bourgeoisie and proletariat relationship in a capitalist society, the same theory can be used to understand and/or explain the relationship between two peasant societies locked up in unending feud over cattle. The theory can be used to explain the Pokot and Marakwet as two contending social classes with irreconcilable interests and engaged in conflict over control of cattle. Therefore conflict theory is relevant in helping to explain the Pokot-Marakwet interaction over cattle rustling. Cattle rustling as well leads to destruction of either community, hence the community that emerges out of the cattle rustling with all the violence is a reconstituted one. The perpetuation of violence in the conduct of cattle rustling between the two communities verges on organized crime. In addition, the use of excessive force by the law enforcement agencies during disarmament operations in the two communities in the past constitutes unlawful practices in the realm of cattle rustling; thus contributing to the criminological aspect of the thesis.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Relationship between Independent, Intervening, and Dependent Variables



The conceptual framework shows that cattle rustling does not take place in a vacuum. There are push factors in play that account for its persistence over time in spite of existence of efforts to address it. The conceptual framework depicts the independent variables as the push or motivating factors that explain the occurrence and persistence of cattle rustling. The cultural values and practices, payment of dowry, need for revenge, restocking, heroism, commercialization and competition are the independent variables within which women play their role in cattle rustling. The high social recognition associated with many cattle and the availability of ready markets for the rustled livestock as well as weak government control in the Kerio River Valley region enhance cattle rustling.

The enhanced cattle rustling leads to factors whose occurrence are dependent on cattle rustling or the direction it is directed to. Cattle rustling leads to the degradation of women on the losing side; death and injury, loss of property and the emergence of organized crime, especially in the acquisition of guns, illegal use of guns, marketing of rustled cattle. The community or household which is the victim of cattle rustling become more exposed to poverty as their main livelihood is destroyed in the process. Loss of social

recognition on the receiving households becomes the end-result. Therefore, this framework argues that cattle rustling has both gainers and losers.

The conduct and persistence of cattle rustling is influenced by several factors. It takes place within a certain environment. In this context, the intervening factors associated with cattle rustling such as age-set education, religious beliefs, legal awareness, existing peacebuilding initiatives, commitment to cultural values, access to weapons contribute to involvement in cattle rustling by women. The changing people's culture, especially the weak cultural controls by elders partly explain the upsurge in cattle rustling. The framework argues that the weaknesses in the persistence of strong motivating factors lead to women involvement in cattle rustling.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

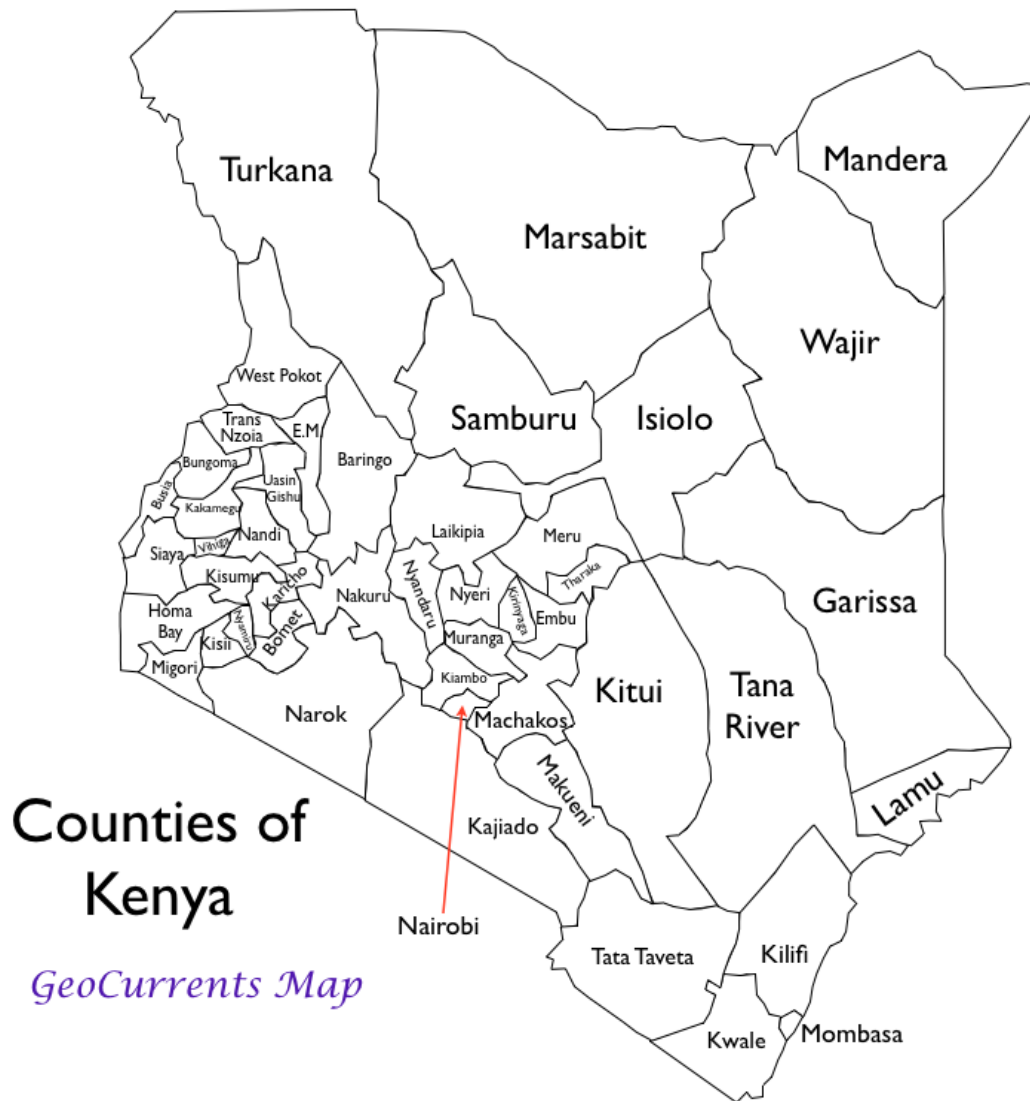
3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research site, research design, sampling techniques, methods and tools of data collection, ethical considerations, and problems encountered in data collection.

3.2 Research Site

The Marakwet community live in Elgeyo Marakwet County, which covers a total area of 3029.9 km². It extends from latitude 0° 20' to 0° to 30' North and Longitude 35° 0' to 35° 45' East. It borders West Pokot County to the North and Baringo County to the East. The Kerio River, which forms most of the boundary with Baringo County, is to the East. Politically the county has four constituencies: Marakwet West, Marakwet East, Keiyo South and Keiyo North. Marakwet West comprises of Sengwer, Lelan, Cherangany, Arror, Kapsowar and Moiben electoral wards. Marakwet East comprises of Kapyego, Embobut, Endo and Sambirir electoral wards (GOK, 2013a). This study was based in Marakwet East and Marakwet West constituencies, sections of which are in Kerio Valley and therefore within the cattle rustling corridor.

Figure 2: Map of Kenya, Indicating Study Site



West Pokot County borders Elgeyo Marakwet and Baringo counties to the South East. It lies within longitude 34° 47' and 35° 49' East and latitude 1° 0' and 2° 0' North. It covers a total area of 9,169.4 km². The lower altitudes of less than 900m above sea level are found in Sigor and Masol, which border Elgeyo Marakwet and are ideal for pastoralism. Kerio River is one of the main sources of water and partly forms the boundary with Elgeyo Marakwet County. The lower elevations ideal for pastoralism receive 500mm of rain annually. The lower areas experience high temperatures averaging 35°C. The area that borders Elgeyo Marakwet is Pokot Central District (Sigor and Chesegon Divisions). In Pokot Central the population as per the 2009 national census is 85,079 with a density of 40 persons per km² (GOK, 2013b). Politically, the area of focus falls within Sigor Constituency, which has four electoral wards. Insecurity has negatively impacted on the socio-economic development of the county. Pokot Central District, which borders Elgeyo Marakwet County, is particularly affected by insecurity. The average household size is 5.5 and 38.3% households are female headed, while 69% of the population lives in absolute poverty. There are 686,375 cattle, 551,596 goats, 460, 327 sheep, 30,617 donkeys. The high number of cattle relative to other livestock reflects the strong attachment to cattle. In terms of education the literacy rate is 22% female and 39% male and 56% children in primary schools walk over 5km to reach school, compared to 85% in secondary school (GOK, 2013b).

The East Pokot live in Baringo East Sub-county whose western boundary is the Kerio River. County borders Elgeyo Marakwet and West Pokot counties to the West. It is located between longitudes 35° 30' and 36° 30' East and between latitudes 0° 10' and 0° 40' south. The county covers an area of 11,015.3km². The rainfall averages 600mm annually in the drier areas occupied by the Pokot community and is ideal for pastoralism. According to the 2009 population census East Pokot sub-county had 69,889 people with a density of 29 persons per km². Politically, the Pokot are in Tiaty Constituency with seven electoral wards. In East Pokot the land is communally owned and managed. Insecurity is a major impediment to development. East Pokot is prone to frequent cattle rustling between the Pokot, Il Chamus, Tugen, Samburu, Turkana and Marakwet. Most schools

and market centres in this region do not develop due to frequent desertion. Cultural and economic factors are responsible for cattle rustling (GOK, 2013c). There is strong attachment to traditions such as moranism, cattle rustling, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), or early marriage. The average household size is five and 10,974 households are female headed. A total of 58.5% households live in absolute poverty (GOK, 2013c).

Table 1: Characteristics of the Research Site

Aspect	Elgeyo Marakwet County	West Pokot County	Baringo County
Positioning (longitude, latitude)	0° 20' to 0° to 30'; 35° 0' to 35° 45' E	34° 47' and 35° 49' E; 1° 0' and 2° 0' N	35° 30' and 36° 30' E; 0° 10' and 0° 40' S
Population (2009)	48,972 +35,053	85,079	69,889
Population density	110 persons per km ²	40 persons / km ²	29 persons/ km ²
Average household size	4.8	5.5	5
Elevation (above sea level)	900m	900m	-
Rainfall (per annual)	850mm	500mm	600mm
Temperature (high)	30°C	35°C	-
Surface area	3029.9 km ²	9,169.4 km ²	11,015.3km ²
Land holding per household (min, max)	7.0Ha large scale and is 1.4Ha small scale	-	-
Literacy rate	49% (51% male and 46.5% female),	22% female and 39% male	-
Poverty rate	67%	69%	
Female headed households	-	38.3%	10,974
Number of cattle	-	686,375	-

Source: GOK, 2013 (Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, Baringo Country Development Plans)

Although the subjects of study are found in administrative units (Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot counties), the focus of the study is the institution of cattle rustling which transcends the administrative boundaries. The three counties have been purposively selected because sections of them exemplify typical cattle rustling in north western Kenya. The two communities of Marakwet and Pokot are not only related in terms of Kalenjin ethnic identity, but also share other cultural similarities such as language and customs. They have been practicing cattle rustling for a very long time, even before the advent of automatic weapons. In addition, the two communities were subsumed under the Northern Frontier Districts by the colonial administration and have since remained marginalized in modern Kenya. Therefore, the choice of the two communities in the three counties is highly representative of the experiences of cattle rustling conflicts in North Western Kenya. The two communities and the area they occupy represent the pure form of cattle rustling in Kenya. The specific research site for data collection was the corridor or triangle on both sides of the Kerio River, which also divides the two communities and the three counties in which the subjects of study live and undertake cattle rustling. The cattle rustling corridor or triangle falls within Kolloa in Baringo County, Tot in Elgeyo Marakwet County and Chesegon in West Pokot County.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is the arrangement of the conditions and processes of data collection and analysis in a manner that is in tandem with the purpose of the research. This was a cross-sectional study because the study assigned new roles to the subject, hence this study sought to provide basic information for the phenomenon to be understood better.

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection to obtain primary data. Therefore, a triangulated methodological approach was used. The purpose of triangulating the methods of data collection and analysis was to validate the data. The execution of the data collection process was in phases. First was a reconnaissance to the study site and identify research assistants, make contacts and familiarization with the area. The second phase was data collection.

3.3.1 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis refers to the entity that is being analyzed in a study. It is the 'what' or 'who' that is being studied (Yurdusev, 1993). Therefore the units of analysis for this study are the Pokot and Marakwet communities.

3.3.2 Unit of Observation

Unit of observation refers to the subject, objects, items or entities from which we measure the characteristics or obtain the data required for the study (Blalock, 1972). In this study, therefore, the units of observation are the sources of data which included women, men, youth, police, chiefs, religious leaders and leaders of civil society organizations and councils of elders.

3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Sampling is concerned with the selection of a subset of individuals from within a statistical population to estimate characteristics of the whole population (Blalock, 1972). The study utilized both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Multi-stage cluster sampling was used in the identification of the specific areas of data collection. In each county, sampling was done from county, sub-county, division, location up to sub-locations falling within Kerio Valley on both sides of the Kerio River. Cluster sampling was found appropriate because of the social differences between the Pokot and Marakwet. The two communities occupy different territories. The Marakwet are agro-pastoralists, whereas the Pokot are pastoralists. In Kolloa Division of Baringo County, Tot Division of Elgeyo Marakwet County and Chesegon Division of West Pokot County were purposively sampled as the clusters. In each cluster the sub-locations were sampled and households identified (each sub-location) in proportion to the population based on the 2009 population census, which was 2,000 households. A sample of 15% of the households was adequate for generalization and it is above the minimum 10% recommended for such a descriptive study (Gay & Airasian, 2003). This calculation led to a sample size of 300 households for this study. However, during data collection 284 household heads were reached and interviewed (140 for Pokot and 144 for Marakwet).

The discrepancy in the sample was due to the fact that some interviews were not completed, while some households could not be traced.

Households in each sampled sub-location were numbered to create a sampling frame from which the sample was drawn relative to the population. A starting point for household interviews was purposively selected in each community starting with the outer edge of the corridor towards the shared boundary. In each cluster a sampling interval was determined and households systematically sampled. Where the selected household was not traced due to migration or other factors the next household was interviewed.

The non-probability sampling technique used was purposive. Purposive sampling was used in undertaking qualitative interviews with key informants and selection of focus group discussions respondents. A total of 20 key informants were interviewed and 15 FGDs were conducted.

Table 2: Summary of Sample

Respondents	Number Attained						Total		
	Pokot			Marakwet			M	F	Overall
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total			
Household heads	46	94	140	85	59	144	131	153	284
FGDs	3	5	8	2	5	7	5	10	15
Key informants	7	5	12	4	4	8	11	9	20

Source: Survey data

3.5 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The primary data collection were undertaken between February and May 2015.

3.5.1 Household Survey

A survey research is a technique that describes specific aspects of a given population by examining the relationships between variables whose results are generalized to the larger population (Singleton, *et al.*, 1993). A representative sample of households was proportionately sampled within the cattle rustling corridor. In each household the head

who happened to be either the husband or the wife was interviewed. A questionnaire with topics covering all aspects of the research was the main tool for collecting quantitative data. The questionnaires were administered face to face. Trained research assistants administered them under the supervision of the researcher.

3.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

Key informants were people with detailed information and knowledge of cattle rustling, Marakwet and Pokot cultures. They included twenty village elders directly under assistant chiefs; assistant chiefs; chiefs; religious leaders; leaders of civil society organizations that included World Vision Kolloa Integrated Programme Area, Red Cross Kenya at Kolloa, Christian Children's Fund at Chesongoch, Practical Action at Sigor, and Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation in Kapenguria. A key informant interview guide (see Appendix Two) was used to facilitate the discussions. The information sought was on the effects of cattle rustling, the role women, men, youth and elders played, the perception of cattle rustling and the transformations in modern day cattle rustling.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

The FGDs were organized according to gender and age. Consequently, men, women, boys and girls FGDs were organized and facilitated separately by the researcher. Criteria for selection of FGD participants varied according to the category. For women all were married but for girls having undergone FGM was the qualifying criterion. For boys they all had been circumcised and either participated or intended to participate in a cattle rustling incident. For men all were married and had participated in cattle rustling. All FGD participants were mobilized and identified with the help of local facilitators. The council of elders was the current members in each case. In each FGD a total of between eight and twelve members participated. A Focus Group Discussion Guide was used to facilitate the discussions (see Appendix Three). The guide included topics seeking to obtain information that address the objectives. The information to be elicited using this tool was on the history and social organization of the Pokot and Marakwet, their culture,

perception of cattle rustling, role of women, men, youth and preparations and processes for carrying out a rustling event.

The idea of interviewing men, women, and youth was found important if one was to get a complete picture of the role of women in cattle rustling. The information also helped to complement one another.

3.5.4 Observation

Observations were made in the villages and households on the consequences (both positive and negative) of cattle rustling. The observations focused on how households or women have adjusted and livelihood activities now undertaken. A check list of observation was used to guide observations on cattle rustling at household and community levels.

3.5.5 Secondary Sources of Data

Documents, especially existing reports on cattle rustling, the Marakwet and Pokot interaction with the colonial government, were reviewed. The review of documents helped to yield existing views about the Pokot and Marakwet over time and concerning cattle rustling. Archival materials were particularly useful in documenting the interaction with the colonial government, history of cattle raids and their social organization.

3.5.6 Case Study

A case study of a typical cattle rustling event was made to provide an illustration and illuminate the phenomenon. The Murkutwo cattle rustling incident perpetrated by the Pokot against the Marakwet in 2001 was used to illustrate the issue under discussion.

3.6 Ethical Issues

Social research does not take place in a vacuum for it involves other people. In this study the following were observed: neutrality in the conduct of the study without getting involved in the life of the respondents, and confidentiality. Information of one respondent

was not shared with another respondent. The respect for the privacy of the respondents was observed all through the conduct of the study. The opinion of each respondent was respected and consent from the subjects was sought from them and their leaders before they were engaged in the study. The data obtained from the respondents were analyzed and presented without my own bias.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity is the extent to which a test measures what it is supposed to measure (Cronbach, 1990). To ensure validity of the instruments and the data collected, the tools underwent a peer review before they were administered. A pilot survey was undertaken and the results used to adjust the methodology and tools of data collection. Reliability is the degree or the dependability with which a research instrument measures whatever attribute (Cronbach, 1990). For this study, this was done using Cronbach's Alpha Technique, and a reliability coefficient of 0.8 was established, hence confirming the reliability of the instruments.

3.8 Data Processing and Analysis

Quantitative data were coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The coded data were analyzed to provide descriptive statistics in terms of totals and percentages. The statistics were used in the report writing to express emerging trends and opinions. A Pearson's chi-square test was done to establish association between the variables of the study. Using Pearson's chi-square to test association between variables establishes that chi-square coefficient χ^2 should be between 0.000 and 1.000 if there is significant relationship between the variables and 0.00 and less when there is no significant relationship between the variables under correlation.

Qualitative data were first sorted, summarized according to key themes and objectives and used to complement quantitative variables. The findings were eventually presented in frequency tables, pie charts, and chi-square tables.

CHAPTER FOUR: CATTLE RUSTLING IN KENYA: PAST AND PRESENT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the socio-cultural profiles of the study communities, the findings from the study in light of cattle rustling situation in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Kenya. The socio-cultural processes perpetuating cattle rustling in Marakwet and Pokot communities is also discussed in relation to the persistence of cattle rustling activities. A case study of 2001 Murkutwo cattle rustling incident in the Marakwet community is also presented.

4.2 Socio-Cultural Profiles of Marakwet and Pokot Communities

Marakwet just like the Pokot is a Kalenjin sub-tribe. Majority live in Elgeyo Marakwet County and some in Trans Nzoia and Uasin Guishu counties in the Republic Kenya. They are semi-pastoralists and those living along Kerio Valley often experience cattle rustling. The community has exogamous totemic clan system of about that organize marriage arrangements to prevent incest, manage water furrows and align all other social functions such as circumcision. They practice extensive arts and have a rich culture. They are dispersed in territorial formats that can be grouped into Almo, Borokot, Marakweta, Kiptani and Endo (Kipkorir, 1973). These territorial units have a slight dialectal difference. The Marakwet have been practicing cattle rustling with the Pokot since pre-colonial period. Their highest supreme being is the *asis* (the sun) or Chebet. Disputes are settled by the council of elders; however, any dispute that the council of elders cannot resolved is always referred to Chebet.

The Pokot just like the Marakwet are lean, tall Nilo-Hamitic group that practices both pastoralism and settled agriculture. They are highland Nilotes that exhibit tendencies of plain Nilotes. They inhabit both Kenya and Uganda, majority of which are in the upper Rift Valley and the minority in Karamojong District of Eastern Uganda. The harsh environment in which the Pokot live has strongly influenced their way of life and has sharply limited development possibilities in those areas (Patterson, 1969). Rainfall

patterns in the areas inhabited by the Pokot are highly variable, tse tse fly invasion is rampant, the terrain is rugged and tend to limit general development.

The Pokot area socio-culturally classified as Hill Pokot and Plains Pokot or East Pokot. The Hill or agricultural Pokot generally called by the plains Pokot pipapagh (those who rely on grains). They practice irrigation farming by utilizing extensive water furrow channels that run across the region extending to the Marakwet country. The Plains or East Pokot are generally pastoralist. They are called *pipatich* (those who keep cattle) by the Hill Pokot (Patterson, 1969). They are also called Karasuk, especially those who live closer to and in Uganda, and East Suk for those who live in East Baringo. However, the name Suk is a little derogatory and was dropped in 1961. It was given by the Maasai as a way of looking down upon the Pokot (Patterson, 1969). The agricultural Pokots live in sprawling villages, similar to a federation of more than 50 households that are organized according to clans and lineages that are totemic. The pastoral Pokot live in scattered establishments that keep changing depending on availability of pasture and epidemic menace. The agricultural Pokot cultivate millet and finger millet which they exchange with the Turkana for sheep and goats. The council of elders arbitrate disputes but have no power to enforce. There is usually a headman, successful warrior or a diviner who wield more assertive powers. It is a more integrated society that has largely resisted colonial rule and is sustained by language, culture, intermarriage and grain-stock barter trade (Huntingford, 1953).

The two categories of Pokot speak a common language and see themselves as a unit, intermarry and interact a lot despite the ecological differences between them (Huntingford, 1953). Cattle occupy a central position in both economic and social life of the Pokot. They are part of the cattle complex societies. They give names to cattle, exchange cattle to cement ties of friendship and mutual obligations. Quantity and not quality of cattle determine wealth status. Cattle among the Pokot are explored extensively for milk, blood, meat, hides, and as form compensation and settlement for disputes. One cattle is equivalent to 10-15 sheep or goats (Huntingford, 1953).

The Pokot have an age-set system whose role in the past has been purely military; however, it has evolved to include maintaining the social cohesion of the community. Disputes are more often settled using cattle and corporal punishment. In addition, stock raids play an important role, especially among the Karamojong. “Successful raids enable the young warriors to establish his manhood and to acquire cattle for bride payments. The two tribes are constantly at odds and the women of both seem to delight in egging on the often bloody raids and counter-raids” (Huntingford, 1953). The value of cattle among the Pokot is further emphasized: “A man with a hundred head is rich, one with ten is poor, and a man with no cattle is ‘dead’” (Schneider, 1957, p.4).

4.3 The Colonial Period, 1910-1963

Cattle rustling is documented to have been happening in pre-colonial Kenya as shown in the colonial political reports between 1911-1958 relating to the Marakwet and Pokot (GOK, 1911-1958). In June 1900, for instance, the colonial tax collector noted that there were very many cattle raids between the Pokot and Marakwet, which favoured the Marakwet because they were using bows and arrows, whereas the Pokot were using spears that have a short range shot. Although there were no specific cattle incidents detailed, the reports confirm that through 1930s cattle raids had become a menace to the colonial government, leading to boundary demarcation between the Marakwet and the Pokot in 1937-1938. Some of the complaints by the Pokot in the Land Commission Report of 1932-1933 include the encroachment by the Marakwet in the upland Lelan reserve. This resource conflict was exacerbated by the policies of the colonial government, which forcefully acquired land from the indigenous communities, establishing the so-called ‘White Highlands’. The colonising Europeans turned the fertile lands previously owned by the pastoralists into large scale ranches and farms, while relegating the pastoral communities to the unproductive arid and semi-arid regions. The Pokot in particular were forced from the rich dry season pastures in Trans Nzoia to create room for white settlement and this led to increased conflict with the Marakwet and the Turkana (Dolan, 2006).

With the establishment of the colonial rule, the government adopted a number of policies that favoured the white settlers' plantation economy to the detriment of the local pastoralist communities. The colonial government fixed borders for the different ethnic communities in Kenya by creating "tribal reserves", aimed at creating more land for ranching and crop farming. This had a significant negative effect on the pastoralists as their nomadic lifestyle demanded that they move from one place to another in search of pasture and water for their cattle. Consequently, land alienation and establishment of ethnic boundaries became the first known major obstacle to nomadic pastoralism, not only in the north western Kenya but also elsewhere in the colony. The Pokot, for example, were displaced from their fertile land and restricted in less fertile areas, which consequently led to increased tension and pressure for water and pasture with their neighbours (Dolan, 2006). Cattle raids started to increase among the Pokot and their neighbouring communities as a restocking measure to replenish the stock that had died due to drought.

In addition, the colonial government imposed movement restrictions and other impediments such as the imposition of market taxes, quarantine and campaigns discouraging cattle keeping. All these had the ultimate effect of making cross-border trade in stock difficult and unprofitable, increasing frustration and tension amongst Kenyan and Ugandan pastoralists (Galaty & Bonte, 1991). Due to these policies and measures, communities such as the Pokot adopted some form of agro-pastoralism in the western side, where only the cattle were moved but the families settled at a particular place. This form of pastoralism entailed the development of hostilities among the various groups over grazing grounds and an increase in cattle raiding missions as a way to restock depleted livestock.

The cattle rustling situation in the colonial period was treated largely as part of stock theft and was punishable by law, although the fines were not severe. The annual reports detailing the judicial cases with respect to stock theft for instance were common in the more settled areas of Elgeyo Marakwet and Baringo than in West Pokot. They were detailed in small scale and involved individual members of the particular community. For

example, among the Marakwet there were eight cases in 1944, nine in 1945 and eight in 1946 (GOK, 1914-1946). In West Pokot District (the present day West Pokot County) there were eight cases in 1928 and nine cases in 1929 (GOK, 1916-1946). A more detailed discussion of cattle theft from the white farms has been discussed (Anderson, 1986). There were reported foiled cattle raids by the Marakwet against the Pokot of West Pokot in 1918. However, the general situation remained stable (GOK, 1916-1946).

Altogether, the colonial government saw the pastoralist way of life as primitive and hence no serious socio-economic support was extended to pastoralist communities. Hence, compared to prime agricultural regions in the country, which were deemed as being of economic value to the colonial government, and which were supplied with a colonial-supporting infrastructure like roads, schools and hospitals, the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) were conspicuously absent from the colonial government's development agenda. What is more, the pastoral communities did not endear themselves to the colonizers since most of them strongly resisted the influence of the white man and instead clung to their culture (Galaty, 1981). The non-pastoralists, on the other hand, were either through collaboration or coercion, easily co-opted into the colonizers culture and were quick to learn such skills as reading and writing. It is the educated elite of these non-pastoralist communities that took up the mantle of leadership in the country upon the exit the colonizers and it is the same elite which also finally moved to consolidate its economic position by settling in the productive former white highlands (Dolan, 2006).

4.4 The Post-Colonial Period, 1963-2014

Militarisation of cattle-rustling and its transformation from the traditional practice to the current criminal activity of cattle theft can be traced back to the 1970s. In the early 1970s, the pastoralists were faced with acute and prolonged famine and were at the mercy of donor-assisted development programmes (Fratkin, *et al.*, 1994). In keeping in line with a "fend-for-yourselfes" approach which was anchored on government policies of developing the "high potential areas first", the government made no particular effort to alleviate the suffering of the pastoralist communities occasioned by the said famine (KHRC, 2001). On the contrary, the government policies of the seventies, the eighties,

the nineties as well as those ushering in the second millennium, focused on agriculture and cultivation, thereby persistently relegating and sidelining the development concerns of the pastoralists to the periphery. Such endemic marginalisation has led to the upsurge of cattle theft among the pastoralists, manifested through intense inter-clan and inter-tribal armed conflict, as a means of survival (Mkutu, 2008).

Although there were reported cases of use of homemade guns in raids between the Marakwet and Pokot in 1976, the entry of automatic weapons into the practice of cattle raiding in Kenya can be traced to a number of factors dating back to 1979. Two factors were key to this new development. First, there were natural disasters such as diseases where most of the cattle died and a two-year drought caused famine and crop-failure. This meant that the communities most affected had to organise cattle-raiding missions to replenish the lost cattle. In 1979 there was upsurge of cattle raids between the Ugandan Karamojong and Turkana of Kenya who were collectively known as “Ngorokos” (bandits). The second factor was the upsurge of cattle rustling caused by the presence of illegal arms which the Ngoroko had obtained from Uganda after the collapse of the Idi Amin administration. The state of insecurity in the region was threatening and the Government of Kenya intervened by deploying military troops to man the areas. For example, between 1984 and 1986, the government held a highly militarised disarmament operation in the Pokot District (GOK, 1987).

The government’s intention of disarming pastoralist communities has been bold. However, the numerous disarmament exercises have not yielded much in terms of reducing the inter-ethnic tension in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands. The reason for the failure of the disarmament efforts seems to stem from the fact that the efforts are geared more to dealing with the symptomatic aspects of cattle rustling, and as such largely failed in so far as addressing the systemic aspects of the problem. The root cause of perennial conflict in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands remains the successive political and economic marginalisation and scarcity of resources (such as productive land, water and good infrastructure) faced by the pastoralist communities from the colonial period to date. However, according to a key informant, since the pastoralists are politically weak, no

serious efforts have been put in place by the government to redress the many years of systemic marginalisation suffered by pastoralists.

4.5 The Magnitude of Cattle Rustling in the Study Area

This section presents the scale of cattle rustling and government response in the study area. Table 3 below shows cattle rustling incidences as perpetrated by the Marakwet against the Pokot.

Table 3: Cattle Rustling by Marakwet against the Pokot Community in Baringo County

Aspect	Gender	Year					
		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Number of livestock raid		39	49	18	49	19	29
Number of livestock stolen		441	1241	233	1237	641	969
Number of livestock recovered		268	714	111	769	241	314
Number of persons killed	Male	2	1	1	4	1	5
	Female	2	1	-	1	1	1
	Children	-	-	-	2	-	-
Number of persons injured	Male	-	1	-	-	-	5
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Children	-	1	-	3	-	-

(The National Police Service, County Police Commander, Baringo County, 2015)

Table 4 below shows cattle rustling incidences as perpetrated by the Pokot against the Marakwet.

Table 4: Cattle Rustling by the Pokot against the Marakwet Community in Elgeyo Marakwet County

Aspect	Gender	Year					
		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Number of livestock raid		-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of livestock stolen		-	6	2	2	1	3
Number of livestock recovered		5	6	2	2	-	2
Number of persons killed	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of persons injured	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-

(The National Police Service, County Police Commander, Elgeyo Marakwet County, 2015)

Table 5 below shows cattle rustling incidences as perpetrated against the Pokot in West Pokot County by the Marakwet.

Table 5: Cattle Rustling by the Marakwet against the Pokot Community in West Pokot County

Aspect	Gender	Year					
		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Number of livestock raid		7	3	4	3	1	-
Number of livestock stolen		767	54	264	26	4	-
Number of livestock recovered		202	32	240	20	4	-
Number of persons killed	Male	6	1	3	-	-	-
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of persons injured	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-

(The National Police Service, County Police Commander, West Pokot County, 2015)

Drawing from tables 3, 4, and 5, the statistics show that there were many incidences of cattle rustling perpetrated by and/or against the Pokot and the Marakwet. It shows that thousands of livestock have been stolen, human lives lost, women and children killed and injured. In addition, the statistics show that cattle rustlers are not only interested in cattle but also in taking human lives. The statistics further show that the number of cattle recovered was less than the number stolen. Although the official statistics on deaths and injuries appear low, this obscures the real picture of the gravity of the incidents as most of them pass unrecorded.

4.6 Knowledge of the Law Relating to Cattle Rustling

The Kenyan legal system does not, however, recognize cattle-rustling as a crime under the Penal Code. Instead cattle rustling is categorized under theft, and Section 278 of the Penal Code provides for a maximum sentence of fourteen years for the theft of stock. Cattle-rustling has however been recognized in other Acts such as the Firearms Act (Cap 114), the Stock and Produce Theft Act (Cap 355), the Meat Control Act (Cap 356), the Branding of Stock Act (Cap 357) and the Hides, Skins and Leather Trade Act (Cap 359). The Stock and Produce Theft Act specifies under Section 9 (1), that any person who has in his possession any stock which may reasonably be suspected of being stolen or unlawfully obtained shall, if he fails to prove to the satisfaction of the court that he came by the stock lawfully, be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to the penalties prescribed for theft. This carries a lenient sanction of not more than fourteen years, yet, in many instances, cattle-rustling involves the use of weapons and force, which carries a life imprisonment. From a legal point of view, cattle theft is not equal to cattle rustling and the many laws regarding it shows lack of specificity on the subject unless a more specific law is introduced.

In addition, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) mandates the Government to protect the various rights of the citizens, which include the right to life and protection of property. These are quite often infringed on by rustlers. At the regional level, there are various instruments relating to cattle rustling. There is the Protocol on the Prevention, Combating

and Eradication of Cattle-rustling in Eastern Africa (EAPCCO, 2008), and The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (RECSA, 2005). Both of these protocols are meant to control cattle rustling activities by depriving rustlers of space and tools. The Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle-rustling in Eastern Africa aims at regional legal and operational uniformity towards eradicating cattle rustling in Eastern Africa. Article 6 refers to livestock identification systems and record keeping, Article 7 to improving the regional operational capacity, Article 8 to public education and awareness, Article 9 to development in pastoralist areas, Article 10 to joint and combined operations across borders, and Article 11 to mutual legal assistance. On the other hand, the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa aims at reduction and subsequent elimination of illegal small arms and light weapons. Article 4 refers to improving regional operational capacity, Article 5 to controlling of civilian possession of small arms and light weapons, Article 6 to control and accountability of state-owned small arms and light weapons, and Article 7 to marking and tracing of small arms and light weapons.

Finally, there are international legal provisions that are not aimed at tackling cattle rustling but rather protecting humanity. They have some relevance to cattle rustling. They include International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1966). Article 27 states,

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

In addition, there is International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 1966). The covenant obligates state parties to ensure that everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights, including food security (Article 11) and right to education (Article 13). The pastoralist communities have, over the past many years, faced food insecurity, with long spells of famine and

drought. Further, they are normally deprived of other social amenities, such as proper health facilities and provision of educational institutions. The lack of concrete development plans in pastoralist areas is seen as a way of abetting cattle rustling (NCCCK, 2002).

Cattle rustling, the law and culture are closely related. An effort was made to understand the people's knowledge of the law that inhibits cattle rustling. The results are as discussed below. More Marakwet (99.3%) compared to Pokot (37.1%) were aware that cattle rustling was a crime. Furthermore, more Marakwet (96.5%) compared to Pokot (60.7%) were of the view that use of force to obtain cattle from another community constituted a crime.

The statistics in Table 6 below demonstrate polar views of how cattle rustlers should be punished, based on their community's perspective and cultural domain. While more Marakwet (98.6%) indicated that cattle rustlers should be punished the way violent robbers are, only 15.0% of the Pokot held that view. Again 45.0% of the Pokot respondents were not sure compared to none among the Marakwet. This result can be interpreted in two ways. The first is that the Pokot are less knowledgeable about the law compared to the Marakwet. The second is that more Pokot condone cattle rustling and find less relevance in the law. There was no much difference between Marakwet (46.0%) and Pokot (54.0%) who said that cattle rustlers should be treated as violent robbers. The difference was statistically significant (chi-square 3.370, p-value 0.066). Similarly, there was no much difference between Marakwet (51.7%) and Pokot (48.3%) who said that cattle rustlers should not be treated as violent robbers. The difference was statistically significant (chi-square 0.030, p-value 0.862).

Table 6: Cattle Rustlers should be Treated as Violent Robbers

Response	Frequency	Overall %	Community %	
			Marakwet	Pokot
Yes	163	57.4	98.6	15.0
No	58	20.4	1.4	40.0
Not sure	63	22.2	0.00	45.0
Total	284	100	100	100

Source: Survey data

Chi-square Table

Narrative	Community %		Chi-square statistic	p-value
	Marakwet	Pokot		
Should be treated as violent robbers	46.0%	54.0%	3.370	0.066
Should not be treated as violent robbers	51.7%	48.3%	0.030	0.862

Only 56.4% of the Pokot respondents, compared to 97.9% of the Marakwet respondents, were of the view that cattle rustlers should be severely punished according to the law the way violent robbers are. On whether a new law dealing with cattle rustlers should be enacted 97.2% of the Marakwet respondents and 39.3% of the Pokot respondents supported that view. This finding shows that more Pokot would condone cattle rustling and find little relevance in the law regarding cattle rustling.

When the respondents were asked if cattle rustling is a crime, 3.6% of the Pokot respondents and 92.4% Marakwet respondents said that cattle rustling is a crime in their culture. Therefore, more Pokot respondents had a more favourable view of cattle rustling compared to the Marakwet respondents. On punishment of cattle rustlers more Marakwet respondents (95.1%) than the Pokot respondents (83.6%) were of the view that it is the responsibility of the state to effect punishments. However, more Pokot respondents (2.9%) than the Marakwet respondents (0.7%) held the view that no punishments were

necessary in cattle rustling. The divergence of opinions regarding aspects of cattle rustling partly accounts for differences between the two communities.

The level of knowledge of the specific existing law prohibiting cattle rustling was quite low among the Marakwet and Pokot communities. Only 6.9% Marakwet and 1.4% Pokot respondents were aware of a specific law. Therefore, the exceedingly low level of knowledge of the relevant laws could be a factor towards the high rate of cattle rustling involving the Pokot. This calls for increased sensitization of both communities on the existing laws. This finding also brings to light the tension between law and culture in modern Kenya. While the law is supreme at the national level, it appears that culture is supreme in the Pokot community.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CATTLE RUSTLING

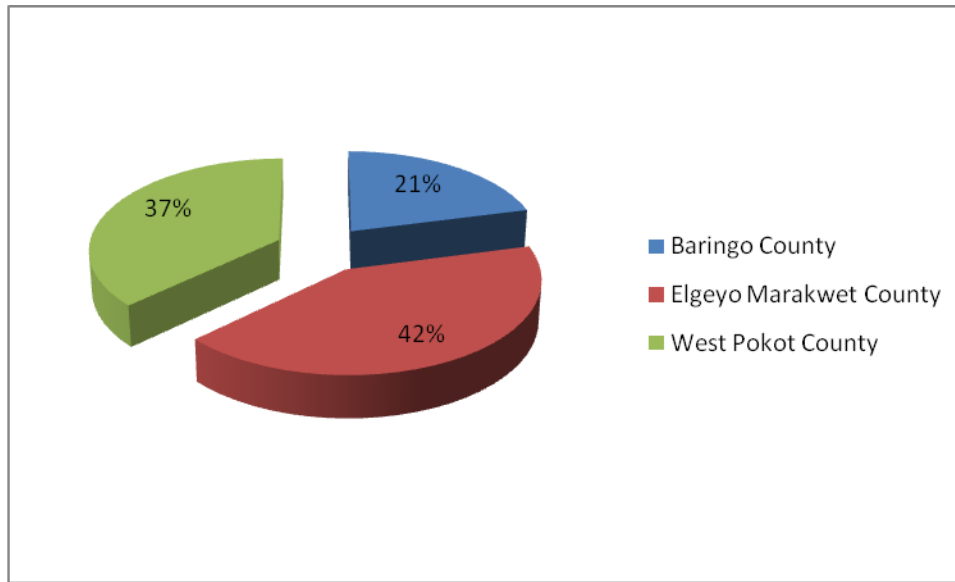
5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and the role of women in all aspects related to cattle rustling. It discusses their involvement in the planning aspects, execution and often the cattle raid activities. Specifically, an attempt is made to bring out or identify the critical contribution in carrying out of cattle rustling activities. The chapter distinguishes three categories of women: girls, married women or wives, and grandmothers. It is observed that lumping women together will not bring out clearly the role each category plays and thereby achieve a better understanding. This chapter further discusses the sanctions women impose on men such as playing with their intelligence as a way of encouraging them to act.

5.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

In this study 300 households were sampled but 284 household heads were interviewed. This analysis is based on 284 respondents, 15 FGDs, and 20 Key informants. Of the 284 respondents Pokot were 140 (46.1%), Marakwet were 144 (53.9%), whereas women were 153 (54%) and men were 131 (46%). Of all the respondents, 21% were interviewed in Baringo County, 42% Elgeyo Marakwet County and 37% in West Pokot County. At sub-county or district level, 21% were from East Pokot, 42% Marakwet East and 37% from Pokot Central. The administrative locations from which the respondents were from are Kollowa 14%, Ngoron 7% in Baringo; Chesegon 18%, Lomut 19% in West Pokot and Mokoro 11%, Mon 11% and Murkutwa 20% in Elgeyo Marakwet. The youngest respondent was 20 years while the oldest was 82 years. However, the respondents were less than the anticipated 300 sample by 16. This constituted an overall response rate of 95%, which was still significant and could not affect the study negatively.

Figure 4: Respondents per County



Source: Survey data

In terms of ethnic distribution of the respondents 51% were Marakwet and 49% Pokot. All the respondents were adults. Their marital status was as follows: married polygynous 36%, married monogamous 49%, single 9%, widower 1.0%, widow 5% and divorced 0.0%.

The educational level of the respondents was that 34% had no formal education, 36% primary, 18% secondary, 5% diploma, 8% degree and none of them had postgraduate education. On religious affiliation, most of the respondents were of the Christian faith with 48% catholic, 25% protestant and 27% belonged to the African traditional religion. Since all the respondents were adults they were in a good position to have experienced cattle rustling, hence competent to meaningfully explain their experiences in various ways.

The respondents lived in a diversity of houses ranging from traditional to modern. In effect 22.2% had permanent houses, 10.6% semi permanent comprising of earth wall and tin roof, 41.9% lived in earth wall and grass roof dwellings, 22.5% in stick wall and grass roof while 2.8% lived in stick wall and cow dung or mud roof structures. Overall, 77.8%

of the respondents lived in temporary housing structures. Relating ethnic group and type of household dwelling structures the distribution is as follows:

Table 7: Type of Housing Structure

Type of main house	Frequency	Marakwet %	Pokot %
Permanent (stone, brick wall, iron roof)	63	41.0	22.2
Earth wall, tin roof	30	2.1	10.6
Earth wall, grass roof	119	36.8	41.9
Stick wall, cow dung/ mud roof	8	3.5	2.8
Sticks wall, grass roof	64	16.7	22.5
Total	284	100	100

Source: Survey data

More (41.0%) Marakwet households lived in permanent houses compared to Pokot 22.2%. Further, more Pokot households 22.5% lived in temporary structures than Marakwet 16.7%.

5.3 Planning for Cattle Rustling

In the context of planning for cattle rustling in both communities 88.0% of the respondents reported that it was the responsibility of men only, 9.1% indicated it falls on both men and women, 2.5% were of the view that it was the elders responsibility and 0.4% did not know. At ethnic community level, 91.1% of Marakwet and 89.7% of the Pokot respondents said it was the responsibility of men, as observed in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Planners of Cattle Rustling at Ethnic Group Level

Planner(s)	Frequency	Marakwet %	Pokot %
Men only	275	91.1	89.7
Men and women	1	5.3	8.3
Elders only	7	2.9	1.6
Don't know	1	0.7	0.4
Total	284	100	100

Source: Survey data

Crosstabulation Table

Community		Who are the planners of cattle rustling				Total
		Men only	Men and women only	Elders only	Don't know	
Marakwet	Frequency	136	0	7	1	144
	% within community	94.4	0.0	4.9	0.7	100.0
	% within planners of cattle rustling	49.5	0.0	100.0	100.0	50.7
	% total	47.9	0.0	2.5	0.4	50.7
Pokot	Frequency	139	1	0	0	140
	% within community	99.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
	% within planners of cattle rustling	50.5	100.0	0.0	0.0	49.3
	% total	48.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	49.3
Total	Frequency	275	100.0	7	1	284
	% within community	96.8	0.4	2.5	0.4	100.0
	% within planners of cattle rustling	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% total	96.8	0.4	2.5	0.4	100.0

The data presented here show that women do play a role in cattle rustling. Cattle rustling is not an incident but a process. Additionally, more Pokot women (8.3%) compared to Marakwet (5.3%) participate in planning for cattle rustling. According to most respondents (85.6%), women play a role. To Marakwet 75.0% and Pokot (96.4%) respondents, women play a role in cattle rustling. Although the proportion of women involved in cattle rustling looks low, it does confirm the fact that women have a role, and

especially considering that these responses were obtained from both men and women. According to women respondents (N=153), 21% said that women play a role in cattle rustling. Generally, the respondents (Marakwet 49.5%, Pokot 50.5%) indicated that men are the planners of cattle rustling.

The traditional roles of women in cattle rustling were presented as preparing food (95.5%), singing praise songs (83.5%), encouraging men (44.9%), spying (65.4%), accompanying male rustlers (4.9%) and concealing information (39.1%). This demonstrates that women play key background roles that motivate, incite, encourage and energize the male cattle rustlers who physically go for the raid. As observed, women's participation in actual rustling is low compared to the magnitude in the backstage events or activities. The roles women play are not the everyday ones but specific to cattle rustling.

Table 9: Traditional Roles of Women in Cattle Rustling

Role(s)	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Preparing food	107	125	99.1	92.6	232	95.5
Singing praise songs	70	133	64.8	98.5	203	83.5
Encouraging men	60	49	55.6	36.3	109	44.9
Spying	52	107	48.1	79.3	159	65.4
Accompany male rustlers	11	1	10.2	0.7	12	4.9
Concealing information	9	86	8.3	63.7	95	39.1

Source: Survey data

A comparison of the roles of women between the Marakwet and Pokot ethnic groups reveals significant differences between Pokot and Marakwet. While the Marakwet women ranked higher in preparing food (99.1%), the Pokot women ranked higher in

singing praise songs (98.5%). In spying the Pokot women were almost twice (79.3%) as much higher than Marakwet women (48.1%). Further, Pokot women at 63.7% were 7.7 times higher in concealing information, compared to Marakwet women at 8.3%. Concealing information is key to the success of cattle rustling. Pokot women, overall, ranked higher in the more traditional cultural practices associated with cattle rustling. Further, the results demonstrate the thesis that women play a role in cattle rustling. A male key informant respondent in Ngoron in East Pokot Sub-County and familiar with cattle rustling remarked as follows:

You see Pokot women are central to cattle rustling. They play more subtle roles while the men play the more explicit roles. In fact, it is women who actually first tease men to plan a cattle raid.

This view was corroborated by female FGD participants at Mon:

A Marakwet woman must fend for herself and her children. A Marakwet woman must be bothered of how her son will get cattle to pay bridewealth for his wife. A mother must tickle the mind of her son to think straight.

According to most respondents (86.3%) (Marakwet 73.6% and Pokot 93.3%) women, especially mothers, incite men and young men to undertake rustling. The pressure women exert on men or young men is stronger among the Pokot compared to the Marakwet. The greater role Pokot women play in cattle rustling is likely a result of their conservativeness, compared to the relatively less conservative Marakwet women (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). The conservativeness of the Pokot women is arrived at best on their low adoption of non-pastoralist activities and their stronger commitment to practicing traditional life. The less conservativeness of the Marakwet women is seen in their stronger adoption of non-pastoralist activities like crop farming, dairy cattle, and business activities.

5.3.1 Sanctions by Women

At ethnic group level, the sanctions women deploy against men to compel them to undertake cattle rustling are more punitive among the Pokot than Marakwet. This puts

more pressure on Pokot than Marakwet men to commence cattle rustling activities and processes.

Table 10: Forms of Women Sanctions against Men

Type of incitement	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
They shame the “cowards”	102	134	96.2	96.4	236	96.3
They shame those without cattle	46	128	43.4	92.1	174	71.0
Brand ridiculing names	84	133	79.2	95.7	217	88.6
Decline to dance with the “coward” or poor	7	105	6.6	75.5	112	45.7
Prevent “cowards” from attending certain ceremonies	6	87	5.7	62.6	93	38.0
Decline to give food to “cowardly” men	41	10	38.7	7.2	51	20.8
Refuse to fetch water for “cowardly” men	0	2	0.0	1.4	2	0.8

Source: Survey data

Women incitement of men or young men to undertake cattle rustling is done in various ways. These include shaming the men or young men as “cowards” (96.3%), shaming those without cattle (71.1%), brand ridiculing names (88.6%), decline to dance with the “cowards” or poor (45.7%), prevent cowards from attending certain ceremonies (38.0%), deny the cowards food (20.8%), decline to fetch water for cowards to drink (0.8%).

Therefore, women deploy a repertoire of social sanctions which prick and test the integrity of men, thereby compelling them into action. One administrator who has worked in Kolloa for over ten years, and therefore knowledgeable of cattle rustling said,

It is women who demand results. Until they demand for the goodies things are cool, but once they do them the Marakwet or Turkana become the target. Although women do not accompany men during the rustling incident but they are the engine behind it. Women in this community are comparable to the development of an anthill. You do not see the time or who are building the anthill but in the morning you find it bigger than it was the previous day. Those who cause other ants to build are in the background, not seen.

5.3.2 Role of Mothers or Wives

The mothers or wives women with husbands and have born children and are still in child bearing age. Mothers or wives play a pivotal role for their sons or husbands at different stages of cattle rustling. The roles range from cooking (29.8%), singing (20.8%), incitement (16.0%), encouragement (14.6%), blessing (9.5%), teasing (8.1%) and cleansing (0.8%). The ethnic group comparisons are presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Role of Mothers or Wives to their Sons or Husbands

Role	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Cook for them	138	123	95.8	87.9	261	29.8
Sing for them	49	34	34.0	24.3	83	20.8
Incite them	52	130	36.1	92.9	182	16.0
Encourage them	1	6	0.7	4.3	7	14.6
Bless them	50	90	34.7	64.3	140	9.5
Tease them	41	30	28.5	21.4	71	8.1
Cleanse them	70	58	48.6	41.4	128	0.8
Not sure	4	0	2.8	0.0	4	0.5

Source: survey data

Pokot women rank twice higher than Marakwet women on incitement and blessing of men to undertake cattle rustling, as observed in Table 10 above. In both communities, however, it is clear that women play a central role in the conduct of cattle rustling. A total of 23.5% respondents (Marakwet 10.2% and Pokot 13.3%) were sure that cattle rustling plans and other activities would not proceed if mothers or wives do not play their role, hence demonstrating the centrality of women in cattle rustling. However, some respondents (33.5%) were of the view that it would go on irrespective of women participation, while 58.8% concurred that it would go on but on a reduced scale. This finding also helps to confirm the long held view that rogue cattle rustlers operating outside or on the margins of community structures can and still stage cattle rustling episodes. Further, ethnic group level comparison shows that among the Marakwet, 61.1% felt cattle rustling would go on as planned, compared to Pokot (5.0%) if women did not play their role. The statistic of 61.1% Marakwet and 5.0% Pokot helps to demonstrate that Pokot women have a greater say on cattle rustling compared to the Marakwet women. At another level the interpretation is that Marakwet community has more rogue cattle rustlers who stage their own cattle raids, while the Pokot rely more on community support based on cultural customs and traditions. Clearly, cattle rustling is more organized or structured among the Pokot than among the Marakwet. Furthermore, majority of the Pokot respondents (89.3%) and 29.2% Marakwet respondents were of the view that cattle rustling would go on but at a reduced scale. While 5.7% Marakwet felt that failure by women to perform their roles would make cattle rustling not to go on, more Pokot respondents 9.0% had a similar view. This shows that Pokot women have more influence on men, unlike Marakwet women, in matters of cattle rustling.

5.3.3 The Role of Grandmothers

Grandmothers play a central role in cattle rustling. They perform several tasks in both Pokot and Marakwet communities. According to survey data, the roles that they play range from blessing (23.4%), singing for them (20.4%), encouragement (15.8%), purification (10.8%), prayers (10.8%), cooking (10.0%), incitement (6.5%) respectively. Only 2.3% respondents did not know the role played by grandmothers. These results show that 97.7% of the respondents are aware that grandmothers have special roles in

cattle rustling enterprise which underscores the view that women play a key role in cattle rustling. See Table 12 below.

Table 12: The Role of Grandmothers to their Grandsons or Granddaughters

Role	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Bless them	43	19	76.4	25.0	62	23.4
Singing for them	110	35	15.3	74.3	145	20.4
Encouragement	22	104	41.7	27.1	126	15.8
Cleansing	61	6	42.4	4.3	67	10.8
Prayers	60	38	23.6	23.6	98	10.8
Cooking for them	12	28	29.9	13.6	40	10.0
Incite them	34	33	8.3	20.0	67	6.5
Don't know	13	1	9.0	0.7	14	2.3

Source: Survey data

5.3.4 The Role of Girls in Cattle Rustling

Girls (both circumcised and uncircumcised single women) play an important role in the cattle rustling enterprise. The roles they play are hierarchically arranged in the order of importance and frequency with which they are performed. The roles include: singing (18.6%), dancing (16.8%), promise of marriage (16.4%), incitement (15.7%), cooking (13.1%), praise (9.1%), encouragement (7.4%), and blessing (1.8%) respectively. Only 1.1% did not know of any roles played by women. Overall, this shows that 98.9% of the respondents were aware of the different roles girls play in cattle rustling. This finding strengthens the thesis that girls play a pivotal role in cattle rustling. These roles are played at different stages in the process of cattle rustling.

The information in Table 13 below shows that Pokot girls are more involved than Marakwet girls in matters of cattle rustling. In both communities, blessing (Marakwet 9.7% and Pokot 4.3%) is not the province of girls, hence the very low levels of

involvement at that level. There was major difference between the roles of girls in cooking for cattle rustlers (Marakwet 58.6%, Pokot 41.4%) and in inciting cattle rustlers (Marakwet 10.3%, Pokot 89.3%). The difference was statistically significant (cooking for them - chi-square 7.428, p-value 0.006; inciting cattle rustlers – chi-square 81.735, p-value 0.000).

Table 13: The Role of Girls in Cattle Rustling

Role	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Sing for them	85	60	52.1	92.9	145	18.6
Dance with them	14	6	61.8	69.3	20	16.8
Promise them marriage	51	122	60.4	67.1	173	16.4
Incite them	75	130	35.4	87.1	205	15.7
Cook for them	28	72	59.0	42.9	100	13.1
Praise them	34	48	19.4	51.4	82	9.1
Encourage them	87	94	9.7	4.3	181	1.8
Bless them	89	97	9.7	4.3	186	1.8
Don't know	10	2	6.9	1.4	12	1.1

Source: Survey data

Chi-square Table

Narrative	Community %		Chi-square statistic	p-value
	Marakwet	Pokot		
Cook for them	58.6	41.4	7.428	0.006
Incite them	10.3	89.7	81.735	0.000

However, girls were found to be particularly more critical in cattle rustling since their next stage is marriage hence they have to attract suitors. The suitors must demonstrate bravery and having cattle which is a guarantee of ability to pay bridewealth. The pressure girls exert on boys in particular is too overwhelming and contributes greatly to cattle rustling. That boy without cattle is poor, therefore unmarriageable and since marriage is

compulsory, the pressure on boys is too overwhelming to look for cattle. In both communities the emphasis is on ownership of cattle but not on the process of acquisition. This view strongly finds justification for cattle rustling.

A Pokot informant at Lepei in Chesegon Division said the following on the role of girls in cattle rustling:

Among the Pokot cattle is everything. Every girl is expected to be married. Marriage is only to a husband who has cattle. The bridewealth is 40 heads of cattle. The cattle are paid all at once. In addition, 40 crates of soda if the girl is educated. So if you are a man you must satisfy this condition. All Pokot men satisfy this condition.

The question posed to the Pokot informant was also passed to a Marakwet leader at Chesongoch on the role of girls. He said,

Among the Marakwet all bridewealth is paid in terms of cattle and goats. A girl can only be married to a man with cattle who can pay for her bridewealth. A man without cattle is poor therefore unattractive to girls. For example, a Marakwet girl can only dance with a man who has cattle or has high promise to own them. She can only promise marriage to such a man. For the Marakwet the bridewealth is six cows, ten goats and one pot of honey. Therefore, girls to some extent make boys to re-evaluate their abilities. And with low levels of education here, ownership of cattle is the thing to assure you of a wife.

The two testimonies help to buttress the point that the demand women put on men to a large extent function as motivation for cattle rustling. The demands by girls on boys in particular show a common or shared cultural practice, although with varying magnitude.

According to both Pokot and Marakwet respondents, if girls did not play their role in this context, 27.1% of the respondents were of the view that cattle rustling will not go on at all, 2.1% said that it will go on on a reduced scale while 64.4% indicated it would proceed to take place. The responses in Table 14 below show the importance of girls. The Pokot girls appear to have stronger sanctions against men compared to Marakwet girls. For example, more Pokot respondents (53.6%) compared to Marakwet respondents

(1.4%) were categorical that failure by girls to perform their roles will make cattle rustling not to take place at all. Again, 11.8% of the Marakwet were not sure whether failure by girls to perform their role would make cattle rustling to proceed, compared to 0.7% of the Pokot respondents. In spite of the differences the finding is that girls in both Marakwet and Pokot communities play a pivotal role in cattle rustling. The night singing of girls during *adong'o/ kirong'o* ceremony for the Pokot and Marakwet is the real trigger for young men to undertake cattle rustling.

Table 14: If Girls Failed to Play their Role in Cattle Rustling

Response	Overall		Marakwet %	Pokot %
	Frequency	%		
It will go on as planned	183	64.4	85.4	42.9
It will go on on a reduced scale	6	2.1	1.4	2.9
It will not go on at all	77	27.1	1.4	53.6
Not sure	18	6.3	11.8	0.7
Total	284	100	100	100

Source: Survey data

5.3.5 Witnessing Girls Participation in Cattle Rustling

Many respondents had personally witnessed girls take part in several cattle rustling related activities and practices. This testimony strengthens the finding that girls and women play a pivotal role in cattle rustling. The results in Table 15 below demonstrate that many respondents in Marakwet and Pokot communities have witnessed girls participate in cattle rustling, hence it is a real practice in both communities. While 57.6% of the Marakwet respondents did not witness girls participation, only 0.7% of the Pokot respondents did not witness, thereby demonstrating that girls participation in cattle rustling could be more involving or intense among the Pokot community than among the Marakwet community. Further, the responses show that girls participate less in matters of cleansing and prayer (1.3% Marakwet, 4.0% Pokot) respectively overall. At ethnic group level for Marakwet, cleansing (3.5%) and Pokot (0.7%). On blessing, Marakwet (6.9%) and Pokot (1.4%). These tasks are reserved for elders or *laibon* (Masinde, *et al.*, 2004).

Table 15: Witness of Girls Participation in Cattle Rustling

Type of participation	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Cook for them	37	34	25.	24.3	71	15.1
Bless them	10	2	6.9	1.4	12	2.6
Sing for them	28	59	19.4	42.1	87	18.5
Cleanse them	5	1	3.5	0.7	6	1.3
Encourage them	26	39	18.1	27.9	65	13.8
Pray for them	1	18	0.7	12.9	19	4.0
Incite them	22	102	15.3	72.9	124	26.4
Tease them	83	1	1.4	0.0	84	0.4
Not witnessed	2	0	57.6	0.7	2	17.9

Source: Survey data

5.3.6 Women Accompaniment of Male Cattle Rustlers

Although women actively participate in cattle rustling, their level of participation and intensity of involvement is more pronounced in the preparatory aspects of this activity. Their participation in the risky aspects involving cattle raiding incidents is quite low. Only 2.8% respondents indicated girls or women accompany male rustlers during rustling incidents. At ethnic level, 5.6% of the Marakwet and 2.8% of the Pokot respondents indicated girls accompany male rustlers. Further, only 3.5% of the respondents showed that women help male rustlers to drive away rustled cattle. At ethnic group level, Marakwet (6.9%) and Pokot (3.5%) respondents confirmed that women help male rustlers to drive away rustled cattle. Therefore women participation in active cattle rustling incidents is quite low but significant.

A total of 18.7% respondents said that women sometimes physically accompany cattle rustlers but at ethnic group level the respondents were Marakwet 20.1% and Pokot 17.1%. Therefore more Marakwet women accompany cattle rustlers compared to their Pokot counterparts. The results show that the women who sometimes accompany cattle

rustlers are female *laibon* or prophetesses (81.0%) and ordinary women (19.0%). At ethnic group level, the Marakwet combine or alternate ordinary women (32.4%) and female *laibon* or prophetesses (67.6%). However, among the Pokot, 100% of the women who sometimes accompany cattle rustlers are prophetess only. Therefore, the role of women who accompany rustlers varies depending on the ethnic group from which they come from. Overall the role of women is to encourage the men (67.9%) or nurse the wounded (32.1%). Among the Marakwet the role of women is to encourage or motivate men (51.5%) or nurse the wounded (48.5%). However among the Pokot the role of the accompanying woman or women is to encourage or motivate men (95.0%) and nursing the wounded (5.0%). Hence while the role of Marakwet women on a cattle rustling mission appears more emotional, it is much less so among the Pokot women.

Furthermore, 31.0% of the respondents (Marakwet 47.9% and Pokot 13.6%) had heard before that women accompany men on a cattle rustling mission. In addition 4.6% of the respondents (Marakwet 5.6% and Pokot 3.6%) personally knew of a woman who had accompanied men on a cattle rustling mission. Although women participate in cattle rustling among the Pokot and Marakwet, not all of them do so. For example, it is a taboo for an expectant or newly married woman to participate, especially in the preparatory aspects or accompany the male cattle rustlers.

The role of women in cattle rustling is a process, not an event as it stretches from the preparatory stages until the rustlers come back with cattle or not. In the event of a successful cattle rustling event women play many roles. According to Table 16 below, the most prominent role is singing praise songs (90.3% among Marakwet and 96.4% among Pokot).

Table 16: Roles Women Play after Successful Cattle Rustling

Role	Frequency		Marakwet	Pokot	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot	%	%	Frequency	%
Sing praise songs	84	47	90.3	96.4	131	93.3
Cook for them	10	5	58.3	33.6	15	46.1
Encourage them	130	135	11.1	8.6	265	9.9
Bless them	3	1	6.9	3.6	4	5.3
Pray for them	16	12	0.7	2.9	28	1.8
Drive cattle to safety	1	4	2.1	0.7	5	1.4
Don't know	1	1	0.7	0.7	2	0.7

Source: Survey data

For the Marakwet and Pokot, being praised by women is one of the most honourable things ever to men as it implies acceptance after demonstration of bravery. The centrality of women in cattle rustling is key. When male cattle rustlers are in the process of attacking the other community the role of women becomes even more central. They do all they can to ensure that their sons or husbands come back alive with cattle. During a cattle raid the most significant deployment by women is to tie the cultural waist band (*leketyo*). In Table 16 below, however, 10.4% of the Marakwet compared to 1.4% of the Pokot respondents did not know what women do when the men are out on a cattle rustling event. The most likely explanation is that more Marakwet now attend school and may not be aware of what goes on.

Table 17: Role of Women during Cattle Rustling Incident

Role	Frequency		Marakwet %	Pokot %	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot			Frequency	%
Tie Leketyo (ritual waist band)	42	7	78.5	97.1	49	87.7
Pray for them	28	7	19.4	29.3	35	24.3
Cook for them	28	41	29.2	5.0	69	17.3
Sing for them	1	0	19.4	5.0	1	12.3
Follow them	113	136	0.7	0.0	249	0.4
Don't know	15	2	10.4	1.4	17	6.0

Source: Survey data

A key informant from Marakwet community confirmed that Pokot women accompany cattle rustlers. Describing an actual cattle rustling incident in Mokoro Location in which a prominent Marakwet woman was stripped naked in her house by cattle rustlers. The victim in her narration of the incident to community members who came to her rescue said that among the Pokot rustlers she clearly identified three women who stood by as the men undressed her and took off with her clothes. In my view, this testimony helps to confirm the finding that women accompany male rustlers.

The role of women keeps evolving depending on the fortunes of the rustling event. In the case of an unsuccessful cattle rustling the roles of women also reflect that reality. In both Marakwet and Pokot communities being unsuccessful in cattle rustling is a particularly trying moment as they come to face women. In Table 17 below, overall, 58.1 % of the respondents, and 52.6% of the Marakwet and 63.6% of the Pokot humiliate the unsuccessful men. Further 27.1% Marakwet and 41.1% Pokot respondents indicated that abuse for such unsuccessful men is apparent, but it is much more on the unsuccessful Pokot men.

Table 18: Role of Women after Failure of Cattle Rustlers

Role	Frequency		Marakwet %	Pokot %	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot			Frequency	%
Cook for them	2	7	1.4	5.0	9	3.2
Sing for them	0	1	0.0	0.7	1	0.4
Abuse them	39	2	27.1	41.1	41	14.4
Pray for them	2	0	1.4	0.0	2	0.7
Humiliate them	76	89	52.8	63.6	165	58.1
Encourage them	80	34	55.6	24.3	114	40.1
Do nothing	0	9	0.0	6.4	9	3.2

Source: Survey data

In all circumstances, therefore, cattle rustlers deploy all their might to ensure that they do not get the wrath of women. Exposure to the humiliation, ridicule and abuse by women has serious implications especially for the unmarried men. First, no girl will be attracted to them, their potential suitors will be taken by other men, they will not have cattle to pay bridewealth with and he may be barred from dancing with girls. Therefore, the cultural role women play puts more pressure on men to engage in criminal activities to satisfy women. In my view, this then raises the issue of the conflict or interaction between law and culture which puts people in the Marakwet and Pokot communities at cross-roads yet appropriate fulfillment of both is socially significant.

On the part of women, an unsuccessful cattle rustling expedition also affects them. It may be interpreted that they did not properly discharge their role as expected. After an unsuccessful cattle rustling women are generally blamed by men. In Table 19 below, the blame is particularly stronger against Pokot women (69.3%) than Marakwet women (19.4%). This shows that Marakwet men are much softer towards their women compared to Pokot men. Hence the pressure on Pokot women during a cattle rustling event is much more on the Pokot woman than on Marakwet woman.

Table 19: Reactions towards Women after Unsuccessful Cattle Rustling**N=284**

Reactions towards women	Frequency		Marakwet %	Pokot %	Overall	
	Marakwet	Pokot			Frequency	%
Women blamed by men	28	97	19.4	69.3	125	42.2
Women blame themselves	72	8	50.0	5.7	80	27.0
Women blamed by rustlers	36	5	25.0	3.6	41	13.9
Women cry or weep	0	1	0.0	0.7	1	0.3
Encouraged by men	16	1	1.0	0.0	1	0.3
Nothing	1	0	1.4	20.0	1	10.1

Source: Survey data

Information obtained from key informants and Focus Group Discussions indicated that in the event a cattle rustler killed a person during a rustling incident such a rustler does not enter his house or his mother's house until he is cleansed. Until present such cleansing rituals are still the preserve of elders or medicine men. However, following the entry of guns into cattle rustling activities, it might not be possible to know the actual rustler who fired the killer bullet. Therefore, all the cattle rustlers are cleansed as a group.

5.4 Culture and Women in Cattle Rustling

5.4.1 The Marakwet Community

According to a key informant familiar with the Marakwet culture, there are many factors that motivate the Marakwet women to be involved in cattle rustling. First, there are cultural practices. For instance, during female circumcision, the women are taught to shoulder greater responsibility towards safeguarding the culture and wellbeing of the community. They then pass this to their daughters. As the culture of the community has

had a lot to do with cattle rustling, it is normal for women to get involved. Secondly, superstitions and taboos also encourage women to participate in cattle rustling. During naming and wedding ceremonies, quite a number of superstitious feats are performed on both male and female children in the community.

A key informant from Elgeyo Marakwet County further observed that there are some beliefs that guide cattle rustling activities among the Marakwet; for instance, a raider whose wife is expectant may not participate in cattle rustling conflicts, or that sex is prohibited for a week prior to a raid. Sharing of girl friends or engaging in adultery is forbidden. In addition, all the time or during cattle rustling newly married young men are discouraged from participating in a cattle raid. Before any cultural conflict pitting two communities together, the Marakwet have two things: *songol* (head gear) and *leketyo* (ritual waist band). The women normally conduct appeasement ceremonies; however, even men do the same but not the norm. For instance, among the Marakwet the women curse away (*ustoy*) any impending conflict by saying: *purererere, apa tapas kaliang* (move away to the land of many flies). The blessing and cleansing ceremonies for cattle rustlers are done early morning around 3 o'clock both before and after a raid by both men and women. The two ceremonies are organized by the council of elders (*kokwo*) with the concurrence of the medicine man (*orkoiyot*).

According to another key informant, this influences their participation in communal events, including cattle rustling. In addition, the urge for revenge as a result of loss of cattle through cattle raid or deaths as a result of cattle rustling skirmishes with neighbouring communities compels women to take active part in cattle rustling since the deaths quite often involve their husbands or other male relatives. The other factors that motivate Marakwet women to participate in cattle rustling include ethnic nationalism, infiltration and availability of small arms, and poverty. Ethnic nationalism that leads to declaration of supremacy of one's ethnic community make women of the two communities collude with their male counterparts to reach this objective, especially through successful raids. Infiltration and availability of small arms has made it easy for the women, who are traditionally deemed cowards among the communities, to take part

in cattle rustling because use of firearms avoids direct physical contact in a violent conflict. In addition, there are intervening variables such as level of development, poverty and marginalization, and general government policy towards security and development in marginalized areas.

When raiding is taking place, the women tighten their ritual waistbands (*leketyo*). They unfasten them after the raid. The message communicated by Marakwet women through the songs is more penetrating and has the impact of inciting cattle rustlers to undertake cattle rustling, hence the significant role of women in cattle rustling. This is similarly observed in the songs sung by women in unison among the Marakwet. In the first song below there is the overt violent conflict as a result of cattle rustling resulting in the death of the herdsman. While it is normal to engage in cattle rustling, killing is not allowed.

Marakwet

1-Owolei x 2

2-mm

3-E woye owolei wero Lorita em Sibow mm

4-Keperchi nee chipo chiich?

5-Keperchi nee kip-echai?

6-Kepar chiich kulen

The son of Lorita from Sibow Village has killed an innocent herdsman. The witness is asking the community to take action against him.

English Translation

1-I praise x 2

2-mm

3-I praise the son of Lorita from Sibow

4-Why did you kill someone's kinsman?

5-Why did you kill a herdsman?

6-You have killed someone for no reason

Moreover, the second song below laughs at the raiding of Kocheseret's (an old grandmother) cattle by Marakwet raiders as an allegation. The complaint by Kocheseret of the loss of her cattle is ignored by that assertion.

Marakwet

1-Rirei o rirei Kocheseret

2-Leli kipa tuka(k)

3-Rirei o rirei

4-Leli kipa tuka(k) chepleng

Kocheseret is crying complaining that Marakwet raiders have taken their cattle.

English Translation

1-She is crying o Kocheseret is crying

2-She alleges that the cattle have gone

3-She is crying o she is crying

4-She alleges that the cows have gone to Marakwet

In the third song below, the Marakwet enjoy relative calm because of the murder of Merinyang, a Pokot cattle rustler, by a Marakwet cattle rustler. As much as the song celebrates the death of Merinyang, it, at the same time, pities him giving the conflicting

reality that the community does not see murder as something to celebrate but a necessary evil.

Marakwet

- 1-Kikipar Merinyang o
- 2-Kikipar Merinyang arap Lopela
- 3-Kipa muren a
- 4-Kipa muren kuwit Tangasya a!
- 5-Chekar atokeet a!
- 6-Chekar atokeet, chekar Kamolokon
- 7-Owen owen o a!
- 8-Araa Tangasya
- 9-Sangpo Lelan a!
- 10-Kikipar Merinyang arap Lopela
- 11-Kiriryo lakoi
- 12-Kongoi Lomechar kiperwech Merinyang

English Translation

- 1-Merinyang has been killed
- 2-Merinyang the son of Lopela has been killed
- 3-The warriors have gone
- 4-The warriors have gone past Tangasya
- 5-Until insecure military points have closed
- 6-To close seal military points, to close Kamolokon
- 7-The war party the war party
- 8-In Tangasya
- 9-In the vast expanse of Lelan
- 10-Merinyang the son of Lopela has been killed
- 11-Until children have cried for him
- 12-Thanks to you Lomechar for having killed Merinyang on our behalf

In this song, the community is happy that there is peace because Merinyang has been killed, and they give thanks to Lomechar for having killed him.

There is rationalization and normalization of injustice in Marakwet war songs through the quest for peace. In the fourth song cattle have been raided from Pokot and rushed into Marakwet. But the Pokot, to console the owner of the cattle, they tell him of the supposed long distance that the Marakwet cattle rustlers have taken making it impossible for the Pokot cattle rustlers to mount a recovery strategy. For the owner of the cattle to enjoy peace, he must forget about the lost cattle. For the Marakwet to get away with punishment, they must take the cattle far away even into the highlands in the Marakwet territory, where they do not live. But it is clear from this account that cattle rustling is embedded in the culture just like conflict and peace. Sensitivity and insensitivity coexist. Insensitivity to the plight of the loser is victory (Kipchumba, 2008).

Marakwet

- 1-Oe owoyee
- 2-Kikipar tupo Kakapul a
- 3-Kikipar kilang mosop o
- 4-Lomurmurya merirei a
- 5-Chitap Baringo aya, Lomurmurya merirei

English Translation

- 1-Yes
- 2-The Kakapul cattle have been raided
- 3-They have reached mosop, upland Marakwet
- 4-Lomurmurya don't cry
- 5-The person of Baringo aya, Lomurmurya

don't cry

Marakwet have raided cattle from Kakapul in East Pokot District. A Pokot herdsman called Lomurmurya is crying bitterly over this loss but other Pokot herdsmen console him by asking him not to worry about the cattle, as they could not be recovered. They have reached Mosop, upland Marakwet District (Kipchumba, 2008).

5.4.2 The Pokot Community

Cattle rustling among the Pokot is organized and carried out in the following manner: young men spy on the adversary, the elders give the young men a go-ahead, that is blessings, cleansing, among other activities. After the raid, the women cleanse the rustlers. The *laibon* (respected medicine man and forewarning sage) bless them after agreeing on a price in form of some two to three cattle. The colours are normally specified in advance. Black colour is preferable. There are no fake *laibon*. According to a key informant from West Pokot County, all Pokot women participate in cattle rustling, more so for the single women. The women are involved in cattle rustling conflicts not because of poverty, but culture. They encourage young men in many ways such as by giving them food, ridiculing young men, by rejecting their sexual advances, or by avoiding them during *adong'o* (night entertainments for and by young people). In addition, they praise and incite young men through songs. The blessing and cleansing ceremonies are conducted around 8 p.m. by the elders (men and women) with the guidance of the *laibon*.

However, there was no direct participation of women in cattle rustling. They only encourage young men to raid, especially for women *laibon*; they want winners, not losers. There are no special features for women cattle rustlers, except the female *laibon* who behave like men. Most of them come from Chepasait clan (Talai clan among the Marakwet). There would be no cattle rustling if women did not approve. Similarly, they also play peace keeping roles. For example, when Chesegon market place in West Pokot County was closed after outbreak of cattle rustling in the 1990s, the women had to re-open it.

In addition, the women are motivated to participate in cattle rustling conflicts by culture and also that they get some meat after a successful raid. Many animals are slaughtered for the women for almost three consecutive days after a raid. The women would participate in cattle rustling because they get some share of the rustled cattle; for instance, one or two cows out of ten, and also they become socially recognized. However, in some cases women do not alter the direction of a raid as such because they are not even informed of an impending raid in some cases. In addition, women hide crucial information from the police who pursue the cattle rustlers.

Most of the key informants observed that there were no reported or heard cases of women cattle rustlers traditionally, except in recent times. Even that is not the norm. The women only prepared foodstuffs, they also performed some rituals such as painting themselves and sang some songs for the young rustlers after a successful rustling. But after any raid, the women who come to celebrate sharing of the loot are rewarded by slaughtering them a cow. The exception is when one's husband is killed in a raid. Such a woman is given a cow to comfort her.

In addition, the driving factor in the frequency of cattle raids among the Pokot against other communities are the different elements by which a man is evaluated in the society. "Whereas among the irrigation [Pokot] people status is linked with the position of one's lineage in the political and ritual hierarchy of lineages, among the pastoralists wealth and personal achievement are of paramount importance" (Peristiany, 1954). Such examples bolster the idea that the Pokot women pressure their men into looking for wealth, hence participation in cattle rustling. The following is one of praise songs sung by women alongside young men, inciting them to undertake a cattle rustling event.

Pokot

1-Leli pi Lokorio Lonapa a
2-Kamunyaita Chemalima
3-Nyo nyokiyaat lalwa na nya
4-Oh Kamina
5-Itepa Cherelkut a Kamina
6-Nyo kirya Lokotoro a kipel ko
7-Lokotepa wero Tulyany
8-Irwenye ngo oyu nya Kabelo?

English Translation

1-People are saying Lokorio Lonapa
2-Of Kammunyaita Chemalima
3-Who opened that river from the enemy
4-Oh Kamina
5-Ask the white mouthed beast
6-Who went to Lokotoro and burned a house
7-Lokotepa the son of Tulyany
8-You are sleeping up to when, Mr Kabelo?

9-Kipitei susweku koro Chepleng! 9-Your grass has already grown in Marakwet land!
(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.

5.5 The Case of Murkutwo Cattle Rustling Incident, Monday 12 March 2001

The cattle rustling event that happened in Murkutwo Location in Marakwet East, Elgeyo Marakwet, is a widely documented and known account of cattle rustling activities in the study area. It is generally known as The Murkutwo Massacre, in line with the devastation associated with it (KHRC, 2001). It was characterized by massive mobilization of cattle rustlers from both Pokot and Marakwet communities and application of new tactics such as burning of houses, indiscriminate killing of children and women, and staving off counter-attacks by the police security personnel deployed at the local level (NCKK, 2002). The events leading up to the massacre started more than a month before the actual incident.

The Murkutwo Massacre happened in the morning of Monday 12 March 2001 between 6.00 A.M. and 9.00 A.M. It involved Pokot cattle rustlers rummaging through the entire Murkutwo Location villages except one. The villages included Kwenoi, Kaptul, Kakisegei, Katemuge, Kirawi, Kacheturgut, Kasang, and Kakimoi. Kakimoi is at the edge of the location, bordering Mon Location to the South, and Kwenoi is the second last village bordering Ketut Location to the North. There were two police stations in the location at the time. A police post at Chesongoch Shopping Centre and Anti-Stock Theft Police Unit station at Murkutwo Shopping Centre. Slightly farther from the location at Tot Shopping Centre was a General Service Unit police squad camp (KHRC, 2001). At the time of this study the ruins of burned houses were still visible.

A female key informant from Murkutwo Location narrated an eye witness account of the incident at Chesongoch Shopping Centre on 19 February 2015:

From December 2000 because of the dry season, the Pokot began encroaching on Marakwet territory in search of pasture for their cattle. They penetrated Marakwet territory at two points: one at Marich Village next to the border to West Pokot and the other at Murkutwo Location next to Mon Location. The momentum of the encroachment built very up fast to an extent that there were thousands of Pokot cattle grazing in Marakwet. The Pokot cattle keepers were not keen any longer that they even left the cattle under the care of a few men armed with AK47 assault rifles.

Every morning the Marakwet cattle rustlers could spot Pokot cattle crossing Kerio River into Marakwet land. The Marakwet cattle rustlers began spying missions from January 2001. They sent women to fetch firewood and wild vegetables in the meadow, while surveying the number of Pokot cattle herders manning the cattle and also to assess their vigilance or laxity. After collecting and analyzing the evidence, the Marakwet cattle rustlers called their friends from the entire Kerio Valley section, especially those from Tot Division. Between 11 and 12 noon one day early February 2001 they raided the cattle. Because of their large mobilization, they did not meet any resistance at all. However, they killed one Pokot cattle keeper who staged some resistance.

Then they directed the rustled cattle towards Murkutwo Location where they shared in chaotic scenes involving shooting in the air throughout the day. However, every participant got a share. The owner or handler of a firearm got at least three cows, whereas owners or handlers of bows and arrows and panga got each a cow or shared a cow. It was not clear how many cattle were rustled in total. I estimated close to 1,600 cattle, whereas some Pokot that I met later gave a slightly higher figure of 2,000 cattle. Majority of the Marakwet cattle rustlers did not come from Murkutwo Location nor did the rustlers from Murkutwo Location get a bigger share of the rustled cattle because they did not have a large number of guns, following after the cattle per gun sharing mode and that most of the rustlers came from farther locations.

Police officers had been mobilized during the day that in the evening of the same raid day they could intercept cattle rustlers from farther locations to the north along the main Biretwo-Tot-Marich Pass Road, where they exchanged fire leading to death of two cattle rustlers and many heads of cattle. That incident rekindled the memory of the Marakwet grievances against the favouritism of the Pokot by the government. Later operation for recovery of the rustled cattle was mounted by the government. But there was zero-recovery rate.

One glaring fault of the operation was the mere fact that the intelligence from the government was wrong because the operation was done in Murkutwo Location, while there were no cattle left here. It was a similar case with the Pokot cattle rustlers when at dawn of Monday 12 March 2001 they mounted a recovery of rustled cattle mission that involved close to 1,000 cattle rustlers.

It started at 6.00 a.m. when the first shot was fired. The Marakwet cattle rustlers mobilized to respond as usual only to realize that they were dealing with a larger than usual number of cattle rustlers who communicated with one another by signalling a red piece of clothing tied to the muzzle of their guns. The rustlers climbed up the escarpment where most Marakwet lived, looting, burning and killing. They rustled mostly goats and sheep because there was no sight of cattle. Cattle rustlers from Tot Division, especially from the neighbouring location of Ketut, responded quickly to the help of their fellow cattle rustlers from this location only to realize that the local police officers had been confined to their stations by incessant exchange of fire with the Pokot cattle rustlers.

The Pokot cattle rustlers finished their mission at 9.00 a.m. and left the villages. Only one Pokot cattle rustler was confirmed dead, with at least 50 Marakwet children, men and women dead and several wounded, several houses burned and property and livestock lost. The arriving Marakwet cattle rustlers did not pursue them. They concentrated on rescue of survivors and taking them to hospital.

After this long narration, the female key informant shed tears.

Plate I: Aftermath of Murkutwo Cattle Rustling Incident (Remains of Burnt Houses by Pokot Cattle Rustlers)



Plate II: Police Officers on the Way to Murkutwo Village after the Cattle Rustling Incident



From this account it is evident that the major role the Marakwet women played was spying. However, it was not clear how the cattle rustlers procured food. Given the chaotic scenes involved in the sharing of the loot, it can be deduced that there was no share reserved for the women involved in the spying mission. In addition, because the number of cattle rustlers involved in the rustling of Pokot cattle in the first instance did not involve many cattle rustlers from Murkutwo Location, it can be deduced that the planning and execution of cattle rustling in the present is not entirely a community affair but escapades of a given network of cattle rustlers who know one another very well. That was why they could travel at night or early morning all the way to assemble closer to the target cattle rustling scene. That the active mobilization of the Marakwet cattle rustlers could not be detected by the Pokot tells a lot more about the involvement of the other

members of the community – this hints that the involvement of other members of the community in modern cattle raids is insignificant at the planning and execution stages. However, that all the thousands of rustled cattle could disappear overnight to an extent that the police operation could not recover any suggests that the community conspiracy is heightened and so even the modern raids are a community enterprise, or that the commercial angle to cattle rustling is highly developed.

The counter raid staged by the Pokot on Monday 12 March 2001 had equally got the Marakwet cattle rustlers unawares. They thought that that was a normal cattle rustling involving just a few cattle rustlers that they could repel only to be overpowered. Even the local police officers had difficult time coming out of their stations because of intense exchange of fire. The scale of destruction that entailed burning of houses was also unmatched in the history of cattle rustling between Marakwet and Pokot communities.

When a female key informant from the Pokot community was interviewed, she had this to say:

The Marakwet need to know that when you take away cattle from the Pokot, you kill the Pokot. When all the cattle were taken away by the Marakwet at Chesumaya [sic. border of Murkutwo and Mon locations] it was like killing the children of Pokot. That was why the Pokot had to revenge.

Children cried at homes, women became prostitutes because there was nothing to eat at home, there was nothing to eat. The men had to revenge that. Every Pokot woman supported it. Every woman gave food to the cattle rustlers.

(Kolloa Shopping Centre, East Pokot, Baringo County, 20 February 2015)

This account suggests that the cattle were raided at Mon Location. It is fairly accurate because Chesumaya is at the border of Mon and Murkutwo locations. However, all the raided cattle were by and large driven towards Murkutwo Location. It appears here that the Pokot knew that they could not recover the rustled cattle and that they were just revenging out of bitterness. That is corroborated further by the burning of houses which they had not done in the past raids.

Finally, these two accounts of Pokot and Marakwet relating to Murkutwo Location incident specifies the roles played by the women to provision of food, collecting intelligence, and doing cover-up of cattle rustling incidents and their perpetrators. The incidents have brought forth the fact that modern cattle rustling is done secretly because of the fear of interception by the police; therefore, the ritualistic aspects of traditional cattle rustling seem to be disappearing. Further, the incident shows the changing character of cattle rustling. It demonstrates massive use of modern weapons, destruction of property, forceful relocation, murder, and injuries to many people. Its large-scale nature also shows the new face of cattle rustling.

5.6 Changing Roles of Women in Cattle Rustling

The roles of women in cattle rustling have changed over time, as times have not been static. Only 6.7% of the respondents said that women still play the same old roles they used to do. Specifically, 6.3% of the Marakwet and 7.1% of the Pokot respondents said that women still play the same old roles in cattle rustling today. However, 20.8% of the respondents stated that women currently play newer roles in cattle rustling. To the 36.1% of the Marakwet and 26.3% of the Pokot respondents, women now play new roles signifying some evolvement of their roles. However, the new roles are in addition to the traditional ones. This implies that women participation in cattle rustling has increasingly become more entrenched following acquisition of new roles.

Table 20 below shows that more Marakwet women (20.8%) compared to Pokot women (1.4%) are involved in peace building activities aimed at eradicating cattle rustling. According to the respondents, more Marakwet women (10.4%) compared to Pokot women (2.1%) discourage cattle rustling. However, the additional roles reportedly played by women include helping cattle rustlers hide stolen cattle, participation in arranging and/or organization and identification of market for rustled cattle. There was major difference between the new roles of enhancing peace keeping (Marakwet 93.8%, Pokot 6.2%) and discouraging cattle rustlers (Marakwet 100.0%, Pokot 0.0%) played by women

in cattle rustling. The difference was statistically significant (peace keeping - chi-square 26.735, p-value; discouraging cattle rustlers – chi-square 15.397, p-value 0.000).

Table 20: New Roles of Women in Cattle Rustling

New roles	Frequency	Overall %	Marakwet %	Pokot %
Enhance peace keeping	32	11.3	20.8	1.4
Discourage cattle rustlers	15	5.3	10.4	2.1
Help rustlers hide stolen cattle	4	1.4	0.7	6.3
Sell the stolen cattle	3	1.1	1.4	2.2
Assist in identifying cattle rustlers to police	2	0.7	0.4	10.3
Help rustlers identify weak entry points in the other community	1	0.4	0.7	0.0
Incite men or urging them to raid	1	0.4	0.7	0.0
Arrange marketing of stolen cattle	1	0.4	0.7	0.0
Not answered	225	79.2	63.9	77.7
Total	284	100	100	100

Source: Survey data

Chi-square Table

Narrative	Community %		Chi-square statistic	p-value
	Marakwet	Pokot		
Enhance peace keeping	93.8	6.2	26.735	0.000
Discourage cattle rustlers	100.0	0.0	15.397	0.000

In addition, women now play an advisory role to cattle rustlers by identifying for them the loopholes in rustling and by guiding them on how to successfully launch a cattle raid. This finding is in contrast to previously reported finding that spying and gathering information on the other community was the sole responsibility of men (Pkalya, *et al.*, 2003). Therefore, if there were no Marakwet and Pokot women 41.2% of the respondents

(50.7% Marakwet and 31.4% Pokot) cattle rustling would still go on. This implies that women play a central role in cattle rustling.

5.7 Perceptions of Women on Cattle Rustling

A total of 53.9% (N=153) women constituted the sample. They were particularly asked to comment on their personal involvement in cattle rustling events. In summary, 3.3% indicated having personally participated in cattle rustling. Therefore, understanding their perceptions is based on actual experiences and the benefits that accrue to them compared to their level of involvement in cattle rustling. In terms of actual number of times women participated in cattle rustling the distribution is as follows: once 20%, two times 40%, four times 20%, many times 20%.

Of all the female respondents, 12.4% have directly benefitted from cattle rustling while 87.6% indicated they do not derive benefits from it. However, most female respondents (71.9%) strongly agreed, 24.2% agreed, 1.3% were not sure and 2.6% disagreed that cattle rustling had brought suffering to women. At ethnic group level 97.9% of the Marakwet and 92.9% of the Pokot respondents strongly agreed that cattle rustling has brought suffering to women. The sufferings that women have undergone include death of husbands, loss of cattle, disruption of livelihoods, and frequent destruction of houses.

Further 62.7% of the respondents strongly agreed, 23.5% agreed, 8.5% were not sure and 5.3% disagreed that their own community is unfairly blamed for cattle rustling. This attribution of blame usually happens mostly through law enforcement agencies. Sometimes they demand cattle theft culprits or even in the process of following after rustled stock, they find it hard to track the cattle rustlers. In response, they would easily settle in the Marakwet shopping centres, beating and mistreating people. In the view of most women, cattle rustling has brought upon them fear and suffering especially resulting from police action. Besides denying them access to markets or rivers lest they reveal the cattle rustlers, they also suffer psychological anguish.

5.8 Satisfaction with Cattle Rustling

The women respondents were asked to state the extent to which they were happy or unhappy with cattle rustling. In terms of happiness with cattle rustling, only 1.3% strongly agreed, 9.8% agreed, 7.2% not sure, 23.5% disagreed while 58.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the assertion that cattle rustling brings to women happiness. In as much as the female respondents indicated that they do not derive many benefits or happiness from cattle rustling, they played a role in it. This implies that the benefits they derive from it motivates some women to play certain roles. Therefore, from women's perspective cattle rustling has some benefits and happiness to those who participate in it. Ideally, people would ordinarily not participate in an event that they do not derive some positive benefit from.

In Table 21 below, a considerable proportion of women respondents (6.5%) strongly agreed, 3.9% agreed, 7.8% were not sure, 28.8% disagreed and 52.9% strongly disagreed with the assertion that they were satisfied with the role they play in cattle rustling. Again, in normal life one will be satisfied with the role they play if the benefits are perceived to be good. There was no Marakwet (0.0%) who indicated that they were very satisfied with their role in cattle rustling compare with the Pokot (100.0%).

Table 21: Women Satisfaction with their Role in Cattle Rustling

	Frequency	%
Strongly agree	10	6.5
Agree	6	3.9
Not sure	12	7.8
Disagree	44	28.8
Strongly disagree	81	52.9
Total	153	100

Source: Survey data

Crosstabulation Table

Community		I am satisfied with my role in cattle rustling					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Marakwet	Frequency	0	6	4	31	18	59
	% within community	0.0	10.2	6.8	52.5	30.5	100.0
	% within satisfied with role	0.0	100.0	33.3	70.5	22.2	38.6
	% total	0.0	3.9	2.6	20.3	11.8	38.6
Pokot	Frequency	10	0	8	13	63	94
	% within community	10.6	0.0	8.5	13.8	67.0	100.0
	% within satisfied with role	100.0	0.0	66.7	29.5	77.8	61.4
	% total	6.5	0.0	5.2	8.5	41.2	61.4
Total	Frequency	10	6	12	44	81	153
	% within community	5.5	3.9	7.8	28.8	52.9	100.0
	% within satisfied with role	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% total	6.5	3.9	7.8	28.8	52.9	100.0

In Table 22 below, most women respondents (64.7%) strongly disagreed, 19.0% disagreed, 7.2% agreed and 0.7% strongly agreed that they get their rightful share following a successful raid. This, then, implies that while women play a pivotal role in cattle rustling, they are not satisfied with their share. Women strongly believe that they deserve more than they get from cattle rustling. Considering the fact that their work

begins from the preparatory stages, to the event and after the event, this implies some level of exploitation of women by men.

Table 22: Women Satisfaction with their Share

Level of perception	Frequency	Overall %	Marakwet %	Pokot %
Strongly agree	1	0.7	-	1.1
Agree	11	7.2	18.6	6.4
Not sure	13	8.5	11.9	10.6
Disagree	29	19.0	32.2	81.9
Strongly disagree	99	64.7	37.3	-
Total	153	100	100	100

Source: Survey data

According to survey data, the sharing of the proceeds from cattle rustling among the Marakwet and Pokot is done based on the weapons used and the level of participation involved. Sometimes a fight can ensue among cattle rustlers themselves over who should take more of the booty. Ideally, the lion's share goes to the owner or handler of a gun, then an owner or handler of other weapons such as arrows and bows and spears. The *laibon's* share is agreed in advance before a raid. It is usually one big cattle of a certain colour. They are not found to demand any more than the pre-raid agreement. A few cattle are slaughtered for everyone, especially women and children, to partake in after the raid, as a form of congratulation or just celebration. Some animals are reserved for cleansing the raiders too. Women are not given a share of rustled cattle as individuals because they are assumed to come from families where the raiders come from.

Additionally, most female respondents 73.2% strongly agreed, 7.2% agreed, 10.5% disagreed and 2.6% strongly disagreed that mothers were satisfied if their sons on a cattle rustling mission came back successfully. At ethnic group level, 40.7% of the Marakwet and 93.6% of the Pokot respondents strongly agreed that mothers were satisfied if their sons come from a successful raid. This shows higher mothers' satisfaction level among the Pokot women compared to the Marakwet women.

In the perception of women, cattle rustling has some advantages. A total of 5.2% strongly agreed, 6.5% agreed, 26.8% disagreed and 60.1% strongly disagreed that cattle rustling had enabled their sons to pay bridewealth. This implies some considerable amount of women satisfaction with cattle rustling, for it enables their sons accomplish tasks they would have been unable to fulfill or would have fulfilled them with greater difficulty. Among the Pokot and Marakwet communities it is a particularly difficult situation for mothers whose sons are unable to marry for lack of bridewealth; therefore, any means used to enable them fulfill this requirement is of great satisfaction to women.

Payment of bridewealth differs between the communities. Among the Marakwet about eight potfuls of liquor are paid at different times. At present, payment of bridewealth for educated girls depends on the specific demands of specific families. On the other hand, among the Pokot there is strict payment of bridewealth. It is usually between ten to twenty cows, twenty-five to thirty goats and four camels. However, this is negotiated between families or groups of families based on how wealthy the family of the bridegroom. There are cases where extremely wealthy families pay even more to prove their worth.

A considerable proportion of women strongly agreed 10.5%, agreed 21.6%, disagreed 17.6% and strongly disagreed 48.6% that they can stop a planned cattle rustling event from taking place under certain circumstances. This then, further strengthens the thesis that women have power to plan, execute or even cause to be called off a planned cattle rustling event, hence demonstrating their centrality in cattle rustling. Although successful cattle rustling brings to homesteads additional cattle therefore expected to make the household materially and socially wealthy, the perception of women in terms of enhancement of social status and in wealth creation does not support the event. For instance most women 64.1% strongly disagreed, 30.1% disagreed, 3.3% agreed and only 0.7% strongly agreed that cattle rustling has made them richer. In fact, contrary to popular belief, most women 46.4% strongly disagreed, 13.1% disagreed, 22.9% agreed and 13.7% strongly agreed that cattle rustling had made them poorer. The question then

becomes why women have continued to participate in activities that make them poorer. The strength of traditional culture and the demands that are required of women make them slaves of this practice. As initially implied, certain events including cattle rustling mainly function to degrade women (Vandana, 1988).

Nevertheless, cattle rustling in its entirety and as shown by the findings affects different women differently. Some benefit while others lose more. This depends on how vulnerable the area they live in is as well as its proximity to the opposing ethnic group. Proximity to Kerio River is not an advantage in relation to cattle rustling. As observed through key informant interviews and focus group discussions, the women whose homesteads are on the borderline between the Marakwet and Pokot, ideally on the opposite sides of Kerio River valley suffer more cattle rustling. Such households have more women who stated to be poorer from cattle rustling. Households that are farther in the interior or those on the higher grounds suffer much less from cattle rustling or not at all, therefore are more likely to be richer. The more interior households are also the places where rustled cattle find refuge, hence will report more benefits from cattle rustling. Settlements closer to the Kerio River such as in Mon and Arror in Marakwet and Kinyach and Loiywat in East Pokot were more vulnerable. Therefore, physical distance from the Pokot community and the Marakwet community determines the extent of benefits and losses households face in cattle rustling. The more the household is located into the Kerio Valley the more the losses, the more the vulnerable and the more women are degraded compared to those farther away or outside or on the fringes of the Kerio River valley.

Overall, more women reported being poorer as a result of cattle rustling and this is supported, to a reasonable extent, by the low proportion of women who are satisfied with the share they obtain from successful cattle rustling. Hence women, to a large extent, have been degraded by cattle rustling.

CHAPTER SIX: CHANGES IN CATTLE RUSTLING

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents ways in which this once cultural practice has gained new dimensions, some of which border on criminality and organized crime. From a traditional enterprise, cattle rustling between the Marakwet and Pokot communities has had a dramatic shift in recent years. Traditionally, for instance, the weapons used were spears, clubs, bows and arrows. More recently, modern cattle rustlers use automatic weapons and grenades. The scale, frequency and intensity of cattle rustling has also increased considerably. Selling of rustled livestock is one new dimension that now characterizes it but was largely absent in the traditional society.

6.2 Evolving Faces of Cattle Rustling

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. In terms of its organization most respondents (93.7%) agreed that it has changed in many ways from what it was traditionally. This implies that certain new aspects that were previously unknown have been introduced. Table 22 below presents some of the new things now characteristic of modern day cattle rustling.

Table 23: Aspects of Evolvment of Cattle Rustling (multiple responses were given)**N=284**

Aspect of change or evolvment	Frequency		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Cattle rustling has become more frequent	142	142	50	50
It takes a short time to accomplish a task	236	48	83.1	16.9
More rustlers are involved than previously	128	156	45.1	54.9
Guns are used more than spears or arrows	64	220	98.2	1.8
More people are killed in cattle raid than before	279	5	76.8	23.2
The number of people injured in a cattle raid is higher	218	66	81.3	18.7
The number of cattle taken is higher today than previously	231	53	75.4	24.3
Today no cattle are left behind for the herd owner to start off	215	69	77.8	22.2
Houses are burnt during cattle rustling today	246	38	86.6	13.4
Children are killed during cattle rustling today	242	42	85.2	14.8
Elders always sanction cattle rustling today	33	251	11.6	88.4
Mothers always bless their sons before they go for cattle rustling	86	198	30.3	69.7
Cattle rustled is always shared with those who did not participate	5	279	1.8	98.2

Source: Survey data

From the foregoing in Table 23 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 today is 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 (83.1%) were of the view that cattle rustling today takes much shorter time to accomplish than before. This was explained by three factors. One is that today cattle rustlers attack their closest neighbours hence it takes a short time. Secondly, the use of violence scares off neighbours who are easily overpowered. Third, the use of modern weapons also ensures that there is little resistance hence tasks are accomplished within even a day. A total of 45.1% respondents said that it is much easier to obtain cattle during rustling today than before. The main reasons advanced were that today more households live isolated on their own, therefore easier targets. Communal living where households would pull their resources together for collective defence has considerably declined hence it is much easier for cattle rustlers to attack an isolated household and make away with cattle. In addition, the number of youth ready to defend their cattle has also considerably declined since many of them attend school.

Except the case of Murkutwo cattle rustling incident, the number of cattle rustlers involved in cattle rustling is much lower today. For example, 77.5% of the respondents indicated that today fewer rustlers take part. The reduction in number of rustlers is most likely explained by the following factors. One is that the use of lethal weapons does not necessitate the involvement of many rustlers but they are still able to accomplish the task. Secondly, given increases in human population, a big number of cattle rustlers moving over a territory is likely to raise suspicion or make it easy to be spotted in advance. The third factor is that the introduction of modern schooling which requires youth to be in school has also contributed to the low numbers of those involved.

Most respondents (98.2%) were categorical that today there is increased use of guns compared to the traditional spears, clubs and arrows. Similar findings were reported (Cheserek, *et al.*, 2012). It was reported that almost every Marakwet and Pokot family living in Kerio Valley has at least a gun for protection and for raiding others. Therefore, increased use of guns represents a substantive evolvement in the conduct of cattle rustling between the Marakwet and Pokot. It was also reported that almost every Marakwet and Pokot youth (82.3% and 94.7% respectively) is able to use a gun. Based on survey data, a

considerable percentage of female respondents (22.7%) and 78.3% of the male respondents knew how to operate a gun. More Pokot respondents (38.3%) indicated that they learnt how to operate a gun when they were youth but 43.4% of the Marakwet learnt the art of operating a gun in their adulthood especially in mid 1990s when cattle rustling intensified in Kerio Valley. Among the Marakwet community the most devastating cattle raid was in 1992 when Pokot cattle rustlers burnt down a whole village and killed hundreds of people in retaliation. This event changed the Marakwet's view of the Pokot and each person, male or female, had to learn the art of using a gun. The use of guns reduces the costs of raiding with respect to organization and risk and permitting a handful of youth to raid on their own without community support. Guns have perpetuated rogue age-sets (Skoggard & Adem, 2010).

According to 76.8% 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. Equally, today there are more injuries during cattle rustling according to 81.3% of the respondents. 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.

To most respondents the number of cattle taken during cattle rustling today is much higher than previously. Traditionally, the rustlers would only take part of the herd. However, today rustlers take virtually all the animals. The use of guns has particularly made this much more possible as there is likely to be less resistance. According to 77.8% (N=284) of the respondents who have either been victims or participants in a cattle raid, no cattle are left behind for the owner to start off life with. Traditionally, rustlers only

used to take part of the herd. The intention was not to disable the herd owner, but today concern for the herd owner is hardly considered during cattle rustling. Therefore, today's cattle rustling totally deprives the herd owner. 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.

In traditional cattle rustling, the main motive was cattle and cattle alone. However, presently 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, modern 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.

6.3 Decline of Elders' Authority

Traditionally, it was the responsibility of the elders to sanction cattle rustling missions. According to 11.6% of the respondents, however, elders hardly sanction cattle rustling today. More often than not, most cattle rustling expeditions today are planned by the youth without the knowledge of the elders. Sometimes, elders only learn of the raids of their youth when they bring their booty home or when they are repulsed or killed. Increasing alienation of the elders and ignoring them was likely the result of youth having acquired guns which they put to use when they find fit. In an FGD with elders, in both communities, they indicated that the impatience of the youth is largely to blame for alienation of the elders. However, discussions with youth in both communities revealed that they have little time for the elders who take too long to make a simple decision and many times they do not sanction the cattle rustling for unexplained reasons. The indecision and slow thinking process by elders does not motivate the youth who need quick results to realize their objectives. The concept of the decline of the authority of elders and leading to increased cattle rustling or conflict among pastoralist communities

was also discussed in the context of the Pokot (Mutsotso, 2010) and in the case of the Suri ethnic group of Southern Ethiopia (Abbink, 2007).

Cattle rustling was traditionally the preserve of the elders in matters of organization and sanctioning. However, today young men organize their own cattle rustling missions. The *laibon* no longer sanctions all cattle rustling missions. This represents a significant shift in the organization and sanctioning of cattle rustling. The power of the *laibon* is no longer as important as it used to be. The moderating influence of the spiritual leader is now overlooked as the youth have taken full charge. The decline of the power of the *laibon* could partly explain the violence with which cattle rustling is undertaken today. Currently, cattle rustling has taken on a class or age dimension as the power of the youth increases and the power of the elders decline. The study of the emergence of the *ngoroko* as cattle rustlers and its attribution to decline of elders' authority mirrors this finding (Skoggard & Adem, 2010).

Based on survey data (N=284), 30.3% of the respondents, mothers always sanction cattle rustling before cattle rustling is undertaken. However, most mothers also reported that many times their sons hardly inform them of their plans until a cattle rustling is undertaken. Although women are still involved, the level of involvement has declined considerably. With the impatient youth, women's views are hardly sought today.

Elderly respondents indicated that traditionally more people benefitted from cattle obtained from rustling because the moral economy was strong. The concept of moral economy in the context of the Kalenjin community and cattle theft was elaborately discussed (Anderson, 1986). Although those who actively participated obtained the greatest share, those vulnerable families, the leader and the *laibon* had shares allocated to them. However, only 1.8% respondents confirmed that those who do not actively participate in cattle rustling obtain a share of the rustled cattle. This reflects a significant evolvement in the character of cattle rustling. Currently, cattle rustling is more individualized and is becoming less and less a collective enterprise. It has taken on the profile of winner takes all.

6.4 Commercialization of Rustled Cattle

According to most respondents (89.8%) cattle obtained from cattle rustling are sold on the market. According to key respondents familiar with the trade, official markets such as Kolloa, Lobutulo, Lomut in Pokot and Chesoi and Cheptongei in Marakwet are used and the sellers pay levy to the local authority. This is an evolvement from traditional cattle rustling where such cattle were solely or mainly used for redistribution, herd growth or payment of bridewealth. Therefore, entry of the market into cattle rustling represents a new evolvement. This corroborates findings from some respondents that they had seen rustled cattle on a lorry and at the market, or that women were involved in arranging for the market. Hence only 18.7% of the respondents showed that all rustled cattle are used to pay bridewealth. This is a further testimony of other conduits (not cultural) through which rustled cattle are processed. Only 44.0% of the respondents stated that cattle rustling is undertaken mainly for payment of bridewealth, compared to 58.1% who said that it is undertaken in order to sell on the market. Therefore, values around cattle that were ranked higher in the traditional society, such as payment of bridewealth, have declined in matter of importance. This represents an important evolvement in the character of cattle rustling over time to the present. According to 31.0% of the respondents (Marakwet 54.2%, Pokot 7.1%), cattle rustlers first establish the market for the cattle before they embark on the mission, hence representing a new dimension in this practice. Based on this finding, more Marakwet respondents believe their attackers sell their cattle, compared to Pokot respondents who seem to suggest that market is not key to cattle rustling. Again 93.3% of the respondents (Marakwet 86.8%, Pokot 100%) were aware of the fact that the rustlers sell the cattle they obtain on the market. The cattle rustlers sell the cattle themselves, according to 85.6% of the respondents, but 16.9% of the respondents said that they sell them through local business people and 3.5% of the respondents said that they sell through politicians.

The researcher found out that there is a strong commercial motivation in cattle-rustling backed up by powerful personalities in the political, security and the provincial

administration sectors. These interests are involved in the confiscation of cattle under the pre-text of fighting cattle rustling only to channel them to markets away from the cattle rustling zone. Sometimes security agents are complicit in selling stolen or confiscated cattle. According to the respondents, the confiscated cattle is sometimes held by security personnel and never returned to the owners. A male member of Marakwet Focus Group Discussion said,

In 1998 Pokot took all our cattle. Some were secured by the police before they crossed River Kerio and kept at the police station. For about two weeks those cattle were in the police compound but we were only told they were returned to the owners. I was one of the owners but I received none. Others who lost cattle also received none. It ended that way. From that time we concluded that the police sold them.

There is the introduction of community policing to resolve cattle rustling challenges. In this initiative the government has recruited and armed the Kenya Police Reservists (KPRs) and home guards as complementary security providers in the ASAL areas. While this was initially meant to be a transparent community policing initiative, the same has been marred with allegations of corruption, incompetence and favouritism along ethnic lines in terms of who should be armed as a KPR or home guard. In some instances, there have been allegations of political interference with respect to recruitment, as the politicians are said to ensure that their clan members and/or community members outnumber those of their rivals in the recruitment exercise. Even more worrying is the fact that there are weak accountability procedures within the KPR and home guard operations, and it has been reported that some of them either use their official guns to conduct cattle rustling or loan out to cattle rustlers. This is a new evolvement in the state's strategy to combat cattle rustling.

Whether cattle rustling is beneficial or not depends on one's situation and time period. The consensus emerging is that the practice has brought ruin to the livelihoods of many cattle keepers, given the massive dispossession and destruction with which it is associated. In the words of one administrator in Murkutwo Location, Marakwet East,

Here in Marakwet you can be a millionaire now, but in the next one hour you have nothing. You can have 300 cattle, 500 sheep, 700 goats, 50 donkeys but in the next one hour you could be having nothing. So cattle rustling, especially if you are a victim, is a risky enterprise. It has brought suffering to the people.

At present, cattle rustlers operate in a “free” environment devoid of any sense. For instance, only 18.0% of the respondents confirmed that cattle rustlers observe the taboos that guided the process. To 82.9% of the respondents, no taboos are followed, hence it has become an orgy of destruction and decimation. For instance, only 7.0% of the respondents indicated that girls still sing praise songs for the youth to undertake cattle rustling, therefore representing a significant shift from original practice. Modern cattle rustlers also engage in activities that have no direct connection to cattle. For example, 50.7% of the respondents (Marakwet 37.5%, Pokot 64.3%) indicated that the rustlers engage in rape of victims while 94.7% confirmed the rustlers also steal other properties besides cattle. On comparison, the majority of Marakwet respondents (97.2%) than the Pokot respondents (92.1%) confirmed that theft of other properties does take place. The higher percentage is an endorsement that this new dimension does takes place.

Generally, cattle rustling as practiced by both Marakwet and Pokot communities manifest them as communities in transition. The use of modern automatic weapons by the Pokot is a desire to acquire the power associated with such weapons without necessarily changing the base of traditional norms underlying accumulation of wealth in the form of cattle. Such societies, for instance, show low levels of literacy, high empathy towards some aspects of modern life, low urbanization or low media participation (Lerner, 1964). While the Marakwet have exemplified a larger shift towards a more modern life by engaging in alternative sources of livelihood such as doing informal businesses, the Pokot, on the other hand, still rely entirely on cattle.

6.5 Adjustment to Cattle Rustling

The main source of livelihood on which most households are dependent is traditional cattle keeping (68.7%), dairy farming (6.7%), crop farming (6.3%), formal employment (3.2%) and business (15.1%) (see Table 23 below). Comparing ethnic group and the main source of livelihood, there are noticeable shifts especially among the Marakwet than the Pokot. This is considering the fact that all the respondents indicated that traditionally, they were mainly dependent on traditional cattle keeping but due to other factors the main source of livelihood has undergone considerable change, among the Marakwet in particular. Observations made in the Marakwet community found maize, beans, sorghum, finger millet, greengrams, cassava, mangoes, bananas, and Friesian dairy cows. In the Pokot community only five farms had maize, sorghum, cassava, mangoes and no dairy cows.

There was small difference between Marakwet (49.5%) and Pokot (50.5%) on traditional cattle as main source of livelihood. The difference was statistically significant (chi-square 0.373, p-value 0.541). However, there was major difference between the two communities with respect to dairy farming (Marakwet 94.7%, Pokot 5.3%), crop farming (Marakwet 100.0%, Pokot 0.0%), employment (Marakwet 87.5%, Pokot 12.5%), and business (Marakwet 7.1%, Pokot 92.9%). The differences for crop farming and employment were not statistically significant. The differences for dairy farming (chi-square 15.795, p-value 0.000) and business (chi-square 37.420, p-value 0.000) were statistically significant.

Table 24: Main Source of Livelihood and Ethnicity

Main source of livelihood	Frequency	Ethnic group	
		Marakwet %	Pokot %
Traditional cattle	195	67.4	68.7
Dairy farming	19	12.5	6.7
Crop farming	18	12.5	6.3
Employment (formal)	9	5.6	3.2
Business	43	2.1	15.1
Total	284	100	100

Source: Survey data

Chi-square Table

Narrative	Community %		Chi-square statistic	p-value
	Marakwet	Pokot		
Traditional cattle	49.5	50.5	0.373	0.541
Dairy farming	94.7	5.3	15.795	0.000
Crop farming	100.0	0.0	N/A	N/A
Employment	87.5	12.5	N/A	N/A
Business	7.1	92.9	37.420	0.000

Drawing from Table 24 above, both Marakwet and Pokot draw their main source of livelihood from traditional cattle keeping (67.4% and 68.7% respectively). What is of particular interest to this study and therefore worth noting is that only 6.7% of Pokot families have adopted dairy farming, compared to the Marakwet (12.5%). Dairy farming is a new way of livelihood with a short history from the early 2000. The rise of Lelan Dairy Cooperative from late 1990s is a response to the shift in cattle rustling (Obbo, 2013). A Marakwet key informant commented on the introduction of dairy farming as follows: The Marakwet began keeping cows for milk production only from around the year 2000.

The first dairy cow I saw in this area of Mon was in 2001. Since then a few more families have now acquired them. And you know when people here

realized that the Pokot were not interested in dairy cows that is why more families bought them.

Pastoralist Pokot women and agro-pastoralist Marakwet women have been affected by cattle rustling, hence women in both communities have adjusted, to different degrees, and taken on new activities or priorities they previously never used to.

For instance (N=284), women have overall taken up crop farming (52.5%) (Marakwet 69.4%, Pokot 35.0%), informal business (95.8%) (Marakwet 72.3%, Pokot 89.3%), basketry (6.0%) (Marakwet 2.1%, Pokot 10.0%), pottery (5.3%) (Marakwet 1.4%, Pokot 9.3%) and weaving (0.4%). According to most respondents (82.0%), it is cattle rustling more than anything else that has made more women to take up crop farming.

Table 25: Women Adoption of Non – Pastoral Forms of Livelihoods

New Livelihood adopted	Frequency	Overall %	Marakwet %	Pokot %
Crop farming	149	52.5	69.4	35.0
Informal business	186	95.8	72.3	89.3
Basketry	17	6.0	2.1	10.0
Pottery	15	5.3	1.4	9.3
Weaving	1	0.4	0.7	0.0

Source: Survey data

According to most respondents (82.0%) (Marakwet 86.8%, Pokot 77.1%) cattle rustling has made more women to engage in crop farming. Further discussions with key informants showed that most Marakwet who adopted dairy and crop farming had relatives in the higher levels of government who influenced them following the rise of Lelan Cooperative. In addition, among the Pokot and Marakwet communities, households that had a member or members employed and therefore widely travelled tended to adopt dairy and crop farming since they could easily afford the initial capital.

Cattle rustling has affected women in several ways. For example (N=284), more girls go to school according to 45.1% of the respondents, less bridewealth is paid 33.1%, the value of the woman has declined (39.8%) (Marakwet 56.3%, Pokot 73.6%) and women

now take on tasks that were traditionally despised (19.7%). The changes are felt more among the Marakwet than among the Pokot in all aspects except that the value of a woman among the Pokot has declined, according to 67.9% of the respondents.

Table 26: Effect of Cattle Rustling on Women Today

Type of Effect	Frequency	Overall %	Marakwet	Pokot %
More girls go to school	128	45.1	57.6	32.1
Less bridewealth is paid	94	33.1	57.6	7.9
The value of women has declined	113	39.8	12.5	67.9
Women now do tasks that were traditionally despised	56	19.7	34.7	4.3

Source: Survey data

On crop farming, the Marakwet have been presented as agro-pastoralists (Kipkorir, 1973). However, this overall classification can be misleading. The Marakwet who live in Kerio Valley practice more of traditional pastoralism as the conditions are ideal and cannot support crop farming unless in very wet years, but this was not guaranteed. Therefore, more Marakwet families have adopted crop farming especially along the banks of River Kerio as the main form of livelihood away from cattle.

In comparison (N=284), only about 6.3% of Pokot households have adopted crop farming as the main source of livelihood even when they live across the river from their Marakwet counterparts. This low adoption of crop farming stems from their traditional contempt for crop farmers as poor people (*chepleng*). More Marakwet households (15.1%) compared to Pokot households (2.1%) are now dependent on business as the main source of livelihood. Based on key informant interviews, the explanation provided was that in the Marakwet community there are many shopping centres in close proximity, therefore the business opportunities are more available. However, on the Pokot side there are two dominant centres, Lomut in West Pokot and Kollowa in Baringo East, hence the opportunities for business are considerably much less and even so the Pokot still regard non-cattle based livelihood systems with contempt. The second explanation is that the

ongoing cattle rustling is more in favour of the Pokot as the Marakwet are more vulnerable compared to the well armed Pokot. In response more Marakwet households have adopted livelihood activities such as business that are of no interest to the Pokot. The less enthusiasm for business as the main source of livelihood for the Pokot households was captured by a statement made by a male participant in an FGD at Ngoron. He said,

You see we Pokot are traditionally cattle people. Even if you do business it will be about cattle. A Pokot person has never naturally liked living and operating a shop which requires that you live in one particular place. We, we are people on the move.

Therefore, in line with cattle rustling, there is a clear ethnic response pattern between the agro-pastoralist Marakwet and pastoralist Pokot. The Marakwet have adopted less traditional cattle dependent sources of livelihood or adopted more crop farming in addition to business. On the other hand, the Pokot have remained more attached to cattle and their interests in crop farming or business only about 50% of the Marakwet. This shift is contrary to the cattle complex, as initially presented (Hardin, 1968).

Many households (31%) have shifted from elsewhere in their memory to the present location where they were interviewed. The reasons for shifting from other locations to the current places they live at are also varied between the Marakwet and Pokot. It is also observed that more Pokot (57.0%) compared to Marakwet (43%) had shifted from elsewhere to their current locations. Many (33.4%) households had shifted before for drought related motives but of these the Pokot constituted the majority (90%) compared to Marakwet (10%). This implies that the Pokot are more pastoral, have more temporal existence than the Marakwet. This finding also helps to support the earlier finding that more Marakwet have adopted other forms of livelihood which does not necessitate them to migrate during drought periods. More Marakwet households (83.3%) compared to Pokot (16.6%) were forced to shift their households to the present location due to cattle rustling or attacks by the neighbouring community. Furthermore, more Marakwet (72.9%) relocated to look for employment compared to Pokot (28.0%). This was possible since the Marakwet side has more urban centres including Iten, Kapsowar and Eldoret

which are close by compared to the Pokot whose major centres are relatively small, few and active only once a week during market days, therefore have much fewer opportunities for employment or their interests outside cattle are negligible. Therefore, the Marakwet response or adjustment to cattle rustling is also seen in their search for paid employment, business and modern agriculture. Again, only Marakwet had bought land for settlement away from their original home following Pokot attacks. The Pokot (100%) migrated more to avoid outbreak of cattle diseases compared to no Marakwet who cited cattle disease as the motive for shifting the household.

Table 27: Motives for Shifting of Households

Reason or motive	Frequency	Marakwet %	Pokot %
To avoid drought in our local area or in search of pasture	30	10.0	90.0
Cattle rustling or insecurity or we were attacked	24	83.3	16.7
Employment	32	72.0	28.0
Escape outbreak of cattle diseases	16	0.0	100
Bought land	2	100	0.0

Source: Survey data

Therefore, it is clear that while the Marakwet cited cattle rustling and security related reasons for shifting their homesteads, the Pokot indicated more cattle welfare related issues as the motive for migration or relocation of the homestead. Hence the Marakwet response to cattle rustling has been relocation to areas perceived to be safe.

Most households (88.0%) have always owned cattle. However, those that do not currently own cattle attributed it to cattle rustling. However, 70.0% of the households have lost cattle before due to a variety of reasons. The most prominent reason for loss of cattle was cattle rustling (60.1%), drought (64.1%), disease (69.2%), wild animals (3.0%) and traditional punishment (3.5%). At the level of ethnic groups, the distribution is as presented in Table 28 below.

Table 28: Reasons for Loss of Cattle

Reason	Ethnic group			
	Frequency		%	
	Marakwet	Pokot	Marakwet	Pokot
Cattle rustling	73	46	37.0	23.0
Drought	64	63	32.0	32.0
Disease	86	51	43.0	26.0
Wild animals	3	3	2.0	2.0
Traditional punishment	3	4	2.0	2.0
Total	121	77	61	39

Source: Survey data

Overall, more Marakwet households have lost cattle compared to Pokot families. The Marakwet respondents (37.0%) compared to Pokot respondents (23.0%) said that they have lost cattle to rustling perpetrated by either community. This shows that more Marakwet families have lost cattle to Pokot than the Pokot have lost to the Marakwet. Further, drought and disease seem to have a higher toll on the Marakwet compared to the Pokot. This is explained by two factors. The first is that the Marakwet are bound within the dry Kerio River Valley with very little opportunities to seek pasture in the higher elevations where settled agriculture is practiced. Secondly, they cannot dare cross Kerio River for fear of exposing themselves to Pokot raiders. Therefore, the Marakwet have fewer options, hence more vulnerable to a variety of factors.

Based on key informant and FGD discussions, comparatively the Pokot lose far less cattle for several reasons. The first is that they are able and frequently push further north into Turkana territory during drought to obtain pasture. Secondly, they regularly cross Kerio River and forcefully encroach on the scarce riverine pastures on the Marakwet side. Thirdly, the Pokot have a fulltime commitment to cattle and all their investments and energy is channeled towards ensuring their cattle survive disease, rustlers and drought. The fourth reason is that the Pokot frequently and forcefully graze onto Tugen land

during drought which also increases their chances of surviving drought and disease. The traditional punishment of *Lapai* among the Pokot is also mentioned as a way of households losing cattle. *Lapai* functions that if a Pokot murders a fellow Pokot, the entire household of the murderer forcefully loses all their cattle as compensation to the deceased's family. This practice is more pronounced among the Pokot while the Marakwet utilize modern courts.

At ethnic level, more Pokot families have not lost a lot of cattle compared to the Marakwet. More Marakwet families (68.2%) indicated their inability to repulse cattle rustlers compared to Pokot (0.7%). Again few Marakwet (4.2%) live far from the cattle rustlers compared to Pokot. Although the total number of cattle lost by each community was not stated, they indicated that they were many. On the other hand, more Pokot households (30.7%) always use veterinary services and drugs to treat cattle compared to Marakwet (2.1%) who irregularly utilize those services. This also strengthens the view that the Pokot have a stronger commitment and invest more in their cattle compared to the Marakwet who have diversified into non-livestock related livelihood activities. Therefore, Pokot ability to survive drought, disease and cattle rustlers is much stronger compared to the Marakwet.

Most respondents (69.4%) were aware of a neighbor who had lost his cattle to cattle rustlers, 28.5% were not aware and 2.1% were not sure of that fact. Farther, 99.6% of the respondents were aware of the fact that cattle rustling takes place between Marakwet and Pokot communities. Also, 48.7% of the respondents knew of a homestead that had previously received cattle obtained from cattle rustling. In terms of personal participation in various aspects of cattle rustling whether as a child or an adult in their entire lifetime 21.1% had participated, 52.5% had never participated, while 26.4% were non-committal. The result shows that cattle rustling is part of the culture of both communities and at various times or stages a considerable proportion of people have participated in it.

However, further probing revealed that the Pokot (74.6%) and Marakwet (12.7%) had undertaken cattle rustling activities directed at each other. There was consensus however

that the Pokot (44.4%) had undertaken more cattle rustling directed at the Marakwet than the other way round. According to most respondents (37.3%), Pokot raids against the Marakwet were large-scale involving hundreds of raiders, covering a large area and supplanting many Marakwet households. Only 2.8% of the respondents were of the view that the cattle rustling raids by both communities were equal in scale. Additionally, 95.1% of the respondents had seen cattle obtained from cattle rustling in their own areas or neighbourhood. For the Marakwet (91.0%) and Pokot (99.3%) respondents had seen such cattle in their own area. Such cattle obtained from cattle rustling were seen in a variety of places, as shown in Table 29.

Table 29: Places where the Rustled Cattle were Seen

N=284

Place	Frequency	Overall %	Marakwet %	Pokot %
In someone's homestead	210	77.8	79.4	76.3
Market	164	60.7	60.3	61.2
Chiefs, D.O.'s office, police station	107	39.6	36.6	42.4
At the river	127	47.0	10.7	62.6
In the bush	69	25.6	14.5	35.3
My homestead	51	18.9	14.5	35.3
On the lorry	8	3.0	5.3	0.7

Source: Survey data

Observations from Table 29 above demonstrate that cattle rustling is a reality; it takes place and it has been witnessed at close range. It also shows that cattle obtained from cattle rustling are found in other people's homes, respondents' homes and generally within the locality. However, cattle seen in the local government office (Chief's Office, D.O.'s Office, Police Station) are those recovered following government intervention but where they ended up has always baffled most respondents as they are not returned to the rightful owners.

In comparison, the agro-pastoralist Marakwet and pastoralist Pokot have responded or adjusted to cattle rustling in different ways, depending on their material circumstances. While more Marakwet have adopted modern aspects of cattle keeping, the Pokot instead have reinforced their hold onto traditional cattle. More Marakwet families have adopted more agro activities and businesses, while most Pokot seem to derive little interest in such livelihood activities. Therefore, as long as the Pokot community still strongly holds onto their culture, the problem of cattle rustling is likely to persist and so women shall continue to play the various types of support roles in cattle rustling activities.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on discussion of key findings. It also draws conclusions from the study findings and makes recommendations.

7.2 Discussion of Key Findings

The study investigated the role women play in cattle rustling among the Marakwet and the Pokot communities of North Western Kenya. Kerio River Valley is the theatre where the cattle rustling takes place. Existing studies discuss in detail cattle rustling in the context of violent conflict in Kenya (Adano, *et al.*, 2012; Fleisher, 1999; Schilling, *et al.*, 2012; Skoggard & Adem, 2010). What is however lacking in the existing literature is the role women play. The study found that women are deeply implicated in all phases of cattle rustling from incitement of men, planning, praise songs, spying, ridicule, concealing information, treating the wounded and even accompanying male cattle rustlers on a raiding mission. Therefore, women are not passive and victims of cattle rustling. Women (girls, wives or mothers, grandmothers) are part of cattle rustling. In the traditional sense cattle rustling missions would be incomplete without women. Women are not the invisible of the Pokot and Marakwet communities. The study found that Pokot women were more involved in cattle rustling activities compared to Marakwet women. The greater involvement by Pokot women was attributed to the mere fact that they were more pastoralist than the Marakwet women. This finding is contrary to what was found that Somali women were more involved in milk sales even when the whole country was at war with each other (Little, 2003). However, the Pokot women play a key role by tying the *leketyo* (Ng'ang'a, 2012).

The roles of women have also kept evolving with time, as women take on additional roles contrary to traditional division of labour. The study found that women are now actively engaged in peace keeping initiatives (Masinde, *et al.*, 2004). This was more pronounced among the Marakwet than among the Pokot women. Women are also now involved in

marketing of rustled cattle. This finding is in line with the view that rustled cattle among pastoralists are sold (Skoggard & Adem, 2010; Fleisher, 1999).

Although women are implicated in cattle rustling, their perceptions about its various facets showed that they do not expressly benefit from it and show dissatisfaction of the benefits accruing to them directly. At ethnic group level, however, Pokot women were generally more satisfied with it than Marakwet women. But in both communities the levels of women satisfaction was considerably low. This finding shows that the reality of women life is instead degraded by cattle rustling. The level of women satisfaction or direct benefits derived from cattle rustling is largely absent in existing studies on this topic.

The conduct of cattle rustling has evolved from the traditional to the modern sense in various ways. The study found that the frequency of cattle rustling events has increased, the time taken to accomplish a raid has drastically reduced, the number of cattle rustled has increased and none is left behind for the herd owner to start off life. Modern cattle rustling has taken a new dimension with the use of guns now widespread (Skoggard & Adem, 2010; Scheffran, *et al.*, 2012; Gray, *et al.*, 2003; Mkutu, 2006). Contrary to traditional cattle rustling, the study found that modern day cattle rustling involves killing and injury of people, destruction of property and even further raping of women (Scheffran, *et al.*, 2012; Eriksen & Lind, 2005; McCabe, 2004; GOK, 2015). The study also found that not all cattle rustling missions are sanctioned by the elders or women, hence youth disobedience was noted. This finding is similar to finding in the context of Turkana Ngoroko (Skoggard & Adem, 2010) and in the context of the Suri pastoralists of Southern Ethiopia (Abbink, 2007).

On women adjustment to cattle rustling, the forms of adjustment taken are heavily influenced by the social organization of the respective community. It was found that the Pokot women were much less enthusiastic in adopting non-indigenous cattle related options. The Marakwet women, on the other hand, adopted more modern agriculture related options most likely following their agro-pastoralist social organization. More

Marakwet women adopted dairy farming, crop farming, business and formal employment. The adoption of dairy farming by the Pokot and Marakwet has been elaborately discussed in the context of the Lelan Dairy Cooperative Society (Obbo, 2013).

7.3 Conclusion

The phenomenon of cattle rustling among the Nilotic communities of North Western Kenya in particular and in Kenya in general is on the increase and it is a source of concern. It has undermined development a great deal and disrupted or destroyed the livelihoods of households and communities. It has made law and order a real challenge to the state. The changing character of cattle rustling presents new challenges to the Kenyan state. In particular its intensity, frequency, the use of firearms and now selling of rustled cattle on the open markets presents a challenge that must be dealt with today. This new challenge now clearly borders on organized crime which has escalated in Kenya and across the borders, especially Uganda, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Somalia. This calls for enhanced security investments in these regions if these activities will not be outlawed. In this dynamic women play clear roles.

Connected to this is how law interacts with culture. Although the law outlaws harmful cultural practices such as cattle rustling, the communities which practice it view it as part of their cultural identity. Therefore, a mere law and order approach or abruptly criminalizing cattle rustling leading to full-scale prosecution of its actors, though may sound a quick fix solution, in the long run it may be counter-productive. A more softer and mild approach would be a more persuasive approach. This change could be achieved through increased access to education and information, sensitization about the law and availability of alternative sources of income to the youth. Devaluing cattle as the basis of wealth accumulation and recognition will be an important approach which can be achieved through the softer approaches.

Although there have been many peace initiatives aimed at resolving cattle rustling and other connected conflicts, a refocus putting women in the centre would be a more

plausible approach as the women's view of men has a strong influence on the conduct or not of cattle rustling. Other than viewing women as passive players, victims and flawless, they are central to the resolution of cattle rustling among the Nilotic communities of North Western Kenya. In this study women are presented as the cornerstone of cattle rustling and therefore efforts towards addressing this problem should focus on them.

The theoretical underpinnings of this study indicate that women play distinct roles in cattle rustling and that their motivation in cattle rustling activities varies from socio-cultural, economic to environmental motivators. Marxist feminism is relevant on the account of its ability to help explain the eventual benefactors or appropriators of cattle rustling. For instance, once cattle are rustled in the name of women they are shared by men only. Human Ecology theory, on the other hand, rests on the assumption that social life and the environment are inseparable. It argues that changed social circumstances call for changed responses, hence cattle raiding is a culturally and environmentally adaptive response in the two communities. Given the frequency and ferocity of droughts in pastoral areas, it follows that there must be a suitable and culturally relevant redistributive mechanism among the inhabitant pastoralists. One of the redistributive mechanisms is cattle rustling. Similarly, ecofeminism explains that the strains arising from cattle rustling disproportionately fall more on women among the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Finally, conflict theory argued that human nature is basically harmonious but is corrupted by human competition and conflict. The Pokot and Marakwet communities stand as two social classes in constant opposition to one another over control of cattle.

7.4 Recommendations

There is need for the following to be done in order to curb Marakwet-Pokot cattle rustling activities and mitigate the effects:

1. The relevance of indigenous cattle in Kerio Valley looks untenable given their vulnerability to rustling. It is therefore recommended that improved dairy cattle be promoted given their unattractiveness to rustlers, little space needed to keep them

- and higher milk productivity will make women and young men re-direct their energies away from rustling.
2. Since women play a pivotal role in cattle rustling yet existing peace efforts are dominated by men, it is recommended that women participation be enhanced in order to play a more prominent role.
 3. Given the changes in climate coupled with high population increase against a dwindling resource base, it is recommended that alternative forms of livelihood (crop farming) be promoted in order to wean more women from cattle rustling related activities.
 4. Access to education for girls is important in order to enhance their value at marriage away from culture-related value-laden practices such as cattle rustling. Therefore, increased awareness and importance of education be enhanced in the two communities.
 5. Given that more Pokot and Marakwet people do not understand the law relating to cattle theft and/or use of force, it is recommended that efforts be made to sensitize the people on the provisions of the constitution and the law vis-à-vis cultural practices.

7.5 Further Study

This study has concentrated on the role and participation of Marakwet and Pokot women in cattle rustling. This presents some limitations in generalizing the findings to cover the role of women in cattle rustling in other regions of Kenya or in other countries. Therefore, there is need for a comparative study on the same subject in different environments at different times.

A study of cattle rustling is never an easy topic, especially among the cattle rustlers, its organizers and perpetrators. Suspicion of the intention of the study led to many refusals to answer the questions. It took much more time for the responses, especially among the Pokot respondents, to be convinced that the study was for academic purposes only. The terrain of the area of the study was also challenging. In future, this situation can be avoided by prior sensitization of the target communities through their leaders and media

about the research purpose. In addition, the poor road network also made the study take a much longer time than planned. Among the Pokot community, in particular, the homesteads are scattered over a large territory and very difficult to locate. In future study, more time is needed to cover the areas with poor transport facilities and also there is need to procure all-weather vehicles or use motorcycles that can easily penetrate such terrains.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Household Questionnaire

Dear Respondent,

My name is David Mwole Kimaiyo, a PhD student from the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi. I am collecting data on the role of women in cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The data collected is for academic purposes only. You are not required to indicate your name or any other identification. I therefore humbly request you to answer these few questions. If you accept my request, may you please proceed to answer the questions.

Thank you.

Household Description	Response
County:	
Sub-county/ District:	
Location:	
Name of interviewer:	
Name of respondent (optional):	
Date of interview:	
Interview start time:	
Interview end time:	
Approximate distance from Kerio River	

A: Background Information

- Community
Marakwet (1)
Pokot (2)
- Age of respondent
Record in full years []
- Gender of respondent
Male (1)
Female (2)

4. Marital status
 - Married polygynous (1)
 - Married monogamous (2)
 - Single (3)
 - Widower (4)
 - Widow (5)
 - Separated (6)
 - Divorced (7)
 - Other specify_____ (8)
5. Highest level of education attained
 - No school (1)
 - Primary (2)
 - Secondary (3)
 - Diploma (4)
 - Degree (5)
 - Post graduate (6)
6. Religious affiliation
 - Catholic (1)
 - Protestant (2)
 - African traditional (3)
 - Islam (4)
 - Other specify_____ (5)
7. (a) For how long have you lived in your present homestead? _____
- (b) Did you shift to here from another area?
 - Yes (1)
 - No (2)
- (c) If yes, why did you shift here? (If no, skip)_____
8. Family size
 - Number of male _____

- Number of female _____
9. Type of main housing
- Permanent (stone/ bricks, walls, iron roof) (1)
- Earth wall, tin roof (2)
- Earth wall, grass thatch (3)
- Sticks wall, cow dung / mud roof (4)
- Sticks wall, grass thatch (5)
- Other specify (6)
10. **MAIN** source of livelihood:
- Cattle traditional (1)
- Dairy farming (2)
- Crop farming (3)
- Employment (4)
- Business (5)
- Remittances (6)
- Other specify_____ (7)

11. Cattle ownership

Type of cattle	Number
Cattle indigenous	
Cattle exotic	
Sheep	
Goats	
Donkeys	
Camels	
Chicken / poultry	

12. Has your family always owned cattle?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
13. If not always, why did you not own sometimes?

- I was young (1)
- I had not settled yet (2)
- They were stolen (3)
- I was afraid to keep (4)
- Until I acquired my own (5)
- Was in school (6)
- Other specify (7)

B: Cattle Rustling Section

14. Have you and your family lost some cattle before?
 - Yes (1)
 - No (2)
15. If yes, what was the reason (**multiple responses possible**)
 - Rustling (1)
 - Drought (2)
 - Disease (3)
 - Wild animals (4)
 - Traditional punishment (5)
 - Other specify_____ (6)
16. If no, why?
 - We are far from rustlers (1)
 - We repulse rustlers each time (2)
 - Not suffered drought (3)
 - I always treat my cattle (4)
 - No wild animals (6)
 - Other specify_____ (7)
17. Has your neighbor ever lost some cattle to rustlers?
 - Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - Not sure (3)

18. Are you aware that cattle rustling takes place between the Pokot and Marakwet communities?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
19. Is there a homestead you know in your area that has received cattle from a rustling event?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
20. Have you ever personally participated in cattle rustling whether as a child or an adult in your lifetime?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
21. Have you ever received cattle obtained from rustling?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
22. In your view which community has undertaken more rustling activities directed at the other community?
- Pokot (1)
- Marakwet (2)
- Not sure (3)
23. Why do you think so?
- The Pokot raid more the Marakwet (1)
- The Marakwet raid more the Pokot (2)
- Pokot raids against the Marakwet are largescale (3)
- Marakwet raids among the Pokot are largescale (4)
- Other specify_____ (5)
24. Have you ever seen cattle obtained from cattle rustling in your area?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
25. If yes, where were they? **(multiple responses possible)**
- In someone's homestead (1)

- My homestead (2)
- Market (3)
- In the bush (4)
- On the Lorry (5)
- Along the water (6)
- At the river (7)
- At chief's, DO's, Police Station, etc. (8)
- Others specify_____ (9)

C. Evolving Roles of Women

26. Who are the planners of cattle rustling?
 - Men only (1)
 - Women only (2)
 - Men and women only (3)
 - Elders only (4)
 - Mothers only (5)
 - Other specify_____ (6)
27. Do women play any role in cattle rustling?
 - Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - Not sure (3)
28. If yes, what is their traditional role? (**multiple responses possible**)
 - Preparing food (1)
 - Singing praise songs (2)
 - Encouraging men (3)
 - Spying (4)
 - Accompanying rustlers (5)
 - Concealing information (6)
 - Other specify_____ (7)
29. Do women incite men / young men to undertake cattle rustling?
 - Yes (1)

- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
30. How do they do it? (**multiple responses possible**)
- They shame the cowards (1)
- They shame those without cattle (2)
- Brand ridiculing names (3)
- Refuse to dance with those who are poor/ coward (4)
- Prevent cowards from attending certain ceremonies (5)
- Refuse food to coward men (6)
- Other specify_____ (7)
31. What roles do mothers play for their sons / husbands who prepare to go for cattle rustling? (**multiple responses**)
- Cook for them (1)
- Bless them (2)
- Sing for them (3)
- Purify them (4)
- Incite them (5)
- Tease them (6)
- Encourage them (7)
- Others specify_____ (8)
32. If mothers do not play this role, will cattle rustling go on?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
33. If yes,
- It will go on as planned (1)
- It will go on but at a reduced scale (2)
- It will not go on at all (3)
34. What do grandmothers do to their sons / daughters before they go for cattle rustling?
- Cook for them (1)

- Bless them (2)
- Sing for them (3)
- Purify them (4)
- Encourage them (5)
- Incite them (6)
- Pray for them (7)
- Other specify_____ (8)

35. What role do girls play for cattle rustlers? **(multiple responses possible)**

- Cook for them (1)
- Bless them (2)
- Incite them (3)
- Sing for them (4)
- Praise them (5)
- Encourage them (6)
- Promise them marriage (7)
- Dance with them (8)
- Other specify_____ (9)

36. If girls did not do this to them, will the rustlers go ahead with the rustling mission?

- It will go on as planned (1)
- It will go on a larger scale (2)
- It will not go on at all (3)

37. What have you personally witnessed girls doing before cattle rustling takes place?

- Cook for them (1)
- Bless them (2)
- Sing for them (3)
- Purify them (4)
- Encourage them (5)
- Pray for them (6)

- Incite them (7)
- I have not witnessed (8)
- Other specify_____ (9)

Answer YES or No to the following:

- 38. Girls / women personally accompany to assist cattle rustlers?
 Yes (1)
 No (2)
- 39. Girls / women help the male rustlers to drive away rustled cattle?
 Yes (1)
 No (2)
 Not sure (3)
- 40. Do women still play the same old roles in cattle rustling today?
 Yes (1)
 No (2)
- 41. Do women now play new roles during cattle rustling?
 Yes (1)
 No (2)
- 42. If yes, what new roles do they now play?

- 43. In your view, if there were no women, do you think men would go for cattle rusting?
 Yes (1)
 No (2)
 Not very much (3)
- 44. What do women do for cattle rustlers after a successful cattle raid?
 Cook for them (1)
 Bless them (2)
 Sing praise songs for them (3)
 Purify them (4)
 Drive the cattle to safety (5)

- Encourage them (6)
 - Pray for them (7)
 - Other specify_____ (8)
45. What do women do when the raiders are out on a cattle rustling mission?
- Cook for them (1)
 - Sing for them (2)
 - Pray for them (3)
 - Follow them up (4)
 - Tie cultural waist band (leketyo) (5)
 - Other specify_____ (6)
46. What do women do after they learn the cattle raid was unsuccessful?
- Cook for them (1)
 - Sing for them (2)
 - Abuse them (3)
 - Pray for them (4)
 - Humiliate them (5)
 - Encourage them (6)
 - Other specify_____ (7)
47. What happens to women after an unsuccessful cattle raid?
- Women blamed by men (1)
 - Women blame themselves (2)
 - Women blamed by raiders (3)
 - Other specify_____ (4)
48. (a) Do women sometimes physically accompany male cattle rustlers?
- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
- (b) If yes, what kind of women are they?
- Ordinary women (1)
 - Prophetesses (2)
 - Other specify_____ (3)
- (c) What is their role?

- Encourage/ motivate them (1)
- Nurse the wounded (2)
- Other specify_____ (3)
- (d) If yes, what is the frequency of accompanying men?
- Often (1)
- Rarely (2)
- Not sure (3)
49. Have you heard of women who have accompanied men on a cattle rustling mission?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
50. Today do you know of women who accompany men on a cattle rustling mission.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

D: Perceptions of Women towards Cattle Rustling (Female Respondents only)

51. I have participated in cattle rustling.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
52. If yes, at what age did you do so? Age in years_____
53. If yes, how many times did you participate in it? _____
54. I have benefitted from cattle rustling.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
55. Cattle rustling has brought more suffering to women
- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Not sure (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

56. My community is unfairly blamed for cattle rustling.
- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Not sure | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
57. I am happy with cattle rustling because of the benefits I have got.
- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Not sure | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
58. (a) I have played part in cattle rustling.
- | | |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | (1) |
| No | (2) |
- (b) If yes, state the role_____
59. I am satisfied with my role in cattle rustling.
- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Not sure | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
60. I get my rightful share in successful cattle rustling
- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Not sure | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
61. Cattle rustling has enabled my son to pay bridewealth.
- | | |
|----------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |

- Not sure (3)
Disagree (4)
Strongly Disagree (5)
62. As a woman I can stop a planned cattle raid from taking place.
Strongly Agree (1)
Agree (2)
Not sure (3)
Disagree (4)
Strongly Disagree (5)
63. Mothers are satisfied if their sons come back from a successful raid.
Strongly Agree (1)
Agree (2)
Not sure (3)
Disagree (4)
Strongly Disagree (5)
64. Cattle rustling has made me richer?
Strongly Agree (1)
Agree (2)
Not sure (3)
Disagree (4)
Strongly Disagree (5)
65. Cattle rustling has made me poorer.
Strongly Agree (1)
Agree (2)
Not sure (3)
Disagree (4)
Strongly Disagree (5)
66. Cattle rustling has made women richer?
Strongly Agree (1)
Agree (2)
Not sure (3)

- Disagree (4)
 Strongly Disagree (5)
67. Cattle rustling has made women poorer.
- Strongly Agree (1)
 Agree (2)
 Not sure (3)
 Disagree (4)
 Strongly Disagree (5)

E: Evolving Faces of Cattle Rustling Overtime

68. Has the organization of cattle rustling remained as it was traditionally?
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
69. If no, what has changed in the way the current one is organized? In terms of the following:
- (a) Cattle rustling is more frequent today than previously?
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
- (b) Today it takes a short time to accomplish a cattle raid than previously?
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
- (c) Today it is much easier to get cattle than previously.
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
- (d) More participants are involved in it today than previously?
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
- (e) Today guns are used more than spears / arrows
- Yes (1)
 No (2)
70. The number of people killed in cattle raids is higher today than previously

- Yes (1)
No (2)
71. The number of people injured in a cattle raid today is higher than previously.
Yes (1)
No (2)
72. Today the number of cattle taken is higher than previously.
Yes (1)
No (2)
73. Today no cattle are left behind for the herd owner to start off life with
Yes (1)
No (2)
74. Houses are burnt during cattle rustling today.
Yes (1)
No (2)
75. Children are killed during cattle rustling today.
Yes (1)
No (2)
76. Today women are abducted by cattle rustlers as wives.
Yes (1)
No (2)
77. Elders are always sanction cattle raids today
Yes (1)
No (2)
78. Mothers always bless their sons before they go for a raid
Yes (1)
No (2)
79. Elders always sanction a cattle raid today
Yes (1)
No (2)
80. Cattle rustled are shared with those who did not participate
Yes (1)

- No (2)
81. Rustled cattle are sold on the market.
Yes (1)
No (2)
82. All rustled cattle are used to pay bridewealth
Yes (1)
No (2)
83. Cattle rustling is mainly undertaken to pay bridewealth
Yes (1)
No (2)
84. Cattle rustling is mainly undertaken in order to sell to the market.
Yes (1)
No (2)
85. Cattle rustling is more frequent today than previously.
Yes (1)
No (2)
86. Young men on their own organize cattle raids.
Yes (1)
No (2)
87. The spiritual leader sanctions all cattle raids.
Yes (1)
No (2)
88. Fewer women are now directly involved in cattle rustling.
Yes (1)
No (2)
89. Women participate in all the planning stages of cattle raids.
Yes (1)
No (2)
90. It is now not mandatory for women to participate before cattle rustling takes place.
Yes (1)

- No (2)
91. Cattle rustling has now brought to ruin the livelihood of the cattle keepers
Yes (1)
No (2)
92. Cattle rustlers currently observe the taboos (things not to do) during cattle rustling.
Yes (1)
No (2)
93. Girls still sing for the *luk/ lokodowies* in order for them to go for cattle rustling.
Yes (1)
No (2)
94. Cattle rustlers have established markets for cattle before they go for rustling.
Yes (1)
No (2)
95. Are you aware that cattle rustlers sell the cattle they get?
Yes (1)
No (2)
96. Who are the people who sell rustled cattle?
Cattle rustlers themselves (1)
Local business people (2)
Foreign business people (3)
Politicians (4)
Religious leaders (5)
Other specify_____ (6)
97. Cattle rustlers rape women
Yes (1)
No (2)
98. Cattle rustlers also steal properties other than cattle
Yes (1)
No (2)

99. Traditionally, cattle rustling used to be organized into

	Yes	No
Spying	1	2
Planning	1	2
Blessing cattle rustlers	1	2
Fighting	1	2
Driving away cattle Defending cattle	1	2
Cleansing cattle rustlers	1	2
Other specify_____	1	2

100. Today, cattle rustling used to be organized into

	Yes	No
Spying	1	2
Planning	1	2
Blessing cattle rustlers	1	2
Fighting	1	2
Driving away cattle Defending cattle	1	2
Cleansing cattle rustlers	1	2
Other specify_____	1	2

F. How Agro- pastoralist and pastoralist women adjust to cattle rustling

101. What are the new things women do that they previously never used to do for a living?

Crop farming (1)

Informal business (2)

Informal trade (3)

Basketry (4)

Pottery (5)

- Other specify (6)
102. In what ways has cattle rustling affected women today
- More girls go to school (1)
- Less bride wealth is paid (2)
- The value of women has declined (3)
- They now do tasks that were traditionally despised (4)
- Other specify_____ (5)

Answer yes or no to the following questions:

103. Cattle rustling has made more women to start crop farming.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
104. Cattle rustling has made women abandon traditional cattle keeping
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
105. Cattle rustling has made girls less valuable at the time of marriage
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
106. Cattle rustling has made some women to abandon participating in it.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
107. Cattle rustling has moved more and more women to join mainstream churches.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
108. Cattle rustling has made more and more women to migrate to new areas.
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
109. Cattle rustling has made more women to take up business activities
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
110. Cattle rustling has enabled more children to go to school.

- Yes (1)
No (2)
111. Cattle rustling has made more and more women food insecure.
Yes (1)
No (2)
112. Cattle rustling has made more and more women to be dependent on their relatives
Yes (1)
No (2)
113. Cattle rustling has made more Pokot / Marakwet women to take up crop farming.
Yes (1)
No (2)
114. More and more families are now involved in bee keeping as a result of cattle rustling.
Yes (1)
No (2)
115. Cattle rustling has enabled more and more women to take up some roles traditionally meant for men.
Yes (1)
No (2)
116. Cattle rustling has made women take up peacebuilding and conflict resolution roles
Yes (1)
No (2)

H. Cattle Rustling, Culture and the Law

117. Do you think cattle rustling is a crime?
Yes (1)
No (2)
Not sure (3)

118. Cattle rustling involves use of force to obtain the cattle. Do you think this qualifies it as a crime?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
119. In other cases people who forcefully procure other people's property are declared robbers with violence. Do you think cattle rustlers should be treated the same?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
120. Do you think cattle rustlers should be severely punished according to the law just like robbers with violence?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
121. Do you think a new law dealing with cattle rustling should be enacted?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
122. In your culture, is cattle rustling a crime?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not sure (3)
123. Whom do you think should punish cattle rustlers?
- State (1)
- Community (2)
- None (3)
124. Are you aware of any law prohibiting cattle rustling/
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

125. If yes, which one?

Appendix Two: Key Informant Guide

Dear Respondent,

My name is David Mwole Kimaiyo, a PhD student from the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi. I am collecting data on the role of women in cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The data collected is for academic purposes only. You are not required to indicate your name or any other identification. I therefore humbly request you to answer these few questions.

Thank you.

Date of interview: _____

Place of interview: _____

Name of Key Informant: _____

Organization: _____

Position of Key Informant: _____

Gender of Key Informant: _____

1. For how long have you been resident in this community / station and what can you say about cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet communities?
2. Are there women cattle rustlers and what particular roles / activities do they play in cattle rustling among Pokot and Marakwet communities?
3. What roles do girls play in cattle rustling among Pokot and Marakwet communities?
4. What roles do men play in Pokot and Marakwet communities?
5. What roles do young men play in Pokot and Marakwet communities?
6. What roles do mothers play in Pokot and Marakwet communities?
7. What roles do elderly men and women play in Pokot and Marakwet communities?
8. Are there times men and women (or young men and girls) combine their tasks in cattle rustling? Explain for both communities.
9. Have the roles women play changed over time (traditionally and now) or they have remained the same in both communities? If changed from what to what?

- | Traditional | Current |
|-------------|---------|
| 1. | 1. |
| 2. | 2. |
| 3. | 3. |
| 4. | 4. |
| 5. | 5. |
10. Describe how the cattle rustling activity is organized and carried out among the Pokot and Marakwet. Also showing if there are any changes currently.
 11. What are the taboos and other beliefs accompanying and touching on women about cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet? If they are what are they and why?
 12. What are the views of women about cattle rustling among the Pokot and Marakwet communities? How do women look at cattle rustling today?
 13. Who between girls / women and boys/ men are the real drivers / motivators for cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet communities? Explain.
 14. How do women benefit from cattle rustling?
 15. In your view, are women the main cause of cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet communities? Explain your answer.
 16. What makes women participate in cattle rustling?
 17. Describe the stages through which the cattle rustling goes through from conception to the point of undertaking it?
 - What is the local name for each stage?
 - Who performs it and why?
 - How is it performed?
 - Who are involved?
 - In each stage what is the role of women?
 - If women fail to play their role can cattle rustling go on?
 - What is the significance of each stage in the whole enterprise?
 18. Do you think cattle rustling has changed in the way it is undertaken overtime? If yes, describe the changes in both communities. First describe the traditional one, and then show what has changed, e.g. describe in terms of

- How does it start?
 - Time taken
 - Who is involved?
 - Role of women
 - Role of men
 - Distance covered
 - Weapons used
 - Types of cattle rustled
 - Number of rustlers involved
 - Number of men, women
18. In which ways has cattle rustling affected the Pokot and Marakwet women and the traditional roles they played?
 19. In which ways has cattle rustling changed the way of life of the Pokot and Marakwet communities?
 20. Currently what are Pokot and Marakwet women doing or not doing as a result of cattle rustling?
 21. In the eyes of women, what is the future of cattle rustling among Pokot and Marakwet and why?
 22. What role have stakeholders played in resolving cattle rustling among the Pokot and Marakwet communities? Who are the stakeholders?
 23. What are the major obstacles to ending cattle rustling between the Pokot and Marakwet communities?
 24. What new roles can Pokot and Marakwet women play to end cattle rustling in their communities?
 25. What is your view about cattle rustling and the current law? Should cattle rustlers be punished the way robbers who use violence are punished and why?
 26. Cattle rustling is a cultural practice but also a crime. What is your view about this debate?
 27. What are your recommendations about cattle rustling?

Appendix Three: Focused Group Discussion (FGD) Guide

Dear Participant,

My name is David Mwole Kimaiyo, a PhD student from the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi. I am collecting data on the role of women in cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The data collected is for academic purposes only. You are not required to indicate your name or any other identification. I therefore welcome you to this discussion and thank you for having taken time off your schedules to participate. I urge all of you to freely give your views. No answer is correct or wrong.

Thank you.

Date of discussion: _____

Time: _____

Place of discussion: _____

Attendance (number): _____

Facilitator: _____

1. Comment on the phenomenon of cattle rustling between Pokot and Marakwet communities.
2. What role do women play in cattle rustling?
3. What are the characteristics of women who play a role?
 - Age
 - Marital status
 - Other characteristics
4. (a) Describe how the traditional cattle rustling was organized including the stages of planning:
 - Stages by name
 - What activity in each stage
 - What role of women play in each stage
 - Length of time it takes
 - Time of the year
 - Role played by the elderly

- Role played by men
- Role played by mothers of rustlers
- How the cattle acquired are shared
- If women fail to play their role could cattle rustling go on?
- Tools used

(b) Describe the current cattle rustling and include the stages as in (a) above. Why the changes above?

5. (a) Do you think cattle rustlers should be punished like the way robbers with violence are punished according to the law? Why?

(b) Do you believe cattle rustling is a crime punishable by hanging, life in prison? Explain.

Appendix Four: Observation Checklist

Date of observation: _____

Time: _____

Place of observation: _____

Item/ aspect observed: _____

1. How is the lifestyle of the communities in terms of the following?
 - a) Dressing
 - b) Household meal courses
 - c) Cattle possession
2. How do the communities live:
 - a) Distance from Kerio River
 - b) Distance between the nearest Pokot and Marakwet homesteads
3. What agro activities are available in the neighbourhoods?
4. In villages where cattle rustling has taken place:
 - a) Are their visible ruins?
 - b) What is the condition of the ruins (recent, old)
5. Do residents carry armaments around (which kinds, how often)?
6. What modern facilities (school, health centre, posho mill, etc.) are available in the villages?
7. How is the road network?
8. Any other observation relating to the study