

Socio-Economic Effects of Cattle-Rustling in Borabu Sub-County, Nyamira County, Kenya

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Abstract: The main aim of this study was to determine the socio-economic effects of cattle rustling in Borabu Sub-County. The study sought to answer the following research questions: What are the social effects of cattle rustling in Borabu? What are the economic effects of cattle rustling in Borabu? What are the socio-economic challenges observed in trying to curb cattle rustling in Borabu? The theoretical framework for this study was the social cubism theory, Queer Ladder Theory of Mobility, supplemented by one of its components - the Alien Conspiracy Theory. A parallel convergent mixed method was adopted whereby the researcher. Qualitative and quantitative data was collected the data concurrently, analyzed interpreted and the findings were in tandem with the study's objectives. The study targeted 90 youths, 97 cattle herders, 13 county education directors and school heads and 50 community members including elders and religious leaders of Borabu Sub-County. By using Fishers formula the researcher arrived at a sample size of 258 respondents. Simple random sampling procedure was used to arrive at 30 percent of the total population. Proportionate Stratified Sampling was used to select respondents from each ward. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented in pie charts as well as frequency tables while qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis also involving thematic organization and transforming data for analysis. The study revealed that cattle rustling in Borabu Sub-County was propagated by traditional practices, economic gains, illiteracy, marginalization and poor governance tendencies. The study concluded that cattle rustling had crippled various forms of development. For instance the right to life was being violated by the raiders who stole, killed and destroyed people and property. The right to food and property was also violated in the process of raiding which rendered the community to rely on relief food. The development of social and physical infrastructure was greatly stagnated. All these calamities had been linked to the causative factor- cattle rustling which called for the need to address the problem so as to pave way for effective development incentives. Thus the study recommended that the community should be enlightened on contemporary ways of life involving ways of adapting to the current times. In order to improve the situation on the area the government in partnership with non-governmental organizations should engage in infrastructural development geared towards adopting development initiatives.

Key Words: Cattle Rustling, Academic achievement, Social economic challenges, Development

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I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Cattle rustling refers to a violent activity by pastoral communities stealing livestock from each other (Mulugeta & Hagmann, 2017). The main resource being livestock, ownership depends on ones strength to protect what one has and to increase the number by constantly invading other communities using all available means to own the animals. Cattle rustling is believed to have adverse effects on levels of community's development in that it affects engagement and actualization of development incentives that provide avenues for individuals to advance their lives. Researchers have found that stock theft is the result of mainly poverty and drought conditions, with the latter resulting in low yields (Lombard, & van Rooyen, 2017).

Over the years, cattle rustling has evolved into a pattern of organized crime with immense criminal sophistication and efficiency. Contemporary cattle rustlers operate with modern weaponry and their operations are marked by trans-locational and trans-national syndication (Mulugeta, & Hagmann, 2017). The basic understanding regarding contemporary cattle rustling in the existing literature is that it is a form of livelihood crime, motivated by both the criminal intent to expropriate grazing cattle for meat or for sale (Gueye, 2013).

Conventionally, cattle rustling is, more or less, a nomadic phenomenon. This observation is predicated on two principal assumptions: It takes a nomad to effectively 'drive' a stolen cow or a cow-herd from the graze. Secondly, it also takes a nomad to efficiently navigate the 'forest routes', escaping with the stolen cow. Without any prejudice to possible exceptions, it would take an active involvement, or at least connivance, of a nomad to plan and prosecute a 'good' cattle rustling deal (IRIN, 2013).

Development is defined as the holistic process of economic and social transformation based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions. World Bank (2016). Referring to the World Bank perspective, cattle rustling poses a barrier to processes geared towards achieving social and economic transformations as it has been observed in those communities affected by the practice.

The UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda reports that fragile and conflict-affected countries account for more than 60 percent of the people living in severe underdevelopment (UN Development Agenda, 2012). This means that while many developing countries are experiencing progress, those worst off risk being left further behind.

Cattle rustling is a practice that has robbed pastoralist communities their right to achieving Millennium Development Goals. Conflicts affect development and provision of essential services in pastoralists' areas through disruption of the communities' livelihood systems by restricting economic development. Aside from claiming lives, causing tremendous physical pain and emotional suffering, conflict and armed violence disrupts markets, displaces populations, destroys schools, clinics and roads, and scars families, communities and societies (Geneva Declaration, 2008).

Although the causal relations between conflict, violence and different aspects of development are hard to pin down, violence is directly and indirectly hampering the achievement of most of the defunct MDGs, and also diminish the human resource capacity of a state for planning policy, making decisions and designing programmes (Igwe 2011). In a further study the Geneva Declaration completed a statistical analysis on the impact of conflict and armed violence on the MDGs, finding that there is a direct relationship between homicides and poverty levels, asserting that higher poverty levels tend to go hand-in-hand with higher levels of violence (Geneva Declaration, 2010).

The Geneva Declaration asserts that conflict leads to the destruction of schools and education infrastructure and at the same time, state revenues are diverted from social expenditures to military or public security because in situations of long term chronic conflict and insecurity, consistent investment in schools is not a priority. The dislocation of families as a result of conflict creates a lasting barrier to achieving the defunct MDG 2 (the goal of universal primary education), leaving already fragile and conflict affected areas without an educated class to help rebuild a society (Geneva Declaration, 2010). Here, we therefore find that cattle rustling negatively affects education which in turn hinders development.

The UN adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in New York in September 2015. SDG 16 for example involves the inclusion of a goal to promote peaceful and inclusive societies. In the new post-2015 development agenda, it marks the significant awareness that peace and security is critical for poverty eradication and sustainable development. It is normally argued that SDG 16 is the most important goal, without which none of the other goals can be sustained. SDG 16 is about ending wars and reducing the incidence of violence as well as access to justice, corruption and bribery, transparency, fundamental freedoms and participatory decision-making. The drivers of conflict are often activated when various actors-be it governments, societal factions, or even corporations seek to enforce ideologies or acquire resources and power. Social strife and violent conflicts disrupt production, sales and investment. The UNCG reports that in 2014, global economic losses due to violent conflict amounted to over \$9.8 trillion (Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, 2012). Narrowing down to my study, we find that rampant cattle rustling makes it difficult to achieve SDG 16 hence lowering development in the areas affected.

From the global perspective, *The Toronto Sun* reports that Canada has over 6,000 cattle thefts a year, a number which is rising. In response to the increasing number, the Alberta Western Stock Growers' Association is increasing, by up to 5,000 per cent, the rewards given for the arrests of cattle rustlers. In Australia, such stealing is often referred to as duffing, and the perpetrator as a Duffer. In North America, especially in Cowboy culture, cattle theft is duped rustling and an individual who engages in it is a rustler. In the American Old West rustling was considered a serious offence and it did frequently result in lynching by vigilantes. Conflict over alleged rustling was a major issue in the Johnson county war in the U.S state of Wyoming (UIS Fact Sheet, 2011). The transition from open range to fenced grazing gradually reduced the practice of rustling in North America. In the 20th Century, so called "suburban rustling" become more common, with rustlers anesthetizing cattle and taking them directly to auction. It often takes place at night, posing problems for law enforcement because on very large ranches it can take several days for loss of cattle to be noticed and reported. Conviction is rare to nonexistent (UIS Fact Sheet, 2011).

Regional standpoint, cases of cattle rustling alongside human killings have been observed in South Sudan where a high dowry and economic pressure among communities has been blamed. The BBC News

reported that over 200 people have died and thousands of cattle stolen in the latest cattle raids in South Sudan. (BBC 2016). Tanzanian police reported that 4,428 cases of cattle rustling were reported last year (2014), compared to 11,845 livestock stolen in 2010 (Toronto Sun Report, 2015). According to Behnke (2008), livestock is a fundamental form of pastoral capital, besides functioning as a means of production, storage, transport and transfer of food and wealth. Pastoralists reside in well over 21 countries across the African continent. Many of these pastoral communities are affected by conflicts brought about by cattle rustling, with associated potential impacts on their livelihoods.

Kenya seems to have lost effective control over northwestern Kenya, especially with regard to bandits and cattle rustlers, who have become more militarised and destructive in their operations. The study posits that the roots of these new forms of violence and insecurity can be found in social, cultural, economic, political and historical factors. Kenyan viewpoint, traditionally and from the anecdotal evidence the Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, Tugen, Keiyo and the Marakwet communities of Kenya used to raid each other. Most of the communities that practice pastoralist or livestock rearing experience some form of cattle rustling. This is done as a means to prove manhood for initiates, raise dowry and to restock depleted herds after a dry spell or outbreak of livestock diseases (National Council Churches of Kenya Memorandum, 2009). Samburu East District border Isiolo District where residents are Somali and Borana who fight with Samburu over cattle, water and green pastures. Cattle rustling are rampant among these warring communities which affect education of the youth in all schools in general and the public secondary schools in that region are prone of cattle rustling. Uaso Boys Secondary School, for instance, gets closed from time to time due to cattle rustling and students follow their parents to migrate for their safety. Similarly parents lose all their livestock through cattle rustling which will cause risk to education of their children by not able to pay school fees (Quality Assurance Assessment Report, 2011).

Pastoralism practised by the majority of Turkana and Pokot ethnic groups is mainly nomadic transhumance, which is characterized by risk-spreading and flexible socio-economic mechanisms, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting ((Migosi, Migiro & Ogula, 2012). Livestock possession plays multiple social, economic and religious roles in pastoral livelihoods, such as providing a regular source of food in the form of milk, meat and blood for household members, cash income to pay for cereals, education, health care and other services. Kenya seems to have lost effective control over northwestern Kenya and other parts including Borabu, especially with regard to bandits and cattle rustlers, who have become more militarised and destructive in their operations. The study posits that the roots of these new forms of violence and insecurity can be found in social, cultural, economic, political and historical factors.

Cattle rustling in Nyamira County is common among the Kipsigis and Abagusii ethnic tribes along the Sotik/Borabu border, a rural area in South-Western Kenya. The Sotik/Borabu border serves as the boundary and administrative border between the Bomet and Nyamira counties, as well as the demarcation between the lands of the Kipsigis, a Kalenjin sub-tribe living on the Bomet County, and the Abagusii, a Bantu sub-tribe, most commonly known as Kisiis of Nyamira County (Kanyinga & Walker, 2013). As much as cattle rustling is one of the greatest challenges bedevilling pastoralist communities in Borabu sub-county, the underlying structural dynamics on the effects of cattle rustling on development advancement have not been empirically investigated. The socio-economic determinants that influence cattle rustling practices have not been effectively investigated and adequately documented hence provided a chance to examine the study problem.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

Several theories can be advanced to explain the cattle rustling menace as a form of organized crime. There are grand as well as specific theories that this study was anchored on and guide our understanding of the concepts of cattle rustling.

Social cubism theory

Social cubism theory was predominately used in analyzing territorial conflicts. However, this theory can be used in the analysis of small conflicts occurring in areas which include conflicts witnessed due to cattle rustling practices in Borabu which was the study site. This approach is indispensable in the understanding of the cattle rustling related conflict (s) because it explores conflict from historical, demographic, economic, psychological, religious, and political perspectives. As a theory, social cubism has been utilized in identifying challenges experienced in places where violence has erupted and in the assessing the appropriateness of the interventions initiated to alleviate the problem (Byrne & Carter, 1996).

The alien conspiracy theory

The alien conspiracy theory suggests the ethnicity of those involved and their victims. The rational choice theory which points to the fact that groups make rational choices carefully planning and assessing the risks and potential profits from an impending raid. In this context, all individuals involved (in the raids) are presumed rational in their decision making, operators in group who undertake criminal acts after assessing all associated risks and options. Bell's queer ladder of mobility theory, which is the main theoretical base for this study, is supplemented by the alien conspiracy theory. Both are very relevant when applied to explain cattle raiding activities in an African context. Originally it was used to explain the phenomenon of illegal and unreasonable accumulation of wealth through raiding and trickery in the early history of America involving Italian and Irish immigrants in Americans (Tewksbury 2014).

The role that ethnicity plays in shaping American organized crime has long been at the center of a heated debate among criminologists. Two broad schools of thought may be identified in this regard. The first, which many critics label the "alien conspiracy theory," assigns primary significance to the role played by Italian American groups in organized crime from the early days of this century until at least the 1980s. The conception of cattle rustling as an organized crime, among other things, presupposes the level of sophistication and criminal efficiency that characterizes its contemporary manifestations. In this regard, it has been observed that cattle rustling has evolved into 'a serious crime with far-reaching implications' (Daily Trust Editorial, February 05, 2014). The fact that successive governments in Kenya have increasingly appeared helpless to control rustling in various parts of the country on the basis that rustling is "accepted" as a way of life or a merely a cultural activity of certain groups. Politicians are known to have intervened to block rightful arrests and conviction of suspected raiders.

Social Effects of Cattle Rustling

Viajar (2013) posts that, cattle rustling in Philippines stems from the presence of conflict caused by the breakdown of governance, high poverty and proliferation of light firearms. The persistence of cattle-rustling in Philippines is attributed to political incitements. For example, intense political rivalries sometimes result into cattle rustling after elections, whereby cattle raids are directed against the communities of winning political leaders to show ineffective governance and control of the area. The striking similarity between cattle rustling in Philippines and Kenya are the factors that promote cattle rustling for example proliferation of small arms. However understanding new tendencies of cattle rustling and their relative implication to the society is central to this research.

The above is not the case in African context where most cattle raiders engage in violent conflicts before driving away the raided stock thus the present study sought to fill the gap. Further, Baker, (2005) stated that 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. And as observed from literature studies, women and children innocent from the cattle rustling activities are victimized. Victimization of the innocent was further reiterated by Alemeka in Nigeria. He said that a critical dimension of the implication of cattle rustling is its apparent degeneration into a terror-brand mass raids wherein innocent villagers, including women and children are victimized and often killed.

Only recently, the public sensibilities of Nigerians were outraged over the report of massive killings and raping that characterized one of the recent occurrences of cattle rustling escapade in Katsina and Kaduna states in February, 2014. Baker further said that cattle raids by the Comanche, Apache and Navajo Indians 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 government was accused of supporting the culture of raiding. Failure to brand the cattle made rustling much easier. In Philippines, cattle rustling was used as a warning given by the group intending to attack. In Mahabharatha, several incidents mentioned cattle rustling and rescuing. This means that, as violent groups involved in cattle rustling activities persisted, the members of the community organized themselves into vigilante groups for self defence against the rustlers.

Chrisman (2012) argues that, in the America old west, cattle's rustling was considered a serious offense, and it frequently resulted in lynching of cattle rustlers by vigilante. This was in attempts to stop wide spread cattle raids that were a problem to livestock farmers. However in African cases, cattle's rustling was a traditional cultural practice of testing a person's bravery and prowess to bloody warfare between various groups (Salih, 2012).

In Nigeria, the prevalence of cattle rustling has been widespread, particularly in the northern part of the country where cattle rearing obtains as a dominant agricultural practice. Recent developments tend to have implicated cattle rustling in the rising wave of violence in northern Nigeria, as exemplified in the phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency and herder/farmer conflicts (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014; Okoli and Iortyer, 2014). This scenario has accentuated the significance of cattle rustling as a fundamental national security problem in

Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the phenomenon of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria with a view to relating factors of the same course in Borabu, Nyamira County.

A number of studies undertaken on education in Uganda tried to show a link between socio-economic factors and quality of education. According to Kakande and Nalwadda (2013), the situation above is compounded by poor motivation of teachers. The study noted that teachers, like other civil servants are poorly remunerated, to the extent that they are forced to teach in more schools, coach pupils after school hours, farm, run retail shops and become proprietors of pre-school institutions. It noted that this has resulted into widespread absenteeism and watering down of the quality of education since the teacher's time for preparation, teaching and assessment are considerably reduced in order to attend to personal business to supplement official wages. In addition, school facilities also affected the quality of education.

Kakande and Nalwadda (2013) also noted that facilities such as classrooms and furniture were grossly inadequate and consequently affected the quality of education. Past studies have shown that some circumstances prevailing outside the education system that may influence its functioning. These include peace, war, poverty, poor economic base and poor policies, among others. A situation analysis of children and women in Tanzania and Rwanda (UNICEF, 2014), for instance, noted that poor performance in education was due to a poor economic base that does not adequately support the education system. This view was shared by Kakande and Nalwadda, (2013), who noted that the high incidence of cattle rustling and poverty, especially in Northern Uganda, was partly responsible for poor quality of education because of the inability of the parents to provide scholastic materials for their children.

Satya (2004) carried out research on cattle raiding conflict in Uganda, Kapchorwa District. He argued that, the factors that have contributed to cattle raids in Kapchorwa District include; the culture of the pastoralists and cattle raiders, the colonial legacy and poor government policies among others. His study concluded that, the effects of this conflict are diverse, affecting a big number of people ranging from the perpetrators of the conflict to those who can be classified as victim. The consequences are death, destruction of property leading to high levels of poverty, hatred and suspicion among pastoralists in the region. On the other hand Otim (2004) argues that, the overthrow of Idi Amin as the president of Uganda in 1979 introduced a new dimension to the security situation in Karamoja as the Karamojong as they raided a military camp and made away with large amounts of fire arms and ammunition.

Salvadori and Fedders (2009) stated that, in traditional society, offensive warfare was carried out by pastoral communities in Kenya, mostly for purposes of reclaiming stolen animals or seizing animals from another group. Killing an enemy was considered unclean and required the sacrifice of livestock for the cleansing of the offending individual. Modern cattle rustling have turned out to be the opposite of what was practiced during the pre-colonial period. This has resulted in a different culture and rationale of raiding in which traditional rules are not observed. This has had a disruptive impact on the normative, structural and behavioral dimensions of the affected communities.

Grahn (2011) conducted a research on "*Lessons learnt from conflict management work in the Karamojong Cluster*" and came to the conclusion that the spread of ethnic conflicts in the post-colonial era in Africa, and by extension, in Kenya has forced the optimism at independence to disappear. Foremost, according to Grahn, of the cited causes are ethnic differences. Ethnicity according to Grahn is group identification based on common name, descent, culture, language and territory. He describes these features as primordial factors that have fostered civil unrests, hatred, mistrusts and desire for vengeance among pastoral communities in Kenya. Ethnically distinct groups take up arms when they perceive injustice and become dissatisfied over the control and distribution of power, raw materials and national wealth. Poverty, competition for scarce resources especially agricultural land, where soils are deteriorating, population pressure, strong external interests and easy access to weapons particularly the AK 47 are also crucial. With about 43 major ethnic and linguistic groups, Kenyan communities are culturally diverse.

Individuals and their children accept and live side by side with members of other ethnic groups as part of everyday social and political life. Their shared meanings of ethnic identities particularly appearance, religion, language, customs and places of origin are inescapable natural realities which offer the advantage of natural variety. However, ethnicity is a conflict generating actuality which current evidence has shown unscrupulous politicians use as a resource, exploiting it to define community boundaries and loyalties most especially in the pastoral communities. The lives of ordinary men; women and their children are put at high risk of devastations. By presenting the pure negative and disruptive aspects of ethnicity, the new and often disadvantaged politicians trigger ethnic prejudices, which preclude non group members from being perceived of or treated as human beings with equal rights. This inspires one group to attack and raid other groups.

Isabel (2014) conducted a research on the effects of livestock rustling on livelihoods of pastoral communities in the Turkwell river belt along the Turkana/Pokot border. The researcher found out that livestock raids in the Turkwel River belt were a major occurrence and are caused by many factors such as unwillingness to share grazing land, rampant drought and famine in the area, rivalry etc. The persistent livestock raids in the

area started more than 20 years ago and are still a major occurrence in the area. Isabel suggested several policy actions, amongst them the fact that it would be important for the government and other agencies working in the area to focus on building peace and development as well providing adult education for community members in the region.

According to Marakwet District Development Plan (2008), the Kerio Valley part of Marakwet District borders the Pokot on the north and Tugen to the east which is Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) prone to cattle raids. Kipkorir and Welbourn (2013) noted that, historically the Pokot in the north and Tugen to the east, were traditional rivals of the Marakwet. They were engaged in warfare whose objective was always the capture or recapture of livestock with no intention of political conquest or intention to kill. It is surprising to note that, the above has changed and livestock raids in the area no longer observe any of the traditional rules governing cattle raids that were conducted primarily for gaining livestock.

Economic Effects of Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling, which has been a source of conflict in most parts of the world has been motivated by various economic factors with rustlers employing different methods. Perry (2009) argues that, since mid-eighteenth century, cattle rustling was a practice common with Indians who sold raided cattle to hide dealers and other businessmen producing salted and jerked meat for the Pacific ports. The cattle offered for sale by the Indians, were obtained by raiding the ranches of the Argentine frontier. This was carried out by warriors from Chile looking for the opportunity to quickly get rich through continuous bloody conflict. The argument advanced suggests that, the cattle raids endeavor was motivated by commercial desires. Harry (2013) conducted on a series of interview sessions and group discussions with different groups of American and Mexican cowboys and discovered that one cause of tensions between Mexico and the United States in the years leading up to the Mexican - American war was the frequent raiding of cattle by native Americans from north of the border.

It is further argued that, the diminishing military and diplomatic capabilities of Mexico left the Indians to take advantage of the weakness to undertake large scale raids, stealing livestock for their own use and to supply an expand market in Texas and the United States. Harry (2013) further notes that, the transition from open range to fenced grazing gradually reduced the practice of rustling in North America. However, the diminished military and diplomatic capabilities are cited to have given window to cattle raids in Mexico, with cattle rustlers employing advanced methods like anesthetizing cattle before taking them to markets.

This points out that, the different tendencies and trends of cattle rustling operate differently from one locality to another in terms of degree and motivation. According to Gard (2013) most cattle rustlers of the open-range era in North America were cowboys who engaged in dubious practices of acquiring a few cows, then registered a branding device and begun branding syndicates. The cowboys knew the cattle ranches and engaged in altering of brands, instead of the stamp iron used by most cattlemen, the rustler used his own branding equipment to claim ownership of the branded cattle by having his brand symbol. When discovered, cowboys sometimes used a piece of heavy wire that they could bend into any shape and carried it in their pocket. The argument by Gard (2013) brings into foreground methods employed by cattle rustlers in North America; however it does not compare with African context especially Kenyan case where cattle raids mostly involve violent confrontations.

Smith (2011) analyzed the fundamental causes of most African wars; he attributed it to the desire for territorial expansion and exercising a measure of physical control over neighbors. The acquisition of wealth or competition for scarce resources is seen as the major source of hostility which among others includes extension of grazing rights. He further argues that, when guns became available in Yoruba in 1820's they provided raw materials for trade and increased warfare. Smith argues that, the impetus behind escalation of warfare is competition for scarce resources such as grazing fields and the use of automatic rifles. This view validates the alien conspiracy and the queer ladder theories of mobility. These theories are found most relevant in explaining cattle rustling in Africa. Both theories were however, used to analyze accumulation of wealth by certain groups in America, such as Italians and the Irish.

In this regard, a disguised relationship between politics and cattle raids instead of just ethnic succession or competition over scarce resources has been established by Greiner (2013). This scholar correctly recognizes that local politicians have quietly promoted rustling both as a means of raising funds for enrichment and to finance campaigns, but also to destabilize groups perceived to be in opposition to their election. He observes that cattle rustling practices thrive under deteriorated governance structures as in Northern Kenya where the State appears unable or unwilling to commit adequate resources to ensure stability and development.

In Nigeria, the prevalence of cattle rustling has been widespread, particularly in the northern part of the country where cattle raring obtains as a dominant agricultural practice. They value cattle as a source of food in terms of milk production, meat. The horns and skins were traded for money or given in exchange of other agricultural commodities like cereals. Recent developments tend to have implicated cattle rustling in the rising

wave of violence in northern Nigeria, as exemplified in the phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency and herder/farmer conflicts (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014; Okoli and Iortyer, 2014). This scenario has accentuated the significance of cattle rustling as a fundamental national security problem in Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the phenomenon of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria with a view to relating factors of the same course in Borabu, Nyamira County.

Similarly, Odhiambo and Ochieng (2003) who conducted research among the Karamojong of Uganda pointed out that, from the 1970's the act of cattle rustling changed due to the acquisition of automatic rifles by several pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities in the Kenya and Uganda border. Although the two studies address the issue of guns to have promoted conflicts that manifest in the form of cattle raids, they do not address the issue of socio-economic implications of the cattle raids conflicts. Otim, 2004, also found out that previously, the Karamojong broke into the armory of Moroto army barracks and looted large amounts of arms and ammunitions which were subsequently used to carry out cattle raids in Uganda. The Matheniko and the Tepeth groups, who were close to the army barracks benefited in gaining rifles thus directing raids on the Bokora group, who were virtually raided all of their livestock. Similarly Onyango (2010), who carried research in the same area, argued that, continued violence and vulnerability of the largely agro-pastoral Karamojong is caused by cattle raiding, political marginalization and pastoralist cultural focus on cattle as the only economic activity. He further states that victims of cattle rustling who depend primarily on livestock for their wellbeing are left looming in extreme poverty and find it hard to indulge in other economic activities like farming due to the harsh ASAL conditions.

Sandford (2010) did a study on competition over access and control of scarce natural resources in East Africa, in his book, "*Management of pastoral development in the third world*". The findings informed that most of the conflicts in arid and semi-arid areas in Eastern African states revolve around the economics of natural resources. Conflicts are therefore relatively many in areas that have water and pasture as communities in the neighborhood jostle over usage and ownership rights, making such areas hot spots for violence. Cattle herders driven out of their range lands by droughts have more often than not invaded private farmlands and ranches in search of grazing resources resulting to tension and violent conflicts. Fight for ownership and use of the natural resources have also inspired commercialization of cattle rustling. Cases of well-organized raiding missions to gather spoils for the market have been reported in Turkana, Marakwet, West Pokot and Samburu districts. It has been alleged that wealthy individuals are actively involved in organizing cattle raids, the proceeds of which they purchase for sale at various livestock markets.

A significant proportion of agro pastoral households in Marakwet district abandoned their farms after raids intensified toward the last quarter of 2002 and are now faced with empty granaries coupled with limited purchasing capacities having lost their livestock to raids. In West Pokot, the northern and central divisions, which are predominantly pastoral, make up 45% of the district: poor rains plagued the northern and central pastoral areas through 2002, and as a result, pasture, browse and water were all severely depleted (Ruto Pkalya, Mohamud Adan, and Isabella Masinde, 2009). Although majority of the livestock had reportedly migrated to Uganda, the assessment team classified the food security status of sedentary household members particularly in Alale, Sigor, Kasei Divisions as alarming.

The main concern for the remaining pastoralists is that their purchasing capacities have been severely eroded by the reduced value of livestock, while food prices are increasing. throughout 2002, rainfall was poor in Baringo and the adverse impacts of the drought were worsened significantly by persistent cattle loss to raiding. In addition, (Pkalya, 2002), stated that a significant number of pastoralists in Baringo lost their livestock during the drought that extended in 1999 to around 2005. Recent rainfall has been persistently fair but livestock production has been constant due to the non-ending cattle rustling. In particular, pasture, water resources and markets have been rendered inaccessible during the latter part of 2002 due to insecurity. Just recently (NTV News at Nine, Nov 2016) a reporter dug into the mango production fields in West Pokot. Women and children have had good harvests but they could not be able to sell because buyers feared to access the mango suppliers due to looming insecurity in the area caused by the violent cattle rustlers. This has left the farmers counting their losses. This thus helps to explain the economic part of the objective of "economic of effects of cattle rustling" as well as the causes of cattle rustling in which was further discussed and justified in the research finding in chapter four.

Ochieng and Maxon (2012) carried out a research titled 'Development in Kenya'. The study was conducted in arid and semi-arid areas with a specific focus on Marakwet. The researcher asserts that, at the beginning of the colonial era, the Kenyan pastoral societies were either agro-pastoralists or nomadic pastoralist, having great attachment to cattle and their attitude towards cattle was described as being similar to worship. The accumulation of livestock in pastoral societies was an important form of saving since it acted as a bank from which resources could be drawn to satisfy certain urgent needs like purchasing of grains in time of food scarcity. This has not changed in pastoral communities as they still keep animals as a form of saving, thus cattle rustling

is viewed as a way of improving ones economic status or gaining wealth. Marakwet being one of the agro-pastoral communities in Kenya are trapped in cattle raids activities.

Mutahi (2003) in examining the politics of cattle rustling and political violence in Trans-Mara observed that in the past warriors were always on alert to repel raiding parties foraging for stock. Mutahi employed both qualitative and quantitative research mechanisms during the course of his data collection and analysis. His target population was local leaders, young herders and pastoralists in Pokot. He points out that, warriors were ever ready to make forays themselves whenever opportunity seemed to offer plenty of plunder with little fighting. The weapons of war consisted of spears, bows, swords and arrows or long knives. The inter-ethnic raids were due not as a rule to bad blood but desire to increase their stock. The study by Mutahi points out that cattle raid was a traditional practice conducted for purposes of increasing stock- most valuable economic resource in the region. However in the modern day, cattle raids are motivated by other factors away from the desire to restock, thus the present study sought to fill the gap.

Socio-economic Challenges to Curb Cattle Rustling

Conflict in pastoral areas is often associated with their marginal location and weak state penetration. Pastoralists are seen as not only physically distant and occupying peripheral areas, but also politically and culturally marginal. Their presumed distance from modern institutions and from the controlling action of the state is often accepted as a self-evident explanation for widespread violence. Many pastoral communities agree that the prime responsibility of the government, apart from being a facilitator of development is to provide security to its citizens. This includes the provision of security personnel and material as well as opening up security outposts within insecure pastoral lands. It is viewed that government commitment to this last responsibility has been weak given the poor manning or even closure of some outposts. Rapid response initiatives by the governments are also viewed as wanting as they come usually late and do not entirely address the longer term security needs of pastoral communities. (Markakis, 2013).

According to Kratli and Swift (2013), several shortcomings have characterized previous government responses to insecurity in pastoral areas in Kenya including the following: Lack of response: frequently, there have been no response for normal killing and raiding; a certain level of inter-clan or inter-ethnic killing among pastoralists was often considered usual and acceptable in the past. However killings of women and children were prohibited. Today, different communities kill without discrimination during the raids. In many cases, the police are unwilling or unable to assist the communities or even bring the culprits to book.

Since time immemorial, the nature of the pastoralist's way of lifestyle demanded that they be armed with some form of weapon for purposes of protection or self-defense both for themselves and their cattle from attacks by wild animals and theft. Bows and arrows were the weapons of choice. However, in the past three decades, there has been an escalation of cattle rustling attacks which has been fueled by the increase in small arms. The illegal arms often originate from the neighboring countries which have been experiencing internal strife, including Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia. This has led to the formation of heavily armed and militarized groups. It has further led to rise of criminal gangs who engage in cattle rustling purely for commercial reasons. Presence of illegal firearms has led to the commercialization of the activity and those who participate in this has pure self-enrichment interests. The government of Kenya has been engaged in several disarmament efforts to mop out illegal firearms. However, due to the porous nature of Kenya's borders, it has proven quite hard to carry out the process unless the government coordinates with the neighboring countries for disarmament exercises (Swift, 2013).

Pkalya, 2006, mentioned that majority of pastoral communities dwell in ASAL areas which experience harsh conditions like drought. The harsh conditions has led to abject poverty because most of the pastoralists lost their cattle due to lack of grazing lands and water. To survive the harsh conditions, pastoralist organize raids among other communities in order to have enough stock of livestock that is later sold to alternate their food supplies.

Militarism and emergence of cattle warlordism is another factor that has hindered the process of curbing cattle rustling. According to Ochieng and Maxon, 2012 ...the weakening state control over the pastoralists region has resulted in the emergence of cattle warlords who run armed militias to protect their interests. It is stated that militarism and emergence of cattle warlordism was first experienced among the Pokot and Turkana communities from the 1980s onwards. He explained that that system of cattle warlordism has gained prominence over the years for various reasons. The high numbers of destitute uneducated youth who are desperate to eke a living by any means necessary have proven an easy recruitment ground for the warlords. The warlords keep the youth as retainers who are in turn used for livestock theft for financial gains of the warlords. The government's failure and unwillingness to curb spread of warlordism through its security systems has also led to inability to stop cattle rustling activities. In its second fact finding mission to Samburu and Isiolo, the KHRC team was reliably informed that the cattle warlords work hand in gloves with some government security agencies in propagating livestock theft. The KHRC team was informed that the warlords had become

increasingly powerful and that even in instances where stolen livestock has been intercepted by non-complicit junior security officers, the same have been called with express orders from above to let the stolen livestock free (Odegi, 1992).

Adan, Pkalya and Muli (2014) conducted a study on 'Formulation of Conflict Management in Kenya' and came to the conclusion that the traditional ways of conflict resolution include peace pacts signed by two or more warring communities in a Suo-Moto initiative. However, they observed that the Pokot community enters into peace pacts mostly during dry seasons so that they can have access to pasture and water in the neighboring communities. There is a high possibility that the agreement is broken during the rainy season. Other methods such as traditional early warning method have helped in accentuating the conflicts, as through such methods, the Pokots in order to protect their community, take preventive measures. The study suggests that alternative ways to resolve conflict are various peace building mechanisms, conflict resolution methods etc. through interference of external agencies such as the Government, NGOs and international/national development organizations.

Bad politics has also been blamed for the spread of the practice of livestock theft among pastoral communities. Most of these political leaders are normally anointed by their respective ethnic spiritual leaders and as a result, the communities that they represent follow and obey what their leaders tell them faithfully. Some of the political leaders abuse the hallowed positions they occupy in their communities to mislead their people/and or incite them against other communities, thereby contributing to an increase in tension among the different communities. Further some of the political leaders have been reported to influence the appointment of KPRs and home guards there in communities (Odegi, 1992).

Anon (2013) researched on Conflict Alert from the Kenyan side of the Karamoja Cluster and he established that district administrators have complained that they lack sufficient resources such as fuel and night out allowances to send timely responses. Numerous cases where indiscriminate force was deployed in notorious army or police operations tended to effect collective punishment rather than apprehending culprits of raiding. Such responses rarely bring lasting results in terms of ending the ongoing cycle of conflict. Security personnel have often lacked motivation for stemming up inter clan. Such trends are believed to have derailed the fight against cattle rustling.

Markakis (2013) conducted a research titled 'Conflict and the decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa' and concluded that presence of ineffective formal justice is a barrier to addressing cattle rustling. This is essentially the case whereby perpetrators of raiding, murder or banditry are processed through the formal state justice system. Markakis argues that there have been countless cases of individuals escaping justice through bribery and therefore, a judicial system has crippled down the course to mitigate cattle rustling.

It may well be concluded from the above review that cattle rustling cannot be explained away in the arithmetic of groups seeking merely to enrich themselves or restocking. Neither is the traditional practice turned "modern" merely the remnant of outdated cultural activities of certain groups amongst livestock herding populations. The practice has modernized by being transformed into a political tool for ensuring certain communities do not access power and also expanding into large scale commercial preoccupation involving raiding hundreds of animals for export. As will be supported by the findings below, the scale of cattle rustling increasingly assumes considerable prominence and the levels of destruction and interference with socio-economic activities have led to a great loss of livelihood bases.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was carried out in the remote areas of Borabu in Nyamira in Kenya although the main occupation of the community is pastoralism but there was high prevalence of cattle rustling. A parallel convergent mixed methods was adopted whereby the researcher collected the data concurrently, analyzed and interpreted the findings in tandem with the study's objectives. The study targeted 90 youths, 97 cattle herders, 13 county education directors and school heads and 50 community members including elders and religious leaders of Borabu Sub County. By using Fishers formula the researcher arrived at a sample size of 258 respondents. Simple random sampling procedure was used to arrive at 30 percent of the total population. Proportionate and Stratified Sampling was used to select respondents from each ward. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented in pie charts as well as frequency tables while qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis also involving thematic organization and transforming data for analysis.

IV. RESULTS

Return Rate of Data Collection Instruments

The study utilized two data collection instruments that is questionnaires and interview schedule. There were questionnaires for youths and cattle herders, questionnaire for county director of education and school heads: interview guides for local religious leaders, elders and interview guides for youths. Analysis for their rate of return for the data collection is presented in table 4.1

Table 1.1 Return Rate

Target Respondents	Research Instrument administered	Expected Respondents	Actual Respondents	Response Rate (%)
Youth	Questionnaire/Interview	93	92	98.9
Cattle herders	Questionnaire	100	97	97
County education directors	Questionnaire/Interview	6	5	83
School Heads	Questionnaire	7	6	85.7
Elders	Interview	25	24	96
Religious leaders	Interview	26	25	96

The researcher had sampled out a group of 258 potential participants for the data collection exercise. At the end of the exercise, only 249 responses from the interviews and questionnaires were collected. To this effect, the response return rate was 96.51%. According to Chandran (2014) a response rate of 75% and above is deemed representative and fit for analysis. Hence the response rate in this study is acceptable for analysis.

Demographic Information

Table 4.2 Demographic Information

Age			Gender			Education Level		
Age Group	Freq	%age		Freq	%age		Freq	% age
18-26	17	7	Male	169	68	Primary	102	41
27-35	125	50				Secondary	51	20
36-45	68	27	Female	80	32	College	54	22
45+	39	16				University	42	17
TOTAL	249	100		249	100		249	100

Source: Author (2016)

According to table 4.2, majority of the respondents are youths between age group 18-35. This was an expected indicator based on the fact that the youths have been highlighted as the main players in the cattle rustling activities. There were 169 male respondents against 80 female respondents. These disparities are believed to have been influenced by the nature of the study theme- cattle rustling which is highly practiced by the male counterparts. Again, some women felt this wasn't their area of interest because they hardly participate the vice. Fifty nine percent of the respondents have gone past primary level and this gives a perception of a relatively educated sample that is expected to bring out valid perspectives on the study problem. The 35(14%) of the respondents who recorded to have acquired a degree were teachers, county directors and a couple of youth leaders. Otherwise, most of the cattle herders made up the 102(41%). Majority of the respondents recorded that they had stayed in Borabu almost the entire lifetime.

Social Effects of Cattle Rustling in Borabu Sub- County, Nyamira County

The researcher involved county directors and school heads on the issue of teacher's attendance in schools and it clearly emerged that cattle rustling had significantly hindered level of attendance for both teachers and students.

One of the school principal involved in the interview session stated,

“My teachers have on numerous occasions complained to me about how community fights as a result of cattle rustling have distorted the learning process to the extent that the teachers feel demotivated to continue teaching”.

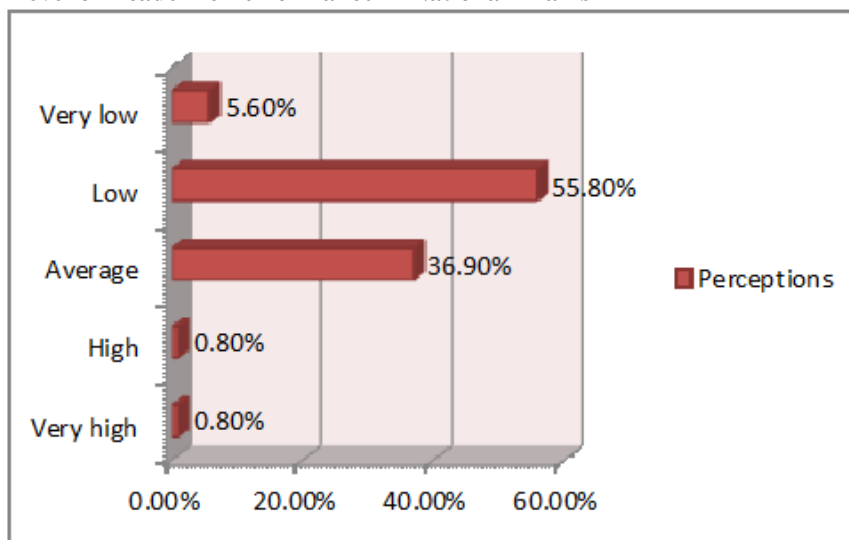
Some of the cattle rustlers had threatened teachers from a neighboring community that they will be killed if they dared come teach in the school. Poor remuneration of teachers coupled with low hardship

allowances for teachers teaching in the conflict prone areas had also limited teacher's school attendance. Seventy six percent of respondents between ages 18-35 said that their peers had more often than not encouraged them to leave school and engage in cattle rustling because of the financial gains that they would gain. It's believed that a good number of the youths are used by cartels to go steal cattle then get paid on the herds delivered and this is seen as hindrance to school attendance because, according to some of the students, they would rather engage in cattle rustling and get money than attend classes and fail to make money.

This view was shared by Kakande and Nalwadda (2013), who noted that the high incidence of cattle rustling and poverty, especially in Northern Uganda, was partly responsible for poor quality of education and school attendance levels because of the inability of the parents to provide scholastic materials for their children. As mentioned earlier on in the literature review, according to Kakande and Nalwadda (2013), the situation above is also compounded by the fact that teachers, like other civil servants are poorly remunerated; to the extent that they are forced to teach and engage in other income generating activities. It's noted that this has resulted into widespread absenteeism and watering down of the quality of education since the teacher's time for preparation, teaching and assessment are considerably reduced in order to attend to personal business to supplement official wages.

The researcher asked the respondents to express their perceptions about the level of academic performance in the national exams by students from the region affected by cattle rustling. Majority of the respondents 139 (55.8%) believe that the levels of academic performance in the region are low while another 15 (6%) believe the levels are very low. These respondents gave various reasons such as the fact that cattle rustling had destabilized schooling activities in that cases of burning schools, destruction of school infrastructures and constant displacement of people had limited students' participation in the school and thus leading to low academic performance. On the contrary, 4 respondents believe that the level of academic performance in the national exams by students from the region is either high or very high. One of the county education administrators noted that, assessing the difficult situation students of Borabu go through as compared to their academic performance, the students actually excel in their studies. Another respondent was quick to note that she and a good number of other individuals had schooled in one of the local schools in the region at a time when cattle rustling was even worse than it is at the moment and the fact that she is even a female, yet she managed to join the university shows that academic performance in the region is high.

Perceptions on Level of Academic Performance in National Exams



Source: Author (2016)

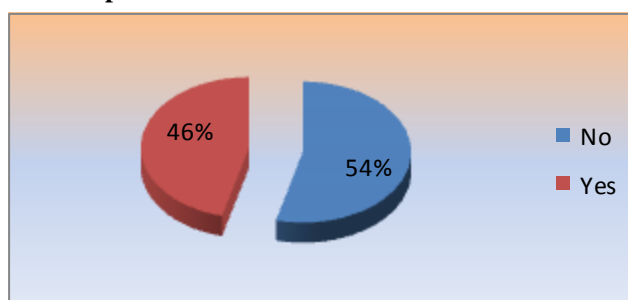
In comparison with the literature reviewed, we find that such perceptions were also highlighted by the United Nations Children's Fund report in 2014 which established that many parents in conflict regions of Kenya refuse to send their children to school for fear of being attacked. A hostile school environment is by itself a hazard as it affects the learners negatively. Long distance to and from school attributes to low enrollment of pupils to schools. Therefore, it is because of such reasons that academic performance in the cattle rustling prone areas is consistently low.

Following responses exhibited on the question about strategies used by the local education administration to improve academic performance of the youth in the region. The researcher identified three strategies as explained below;

As per the findings, 184 (74%) of the respondents explained that the local administrators from the county government had initiated a strategy that involved ensuring that high-quality academic assessments, accountability systems, teacher preparation and training, curriculum, and instructional materials are aligned with current national academic standards. This has helped to ensure that Borabu students, teachers, parents, and administrators can measure progress against common expectations for student academic achievement in the region. Another 189 (76%) explained that they had noted that the local administrators were concerned with welfare of the students as evident in their initiatives to meet the educational needs of low-achieving children in the region. This normally involves engaging programs geared towards helping our limited English proficient children, migratory children, children with disabilities, neglected or delinquent children and young children in need of reading assistance.

Eighty percent of the respondents explained that the local administrators started checks and balances program about two years ago. Through this, the administration in conjunction with other relevant stakeholders promote a culture of holding schools, local educational agencies, and the county administration accountable for improving the academic achievement of all students in Borabu sub-county. It also help in identifying and turning around low-performing schools in the region that have failed to provide a high-quality education to their students. At the same time, it provides alternatives to students in such schools to enable the students to receive a high-quality education.

Figure 1.2 Perceptions on Government's Effort to Curb Cattle Rustling



Source: Author (2016)

As per the findings on figure 4.2; 134 (54%) of the respondents argued that the government had failed in the responsibility to curb cattle rustling and improve levels of education in the region. Majority of the respondents accuse the government for failing to address the root cause of the conflicts such as tussles over land ownership and resource sharing in the region and instead concentrating on the superficial cattle theft. Forty six per cent of the respondents believe that the government is doing well in the course of addressing cattle rustling in the region. This group cited the government's plans to impose communal punishment on communities involved in cattle rustling, whereby an equal number of cattle would be taken from the community whose members would be found to have stolen from another.

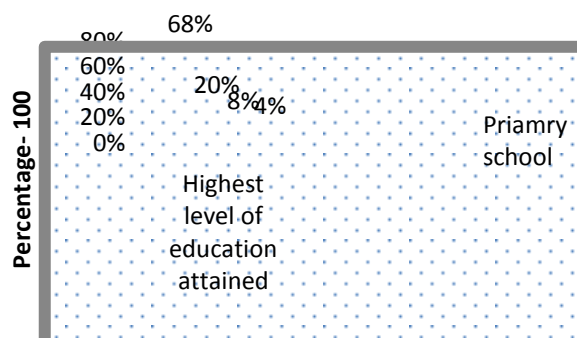
One of the elders said,

"We have entered into an agreement with the security personnel in the region whereby they will be tracking the cattle by observing footprints. The community found to have committed the offence will have to pay for the cattle that were stolen and driven into their land".

From the reaction identified above, it is evident that the government is failing in its mandate in that it has failed to provide necessary expertise and security base needed to curb the menace. Such responsibility deficiencies were also noted in the review of scholarly works such as in Via jar's work (2013) on cattle rustling in Philippines who explained that, cattle rustling in Philippines stems from the presence of conflict caused by the breakdown of governance, high poverty and proliferation of light firearms.

The researcher sought to find out influence of education levels on the living standards of the youth from Borabu sub-county, Nyamira County. All respondents associated high levels of education with increased standards of living. As observed from the responses in the questionnaire and the interview sessions, the region is not in scarcity of role models who have successfully advanced their education levels and who are also considered to be very successful in the community. It is believed that the existence of such characters in the society has brought about a growing desire for education advancement. Most youths involved in the study noted challenges such as poverty and deteriorating school facilities as some of the reasons that made them seize from advancing their education levels.

Figure 4.3 Perceptions on highest level of education of the people involved in the act of stealing livestock



Source: Author (2016)

Figure 4.3 indicates that 169 (68%) of the respondents believe that the highest level of education of the people involved in the act of stealing livestock is ‘Primary school’ level. Twenty percent believe it is secondary school drop outs while 30 (12%) believe it is people who have gone to colleges and universities. One of the respondents in the interview session explained that most cattle rustlers are predominantly ‘no-schools’ meaning that most of them have never gone to school. They have been herding cattle since childhood and when they came of age, they decided to engage cattle rustling as a sign of bravery and to make money. The section of the respondents who blamed tertiary school level individuals argued that these relatively learned individuals have joined hands with the cartels to engage in this lucrative business of organizing cattle raids. This group is blamed for convincing their peers, organizing and facilitating those cattle rustlers to attack neighboring communities and steal their animals. Therefore, this is a worrying trend that seems to suggest that cattle rustling are no longer traditional but very much contemporary.

As noted in the demographic section, majority of the respondents recorded that they had stayed in Borabu almost the entire lifetime. To this effect, majority of the respondents 244(98%) stated that they’ve been aware of cattle rustling ever since their childhood. The elders narrated stories about how their fathers had told them stories about cattle rustling even before the coming of the Europeans. This might be explained by the fact that cattle rustling has, for the longest time, been perceived to be a traditional practice.

The researcher sought to establish the major causes of cattle rustling in Borabu, here, 222(89%) of the respondents believe that cattle rustling is based on traditional practices. Most of the elders explained that since time immemorial, the elders usually bless warriors before and after participating in cattle rustling. The elders defended their action by saying that they closely monitored by the practice to ensure that no excesses were committed. In regard to this perspective, Redekop (2002) argued that, the traditional basis of cattle raiding was solely for purposes of obtaining cattle to be used as dowry payment, as a rite of passage or as a show of heroism, social power and prestige. The raids used to be conducted within well accepted rules of engagement, and the practice was acceptable to the participating communities. Retaliatory attacks also followed the said acceptable rules. Reactions from the responses are also in tandem with Grahn’s (2011) findings on the research on lessons learnt from conflict management work in the Karamojong Cluster, that attributed civil unrests, hatred, mistrusts and desire for vengeance among pastoral communities in Kenya to ethnicity in the form of group identification based on common name, descent, culture, language and territory.

The Economic Effects of Cattle Rustling in Borabu Sub County, Nyamira County

Cattle herders involved in the study pointed out that they engage in cattle rustling so as to show their might to the enemy community. These cattle herders view cattle as a valuable asset, a wealth reserve and a sacrificial gift hence a pastoralist can do all it takes to protect and seek for more cattle. One of the herders said,

“Traditionally, the young men are taught that having large herds of livestock is a source of a secure livelihood base and a sign of prestige. Therefore, a very high premium is placed on the ownership of cattle, which is an integral part of the pastoralists’ culture”.

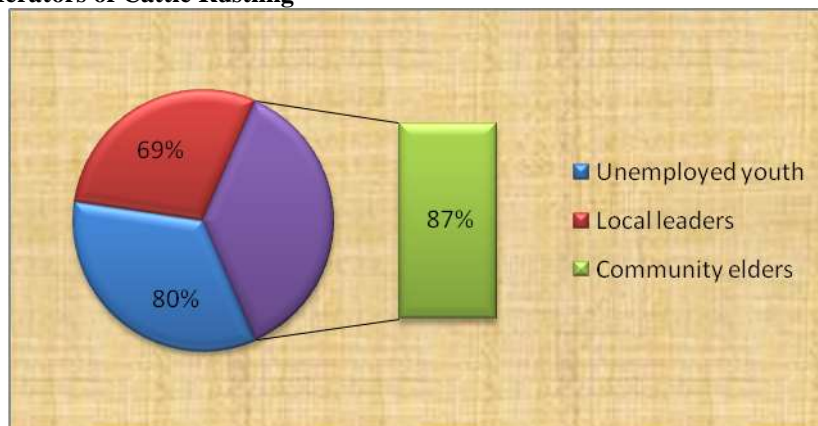
The herders argued that in the recent times, the practice has attracted more value because it has been completely commercialized thereby proving to be a reliable source of income to the rustlers. The findings concur with Mutahi’s (2003) investigation that points out that cattle raids were conducted for purposes of increasing stock- most valuable economic resource among the pastoral communities.

Forty percent of the respondents stated that cattle’s rustling is gradually becoming the main economic activity in Borabu sub-county. One of the local leaders involved in the exercise would go on to argue that was evident by the number of cattle raided in the recent past. According to the respondents, in the last 8 years or so, over 3000 cattle had been stolen by the neighboring communities and sold to other counties. However, this

argument was also disputed by 149 (60%) respondents who argued that cattle rustling cannot be attributed to economic factors but aspects such as fight for scarce resources, tribalism, marginalization of some regions and literacy in the region. This view has been supported by Smith (2011) who analyzed the fundamental causes of most African wars and attributed them to the desire for territorial expansion and exercising a measure of physical control over neighbors. Smith also noted that the acquisition of wealth or competition for scarce resources is seen as the major source of hostility which among others includes extension of grazing rights. The respondents' perspectives synchronize with Harry's work (2013) where he conducted a series of interview sessions and group discussions with different groups of American and Mexican cowboys. Harry argued that, the diminishing military and diplomatic capabilities of Mexico left the Indians to take advantage of the weakness to undertake large scale raids, stealing livestock for their own use and to supply an expanding market in Texas and the United States.

Most communities practicing cattle rustling are believed to be fulltime pastoralists and this has partly served to explain why they engage in stealing animals. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to establish if the community depends entirely on the sale of animals for economic development. Forty five percent of the respondents stated crop farming was gradually taking roots in the society as the main source of livelihood. The county government had introduced irrigation schemes in the cattle rustling prone areas as supplementary economic activity. It was apparent that the majority of the respondents believe that pastoralism is the main source of livelihood in the region as indicated by 214 (86%) of the respondents involved in the questionnaire. This is in line with Ochieng and Maxon (2012) conclusions on their research titled 'Development in Kenya' which was conducted in arid and semi-arid areas with a specific focus on Marakwet. Here, they defined pastoral societies as either agro-pastoralists or nomadic pastoralist. Ochieng and Maxon (2012) argued that the accumulation of livestock in pastoral societies was an important form of saving since it acted as a bank from which resources could be drawn to satisfy certain urgent needs like purchasing of grains in time of food scarcity. Therefore, such perspectives were observed especially among the forty five percent respondents who believed that crop family is gradually taking roots in the pastoral communities.

Figure 4.4 Proliferators of Cattle Rustling



Source: Author (2016)

The study revealed that 199 (80%) of the respondents blamed unemployed youth to be the proliferators of cattle rustling. Sixty nine percent of the respondents cited local leaders as the inciters of the practice. One of the respondents stated that,

“It has been established that local members of parliament have been paying the cattle rustlers to steal animals from neighboring communities. These cattle are then transported in Lorries to Nairobi where they are sold to different slaughter houses”.

As per the findings on figure 4.4; 217 (87%) of the respondents stated that the elders were also blamed in that they have consistently instilled old traditions of cattle rustling and the promise to bless their sons if they continued to observe the practice.

Different research works have hinted that cattle rustling are also propagated by arms acquisition. To this effect, the researcher sought to investigate the issue of arms acquisition in Borabu sub- County. One of the respondents explained that in the last few decades, the nature of the pastoralist's way of lifestyle has demanded that they be armed with some form of weapons for purposes of protection or self-defense, both for themselves and their cattle from attacks by wild animals and theft. Bows and arrows are the most widely used for of weapons. Ninety eight percent of the cattle herders said that they more often than not, walk with bows and arrows. However, as one county administrator would note, in the recent times, there has been an escalation of cattle-rustling attacks that have prompted community members to look for guns and other modern small arms.

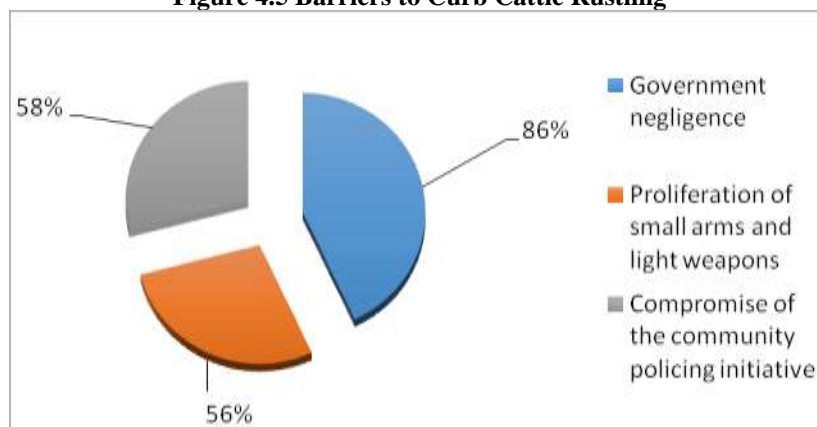
These illegal arms are believed to be originating from the neighboring countries which have been experiencing internal strife, including Uganda, Somali and Ethiopia. Such arms proliferation has led to the formation of heavily armed and militarized groups of cattle rustlers who engage in cattle-rustling for purely commercial reasons.

Socio-Economic Challenges to curb Cattle Rustling in Borabu Sub-County, Nyamira County

The researcher sought to establish if there's any willingness by the communities to reconcile and stop cattle rustling for good. Sixty four per cent of the respondents believe that indeed, there is willingness among community members to reconcile but the willingness is not consistent. It also depends on the community aggrieved and the level of attacks. Thirty six of the respondents believe that the aggrieved communities usually initiate counter attacks instead of engaging dialogue and the course of reconciliation. These findings are in tandem with Adan, Pkalya and Muli (2014) observations that the Pokot community enters into peace pacts mostly during dry seasons so that they can have access to pasture and water in the neighbouring communities. There is a high possibility that the agreement is broken during the rainy season. Once the peace pacts are broken, that ushers in another wave of attacks. Therefore, this calls for the need to foster reliable and effective peace building mechanisms and conflict resolution methods.

It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that efforts to curb cattle rustling have met fair share of barriers. To this effect, the researcher sought to establish what derails the course of curbing cattle rustling in the region. As per the findings on figure 4.6; the respondents essentially highlight three dominant issues i.e. government negligence 214 (86%), proliferation of small arms and light weapons 139 (56%) and compromise of the community policing initiative 144 (58%).

Figure 4.5 Barriers to Curb Cattle Rustling



Source: Author (2016)

One of the respondents explained that the government has adopted heavy-handed approach to the issue of cattle-rustling among the pastoralist communities. The commonly held believe is that the police administration have contributed to the continued repression of the pastoralist communities by perpetrating serious human right violations among the communities during their so-called 'state-operations' in the region.

One of the respondents said,

"...these violations are carried under the terms of collective punishment where everyone the young, the old, the pastoralists and the men suffer in equal for committing real or imagined transgressions against another rival community...."

One of the youths narrated that, in the past few years, the escalation of cattle-rustling attacks has been fueled by the increase in small arms. The youths usually get the illegal arms from the neighboring countries (experiencing internal strife) including Uganda, Somali and Ethiopia. This has led to the formation of heavily armed and militarized groups and consequently led to the rise of criminal gangs who engage in cattle-rustling. Therefore, the existence of the porous borders derails police operations to curb cattle rustling.

Elders engaged in the data collection exercise complained that government's initiative to recruit and arm the Kenya Police Reservists (KPRs) and home guards as complementary security providers had hindered fight against cattle rustling. While this was initially meant to be a transparent community policing initiative, as it merged from the data collection exercise, the initiative has been marred with allegations of corruption, incompetence and favoritism along tribal lines in so far as the decision on who should be armed as a Kenya Police Reservists or home guard is concerned. 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.

V. CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the socio-economic effects of cattle rustling in Borabu, Nyamira County are primarily informed by traditional practices. Since time immemorial, the elders usually bless warriors before and after participating in cattle rustling. Cattle rustling is also observed as a particular community's show of their might to the enemy community. These cattle herders believe cattle as being a valuable asset, a wealth reserve and a sacrificial gift and a pastoralist can do all it takes to protect and seek for more cattle. The findings also show that the practice has attracted more value because it has been completely commercialized thereby proving to be a reliable source of income to the rustlers.

The study concluded that cattle rustling has crippled most of the development advancements in Borabu, Nyamira County. For instance the right to life is being violated by the raiders who come to steal, kill and destroy people and property. The county has recorded loss of lives especially of heads of families i.e. men, thus creating a situation whereby the women head households. Most residents in the conflict prone areas believe that there is basically no peaceful co-existence with the neighboring tribes and communities. This is because they all live in a state of fear all the time and tension has become part of their lives. Some respondents reported to have lost their loved ones in the cattle raids while another group claimed to have killed other people while conducting the raids.

Cattle herders involved in rustling also confessed to torching food stores and other properties. This implies that the right to food and property is also violated in the process of raiding and this also has rendered the community to rely on relief food. There is little infrastructure like roads, schools and hospitals thus leaving the community, without the basics of life. There is therefore a high illiteracy rate because some schools have been destroyed in the raids and so are diseases and eventual deaths due to poor health facilities. All these calamities have been linked to the causative factor- cattle rustling- and this calls for the need to address the problem so as to pave way for effective development incentives.

Cattle rustling is a huge problem to most communities in Kenya. The findings of this study further concluded that cattle rustling affect various aspects of the pastoralist livelihoods which need to be addressed in order to improve the quality of life of people in the study area. There is also need for risk reduction strategies on conflicts to be put in place in order to ensure that the insecurity around cattle rustling is put to rest.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The community should be enlightened on contemporary way of life involving ways of adapting to the current times. One significant approach would be educating the pastoral communities to adopt alternative methods of dowry payment other than solely relying on cattle. In addition, all relevant stakeholders such as the governmental and other non-governmental organizations should demarcate scarce resources such as land so as to avoid conflict due to competition over pasture and water.

In order to improve the situation in the area the government in partnership with non-governmental organizations should engage in infrastructural development geared towards adopting development initiatives that will ensure schools in the region have necessary learning facilities. Cattle rustlers should be enlightened to stop the practice of cattle rustling by undertaking various initiatives such as providing alternative means of livelihood to the rustlers and educating the rustlers so as to equip them with necessary knowledge and skill needed for one to be self-reliant.

The government should eradicate black markets for cattle so as to reduce cases of cattle rustling as this is brought about by the commercialization of the vice. The government should also enhance security in the region by building more police camps and providing enough security personnel to keep vigil in the area. All relevant security agencies and line ministries should collaborate with each other and with other key education stake holders so as to ensure that the conflicts are promptly and effectively resolved.

Since the study targeted only Borabu Sub County where cattle rustling is not rampant, similar studies in other parts that are affected by cattle rustling should be undertaken. The study primarily focused on socio-economic effects of cattle rustling and therefore there is need to carry out similar studies in areas where cattle rustling is not very rampant.

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