

EFFECTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING ON PASTORAL COMMUNITIES IN BARINGO COUNTY

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Abstract: The main aim of this study was to determine the social, political, and economic effects of cattle rustling in Baringo County. The study sought to answer the following research questions: What are the social, political and economic effects of cattle rustling in Baringo county? What are the challenges observed in trying to curb cattle rustling in Baringo? The theoretical framework for this study was the social cubism theory, supplemented by one of its components - the Alien Conspiracy Theory. The study revealed that cattle rustling in Baringo 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 nongovernmental organizations should engage in infrastructural development geared towards adopting development initiatives.

Keywords: cattle rustling, social, political, economic effects.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cattle rustling 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 one's 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 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 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 cattle rustling deal (IRIN, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

There has emerged a new system of predatory exploitation of economic resources in the form of banditry and cattle rustling (raids) in Kenya. This problem is manifesting itself in various forms and it is becoming endemic in Baringo County (Mkutu, 2006). Traditionally, cattle's rustling among the pastoral communities was considered as a cultural

practice and was sanctioned and controlled by the elders. However, currently the phenomenon of cattle rustling is causing a great concern. In the past there has been a tendency by scholars to underestimate the issue of cattle rustling as a mere cultural practice. Yet, over a period of time there have emerged new trends, tendencies and dynamics, leading to commercialization and internationalization of the practice thus leading to adverse effects on the economic development. This has resulted to poverty among communities who uphold the practice. The study aims at investigating effects of cattle rustling on economic, social – cultural and political development in Baringo County

2. THEORETICAL REVIEW

Social Cubism Theory

The term 'social cubism' evokes images useful to describe our perspective (Senehi, 1995) Much like Rubik's Cube, ethnoterritorial politics poses a multi-faced puzzle. People concentrating on only one aspect, or side of the puzzle, are unlikely to produce a complete solution or picture of the problem. Only when one considers the interrelations among the faces of the puzzle can one progress toward a more holistic solution. A multidimensional perspective was also advocated by the cubist artists, such as Braque and Picasso, who sought to render on two-dimensional canvass the multitude of perspectives involved in viewing three dimensional objects. Similarly, we isolate key factors to show how they combine to form complex patterns of ethnic politics. was predominately used in examining 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 Baringo county which is the study site. This approach is indispensable in the understanding of the cattle rustling related conflict 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).

3. 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. (Smith 2011) analysed the fundamental causes of most African wars; he attributed it to the desire for territorial expansion and exercising a measure of physical control over neighbours. 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 rifle.

Unequal distribution of wealth.

This is whereby, commercialization which is one aspect of new trends in livestock rustling has resulted to unequal distribution of wealth as business and warlords are able to amass wealth at the expense of poor pastoralist. Herders may also sell their livestock to reduce the herd because principally cattle rustling affects those with large stock and those unable to split herds (Hendrickson et al., 1996). It means that severe intensity of cattle rustling is likely to reduce the herd by almost 12%. A significant proportion of agro pastoral households in Baringo county abandoned their farms after raids intensified and are faced with empty granaries coupled with limited purchasing capacities having lost their livestock to raids. The main concern for the remaining pastoralists after the cattle rustling is that their purchasing capacities have been severely eroded by the reduced value of livestock, while food prices are increasing. throughout the years, rainfall is poor in Baringo and the adverse impacts of the drought are 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. Pasture, water resources and markets have been rendered inaccessible during the latter part of recent years due to insecurity. This thus helps to explain the economic part of the objective of economic of effects of cattle rustling

Increased poverty rate

Livestock rustling has resulted to increase in poverty and unequal distribution of wealth. Reduction in capacity of the poor to either maintain or accumulate livestock assets, thus limiting their ability to move out of poverty it also hampers the productivity of the herding enterprise as most of the household prefer to sell their livestock at lower price rather than loss them through rustling (Patterson, 1980).

Internal and external investments

The impact of livestock rustling hit hard on the investment which in most cases is the catalyst of social and economic development of the community. The acquisition of guns by community has created a sense of fear and insecurity in the region which has limited the number of internal and external investment. Businesses have been shut down due to fear of revenge from both communities as well as transportation of goods needed in stores have been difficult due to raid. This has limited sustainable livestock production in Baringo county as most of the household prefer to sell their livestock at lower price rather than loss them through rustling. The proceeds of the sale of livestock are merger to support in any internal investment in either of the county.

The resident's enterprise their herding productivity as they are forced to sell their livestock at low prices to middlemen. External investors are not attracted to Baringo counties due to the factor they stand to lose their stock through thefts and looting. Similarly, constant migration and displacement of the population in the affected areas make it difficult for business to make profit as some of the perishable are spoilt as a result of staying for a longer period without purchase.

The findings agree with Schiling (2012) who indicated that livestock rustling is an obstacle to investment. They stated during livestock rustling, the businesspeople cannot access the suppliers, nor the customers cannot access their premises. Most of the investors especially the external shut down their business and prefer to take them somewhere else where their security and that of their properties is guaranteed.

Loss of Labour Force

Youth are the main actors who execute livestock rustling. It does matter whether they are doing it cultural motive or commercial motive. As such, the researcher sought to find out the impact of livestock rustling on loss of labour which is needed for economic development of the community. Formation of heavily armed and militarized groups has led to the rise of criminal gangs who engage in cattle rustling for purely commercial reasons. All this has resulted to loss of lives of productive age in the area. The youth are easily attracted to easy cash and more sophisticated weapons that are provided by the warlords in both counties. The same youth are expected by the community to be in school getting basic education and secondary education so that they can participate in various development projects in the county.

Tax evasion

Livestock rustling hurt the revenue of both national and county governments through tax evasion. As a result, the researcher sought to find out the impact of unscrupulous businesspeople who have commercialized livestock rustling regarding tax evasion. Unscrupulous businesspeople with good links were reported to have organized and supervised cattle rustling for individual gain. They are purchasing stolen livestock at low prices and fetching high profits by selling them in major urban centres and international markets. However, for development to be realized in Baringo county, efficient collection of taxes from livestock sell which is the main source of revenue. for pastoralist communities. However, both continued have lagged in social economic development as compared to other parts of the country. With devolution system of government, tax evasion hurt the community development projects. The livestock market centres were found to be in poor conditions as there is lack of fund to maintain them. The tax collected from livestock sell are expected to develop these centres but with livestock rustling, tax evasion in undeniable.

4. POLITICAL EFFECTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING

In the early 1990s, clashes started in many Rift Valley districts with multi-ethnic populations. Maasai and Kipsigis warriors raided neighbouring Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba, and other farming communities in rural areas like Molo and the Naivasha hinterland. The clashes subsequently spread to Laikipia, where Samburu and Pokot started attacking Kikuyu, who had settled there as small-scale farmers as a result of the post-independence land reforms. The clashes in Ol Moran, a small town in Laikipia, escalated in January 1998 when Pokot and Samburu warriors raided Kikuyu farmers, killing two of them, stealing their livestock and burning down their houses. A counterattack by the Kikuyu farmers on pastoralist settlements was ambushed by well-armed Pokot and Turkana warriors who killed 39 Kikuyu youth. Shortly thereafter, Pokot and Samburu warriors attacked a Kikuyu settlement, killed two people and burned down some 25 houses. The Kikuyu did not react subsequently, and so this incident marks a provisional end to the violence. The report of the Judicial Commission appointed to inquire into tribal clashes in Kenya (the Akiwumi Report) concludes that the conflicts between

these communities were instigated by 'unsavoury and inflammatory statements by politicians. It is noted that the Kikuyu of Ol Moran have complained of repeated livestock raids before and have received unsigned letters asking them to leave the area. A Catholic priest interviewed for the Akiwumi Report states that the violence was instigated by politicians of the Kalenjin faction to clear the area of oppositional voters with respect to the upcoming elections in 2002.

Pastoral communities in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) of Kenya depend on livestock for their livelihood. However, these ASALs are characterized by temporal and spatial climatic variation, making availability of resources uneven. Mobility is a key strategy used by pastoralists to efficiently utilize available resources, notably pasture and water. This strategy is being interrupted by a vicious cycle of livestock rustling/raiding.

The practice of livestock rustling, rampant amongst pastoralist communities in Kenya and sometimes occurs across borders, influences pastoralists' decision to migrate and also their herd sizes. It destabilizes communities and undermines their normal livelihood strategies, thus contributing to increased poverty. Increasing the level of development in pastoral areas and formulation of appropriate policies will help in controlling the rustling menace.

Livestock plays multiple roles in the lifestyle of pastoralists in Kenya, notably as livelihood sources, socio-cultural and religious functions, and asset and security against risks. For example, livestock is the main source of food by providing milk and meat, the basis of traditional social relations, e.g. payment of dowry (from the groom's family to the bride's family) during marriage or compensation of injured parties in tribal feuds, symbol of prosperity and prestige, store of wealth, and security against drought, disease and other calamities.

Livestock rustling/raiding, commonly referred to as cattle rustling in Kenya, involves forceful acquisition of livestock (mainly cattle) and is quite common amongst pastoralists in the ASALs of Kenya. Traditionally, cattle rustling often involved small-scale violence and theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost through drought or disease. Loss of human lives was rare, and when this occurred, compensation in the form of cattle was paid by the killers' families to the victims or their families in case of death. However, in recent years, due to proliferation of small arms and commercialization of cattle rustling, there is an emergence of large-scale violent cattle raiding between neighbouring pastoral communities in Kenya. Moreover, there is an emergence of commercialized cattle rustling where wealthy businessmen, politicians, traders or local people pursuing economic objectives finance raids among the pastoral communities. This greatly interferes with the future and assets of the pastoralists. Consequently, pastoral communities arm themselves for protection against hostile groups. The threats caused by the increasing numbers of human deaths and livestock losses due to cattle rustling and other organised raids probably influences the pastoralists' mobility and/or their migratory decisions as well as herd size, thereby undermining their asset base and livelihood sources. Thus, besides lack of pasture and water, pastoralist migration could also be influenced by the perceived threats of cattle rustling and the insecurity generated by it. There is little information on the influence of cattle rustling on migration decisions and herd size of the pastoralists.

Although this violence increasingly involves brutal and reckless murder, acts of 'ethnic cleansing', criminal marketing chains, and highway banditry, as well as ordinary petty theft, it is commonly lumped together and labelled as 'cattle rustling' or 'cattle raiding'.

This tends to encourage the association of more recent violence with timeless, traditional and ritualized acts of raiding, portraying it as something cultural and thus intrinsic to these societies. Increasingly also, cattle raiding is framed in green security debates and portrayed as an almost inevitable reaction to climate change. Both approaches depoliticize raiding and tend to ignore important changes within pastoralist communities and how they relate to political developments in Kenya at large.

Pastoralism in East African drylands is undergoing rapid transformations. In these processes, issues of territoriality emerge as main arenas of contestation. Decentralization, rapid population growth, fragmentation and privatization of formerly communally used pastures, the spread of wildlife conservation areas, and the increasing importance of agriculture: all are factors that lead to a growing pressure on land, both within and across communities. The erosion of traditional governance structures has led to a power vacuum that is increasingly filled by political leaders and other power brokers, who grasp the opportunity to renegotiate boundaries and access to land. They have realized that on the national level ethnic mobilization has played a major role in political struggles, and they carry these dynamics even into the remotest pastoralist areas, where the struggle for land is progressively ethnicized. In this context, livestock raiding emerges as a specific form of violent regulation: a well-adapted, dangerous, and powerful political weapon.

Silent politics: cattle raiding and political machinations

While the political dimensions of inter-tribal violence are largely explicable, the nexus between political leaders and the actual raiders is much less clear. There is evidence that Kalenjin politicians were actively involved in the distribution of modern firearms to the Pokot in the mid-1990s. In some cases, such as in the attacks against the IlChamus, the actions of the raiders were openly instigated by politicians. Sometimes this is also reported in the media. Yet finding out exactly which politicians are involved has proved impossible. This does not come as a surprise because since the post-election crisis of 2008 and the subsequent prosecution of Kenyan politicians by the International Criminal Court (ICC), more public attention is being devoted to politicians instigating ethnic hatred.

Cattle raiding in Kenya is often viewed in the legitimizing context of tradition, climate change and resource conflict, but increasingly it has much more to do with organized crime meeting a rising demand for meat, and political violence resulting from a new devolutionary constitution. The human cost of raids is immense: hundreds are killed every year and many thousands forcibly displaced. Increasingly, some argue, cattle-raiding is motivated by a competition for political power and resources: political barons use organized attacks to drive out their political rivals and extend their business interests. The [2010] constitution heavily devolved power and resources to the grassroots and this has in turn increased competition for political power and resources in formerly marginalized areas and, as such, issues like cattle-rustling have transformed from being cultural to a tool to perpetuate power and violence. In a country where political allegiance is driven far more by ethnicity than ideology, communities competed against each other for representation, and particularly for the role of governor.

Cattle-rustling has always been an activity to replenish herd stock, but it isn't just that anymore. Cattle raids in Baringo are driven by the desire by those communities to get money to buy arms, and by businesspeople who want to cash in on a growing urban population in need of meat. Some still do it as a cultural practice isn't false, but it isn't completely true either. Tribal conflicts are common, and communities need arms to protect themselves when the governments fail to do so, and meat traders provide an easy source of money to buy arms.

5. SOCIAL EFFECTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN BARINGO COUNTY

Livestock plays multiple roles in the lifestyle of pastoralists in Kenya, notably as livelihood sources, socio-cultural and religious functions, and asset and security against risks (Guliye et al. 2007). For example, livestock is the main source of food by providing milk and meat, the basis of traditional social relations, e.g. payment of dowry (from the groom's family to the bride's family) during marriage or compensation of injured parties in tribal feuds, symbol of prosperity and prestige, store of wealth, and security against drought, disease and other calamities.

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The pastoralists in Baringo county of Kenya are mainly transhumance pastoralists, and they exemplify communities in ASALs that are dependent on livestock for their livelihood. Traditionally, they move seasonally from their home bases and drive their herds to places with pasture and water and come back to their homesteads in other seasons when pasture improves. Of all the livestock kept by the Baringo pastoralists, cattle are regarded highly. Because of the importance attached to cattle, there is a tendency to accumulate them even under unfavourable environmental conditions, often exerting a lot of pressure on the meagre range resources, notably pasture and water. Inevitably, there is competition amongst pastoralists in the county for the available range resources, necessitating frequent livestock movements within the range in search of pasture and water (Raikes 1981). The occurrence of frequent droughts in ASALs, perhaps a manifestation of climate change, contributes to range resource shortages, leading to intense competition for the available pasture and water. Thus, mobility remains the key pastoral risk management strategy during times of pasture and water shortage. (Little et al. (2001)) point out that pastoralists who migrate with their herds during climatic disasters have considerably fewer livestock losses than those who do not. However, this mobility in itself causes conflict among the pastoralists due to competition for scarce pasture and water.

Pasture and water conflicts have long been part of the socio-cultural pattern of the pastoral communities in Kenya. The communal land ownership tenure system mostly evident in pastoralist areas provides everyone an equal right of exploiting the resources. The lands are traditional tribal grazing areas, such that migration in search of pasture and water by one tribe into areas that belong to other tribes often causes conflict between pastoralists. Besides, livestock movements into grazing lands and watering points that stretch into crop-growing areas also result in conflicts (Dietz 1987). Over time however, pasture and water around the settled areas steadily decreases, leading to emaciation and loss of livestock. Traditionally, whenever scarcity of pasture and water or disease depleted a community's livestock, it often sought to replenish numbers through raiding/rustling (Mkutu 2000).

Cattle rustling has increased illiterate level on numerous occasions 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 threaten teachers from a neighbouring community that they will be killed if they dared come teach in the school. Majority of the youth are encouraged by their parents to often 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. Also, the teachers, like other civil servants are poorly remunerated. Poor remuneration of teachers coupled with low hardship allowances for teachers teaching in the conflict prone areas also limited teacher 's school attendance to the extent that they are forced to teach and engage in other income generating activities resulting 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.

6. CONCLUSION

The study concluded that cattle rustling has crippled most of the development advancements in Baringo 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 that is 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 neighbouring 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's rustling is a huge problem in Baringo County 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 Baringo County. 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.

7. 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 Baringo 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 social, political and 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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