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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS DONKEYS IN KIBIRICHIA WARD, MERU CENTRAL SUB-COUNTY, MERU COUNTY, KENYA

JOHN CHEGE NDUNG'U

A Thesis Submitted to Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Sociology Degree (Community Development and Project Management) of Egerton University

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for degree award in this or any other University.

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DEDICATIONS

The emotional attachment to donkeys is rooted in their immense contribution to the livelihoods of various communities. I therefore dedicate this work to all those who treat donkeys in a humane manner and promote their welfare in diverse ways, inclusive of my family.

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The accomplishment of this study has been possible due to valuable support and active interactions with many people. Although only a few will be specifically mentioned, deep appreciation from all the others is highly recognized.

The initial stages were very challenging in fine tuning the topic to fit into sociology. It is worth mentioning the immense support and encouragement from my supervisor, Dr.Kibet Ngetich was indeed crucial. Teaming up with Dr.Eric Bor and the late Dr. Joyce Kimani (may Almighty God rest her in external peace) they also guided me all along in timely and friendly manner.

Little or nothing at all would have been achieved without the participation of donkey handlers in Kibirichia Ward. Their acceptance to adjust their livelihood programmes to amicably fit within the study schedule and reveal some private information is appreciated.

Judging by the curiosity and interest generated by the topic among my colleagues in the Ministry of Livestock Development in the larger Meru region the motivation was at all times high despite the setbacks occasionally encountered. Their professional engagement shaped my focus and I extend my gratitude's to them all.

An adjustment in form of reduced attention to my family was inevitable so as to succeed in this study. I know the prolonged periods spent in the study room were denying them some valuable time for interaction. However, they instead offered encouragement and anticipation for a better future. I therefore feel indebted to my wife Rose and my daughter Njeri and may all our dreams be fulfilled.

ABSTRACT

The study sought to assess the factors that influence the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County. There has been minimal reduction of this vice despite legal enforcements. Violence towards animals is related to interpersonal violence and it is connected or may be a marker of family violence. Moreover, there was scanty academic research that had been done to establish why it is prevalent. The study filled this gap through determining the perception of violence to donkeys by their handlers. It also examined the cultural and religious factors that influenced the violent behaviour. Finally it evaluated the consequences of the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers. Bandura's Social Learning Theory was used to guide the study. Methodological triangulation approach was used to yield a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of the units under study. In the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) approach the unit of analysis was focus groups. After the pretesting with one focus group, primary data collection was done in two other different focus groups. Audiotapes of the focus group discussions were transcribed and analyzed qualitatively using Krueger's framework analysis method. The Interviews approach took a donkey handler as the unit of analysis. After piloting in the neighbouring Timau Ward, primary data collection involved the use of an interview schedule administered to a sample of seventy six donkey handlers. Each of the respondents was picked from every household through systematic random sampling from the accessible population of three hundred and twelve households with donkeys. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer programme was used for analysis of quantitative data using descriptive statistics to derive Chi square and cross tabulations. Majority of the handlers perceive violence to donkeys as injuries on donkeys' body, overloading and underfeeding of donkeys. Unlike religion their culture had not influenced the violence. The major consequences resulting from the violence include denial of employment as donkey handler, high veterinary costs, disapproval of the violent behavior by the community, and being arrested. The study findings indicate there is need to reduce violence subjected to donkeys so as to minimize its negative consequences on the affected donkey handlers, donkey themselves as well as the community at large. Overall, the handlers acknowledge existence of the violence although it has no cultural backing. Religion has minimized the violent behavior and insistence of humane treatment as a pre-condition for employment is effective. Incorporation of the findings in policy development by Livestock Department will enhance extension package targeting reduction of cruelty to donkeys by their handlers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ii
COPYRIGHT iii
DEDICATIONS iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
ABSTRACT vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS vii
LIST OF TABLES x
LIST OF FIGURES xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS xii
CHAPTER ONE 1
INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Background to the Study 1
1.2 Statement of the Problem 3
1.3 Research Objectives 4
1.3.1 Broad Objective 4
1.3.2 Specific Objectives 4
1.4 Research Questions 4
1.5 Justification of the Study 4
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study 5
1.7 Definition of Terms 6
CHAPTER TWO 7
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 7
2.1 Introduction 7
2.2 Forms of Donkey Maltreatment 7
2.3 Violence in Usage of Donkeys 8
2.3.1 Cultural and Religious Beliefs' Influences on Violence to Donkeys 11
2.3.2 Social Status Influences on Violence to Donkeys 12
2.3.3 Consequences of Violence to Donkeys in the Community 12
2.3.4 Theoretical Framework 13
2.3.5 Conceptual Framework 14
CHAPTER THREE 17
METHODOLOGY 17

3.1 Introduction....17
3.2 Research Design....17
3.3 The Study Area....17
3.4 Target population....20
3.5 Units of Analysis....20
3.6 Sampling Procedures....20
3.7 Research Instruments....22
3.8 Data Collection Method....22
3.9 Data Analysis....23
RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS....25
4.1 Introduction....25
4.2 General Information....25
4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents....25
4.2.2 Age of Respondents....27
4.2.3 Religion of the Respondents....28
4.2.4 Donkey Ownership....30
4.2.5 Relationship with the Donkey Owner....31
4.2.6 Ethnic Group of the Respondents....32
4.2.7 Gender of the Donkey Owners....32
4.2.8 Level of Education....33
4.2.9 Daily Income of Donkey Handlers....34
4.2.10 Uses of Donkeys....36
4.3 Causes of Violence to Donkeys....37
4.4 Perception of Violence to Donkeys....39
4.5 Cultural and Religious Beliefs Influencing Violence to Donkeys....43
4.5.1 Cultural Beliefs....44
4.5.2 Social Status....47
4.5.3 Christian Religious Beliefs' influence on donkey handlers....49
4.5.4 Positive Influence of Religion....50
4.5.5 Institutional and Policy Issues on Violence to Donkeys....52
4.6 Consequences of Violent Behaviour towards Donkeys by their Handlers....54
4.6.1 Arrest and Conviction....54
4.6.2 Opposition of Mistreatment of Donkeys by other Community Members....55

4.6.3 Socialization of Children into Violence 56
4.6.4 Increased Veterinary Costs Resulting from Violence 56
CHAPTER FIVE 58
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 58
5.1 Introduction 58
5.2 Summary 58
5.2.1 Perception of Violence towards Donkeys 58
5.2.2 Influence of Cultural and Religious Beliefs on Violence towards Donkeys 59
5.2.3 Consequences of Violence towards Donkeys 60
5.3 Conclusions 61
5.3.1 Empirical Conclusions 61
5.3.2 Theoretical Conclusions 62
5.4 Recommendations 63
5.4.1 Recommendations for Policy 63
5.4.2 Recommendations on Areas for Further Research 64
REFERENCES 65
APPENDICES 70
Appendix I: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion 70
Appendix II: Invitation Letter to Participate in Focus Group Discussion 72
Appendix III: Interview Schedule for Interview Method 73

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Categories of donkey maltreatment and associated human behaviours 8
Table 4.1: Relationship with the donkey owner 31
Table 4.2: Gender of the donkey owners 32
Table 4.3: Uses of donkeys 36
Table 4.4: Causes of violence towards donkeys 37
Table 4.5: Other reasons that influence violence to donkeys 38
Table 4.6: Forms of violence 40
Table 4.7: Cultural practices 44
Table 4.8: Cultural beliefs and violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers 46
Table 4.9: Social status 48
Table 4.10: Religious beliefs on donkeys 49
Table 4.11: Positive influence of religion 50
Table 4.12: Religious beliefs and violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers 51
Table 4.13: Institutional and policy issues on violence to donkeys 52
Table 4.14: Consequences of violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers 54
Table 4.15: Other consequences of violence to donkeys 57

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Interconnectedness of different types of abuse 10
Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework 15
Figure 3.1: Meru County Map showing Kibirichia Ward 19
Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by gender 26
Figure 4.5: Level of education of donkey handlers 33
Figure 4.6: Distribution of daily incomes of donkey handlers 35
Figure 4.7: Photograph of a donkey with panga cuts 41
Figure 4.8: Photograph of a donkey denied rest even after off-loading 42
Figure 4.9: Photograph of a donkey denied treatment after getting bruised 43

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study sought to assess the factors that influence the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County, Kenya. The sight of donkeys with severe wounds on their bodies is common within this locality (KENDAT, 2006). Donkeys in Kibirichia Ward support the livelihoods of their handlers through commercial provision of transport of farm produce. The institutional support for donkey welfare has received minimal attention. Surprisingly the currently operational Sessional Paper No.2 of 2008 on National Livestock Policy (MOLD, 2008) has not mentioned the donkeys even under the animal welfare issues. The current study generated useful information relevant in policy formulation so that donkey users maximize their returns without compromising donkeys' welfare.

The activities that entail subjecting donkeys to violence are varied globally. During a traditional festival called ''Pero Palo'' held in Spain a donkey is exposed to a grotesque ritual that can leave it badly injured, lame, or crushed to death (International Organization for Animal Protection henceforth abbreviated OIPA, 2010). While in India some schools hold fundraising through what they call "Donkey basketball'' game which involves dragging, kicking, and punching of donkeys by participants who have no animal handling experience (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals henceforth abbreviated PETA, 2010). In Southern Russia a donkey was parachuted in order to attract tourists pay for a pastime sport called parasailing (Parfitt, 2010). According to Bakkoury and Belemlish (1991) the poor treatment accorded to donkeys in Morocco was attributed to lack of skills in handling them. Despite the economic returns accruing from the transportation charges, the donkey users in Kibirichia Ward subject these donkeys to torture through beatings, overloading, fast driving and negligence (KENDAT, 2006). The animal welfare organizations working in Kibirichia and its environs have made minimal progress in inculcating attitudinal change to donkey handlers to adopt humane treatment.

Therefore this research assessed the factors influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by some of their handlers and the negative consequences involved. According to Flynn (2000), there is need to address animal abuse, because it will help to achieve a less violent society. Violence towards animals is related to interpersonal violence and it is connected or may be a marker of family violence. A wounded donkey definitely losses some level of efficiency in its ability to provide draught power.

The annual report by District Livestock Production Officer henceforth abbreviated DLPO (2009) revealed that Kibirichia Ward had about 1165 donkeys in 312 households. The Meru ethnic group which is dominant in the area has several myths and misconceptions on donkeys. One is that a donkey has to be canned to work and once sick a donkey never recovers. Therefore users do not bother to seek medical attention (KENDAT, 2006).

There is a thin difference between violence and cruelty to animals; the two terms are used interchangeably. Violence can be defined as physical force exerted for the purpose of violating, damaging, or abusing (American Heritage Publishing Company, 2010).The term "cruelty" is widely used in relation to animals as compared to violence. So according to Emma and Hackett (2007) the definition of what constitutes "cruelty" varies both in terms of what is acceptable in the treatment of animals generally and the type of animal. According to Ascione (1993) animal maltreatment is defined as socially unacceptable behaviour that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering, or distress to and/ or death of an animal. It excludes practices that may cause harm to animals yet are socially condoned such as certain agricultural and veterinary practices.

The legal perception of cruelty as stated in "The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act" of The Kenyan Constitution Chapter 360 extends beyond the acts of beating, kicking, ill-treating, overriding, speeding, overloading, torturing, infuriating or terrifying an animal to issues of unacceptable housing, confinement, conveyance, feeding and also abandonment, drug administration, surgical operation and disposal procedures that cause unnecessary suffering to the animal (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). The offence has a stipulated maximum penalty of three thousand shillings or a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months or both if confirmed guilty.

In a broad sense therefore animal cruelty encompasses a range of behaviours harmful to the animals' right from negligence to malicious killing. It can either be intentional or through acts of unintentional negligence. Intentional cruelty happens when a person knowingly deprives an animal of food, water, shelter, veterinary care or is involved in malicious torturing, maiming, mutilating or killing and also causing suffering to an animal. When the sole objective of causing suffering to an animal is pleasure derivation, then that suffices to be termed as cruelty (Rowan 1999 in DeRosa and Vanase, 2002).

Sometimes animals are exposed to unintended suffering while being used to satisfy planned economic undertakings. In order to differentiate between planned torture and unintended suffering, Rowan (1999) as quoted in DeRosa and Vanase (2002) has classified animal maltreatment into four distinct definitions namely; cruelty, abuse, neglect and use. If the suffering occurs during a behavioral response training programme or in order to succumb to the individual's dominance then that constitutes an abuse.

Challenges in providing the necessary requirements either due to knowledge shortfall or economic incapacitation will lead to negligence. Sometimes in the process of using the animals for food, economic or psychological needs some suffering is bound to occur. In such situations usually an attempt to minimize the suffering is done. The study focused on cruelty in its broadest sense so long as acts of omission and commission were intentional and caused distress or suffering to the donkey.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The prevalence level of violence to donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward is high as evidenced by frequent encounters of many donkeys with inflicted wounds and injuries on their bodies. Apart from contravening the law prohibiting violence to the animals, the optimal economic returns arising from usage of donkeys for transportation is compromised. However, there was scanty academic research that has been done to conceptualize the factors influencing this violence. Hence the study sought to fill this gap through generation of the relevant knowledge with a view of providing possible remedies.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Broad Objective

The broad objective of this study was to assess violence towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County, Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

a) To determine the perception of violence to donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward.
b) To examine the cultural and religious beliefs influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward.
c) To evaluate the consequences of violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

a) What do donkey handlers perceive as violence to donkeys in Kibirichia Ward?
b) What are the cultural and religious beliefs influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward?
c) What are the consequences of violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The major purpose of keeping donkeys in Kibirichia Ward is for economic returns arising from their usage in transportation of goods. Donkeys have therefore created employment for those who hire them out or use donkey carts on commercial basis for transport services, thus supporting livelihoods. In this regard therefore the study was necessary so as to explore how violence to donkeys impacted on their economic productivity, thus affecting the income of some members of the community.

Secondly, despite prohibition of cruelty to animals as contained in "The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act" Chapter 360 of the Laws of Kenya, it's continued prevalence calls for a more integrated and coordinated approach among the players concerned. The research findings indicated the need to formulate implementable policies that allow for cross-sector reporting of violence to donkeys among the various professional disciplines like law, veterinary, medical, education, police and social science. The involvement of the church is supported by the favourable biblical reference of donkeys. Legal confinement affects families in different ways, thus impacting on the community as well.

Finally, the study also generated information on the factors influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers. This will be useful in formulation of policies aimed at addressing the problem by the livestock department and other development agencies involved in promoting usage of donkeys as an asset in community development. The Sessional Paper No.2 of 2008 on National Livestock Policy (MOLD, 2008) currently in use to does not cover donkeys despite their enormous contribution to the donkey handlers' livelihoods.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was confined to donkey handlers in Kibirichia Ward. The Ward which is in Meru Central Sub-County has a vibrant agricultural sector with the surplus farm produce being transported to the main roads and Meru town using donkey carts. Donkeys are also used for fetching firewood for both domestic use and sale from the neighboring Mt.Kenya forest.

Since the study relied on the sampled households to identify the most frequent donkey handler who was to be the respondent, it was therefore assumed he/she was the sole handler most of the times and was responsible for any mistreatment to the donkey(s).

Most respondents were apprehensive of the motive of the study (some associating it with the local authorities licensing formalities and others with the Kenya Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals henceforth abbreviated KSPCA investigative procedures aimed at prosecution). It is therefore assumed winning their acceptance through their opinion leaders to participate in the study by assuring them that the findings were meant for academic purposes only generated genuine and truthful responses.

1.7 Definition of Terms

The following terms that have been used in the study need to be understood in the context of the study as explained.

Abused donkey: - a donkey with wounds, poorly fed, overloaded, speeding.

Animal Welfare Freedoms: - treatment of an animal in such a manner that it is free from hunger, thirst and malnutrition, discomforts such as pain, injury, disease, fear or distress.

Cruelty to donkeys: - imply any maltreatment directed to donkeys such that the Animal Welfare Freedoms stated above are violated.

Donkey handler: - imply any person who is directly handling the donkey to use it for transportation purposes.

Human Related Activities: - are activities that involve usage of donkeys for transportation of goods.

Humane Treatment of Donkeys: - provision of necessary resources for a healthy body state of a donkey and comfort.

Violent behaviour to donkeys: - handling of a donkey in a socially unacceptable way through caning, overloading and denial of food and water.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter critically analyzes the various works available on violence to donkeys with a view to identifying the gaps to be filled up by this study. Therefore, through literature review, violence to donkeys in the broad sense among various communities was explored. This was divided under the following subsections; violence in usage of donkeys, and how cultural and religious beliefs and social status all influence violence to donkeys. The consequences of the violence to donkeys in the community are also discussed. The theoretical framework was based on Social Learning Theory. Under the conceptual framework, the relationship between the independent and dependent variables was shown.

2.2 Forms of Donkey Maltreatment

The global donkey estimates stand at about 44 million (Food and Agricultural Organization henceforth abbreviated FAO, 1994). Over 95% are found in the developing countries where they are mainly used as beasts of burden and draft animals (Svendesen, 1981). The few in some countries like Australia and Britain are kept as pets, as companions for horses or for occupational therapy programme. They are also used for riding and sporting activities in some communities in India and Lamu in Kenya. Kenyan donkey population is estimated to be about 1.8 million (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics henceforth abbreviated KNBS, 2009). Kibirichia Ward (where the research was done) boasts of about 1165 donkeys in 312 households (DLPO, 2009). These are mainly used for transportation of farm goods. Majority of these donkeys are in poor health and have physical wounds on their bodies (KENDAT, 2006). Among other areas where donkeys with injuries and wounds are found include Mwea, Limuru and Naivasha. The observed maltreatment falls within the following four categories; namely cruelty, abuse, neglect and use (Rowan, 1999 in DeRosa and Vanase 2002).

Table 2.1: Categories of donkey maltreatment and associated human behaviours

Type of Action	Actor's motivation	Animal suffering	Societal attitude
Cruelty	Takes satisfaction from suffering	Always	Condemnation
Abuse	Satisfaction derived from dominance or behavioral response	Usually	Condemnation
Neglect	No satisfaction derived.	Usually	Condemnation
Use	Justified by claims to personal or societal gains.	Sometimes	Approval when attempts are made to minimize suffering.

Source: Adapted from Rowan (1999) as cited by DeRosa and Vanase (2002)

All animals are guaranteed five freedoms as they try to cope with their environment (Ministry of Livestock Development henceforth abbreviated MOLD, 2008). These are freedoms from thirst, hunger and malnutrition, freedom from discomfort, freedom from pain, injury and diseases, freedom to express normal behavior, and finally freedom from fear and distress. Although according to Barton (1987) some animal rights theorists have strongly argued against any use of animals for human purposes, its practicability is not immediately feasible unless more affordable and efficient transportation means for the farm produce are available in Kibirichia Ward. Therefore, this study explored ways of minimizing the suffering they are subjected to as they reinforce the current economic services the community derives from them.

2.3 Violence in Usage of Donkeys

Donkeys contribute to the livelihoods of the pastoral communities through provision of transport as draught animals. Among the traders in Ethiopia it is valued as a low transport investment business venture that has minimal entry requirements (Starkey, 1995).

Even in difficult terrains that are impossible for other modes of transport it sails through with minimal efforts.

Donkey's usage is not only restricted to rural settings only but in the densely populated cities in Egypt they are used by Zabbalin rubbish collectors in Cairo and other cities (Fahmy, 1997). According to Mutharia (1995) among the Maasai women in Kajiado there is a belief that necessitates cutting off the edge of a young donkey's ear and tie it round the child's neck to prevent diseases. Since this surgical procedure is done in a traditional set up it contributes to donkeys suffering through injuries and pain. Donkey usage in the lucrative tourism sector is still largely confined within Lamu through donkey sporting competitions dubbed as Lamu Dugong Festival (Hans, 2009). This is an annual cultural celebration held in May that honours donkey as their main mode of transport and also spread awareness to conserve dugong which is an endangered animal species in that locality. Since the design of the streets in Lamu is too narrow for the cars, donkey transport is the preference. Popularizing this activity in the study area can possibly allow for diversification and enhance earnings associated with tourism.

According to Aluya and Lopez (1991) in a study conducted in Mexico it was found that donkeys generally suffer a lot of abuse and negligence from their owners and users. They attributed the poor welfare to human poverty, lack of education and social problems like alcoholism. Moreover, a study conducted in Morocco by Bakkoury and Belemlish (1991) showed lack of experience in handling donkeys as key to the poor treatment accorded to them. Some of the livelihoods of people in Limuru, Turkana, Samburu, Maasai, Ukambani and Mwea are also partially supported by donkeys to varied extents through transportation of goods (KENDAT, 2006).

But exploitation of donkeys' full potential is hindered by poor management broadly covering nutrition, diseases, housing and mistreatment (Mohammed, 1991 in Fernando, 2004). All these either directly or indirectly contribute to planned or accidental abuse. Through this study it was possible to investigate how the community in the study area use their donkeys and how this is linked to violence they are subjected to.

Documentation by Kellert and Felthous (1985) has indicated that the need to exercise dominance, to eliminate presumably undesirable characteristics and control the animal to perform the desired duties may result into unintentional suffering. Violence to animals may also arise out of the desire to shock people for amusement, retaliate against another person and acts of non-specific sadism. Tallichet et al (2005) have also indicated displacement of hostility from a person to an animal, and expression of aggression as also feasible motivations that can as well be satisfactorily extended to explain the violence subjected to donkeys.

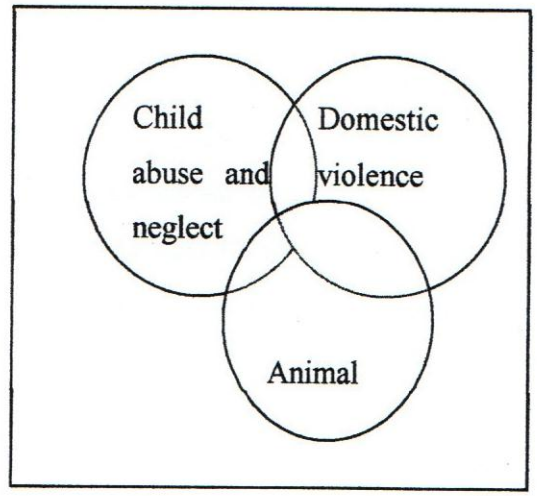


Figure 2.1: Interconnectedness of different types of abuse

Source: Ascione and Arkow (1999)

Figure 2.1 indicates that incidences of animal abuse are likely to be a pointer of violence within a family. Children who are violent to animals are also more likely to be or to have been victims of abuse themselves (Bell, 2001). Unfortunately children may fall victims and in retaliation direct their anger to being violent to animals and some may extend the behaviour into adulthood. In addition it has been noted by Coston and Protz (1998) that there is a pecking order of aggressive acts, involving lack of empathy, being passed down from the head of the household through the child and down to the animals. Since the current study was confined to adults investigations on how they learnt the violent behaviour towards donkeys was investigated.

2.3.1 Cultural and Religious Beliefs' Influences on Violence to Donkeys

According to Croxton (1993) some communities in Kibwezi and Ikanga regions have some negative myths about donkeys which hinder their usage and full appreciation. Beliefs such as donkey cries result into crop failure, women are under threat of donkey attack during menstruation and it is difficult to train them since they are stubborn are unfavorable. But those farmers courageous enough to have had hands on experience with them have dismissed these myths. In the study area the dominant ethnic group is Ameru. It has also been documented by KENDAT (2006) that they belief a donkey has to be canned to work and once sick it never recovers. Therefore users rarely seek veterinary attention for them, thus worsening violence dimensions.

According to Jones (1991) cultural distortions by forced changes upon a society was observed to have reinforced violence in Zimbabwe when the European colonizers insisted on indigenous people to live apart from their animals thus weakening the traditional understanding of animal management. In the view of the foregoing it is conclusive that different cultural set-ups direct issues on ownership, accessibility, and control of donkeys to varied levels among men and women in various communities. In addition if the cultural orientation and belief system are against animal welfare violence to donkeys is bound to persist. Among the Christians, there is biblical endorsement of donkeys as witnessed when Jesus rode into Jerusalem on a donkey during Palm Sunday signifying humility (St. Mark, 11:1-11). Moreover, the biblical ranking of donkeys as part of riches is reinforced in Genesis 12:16 and Job 1:3 for Abraham and Job respectively. In addition there are also eighty two favourable biblical references to the donkeys.

It would therefore be expected that as a predominantly Christian community, donkeys in the study area would enjoy special care as commanded in Proverbs 12:10 which says "A righteous man cares for the needs of his animal, but the kindest acts of the wicked are cruel". More compassionate support for them is authorized when God commanded the Israelites to help both their friends and enemies when their ox or donkey had fallen over, or was carrying a burden too heavy for it to bear (Exodus 23:5 and Deuteronomy 22:4). But according Blakeway (1994), the approach adopted by protestant missionaries in Nigeria to portray animals as though they only exist to provide service to mankind gradually diffused and shaped attitudes toward animals.

Moreover, Cadena (2008) has also argued that the past usage of animals as sacrificial objects has been fronted as a defense by animal abusers in criminal proceedings based on religious viewpoint. Therefore, religious values and claims as features of the ethical framework by which many people live have a bearing in the way donkeys are treated even at individual level (Frasch, 2000). Internalization of such views is adequate authority for the donkey users to justify their violence. The current study investigated how positive religious and cultural attachments to donkeys can be enhanced to reduce the violence directed to them and negative ones suppressed.

2.3.2 Social Status Influences on Violence to Donkeys

Social stratification ratings in reference to donkey ownership and usage are varied. In the Bophuthatswana donkey massacre that occurred in South Africa, donkey ownership ranked low in social stratification (Nancy, 2001). The symbolic animals for wealth have been considered to be cattle, horses and camels whereas donkeys reflect poverty and marginalization.

Even though donkeys have been extensively used by people in many areas in the world their use has been synonymous with backwardness, underdevelopment and low status (Fernando, 2004). The rating of donkey ownership in relation to social status within the community in the study location was investigated.

2.3.3 Consequences of Violence to Donkeys in the Community

Animal abusers have been categorized as a risk prone and vulnerable group to crime (McVie, 2007). Ascione (1999) as quoted by McVie (2007) has claimed that abusing animals may lead to further violence as it desensitizes the perpetrators and reduces their ability to empathize with victims, humans inclusive. In addition cruelty to animals is legally unacceptable as stated in "The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act" Chapter 360 of The Laws of Kenya. Those found in violation of the act are punished through jail term or fine or both. Donkeys exposed to serious maltreatment resulting in injuries become less efficient in provision of draught power and this translates to reduced returns. The current study also explored the other negative effects associated with this violence in the community.

2.3.4 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on Bandura's Social Learning Theory (Bandura 1977). According to this theory individual especially children learn aggressive responses through continuous observation of others personally or through the media and environments. In his "Bobo doll" experiment children were exposed to an adult acting violently towards a "Bobo doll". Soon after, while in seclusion in a room with a child "Bobo doll" these children imitated what they had observed by showing aggressive actions towards it.

An observer's behaviour can be affected by positive or negative reinforcements. He stated that some individuals believed that aggression will produce reinforcements that formulate into reduction of tension, gaining financial rewards, attracting the praise of others or building self-esteem (Siegel, 1992). Bandura (1977) as cited by Etaugh and Spencer (1995) has also documented that the learnt behaviour may lie latent especially if it is aggressive until a probable reward and not punishment is forthcoming.

Various factors determine the effectiveness of modeling. These include the span of attention, the level of retention of the learned behaviour, the ability to reproduce the learned image and the motivating factors. Bandura (1977) also documented that personality is a product of interaction between the environment, behaviour and one's psychological processes.

Moreover, Agnew (1998) identified several background factors that have direct and indirect impact on the way an individual is socialized towards violence to animals. Social position such as age, gender, education, occupation, rural or urban setting and religion heavily influence an individual's socialization. In addition Kellert (1980) noted that humanistic, moralistic and utilitarian dimensions influenced attitudes towards violence to animals. These are defined as the primary interest in and strong affection for individual animals, primary concern for the right and wrong treatment of animals, with strong opposition to the exploitation of and violence towards animals and the primary concern for the practical and material value of animals respectively.

In relation to this theory violence to donkeys is a learned process and some forms of this violence are tied to certain motivational factors particularly financial empowerment. Although some of the individuals in the study locality are exposed to the modeling process, due to variations in psychological processes not all of them are likely to be violent to donkeys. Moreover, exposure to modeling process and consequent adoption of the behaviour is dependent on the rewards and sanctions attached (Rogers, 2006). Punishment acts as a deterrent while rewards encourage observers to imitate the behaviour. This study therefore identified the motivational factors so as to come up with remedies to this violence.

2.3.5 Conceptual Framework

According to Orodho (2009), a conceptual model is a way of relating factors that tend to influence a particular outline in a more pictorial or diagrammatic way. This study was intended to establish the perception of violence to donkeys by their handlers, the cultural and religious beliefs influencing the violence and its consequences in the community as the independent variables. Violence to donkeys was the dependent variable. Legal enforcement, variations in culture and the policy guidelines are bound to have some effect on the independent variables and these were considered as the intervening variables. The independent variables have an influence on the dependent variable. Depending on the perception of what constitutes violence to a donkey handler this may either enhance or depress the magnitude of the violence. Through religion the conviction that donkey is a blessed animal due its favourable biblical rating is bound to command some care instead of violence. However, the fear for the deterrent measures legally imposable for contravening the law on violence to animals forces the handlers to avoid contravening the law despite their religious or cultural beliefs.

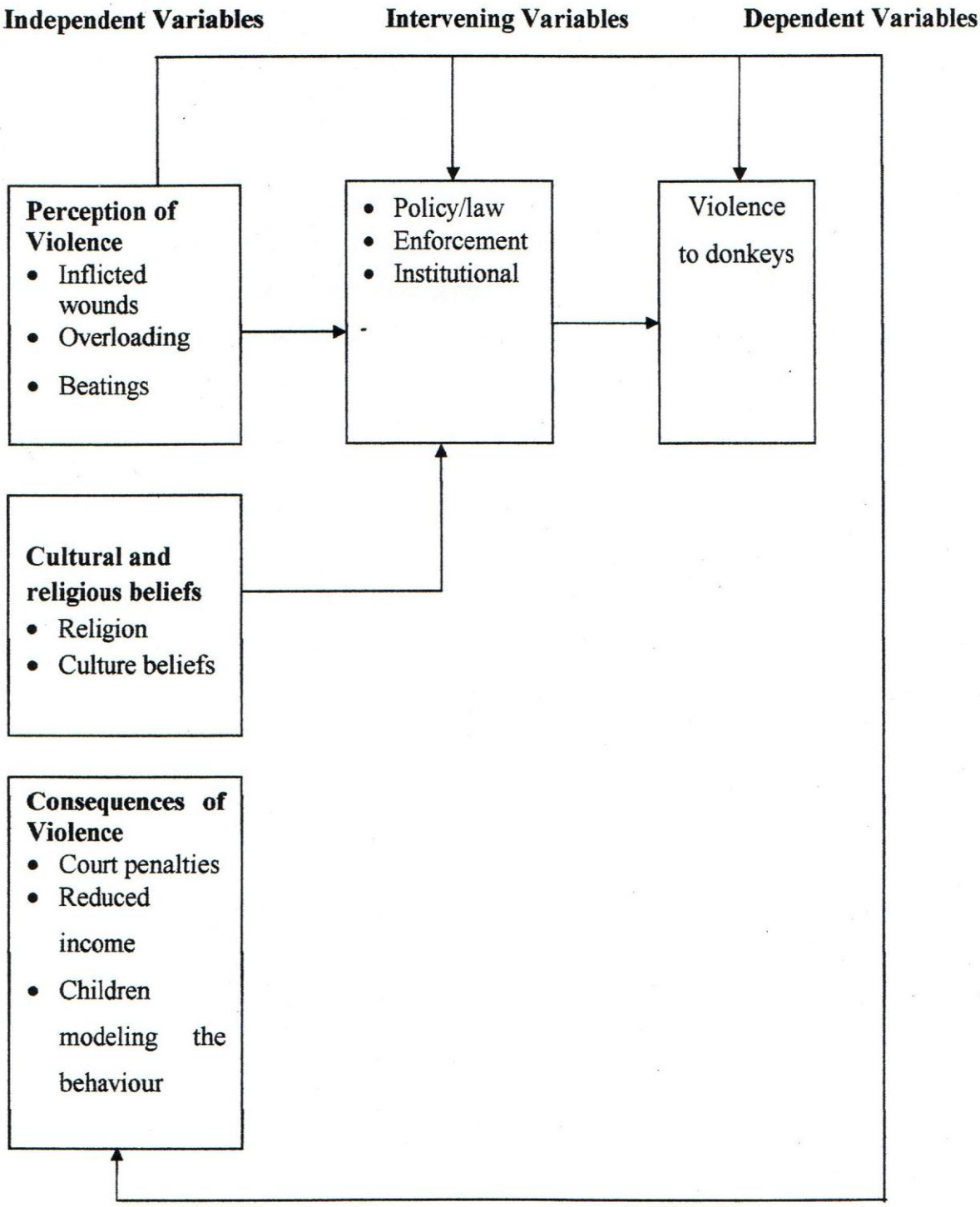


Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework

Violence to donkeys maybe as a result of some cultural and religious beliefs as well as the perception of violence towards donkeys by their handlers. Whereas religious and cultural beliefs may promote humane handling of donkeys in some communities, the contrary might happen in others. Social stratification based on donkey ownership is lowly rated in some communities despite the significance attached to it in the Bible; Genesis 12:16 where Abraham's donkeys are considered as part of his riches. Those valuing it lowly are likely not to properly care for them. Government support through policies that emphasize on provision of extension services to donkey handlers if not adequately addressed will result to challenges in caring for them properly.

The Kenyan legal prohibition of cruelty to animals is punishable through either court fines or jail terms or both. The returns from donkey usage in transportation of goods are better and long term for those not subjected to violence. It has also been observed that some children modeling the violent behaviour to animals are possible victims of conduct disorder leading to criminal behaviour in adulthood.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes of all the procedures followed so as to achieve the stated objectives. The qualitative study is broken down into research design, target population, unit of analysis, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection method and data analysis techniques. The map and the background of the study area is also captured.

3.2 Research Design

According to Orodho (2009) a research design constitutes all the procedures adopted by a researcher to collect, analyze and interpret the observed findings. As a qualitative research descriptive survey method was used to gather information on factors influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handler under natural settings. The selected sample of donkey handlers were subjected to both interview schedule and focus group discussions by the researcher. Kothari (2006) supports the use of descriptive surveys in situations where no treatment or manipulation is given. Through the survey it was possible to get the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior patterns of the respondents useful for making inferences (Borg, 1992).

3.3 The Study Area

The study was conducted in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County. The Ward enjoys adequate and reliable rainfall which is also supplemented with several group owned self-help water projects. Poor road network coupled with the hilly and stony topography limits efficient vehicle transport service to the main roads hence ferrying of farm produce (cabbage, Irish potatoes, green maize cobs, carrots etc.) from the fields to the local markets or collection points is done through donkey driven carts and or on donkey backs (District Agricultural Officer henceforth abbreviated DAO, 2008). A proportion of the produce is transported over 10km to the main vibrant market at Gakoromone in Meru town.

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Apart from transportation of agricultural goods, donkeys are also used for fetching of firewood from the neighboring Mt. Kenya forest and transportation of manure to the farms. Therefore this mode of transport is economically crucial in linkage of agricultural produce and other goods to the markets.

Apparently out of the three Wards comprising the Sub-County; namely Kibirichia, Abothuguchi and Central Wards, Kibirichia Ward donkey population was recorded as 1165 in 312 households reflecting the highest concentration and majority have physical injuries on their bodies (DLPO, 2009). These injuries result from the beatings they are subjected to during transportation of goods by their handlers. The study was confined to Kibirichia Ward due to the higher prevalence of donkeys with injuries in comparison to the others.

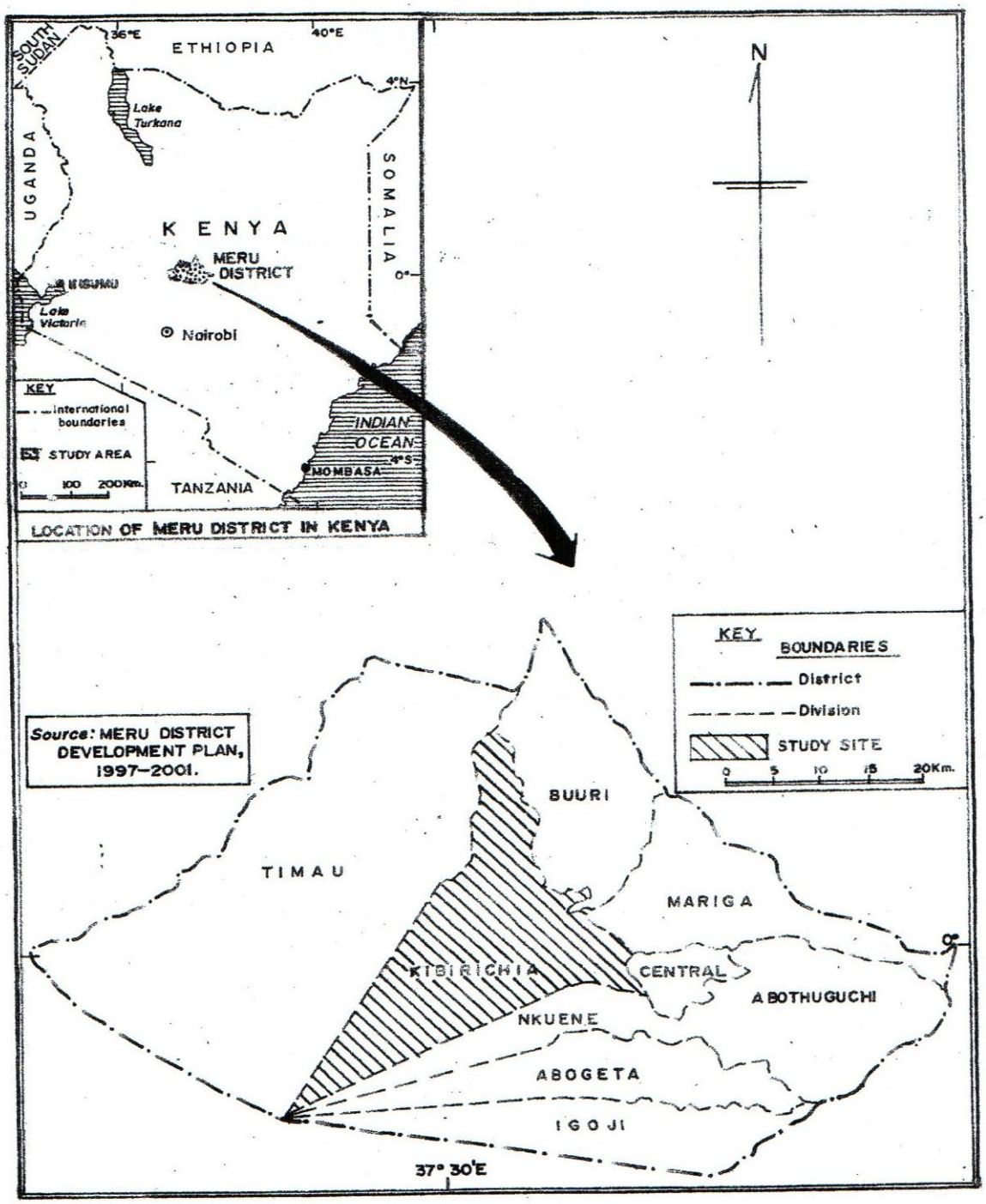


Figure 3.1: Meru County Map showing Kibirichia Ward

Source: Meru District Development Plan (1997-2001)

3.4 Target population

According to Joseph (2009) the target population is the entire group of individuals or objects to which a researcher is interested in generalizing the conclusions. But usually the target population has varying characteristics. Since some donkey handlers maybe humane and others violent, deliberate efforts were made to pick the ones whose donkeys had wounds inflicted on them. These formed the accessible population from which a sample was realistically drawn to participate in the study.

3.5 Units of Analysis

The methodological triangulation approach in this study involved the use of two different units of analysis, namely focus groups and a donkey handler. According to Orodho (2009) the unit of analysis in focus group interviews is the groups themselves. Therefore in this study the different sets of focus groups of donkey handlers within Kibirichia Ward formed one unit of analysis while the other was the donkey handler who mostly uses the donkey during transportation of goods from each of those households with donkeys within the Ward. Their responses enriched this study by providing the data required on factors influencing violence to donkeys.

3.6 Sampling Procedures

The study used methodological triangulation involving purposive and probability sampling methods. As noted by Bryman (2008) a multimethod approach captures a more complete and holistic findings through overcoming the weaknesses and biases associated with a single method. Morgan (1998) has highlighted that purposively selected focus group participants generate in-depth understanding and insight when the culture and belief system influences the behaviours of individuals. According to Israel and Galindo-Gonzalez (2011) a focus group is a planned, relaxed, naturalistic dialogue among a small group of people on a specific topic. As pointed out by Krueger and Casey (2000) membership of each group should preferably be between 6 to 8 carefully recruited participants. Such a number is large enough to produce a variety of perspectives and is easily manageable. The donkey handlers selected through a local contact as much as possible shared similarities in age, social status, gender and levels of education to enhance compatibility and encourage discussion.

Krueger (1994) has documented that multiple sessions of different sets of focus groups should be conducted until a clear pattern emerges and subsequent groups produce repetitious information. This is normally achievable with three to four groups. In this study the two different sets of focus groups included men less than 35 years and those men above 35 years. Homogeneity in all the other aspects was observed. Since there are no women donkey handlers the two other planned focus groups for them could not be realized.

The probability sampling method was done through systematic random sampling procedure (Bouma and Atkinson, 1995). This was through listing all the 312 households with donkeys to get the sampling frame and subjecting the list to sampling by picking every fourth member. Special attention was paid to keenly observe whether the donkey for the handler picked had injuries and wounds. Those whose donkeys did not have were replaced with those whose donkeys had injuries still from within the sampling frame by repeatedly picking the subsequent fourth member with the predetermined qualities. It was assumed those injuries had been inflicted by the handler and tactful efforts to confirm this were employed. Those earlier on involved in focus group discussions were replaced. This interval was derived from dividing target population by the sample size. The starting point was blindly selected using table of random numbers (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The study used the Coefficient of Variation Method to calculate the sample size from the households. According to Nassiuma (2000) coefficient of variation of at most 30% and standard error of 3% are usually acceptable. Therefore the sample size was calculated as;

$$n = \frac{NC^2}{C^2 + (N-1)\,e^2}$$

Where:

n = the desired sample size

N = the population size

C = Coefficient of Variation at 30%.

e = the acceptable error margin at 3%

Hence;

$$n = \frac{312(0.30)^2}{(0.30)^2 + (312-1)\,(0.03)^2}$$

$n = 75.91$

Therefore when approximated;

n= 76

The minimum sample was therefore 76 donkey handlers.

3.7 Research Instruments

The study used an interview schedule with predetermined open and close ended questions. A tape recorder and guiding questions were employed during focus group discussions. Section A had demographic information of the respondents while B, C and D had questions that focused on the research problem. The various types of questions on independent variables allowed for detailed responses to assess factors influencing violence to donkeys.

3.8 Data Collection Method

Secondary data had been obtained from various sources including journals, annual reports, library material and internet. The process of collection of primary data started after permission was granted by the University. Approval from the National Council of Science and Technology was sought and shared with the Sub-County Commissioner of Meru Central Sub-County before seeking audience with the participants in the Focus Group Interviews and the selected donkey handlers. As noted by van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) piloting was necessary so as to test the adequacy of the research instruments and identify any logistical problems that might occur to allow for advance planning. One focus group involving males participated in the focus group discussion while fifteen donkey handlers were subjected to interview schedules for piloting purposes.

The choice of focus group discussion method was guided by the need to gain an in-depth knowledge on the donkey handlers' beliefs and cultures that influenced their feelings, attitudes and behaviour in relation to violence to donkeys (Rabiee, 2004). In order to achieve reasonable homogeneity in terms of gender, age, education, ethnic and social class as recommended by Krueger (1994), the researcher engaged a local person well informed about these qualities to assist in the recruitment of participants. In conducting each focus group discussion, the researcher while using guiding questions lead the discussion, kept the conversation flowing and took a few notes to remember comments that he wanted to use later as suggested by Morgan and Krueger (1998).

The assistant moderator took comprehensive notes, operated the tape recorder, handled the environmental conditions and logistics, responded to unexpected interruptions, observed non-verbal interactions and kept track of time. An oral presentation summarizing the main issues by the recorder allowed for arrival at a consensus and generated any extra information earlier on omitted. Two focus groups on the same topic were conducted with donkey handlers below and above 35 years so as to understand the perspectives of different groups of people. In order to complement the above method structured interviewing was done. As highlighted by Kumar (1999) this method was necessitated by uncertainties in literacy levels and it also allowed for easy comparability of data. In addition any ambiguities were clarified and in-depth inquiries of personal feelings, opinions or perceptions were easily captured.

The face to face interaction with the researcher enhanced bonding, thus minimizing temptations' for dishonest responses. It also assisted in capturing the facial expressions of the donkey handlers, thus enhancing clarity of some issues. The interview schedule was first pre-tested on similar respondents in the neighbouring Timau Ward (outside the study area) to test its effectiveness to the proposed study before actual administration. Timau was chosen because it shared the same inhabitants (Ameru) with Kibirichia and it also had some donkeys with injuries on their bodies. Donkeys were also used for similar purposes like in Kibirichia. Depending on the responses given questions that required further clarity were addressed accordingly. The researcher also had a chance to experience the challenges likely to be encountered in the actual study, thus allowing for advance planning.

3.9 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data from the focus group discussion was done concurrently during data collection using the framework analysis suggested by Krueger (1994). Therefore skilful facilitation of the discussion by the researcher was observed to generate rich data that was complimented with observation notes and the transcribed recorded information. This information allowed for coding and highlighting the comments of the topics discussed, followed by summarizing the data in a compilation sheet. By using the study objectives, systematic comparison between groups on all topics was done and the major findings for different study populations put in one sheet and the reporting done in the narrative.

The data collected through interview schedule was edited, coded and analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The analysis output was summarized in form of tables and figures to facilitate drawing of conclusions of the sample and subsequent recommendations. Various forms of descriptive statistics were employed for analysis of each objective.

Frequency distribution tables were useful in measuring patterns of similarities and differences in people's responses. These were therefore used in analysis of the factors that lead to violence to donkeys. The perception of violence to donkeys was analyzed through mode. In order to establish the consequences of violence to donkeys' percentage scores were applied.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analysis, presentation and interpretation of the findings of the study. Findings are mainly presented in form of frequency tables. The chapter is divided into subsections where general characteristics of the respondents such as age, gender, religion and educational background are presented. The data is also analyzed around key variables like perception of violence to donkeys, cultural and religious factors influencing violence to donkeys and consequences of violence to donkeys in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County. The interview schedule was administered to all the targeted 76 respondents thus representing a return rate of 100% which is statistically acceptable representation of the target population. Out of the planned four Focus Group Discussions, only two involving male participants were realized accounting for 50% achievement. The other two for females could not take place since the study revealed donkey handling is almost an entirely male undertaking.

4.2 General Information

This section gives findings around general socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents such as age, gender, religion, educational background, average monthly income among others. In the study objectives these may impact on an individual's decision making process, behavior and quality of responses generated in the research process.

4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

Gender roles differ according to cultural-historical context and are greatly shaped and imposed through a variety of social influences. Traditional gender roles and stereotypes have a strong influence on the division of roles between women and men in the choice of work in society at large, with women depicted as most suited for light jobs while men are depicted as sufficiently endowed for tasks demanding a lot of energy and complex work schedules. In order to capture details on gender roles the respondents were required to indicate their gender.

Figure 4.1 represents the gender of the donkey handlers. Majority of them were males (98.7%) while minority (1.3%) were females.



Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by gender

Source: Field data, 2010

This shows that the women were not generally involved in donkey handling as compared to men in Kibirichia Ward. The results from FGD indicated that the heavy loading and the long distances covered sometimes through risky routes at odd hours discouraged females from the enterprise. One respondent stated:

> *"You should drop potatoes at Gakoromone market by 6 a.m. How many women would be willing to start driving their donkey carts by 3 am or 4 am in order to cover the 10 km? Even no husband can agree! A sack of potatoes is also too heavy for a woman"*

The inference that can be made from this statement is that men and other work related issues generally deter women from donkey handling in this locality. Women's demanding responsibility in child care and homemaking restricts prolonged absence from home.

In addition, the socialization process has resulted into negative stereotypes that have filtered occupational roles like donkey handling as inappropriate for women in this locality. Since the transportation process involves odd hours gendered stereotypes would categorize men as uncaring to expose their women to insecurity associated with night movements.

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

Age is instrumental in determining both the legal and societal responsibilities assigned to an individual. In order to establish its influence on the donkey handlers' behaviour, the respondents were required to indicate their age. As shown in Figure 4.2 below half of the respondents (50%) were at least 25 years and below with close to 25% expected to be in primary and secondary schools respectively, 34.2% between 26 and35 years,7.9% were aged between 36 and 40 years while a similar percentage (7.9%) were over 40 years.

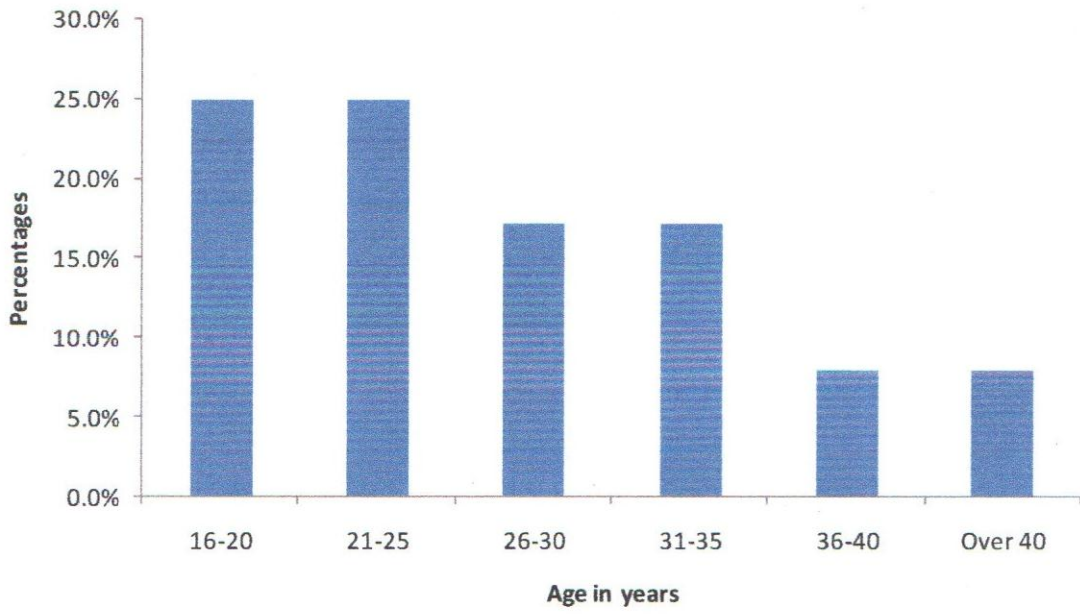


Figure 4.2: Distribution of respondents by age

Source: Field data, 2010

Any person below 18 years is legally considered to be a child and exempted from engaging in gainful employment. Such individuals are expected to focus on education so as to be well equipped in making sound decisions in diverse aspects of life including livelihood preferences. The study indicated that majority of the respondents were young with the agility and strength to train, tame and handle the donkeys believed to be stubborn hence difficult to train.

Age advancement beyond 35 years forced some handlers to gradually switch to other livelihoods. This is despite the increased financial parental responsibilities associated with a young family shouldering education obligations. In the FGD a respondent aged over 40 years said, *"Our customers tend to pick young men. We also find covering those long distances tiring."* Perhaps this is an indication that aging negatively affects the business performance due to customer preferences, thus forcing old men to switch to alternative livelihoods. The enterprise also appears to attract young men (25%) below 20 years perhaps due to the steady returns and the minimal skills required. However, this adversely limits education progression of the donkey handlers.

4.2.3 Religion of the Respondents

Religion shapes reactions of individuals to varied aspects of the environments they live in. As a belief system, it influences what people think and consequently their behaviour. Therefore, in order to interrogate the influence of religion in the donkey handlers' violent behaviour to donkeys the respondents' were requested to state their religion. Findings from the study revealed that majority of the respondents were Christians (89.5%), 9.2% were of other religious beliefs while a small percentage was from the Muslim community (1.3%).

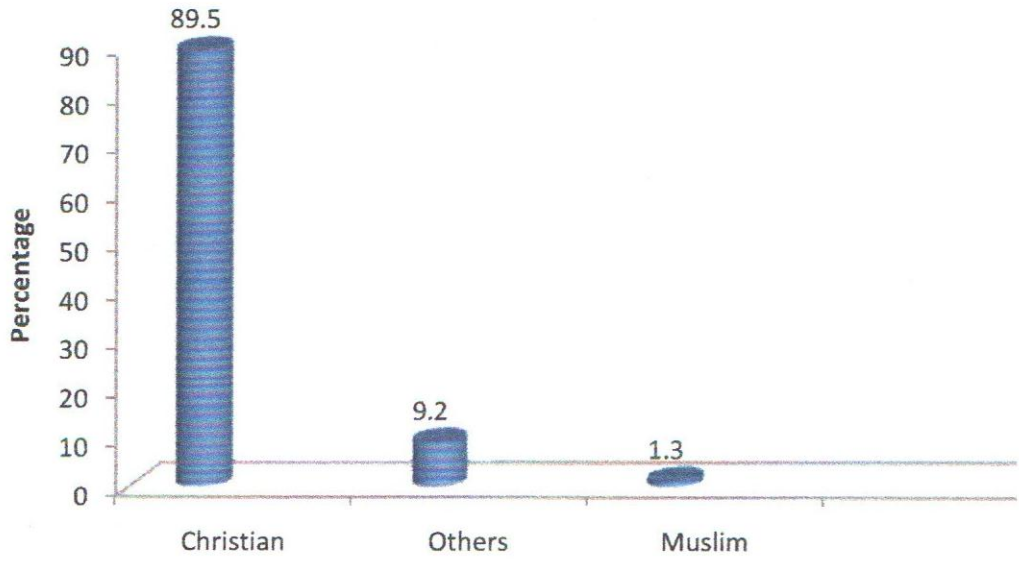


Figure 4.3: Distribution of respondents by religion

Source: Field data, 2010

This generally represents the religion of the respondents that formed the target population demonstrating that majority of the donkey handlers' prophesized Christian faith. Coincidentally among the respondents in the FGD was a church elder, who reported, *"We occasionally have projects with dairy, poultry and horticulture farmers. We even assist those keeping pigs. But we have never thought of those using donkeys' for transport.* A disgusted respondent asked, *"Has any of you heard a preacher talk about taking care of donkeys?"*

A negative response cut across the respondents. The implication of these statements is that the church has virtually no contribution to this form of livelihood and has consequently missed out in addressing violence to donkeys. The numerous favourable biblical references to the donkey coupled with the commands in Proverbs 12:10 which say "A righteous man cares for the needs of his animal, but the kindest acts of the wicked are cruel" has not been constantly reinforced.

4.2.4 Donkey Ownership

Generally any resource that generates economic returns is treasured and nursed with care to last long. Since ownership bestows authority to control and issue directives compatible with ones wish, the respondents were queried on whether they owned the donkeys they handled. The study findings indicated that majority (69.7%) of the respondents were owners of the donkeys they handled while the minority (30.3%) was not. Their responses are recorded in figure 4.4.

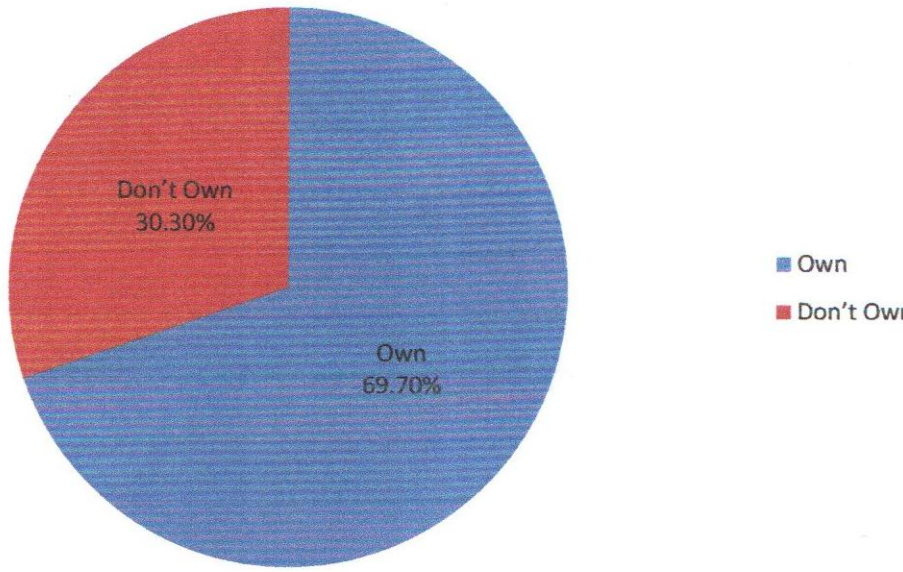


Figure 4.4: Donkey ownership

Source: Field data, 2010

As indicated in figure 4.1 men dominate in handling of donkey carts .Consequently, authority over the usage of donkeys is derived from men. Ownership of a donkey and cart requires reasonable resources to be pooled together as can be derived from these comments during FGD, *"A male donkey is sold at Shs 15,000/= and a cart at Shs 20, 000/=. About Shs 35,000/= is not little money and we need assistance"*. It can be derived from this statement that not every donkey handler has adequate resources to allow ownership of a donkey cart business.

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In addition as indicated in figure 4.2 close to 25% of the handlers have recently dropped out of school, implying they have not yet accumulated enough resources for startup capital. Considering that majority of the respondents are young, it would therefore follow that donkeys have therefore created employment for youth who hire them out or use donkey carts on commercial basis for transport services empowering them economically and keeping them busy and out of trouble of idleness related shortcomings.

4.2.5 Relationship with the Donkey Owner

The authority exercised by an employer requires the employee to comply with the directives issued and handle any property at his /her disposal with care. The respondents who did not own the donkeys they handled were requested to indicate their relationship with the donkey owner and the results are reported in table 4.1. The study showed that 17.1% of the respondents who did not own the donkeys they handled were relatives of the owners while 13.2% were employees.

Table 4.1: Relationship with the donkey owner

Relationship	Frequency	Percentage
Relative	13	17.1
Employee	10	13.2
Total	23	30.3

Source: Field data, 2010

This shows the donkey owners preferred engagement of extended family labour as compared to outsiders. Making reference to figure 4.2 it appears age advancement demands passing over the responsibility of handling donkeys to the younger family members. Such arrangement allows for replication of donkey handling techniques that have been learnt from within the family and neighbourhood which maybe violent or not. As highlighted by Bandura (1977) children learn aggressive behavior through continuous exposure to such an environment or personality. Consequently, extension of family labour is likely to propagate violence to donkeys, thus confirming the observations made by Bandura.

4.2.6 Ethnic Group of the Respondents

Any ethnic group strongly share a consciousness of their common cultural bond like a common language, religion, norms, customs, history, behaviour or practices. So as to appreciate the ethnic diversity of donkey handlers, it was necessary to seek from the respondents their ethnic background. The study findings indicated that all the respondents are of the Meru ethnic group.

According to functional theorists in a multi-ethnic interaction assimilation of the minorities is most likely so as to contribute to the harmonious conduct and stability of the society. Resultant of this is the dominant's group social, economic and cultural prevalence. However, lack of diversity in ethnicity among the handlers tends to propagate the formed opinions and habits of only that specific group. Thus the maltreatment of the donkeys tends to be a normal occurrence to them since that is what they have been accustomed to through developmental stages from childhood.

4.2.7 Gender of the Donkey Owners

Gender socialization generally dictates that women tend to ensure their property is carefully handled with tenderness to last long. Women are also generally associated with calmness unlike men frequently under temptation to reveal their roughness nature in their operations. In order to relate the source of directives on how to treat the donkeys, the respondents were requested to indicate the gender of the donkey owners. The results are shown in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Gender of the donkey owners

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	75	98.7
Female	1	1.3
Total	76	100.0

Source: Field data, 2010

Table 4.2 indicates that majority of the donkey owners were males (98.7%) while the minority (1.3%) were females. This generally represents the gender of the donkey owners as indicated by the respondents that formed the target population demonstrating that donkey ownership in the Ward was dominated by men. Since gender socialization portrays men to be relatively lacking in calmness as compared to women it is therefore possible to expect handling of donkeys to reflect a similar trend.

4.2.8 Level of Education

Among the positive attributes of education is to enhance modification of behaviour to societal and legal expectations. It also allows for all-round development of an individual so as to embrace sound decisions. According to the study findings, majority of the donkey handlers (82.9%) have attained up to primary level of education with 3.9% not attending formal schools at all, 11.8% have gone up to secondary level of education and 1.3% to tertiary institutions.

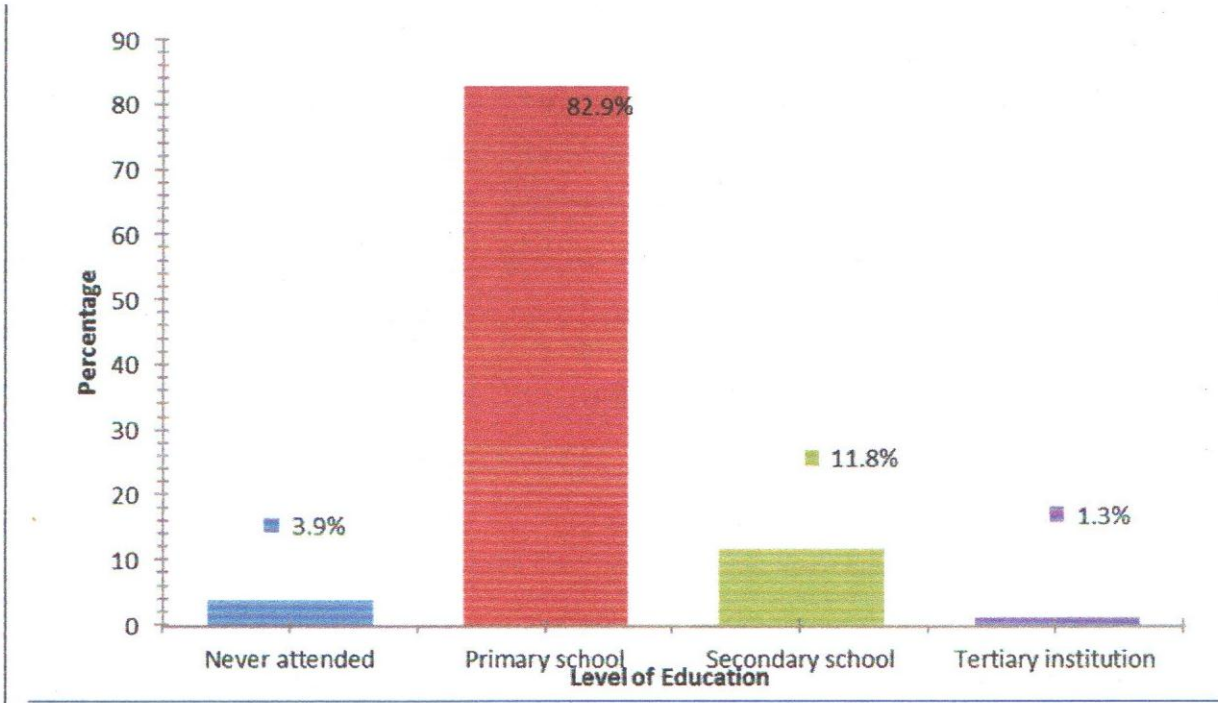


Figure 4.5: Level of education of donkey handlers

Source: Field data, 2010

Concerns expressed in the FGD pointed out the trend by boys to focus on the steady returns from donkey handling narrows their ambition to primary level schooling. Attainment of such basic education restricts the options available for employment to the non-skilled category. In a sympathetic tone one old man asked, *"Our sons have been left behind in education by our neighbours because of these donkeys .What can be done to force them back to school?"* This is an indication that academic progression was disadvantaged by donkey business and primary level education is too shallow to allow in-depth understanding of legal expectations and managerial skills in donkey handling. Engagement in any fulltime employment at expense of education while below 18 years is considered as child labour which is also an illegality.

However, the basic formal education possessed by the majority of the respondents is vital in a business venture though inadequate to wholly address all aspects of donkey welfare as highlighted by Aluya and Lopez (1991) and also confirmed by (Mohammed 1991 in Fernando, 2004).

They assert that lack of education impacts negatively on donkey welfare through a study conducted in Mexico. Therefore challenges in providing the necessary requirements due to knowledge shortfall can be attributed to the negligence and possible exposure to violence while out to satisfy planned economic undertakings. As such the animal welfare organizations working in Kibirichia Ward and its environs have to make utmost progress in inculcating attitudinal change to donkey handlers by educating them on how to adopt humane treatment.

4.2.9 Daily Income of Donkey Handlers

Daily household income is usually used to measure the level of poverty of a household. According to the study, majority (98.7%) of the respondents live above the poverty line as the donkeys earn them more than a dollar a day. Only close to 1.3% earned less than a dollar daily and the average earnings per day for most of the handlers were between Kshs 401 to Kshs 500.

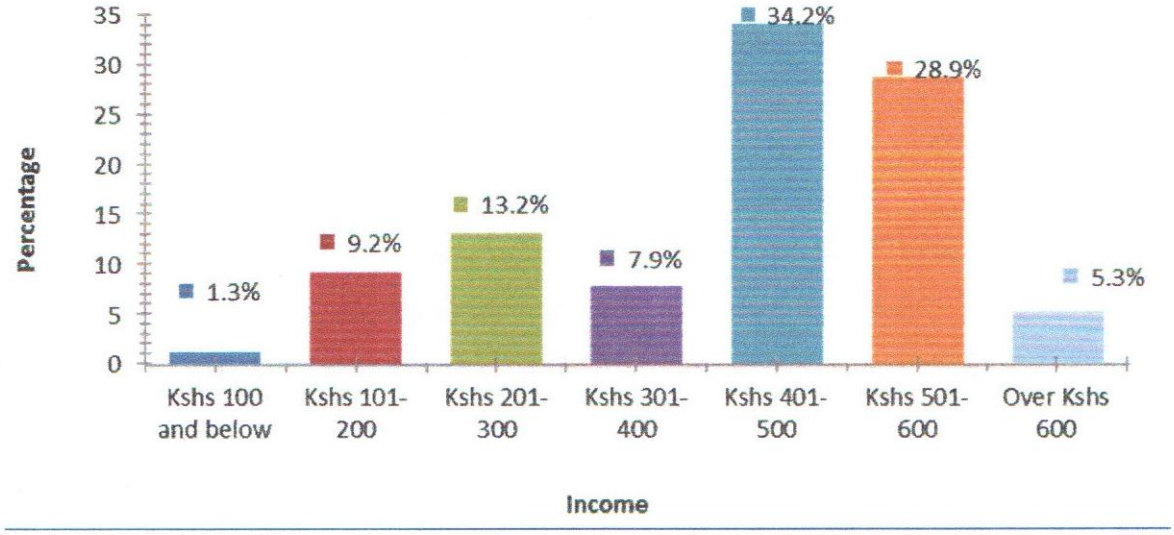


Figure 4.6: Distribution of daily incomes of donkey handlers

Source: Field data, 2010

Though personal income disclosure is not always forthcoming, reactions within the FGD exposed the mistrust between the county council (representing the government) and the respondents. One respondent's forceful interruption on another confirmed this. He remarked, *"Why are you concerned about our money? Have you been sent by the county council so that we start paying taxes and licenses?"*. Lengthy convincing assurances eventually yielded the average monthly income to be between Shs 15,000/= and Shs 20,000/= for donkey owners. The minority earning less than Shs 10,000/= were mostly employees. Despite the mentioned reasonable steady income agents to facilitate mobilization of resources have shunned them by interpreting the accompanying remarks from one young respondent:

> *"We normally see banks (meaning micro finances) giving loans with cows, potato crop and quarrying products as security. But they cannot consider us the donkey people. Even youth fund has left us out. Yet when we withdrew our donkeys from Gakoromone market (major market days held three times a week) due to harassment by council askaris it almost collapsed";*

The implication of this statement is that donkey transport is vital in the market's operation. Although the FGD was conducted during the dry spell the workload according to the respondents was still reasonable due to the several community owned irrigation projects. There is diversity in the range of goods transported to the market and shop merchandise from town on return journey. The common international poverty line has in the past been roughly $1 a day according to Sachs (2005).

This clearly indicates the enterprise is economically valuable among the respondents. Therefore poverty as an ingredient for violence as highlighted by Aluya and Lopez (1991) is overruled by the current study findings.

4.2.10 Uses of Donkeys

Donkeys, as domestic animals serve different purposes within the households. Usually the process of handling and managing them is what contributes to their maltreatment. Therefore in order to link cruelty to usage the respondents were requested to state how they use their donkeys.

The study results showed that the respondents use their donkeys for ploughing (11.8%), transportation of goods (88.2%) especially farm produce considering that the Ward has a vibrant agricultural sector according to DAO (2008) with the surplus farm produce, fetching firewood (13.2%) and water (9.2%) for commercial and domestic use.

Table 4.3: Uses of donkeys

Use	Frequency	Percentage
Ploughing	9	11.8
Transportation of goods	67	88.2
Fetching firewood	10	13.2
Fetching water	7	9.2

Source: Field data, 2010

Expansion of donkey usage to encompass sporting activities as reported by Hans (2009) is yet to be known in this area. There was shocking consensus in the FGD that aged donkeys and those in poor health deserve negligence thus leading to violence. Uniformity in these remarks by several respondents clearly confirmed this, *"Donkeys refused with everything- meat, milk, and even skin. So those that can no longer transport goods we dump them in the forest (implying the nearby Mt. Kenya forest) and nobody bothers about them anymore"*!

The implication of this statement is that the donkeys that are diseased or unproductive are denied care, thus subjecting them to cruelty. This is in contravention of the constitutional provisions on humane disposal procedures of animals (Constitution of Kenya, 2010).

Failure to reveal any social use for instance in dowry payment negates possession of donkeys to commercial field. The principal usage of donkeys is for transportation of goods for economic returns. The close proximity to the Mt. Kenya forest allows for easy access of firewood and the multiple water projects greatly lessen the burden for water search. The stony and hilly topography of the locality is a possible hindrance to their extensive engagement in ploughing.

4.3 Causes of Violence to Donkeys

Exploitation of donkeys' full potential is hindered by poor management broadly covering nutrition, diseases, housing and mistreatment. Since all these either directly or indirectly contributes to planned or accidental abuse it was necessary to seek the respondents' views in regards to factors they felt influenced violence to donkeys.

Majority of the respondents were of the opinion that donkeys are not mistreated as a way of controlling them (52.6%), fear of animals is not attributed to mistreatment of donkeys (78.9%), some people are not coerced by others to mistreat donkeys (78.9%) and that donkeys don't have to be beaten to tame them (61.8%).

Table 4.4: Causes of violence towards donkeys

Reasons affecting violence to donkeys	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Donkeys are mistreated as a way of controlling them	33	43.4	3	3.9	40	52.6
Animal phobia makes people mistreat donkeys	14	18.4	2	2.6	60	78.9
Some people are coerced by others to mistreat donkeys	14	18.4	2	2.6	60	78.9
Donkeys have to be beaten since they are stubborn	25	32.9	4	5.3	47	61.8
Women treat donkeys in a more humane manner than men	22	28.9	3	3.9	51	67.1

Source: Field data, 2010

Within the FGDs all the participants admitted there is need to carry a cane. It is used as a steering but not for caning purposes. Reinforcements from one participant were captured through the following remarks, *"A well trained donkey knows when to take a corner, stop, increase speed, and bend for loading and offloading through a combination of verbal directives and directing the cane accordingly without a single cane"*. Another added; *"We don't fear donkeys ourselves. We started interacting with them since when we were young boys"*. It is clear from this statement that donkey enjoys the status of a companion to the handler. As revealed by the FGD the desire to cope especially with the speed while in a caravan may necessitate caning of slow donkeys upon pressurization by others.

On in-depth enquiry during FGD there was clarity that the opinion on women humanness was based on observation and interaction with women in the lower zone bordering Isiolo where they use them mainly for fetching water. Cumulatively, the various proportions of violence realized by the investigated independent variables account for the high prevalence of violence to donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. In addition the study also generated other possible reasons that make people violent to donkeys as shown in table 4.5

Table 4.5: Other reasons that influence violence to donkeys

Other reasons influencing violence to donkeys	Frequency	Percent
Increase earnings	73	96.1
Economic incapability	20	26.3
Lack of skills	14	18.4
Taming	11	14.5
Performing rituals	3	3.9

Source: Field data, 2010

Table 4.5 shows that other reasons that make people to be violent to donkey are to increase their daily earnings (96.1%) hence they speed, overload, underfeed the donkeys, beat the donkeys and even over work them, economic incapability (26.3%) that make them unable to adequately care for the donkeys especially offering balanced ration and seeking veterinary attention for them, lack of skills (18.4%) to handle the donkeys (18.4%) and taming the donkeys (14.5%) which are believed to be stubborn as such they are beaten and tortured as well as performing rituals (3.9%) as a result of cultural myths and misconceptions. In order to generate more trips forceful speeding through caning is inevitable.

Overloading causes bruises from the harnessing equipment and underfeeding is erroneously aimed at cost reduction at the expense of stable health of the donkey. The study findings reveal that violence to donkeys is not necessitated by the need to exercise dominance but the desire to accumulate the highest possible economic returns from them. Therefore the study findings contradict the documentation by Kellert and Felthous (1985) that violence is a necessity in exercising dominance over an animal. However, the observation that economic incapability to finance sound management practices coupled with inadequate handling skills contributed to violence are in tandem with the documentation made by Mohammed (1991) as quoted in Fernando (2004) in a study conducted in Mexico.

4.4 Perception of Violence to Donkeys

One of the specific objectives of the study was to determine the perception of violence to donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. The study shows existence of variations as to what constitute violence to donkeys as per the respondents' perception. All the forms of violence highlighted in the study area are discussed in this section.

The respondents were requested to indicate their judgment (perception of what they consider as violence) on forms of violence to donkeys in addition to what is described in the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act of the Kenyan Constitution 2014, Act 360. The study findings showed that majority of the respondents believe that inflicted wounds on the donkey's body (96.1%), overloading (96.1%), beating subjected to donkeys (85.5%), speeding (65.8%), underfeeding (94.7%), overworking (93.4%) and undue confinement of the donkey to the cart when not working (85.5%) are all forms of violence to donkeys. The results are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Forms of violence

Forms of violence	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Inflicted wounds on donkeys body	73	96.1	-	-	3	3.9
Overloading donkeys	73	96.1	-	-	3	3.9
Beating donkeys	65	85.5	5	6.6	6	7.9
Speeding	50	65.8	2	2.6	24	31.6
Underfeeding	72	94.7	-	-	4	5.3
Overworking	71	93.4	-	-	5	6.6
Undue confinement of the donkey	65	85.5	-	-	11	14.5

Source: Field data, 2010

Whereas caning is mainly responsible for the wounds, poor harnessing equipment and inappropriate techniques also contribute. Overloading is possibly as a result of the challenges in standardization of loading capacity of various products and the disparities in each donkey's efficiency. The informality of the donkey cart business denies the handlers specially designated areas with some feed and water utilities to confine donkeys when offloaded. Hence they have to be tied to the cart all the time.

Further clarity on these perceptions was realized through various comments in FGD. One respondent stated; *"When you load over 6 bags of potatoes each weighing 90 kg that is being violent to a donkey.* Another added, *"Failure to have brakes on the carts and denying the donkey sometime for resting all constitutes violence. Through experience a donkey will clearly show when the load is excessive by refusing to move".* The possible implication of this statement is that the handlers have gradually developed social dimensions to gauge when the donkey is being mistreated and on-job parameters to determine the appropriate loading capacities. These findings show that the respondents are aware of what violence to donkeys is and this is generally in agreement with the constitutional definition (Constitution of Kenya, 2010).

The legal perception of cruelty extends beyond the acts of beating, kicking, ill-treating, overriding, speeding, overloading, torturing, infuriating or terrifying an animal to issues of unacceptable housing, confinement, conveyance, feeding and also abandonment, drug administration, surgical operation and disposal procedures that cause unnecessary suffering to the animal. All the observed forms of violence constitute suffering to the donkey, hence supporting the social perspective of maltreatment according to Ascione (1993). He asserts that animal maltreatment is any socially unacceptable behavior that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering, or distress to and/ or death of an animal. Contrarily to the legal requirements, the donkey handlers most known disposal method of unproductive donkeys is to leave them unattended in the forest to eventually die. This constitutes violence through abandonment.

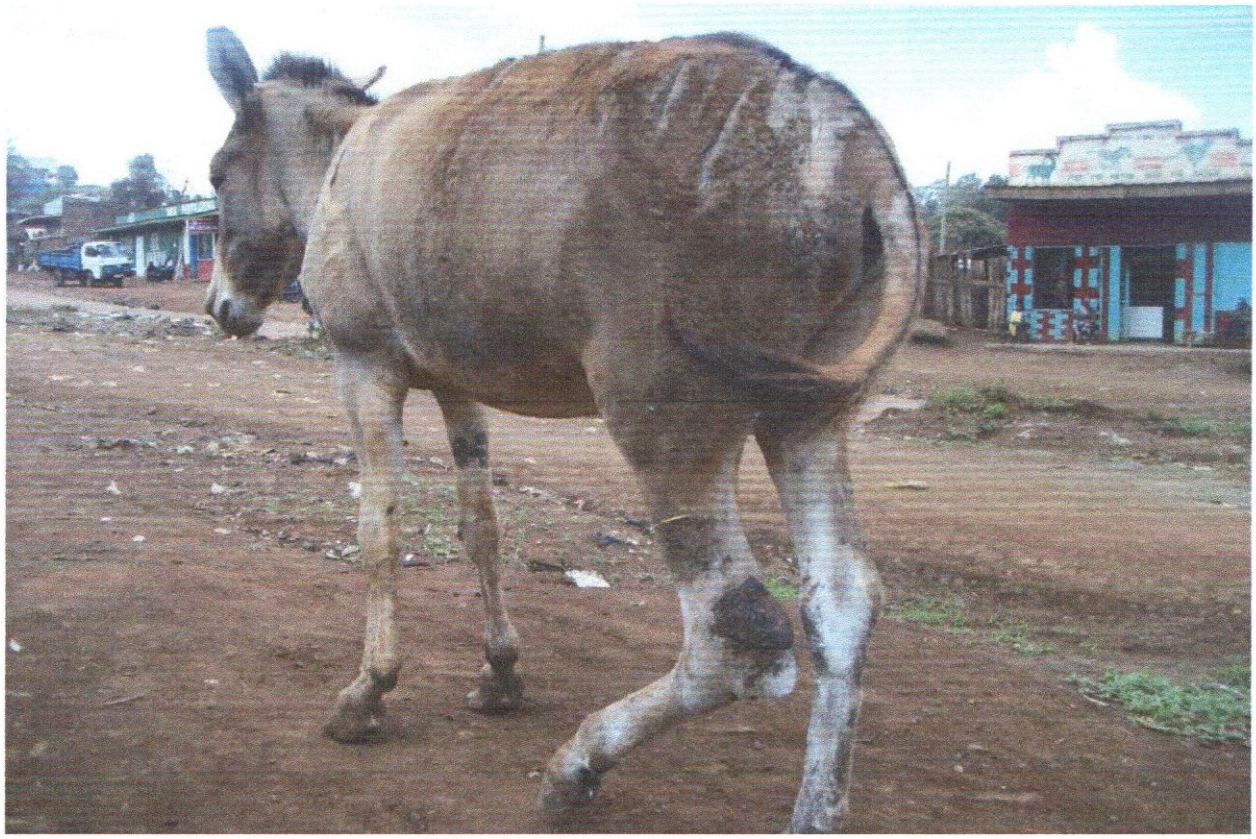


Figure 4.7: Photograph of a donkey with panga cuts

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Figure 4.8: Photograph of a donkey denied rest even after off-loading



Figure 4.9: Photograph of a donkey denied treatment after getting bruised

4.5 Cultural and Religious Beliefs Influencing Violence to Donkeys

The second specific objective was to examine the cultural and religious beliefs influencing the violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. Since all the donkey handlers belong to Ameru ethnic group the study investigated if any of their cultural practices and beliefs impacted negatively on violence to donkeys. Among the respondents, 89.5% of them derive their spiritual nourishment from the bible in which donkey is severally quoted. This section discusses the various ways culture and religion affected violence to donkeys.

4.5.1 Cultural Beliefs

A person's cultural heritage is often one indicator of behavior. Usually the various environments that children encounter in day-to-day life have a potential impact on their overall behaviors and attitudes in adulthood. The respondents were required to present their outlook on how cultural beliefs influence violence to donkeys. Majority of the respondents did not believe that donkeys are used in sporting competitions (68.4%), donkey cries result into crop failure (60.5%) nor does cutting off the edge of a donkeys' ear and tying it round a child's neck prevent diseases (56.6%). Over half of them (59.2%) also indicated that their culture condemned any form of abuse to donkeys and that the children are taught by elders to treat donkeys in a humane way (50%).

Table 4.7: Cultural practices

Cultural practices	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Cutting off the edge of a donkeys ear and tie it round a child's neck prevents diseases	-	-	33	43.4	43	56.6
Donkeys are used in sporting competitions	2	2.6	22	28.9	52	68.4
Our culture condemns any form of abuse to donkeys	45	59.2	13	17.1	18	23.7
Donkey cries result into crop failure	-	-	30	39.5	46	60.5
Children are taught how to care for donkeys in a humane way by the elders	38	50.0	26	34.2	12	15.8
Donkeys have to be canned to work	31	40.8	4	5.3	41	53.9

Source: Field data, 2010

During FGD an old respondent regularly referred to as 'Chairman' by others for his long experience with donkeys strongly remarked, *"Children are aware that if I encounter a donkey overloaded or with injuries I reprimand them on the spot and I have to question their fathers as well. Everybody here should do that"*. This statement indicates that the community has devised some mechanisms to address violence to donkeys.

Despite the little knowledge on donkey racing competitions (2.6%) a youthful respondent's passionate appeal directed to the researcher during FGD demonstrates the existence of unexploited potential for youth engagement. He reported, *"I happened to have been in Lamu during donkey competitions. Tourists attend in big numbers and they are charged. Please tell the government to introduce the sport for us here"*. A possible interpretation of this statement is the need to exploit the economic returns and leisure associated with sports. The condemnation of abuse to donkeys, involvement of elders in teaching children to take care of donkeys and disapproval of canning of donkeys demonstrate that the cultural beliefs and orientation of residents of Kibirichia Ward are for animal welfare.

The findings that children are taught by elders to treat donkeys in a humane manner supports Bandura's Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977). The theory asserts that children tend to model their behavior according to the personalities and or the environment they are exposed to. Therefore projections of gradually creating a generation not violent to donkeys are feasible in accordance to this theory. It also disqualifies the documentation by KENDAT that Ameru have several myths and misconceptions about donkeys since they don't attach crop failure to donkey cries nor do they engage in tying part of a donkeys' ear round a child's neck to prevent diseases. The desire for engagement into donkey sporting competitions is in agreement with Hans (2009) documentation that usage of donkeys can be diversified into sporting as well. Since this study sought to determine if cultural beliefs had influenced violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers, cross-tabulation of cultural beliefs and violent behaviour was done. Table 4.8 presents the findings.

Table 4.8: Cultural beliefs and violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers.

			Ever been violent to your donkey		Total
			Yes	No	
Culture condemns any form of abuse to donkeys	Agree	Count	31	14	45
		% within Culture condemns any form of abuse to donkey	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	57.4%	63.6%	59.2%
		% of Total	40.8%	18.4%	59.2%
	Don't know	Count	10	3	13
		% within Culture condemns any form of abuse to donkey	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	18.5%	13.6%	17.1%
		% of Total	13.2%	3.9%	17.1%
	Disagree	Count	13	5	18
		% within Culture condemns any form of abuse to donkey	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	24.1%	22.7%	23.7%
		% of Total	17.1%	6.6%	23.7%
Total		Count	54	22	76
		% within Culture condemns any form of abuse to donkey	71.1%	28.9%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	71.1%	28.9%	100.0%

Table 4.8 shows that 59.2% (45) of the respondents indicated that their culture condemned any form of violence against donkeys while 23.7% (18) claimed that it did not. Out of those who claimed that their culture condemned any form of violence against donkeys, 68.9% (35) indicated that they had been violent to the donkeys at some point while 31.1% had not. Among those 17.1% (13), who did not know whether such cultures condemned violence against donkeys, 78% indicated that they had been violent to the donkeys at some point. Among those who disagreed 23.7% (18) that their cultures condemned violence against donkeys, 72.2% indicated that they had been violent to the donkeys at some point. This implies culture had not in any way influenced violent behaviour against donkeys by their handlers.

This is further confirmed by the Chi square test which was done on the frequencies to establish whether a statistically significant difference existed between individuals with strong cultural beliefs and those that did not believe that culture influenced violent behaviour. The computed Chi square value of 0.332 was not significant with $p=0.847>0.05$ at 5% level of significance and with 2 degrees of freedom. We therefore accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between culture and violent behaviour against donkeys by their handlers.

4.5.2 Social Status

Occupational prestige the society attaches to a particular occupation may affect an individual's social class independent of the income it generates among other considerations. The respondents were requested to give their views on how donkey ownership relates to social status. Interestingly, majority of the respondents felt that donkey ownership bestows low social status (65.8%), that donkey keeping as an enterprise is not considered economically valuable (51.3%) and that donkeys are not regarded as lowly because of their non- food value (65.8%).

Table 4.9: Social status

	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Donkey ownership bestows low social status	50	65.8	2	2.6	24	31.6
Donkey keeping as an enterprise is not considered economically valuable	39	51.3	3	3.9	34	44.7
Donkeys are regarded as lowly because of their non- food value	20	26.3	6	7.9	50	65.8

Source: Field data, 2010

However results from the FGD revealed the donkey handlers have been forced to accept the majority's perception within the larger community despite contrary realities as explained by one respondent who reported:

> *"I have educated all my children with money from donkeys and my customers take me to be a very useful person since I ferry goods for them. Otherwise why not go for pick up yet they can afford! But we are considered as nuisance by other road users. Police and council askaris keep on harassing us and insisting we use impassable risky routes. Even in the neighboring Ward, some people will not allow the donkey carts into their compounds. You have to struggle taking the sacks of potatoes outside the gate to load".*

Overall majority concurred they are rated lowly by outsiders who never directly use donkey services. Consequently, few outsiders fully embrace all the undertakings aimed at addressing the violence subjected to donkeys. These results demonstrate despite the economic returns accruing from the transportation charges and their contribution to livelihoods, their use has been synonymous with backwardness, underdevelopment and low social status as revealed by Fernando (2004). Herald (1996) asserts that people in lower social class tend to feel more alienated and have lower work satisfaction. This therefore potentially hinders donkey users in Kibirichia Ward from fully appreciating their welfare. The current study concurs with the analysis of social stratification in reference to donkey ownership by Nancy (2001). Writing about donkey ownership in South Africa she asserts that donkey ownership is a reflection of poverty and marginalization, thus conferring low social status in the society.

4.5.3 Christian Religious Beliefs' influence on donkey handlers

A major reason that society needs religion is to regulate behavior. Most of the laws for what is acceptable for society are largely based on religion. Strong conviction in religious doctrines impacts in mental processes resulting into influenced behaviour and actions. Since religion is all about beliefs it may affect people's attitudes towards treatment of animals, donkeys included either humanely or in a cruel manner. As a predominantly Christian community (see figure 4.3) the study sought to establish the influence of religion on violence to donkeys. Majority of the respondents felt that though biblically donkeys are a part of one's riches (40.8%) and are a symbol of peace in the community (67.1%), they should not enjoy special care (40.8%).

Table 4.10: Religious beliefs on donkeys

Religious beliefs	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Biblically donkeys are part of one's riches	31	40.8	17	22.4	28	36.8
Donkeys should enjoy special care	29	38.2	16	21.1	31	40.8
Donkeys symbolize peace in the community (Jesus used a donkey)	51	67.1	22	28.9	3	3.9

Source: Field data, 2010

Deliberations within FGD yielded mixed reactions with one respondent reporting, *"I have heard about donkeys in the Bible but I work with mine in an ordinary manner"*. A different opinion was expressed by another respondent who commented,

> *"I take donkeys to be of value. Why did Jesus prefer to be carried by a donkey yet He could still pick on other animals? Donkey is blessed if it could see the angel which Ballam could not (referring to Numbers 22:25 which says " When the donkey saw the angel of the Lord, it pressed close to the wall, crushing Balaam's foot against it. So he beat the donkey again"). It also has two crosses, one on the forehead and the other at the back"*

Looking at the respondents varying opinions it can be deduced that religious beliefs have gradually diffused and shaped donkey handlers attitudes differently, hence influencing violence to donkeys in varied ways. Positive attitudes are strongly anchored in the scriptural teachings.

Reference to Proverbs 12:10 which says "A righteous man regardeth the life of the beast' (Proverbs 12.10) clearly demonstrates this. Several favourable ratings of donkeys have been mentioned in the Bible. Apart from their high ranking as part of Abraham's riches (Genesis 12:16) they also deserve compassionate care as commanded in Exodus 23:5. It directs "if you see the donkey of someone who hates you fallen down under its load, do not leave it there; be sure you help them with it". Despite the foregoing biblical endorsement the study partly shows that the respondents perceive donkeys as though they only exist to provide service to mankind as noted by Blakeway (1994). He observed that the approach adopted by the protestant missionaries in Nigeria portrayed animals' existence as justifiable only when they serve humans.

4.5.4 Positive Influence of Religion

Findings on influence of religion showed that majority of the respondents felt that religion had indeed influenced the treatment of donkeys positively (89.5%) with only 1.3% expressing no influence at all.

Table 4.11: Positive influence of religion

Results	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	68	89.5
Don't know	7	9.2
Disagree	1	1.3
Total	76	100.0

Source: Field data, 2010

As Christians the donkey handlers are guided by the Christianity principles in the Bible. The biblical endorsement of the donkey is featured when Jesus rode on it during Palm Sunday (St. Mark, 11:1-11). In addition, the donkeys' ability to see the angel that Ballam could not initially see reinforces the belief that it's a blessed animal among those professing Christian faith (Numbers 22: 21-33). This shows that religious values and claims as features of the ethical framework by which the respondents live as seen above have had a bearing in the way donkeys are treated. In order to determine if religious beliefs had influenced violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers, cross-tabulation of religious beliefs and violent behaviour was done. The findings are presented below.

Table 4.12: Religious beliefs and violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers

			Ever been violent to your donkey		Total
			No	Yes	
If religion have influenced the treatment of donkeys positively	Yes	Count	51	17	68
		% within If religion have influenced the treatment of donkeys positively	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	94.4%	77.3%	89.5%
		% of Total	67.1%	22.4%	89.5%
	No	Count	3	5	8
		% within If religion have influenced the treatment of donkeys positively	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	5.6%	22.7%	10.5%
		% of Total	3.9%	6.6%	10.5%
Total		Count	54	22	76
		% within If religion have influenced the treatment of donkeys positively	71.1%	28.9%	100.0%
		% within Ever been violent to your donkey	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	71.1%	28.9%	100.0%

Table 4.12 shows that 89.5% (68) of the respondents indicated that their religious beliefs had influenced violence against donkeys while 10.5% (8) claimed that it did not. Out of those who claimed that their religious beliefs influenced violence against donkeys, 25% (17) indicated that they had been violent to the donkeys at some point while 75% had not. Among those 10.5% (8) who said that religious beliefs had not positively influenced violent behaviour, 62.5% indicated that they had been violent to the donkeys at some point. This implies religious beliefs had in some way influenced violent behaviour against donkeys by their handlers.

This is further confirmed by the Chi square test which was done on the frequencies to establish whether a statistically significant relationship existed between religious beliefs and violent behaviour. The computed Chi square value of 4.894 was significant with $p=0.041<0.05$ at 5% level of significance and with 1 degree of freedom. We therefore reject the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between religion and violent behaviour against donkeys by their handlers.

4.5.5 Institutional and Policy Issues on Violence to Donkeys

Government's interventions through both policy guidance and extension programmes regulate the running of various livestock enterprises to enhance productivity while still within the legal confinements. As such the respondents were required to indicate how institutional and policy issues influenced violence to donkeys. Majority of the respondents indicated that extension services have not included donkeys in their packages (86.8%).

Table 4.13: Institutional and policy issues on violence to donkeys

Institutional and Policy Issues	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Extension services have not included donkeys in their packages	66	86.8	5	6.6	5	6.6
Government has institutional programs in place to support and protect donkeys' welfare	27	35.5	49	64.5	-	-
The donkey carts business is formal in Kenya	5	6.6	13	17.1	58	76.3

Source: Field data, 2010

The limited extension support has lead to insufficient knowledge on various management practices such as proper harnessing, treatment and feeding. This is bound to contribute to violence unknowingly. It also makes it difficult for donkey owners to freely seek any government assistance pertaining to observed incidences of violence. This was confirmed in the FGD results where one participant indicated, *"We have livestock officers who attend to our cattle, chicken, dogs when sick but none for donkeys. So when wounded we just leave them to recover on their own or simply die"*. These concerns show the handlers rarely experience expert opinion on how to address violence to donkeys. So as indicated in table 4.1 reliance of extended family labour narrows the knowledge available on donkey handling to mostly what has been learnt within the family.

Revelations within the FGD singled out KENDAT and a regular white lady sympathizer-Madam Coldwell for credit. Thus, accounting for the dismal (6.6%) provision of services recorded. In the FGD proceedings a participant interjected another by remarking; *"Only Coldwell and KENDAT know we exist. They periodically deworm our donkeys for free. Coldwell gets very irritated on coming across a donkey with injuries"*. Judging from these remarks there is evidence the donkey handlers have limited source of expertise advice devoid of government supplementation.

The respondents also indicated that the donkey carts business is not formal in Kenya (76.3%) while the majority did not know if the Government has institutional programs in place to support and protect donkeys' welfare (64.5%). This shows that the institutional support for donkey welfare has received minimal attention perhaps due to their omission in the operating policy and the informality of donkey carts business. The resultant challenges eventually contribute to violence against donkeys.

This therefore confirms that the omission of donkey welfare issues in National Livestock Policy (MOLD, 2008) has impacted negatively on their welfare. In addition, the findings concur with the observations made by Bakkoury and Belemlish (1991). While reporting on donkey treatment in Morocco they indicated that lack of donkey handling skills contributed to the cruelty subjected to them.

4.6 Consequences of Violent Behaviour towards Donkeys by their Handlers

The final specific objective was to evaluate the consequences of violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. As indicated in Table 4.6 the donkey handlers' perception of violence to donkeys is clear. It includes overloading, injuries, underfeeding and overworking among others. In Table 4.8 and Table 4.12 some have also owned up to have been violent to donkeys at some point. This section therefore evaluated the consequences of violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers.

Table 4.14: Consequences of violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers

Consequences	Agree		Don't know		Disagree	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
People who mistreat donkeys are arrested	62	81.6	1	1.3	13	17.1
People convicted of violence to donkeys are penalized by courts	59	77.6	13	17.1	4	5.3
Other members of the community are opposed to mistreatment of donkeys	64	84.2	2	2.6	10	13.2
Children who observe the mistreatment of donkeys may practice the same in the future	40	52.6	7	9.2	29	38.2
Violence to donkeys may lead to high unnecessary veterinary expenses	66	86.8	2	2.6	8	10.5
Donkeys subjected to violence give less income than those well treated	63	82.9	1	1.3	12	15.8
People known to be violent to donkeys are denied jobs as donkey handlers	70	92.1	2	2.6	4	5.3

Source: Field data, 2010

4.6.1 Arrest and Conviction

According to Table 4.14, the respondents indicated that handlers found mistreating the donkeys were arrested (81.6%) and if convicted they were penalized by courts (77.6%). The jail term is up to a maximum of six months or a fine not exceeding three thousand shillings or both. In the FGD the participants revealed despite their inadequacy in understanding the whole legal process they have localized punitive measures.

One respondent observed, *"We have mandated the chief to confiscate one tyre or the yoke for two weeks for anybody found mistreating donkey. I cannot employ a person who beats donkeys!"* Looking at this statement it can be deduced that some donkey handlers are in support of any deterrent measures imposed to check on violence. Legal enforcements appear distorted judging by the remarks made by another respondent:

> *"Occasionally the police confiscate the cart and have it confined in the police station for up to two weeks. The donkey handler may also be locked in for a day or two. But I have not heard of anybody taken to court. The mzungu (implying the Executive Director of KSPCA) who used to come around was very rough. She could even cane you for if your donkey had injuries. But we don't see her these days"*

The finality of any illegality should end up in court. These statements portray some incompleteness of the legal process, thus undermining the punitive measures stipulated by law. Although these penalties are meant to discourage the violence, they are also likely to lead to reduced income within the household. The findings portray some compliance with the legal provisions on cruelty to animals. According to the ''The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act'' Chapter 360 of The Laws of Kenya (Constitution of Kenya, 2010) cruelty to animals is punishable through jail term, fine or both. However confiscation of the tyre or on spot beating is localized punitive remedy.

4.6.2 Opposition of Mistreatment of Donkeys by other Community Members

The beneficiaries of donkey services are both the donkey handlers/owners, their clients as well as the employees of the few organizations promoting donkey welfare. In order to assess whether the other community members were against violence to donkeys the respondents responses were sought. Those against were a reasonable figure (84.2%). This confirms the findings that the Ameru culture condemns violence to donkeys and as a Christian community their religious beliefs discouraged the violence as well (see Table 4.8 and Table 4.12 respectively). The results also support the observations of Ascione (1993). He asserts that animal maltreatment is socially unacceptable and communities must acknowledge it endangers everyone since there is a strong link between animal cruelty and interpersonal violence. Consequently violence to donkeys creates uncomfortable psychological scenario for majority of community members.

4.6.3 Socialization of Children into Violence

Although the respondents indicated earlier that children are taught on how to care for donkeys in a humane way by the elders (see Table 4.7), majority believe that children who observe the mistreatment of donkeys may practice the same in the future (52.6%). Within the household set ups donkeys form part of the domestic animals children are exposed to as they grow. Opportunities to observe, compare and adopt the various treatments subjected to each are therefore inevitable. This confirms Bandura's projection that children continuously exposed to aggressive behavior may later on portray the same behavior while in seclusion (Bandura, 1977). But the effectiveness of modeling is also dependent on the rewards or punishments attached to the behavior. Moreover, Hodges (2007) asserts that when children abuse animals they are most likely repeating what they learnt at home. The current study shows that socialization of children into being violent to donkeys has various implications.

Apart from risking legal prosecutions, they would also not enjoy the benefits attached to donkey keeping. In addition such children are vulnerable to crime as noted by McVie (2007) and they eventually get desensitized such that their empathy even to humans is reduced according to Ascione as quoted by McVie (2007). More often, frequent exposure to a certain situation makes that person to eventually become comfortable with it. Consequently, participation in or viewing acts of repeated cruelty towards animals desensitizes both the perpetrator and the spectator.

4.6.4 Increased Veterinary Costs Resulting from Violence

Engagement of donkey keeping or handling is solely to support livelihoods. Business ventures focus on profit maximization by reduction of costs. Since the institutional support through provision of extension services is quite low (13.2%) and majority of the handlers have only basic education (82.9%) the level of management of donkey welfare is bound to be compromised. The study findings that violence may lead to high unnecessary veterinary costs (86.8%) imply the overall productivity of the donkey cart business posts reduced returns. Although an individual's direct expenditure on medication is minimal the FGD revealed they occasionally buy some basic medications to manage wounds as reported by one respondent's observation, *"For wounds resulting from poor harnessing or beatings we sometimes buy sprays. But for deworming and other complicated treatments we wait for the donkey people (implying KENDAT) to organize a free deworming camp"*.

The implication by this statement is that the assisting organization incurs an increased medical bill resulting from violence to donkeys by their handlers. In addition the respondents gave the other consequences of violence to donkeys generated through open ended questions as shown in table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Other consequences of violence to donkeys

Consequences	Frequency	Percentage
Beatings from the community members	3	3.9
Confiscation of the cart	1	1.3
Death of the donkey	4	5.3
Loss of customers	19	25.0
Loss of employment	12	15.8
Low income generation	5	6.6
Poor health of the donkey	5	6.6

Source: Field data, 2010

As indicated in table 4.15 the respondents gave the other consequences to violence to donkeys as loss of customers (25%) leading to low income generation (6.6%), confiscation of the donkey cart (1.3%) and lose of employment (15.8%). The respondents also indicated that violence to donkeys may lead to poor health of the donkey (6.6%) leading to high unnecessary veterinary expenses and even death (5.3%). These results show how violence to donkeys impacts on the economic productivity of donkey handlers and donkey itself, thus affecting the overall income of some members of the community. People who are violent to donkeys may also receive beatings from the community (3.9%) especially from those who may be opposed to violence to donkeys.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study objectives, conclusion drawn from the findings of the study and recommendations for possible action and areas of further research. The main aim of the study was to assess violence towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County.

5.2 Summary

The study's broad objective was to assess violence towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward of Meru Central Sub-County in Kenya. The study was guided by the following specific objectives. The first specific objective was to determine the perception of violence to donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. The study also examined the cultural and religious beliefs influencing the violent behavior towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. It in addition evaluated the consequences of violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers in Kibirichia Ward. The summary is presented under the various specific objectives.

5.2.1 Perception of Violence towards Donkeys

The study revealed that the donkey handlers' perception of violence towards donkeys is broad. However, majority concurred that injuring and overloading a donkey is the worst form of violence and speeding the least. Since donkey usage is strongly linked to the economic returns, possibly speeding accounts for more trips which result into increased daily income. The overloading posts increased returns per trip. Although beating donkeys was not considered as a major form of violence it greatly contributes to the physical wounds on the donkeys bodies. It is assumed canning is inevitable when training and driving donkeys. These injuries compromise the donkeys' ability to provide draught power. The other forms of violence are underfeeding, overworking, and undue confinement in a descending order. The tight market schedules and the long distances that have to be covered in collecting goods constraint the time available for the donkeys to graze. Due to limitation of proper feeding managerial skills other options to ensure adequate feeding are not explored.

The study also revealed that majority of the donkey handlers have only basic education up to primary level. As such their understanding of the appropriate management practices to ensure donkey welfare is not compromised is likely to be narrow. The youthful nature of the majority of the donkey handlers implies they are energetic and within the age when temptations to explore how donkeys would react to different working situations are high.

Despite the reasonable income forthcoming from the donkeys, the low social ranking attached to the enterprise would therefore imply this form of employment is taken as a last option. Possibly even out of frustration due to its informality. As a male dominated undertaking, the collective gender responsibility in taking care of the donkey welfare is lacking. Women are neither involved in usage nor ownership of the donkeys. Therefore they are disadvantaged in acquisition of the relevant humane skills appropriate for handling donkeys.

Several factors were noted to contribute to the violence subjected to donkeys. The inadequate institutional support as reflected by limited extension services and informality of the donkey cart business is responsible for the abusive methods of controlling them through canning. The conviction that donkey is a stubborn animal and can only respond through forceful means like beating is nursed by some handlers. Although the number is minimal, some mistreat the donkeys in reaction to animal phobia.

5.2.2 Influence of Cultural and Religious Beliefs on Violence towards Donkeys

The study findings indicated that the donkey cart business is dominated by youthful men all from Ameru ethnic group. The close family relations in running the business restrict acquisition of donkey handling skills largely to the confines of the home environment. Eventual graduation of children into adulthood is accompanied by hardening of their psychological processes to accommodate cruelty to donkeys as normal. Exposure to education system rarely beyond primary level is hardly adequate to alter their perception of donkey cruelty to the larger society and legal expectations.

Moreover, flexibility so as to allow for diversification of income generating opportunities to incorporate others like sporting is blocked by the traditional transportation option. Although the findings showed that there is no significant relationship between culture and the violent behavior against donkeys by their handlers, the community at large is opposed to their mistreatment.

The study also revealed that there are efforts by elders to teach children to appreciate the importance of donkeys and treat them in a humane way. But supplementation through extension framework is minimal, largely due to policy deficiency on donkey welfare. Whereas those handling donkeys and within the study area feel comfortable with this type of economic undertaking, the social ranking by outsiders is quite low. Despite being a livelihood avenue for the handlers the recognition of the donkeys' input to the growth of the agricultural markets is undermined by the informality of the business. So absence of specially designated area well equipped with feeding and watering troughs forces the handlers to subject them to maltreatment through long hours of confinement by tethering. According to the results obtained the general cultural development of the respondents is in favour of humane treatment of donkeys. Consequently there is likelihood of the violence to subsidize in future.

Most of the donkey handlers profess Christian faith and they recognize the favourable biblical endorsement of donkeys. However the religious institutions capacities to reinforce mechanisms to address cruelty to donkeys are underutilized according to the study findings. Religion forms the foundation of what is acceptable or not in a society and is capable of regulating behavior. Failure to specifically emphasize on donkey welfare from the pulpit and through specially designed development initiatives limits internalization of their humane treatment. The study pointed out total omission of any intervention in donkey handlers' livelihood supported by the churches.

But based on their Christian principles the study findings indicated that religion had influenced the donkey handlers to minimize the violence they subject to donkeys. This is perhaps associable with the high ranking of the donkey in the bible. Consequently religion had positively impacted on humane treatment of donkeys. Those who confessed they were neither Christians nor Muslims could account for the ones not influenced by religion.

5.2.3 Consequences of Violence towards Donkeys

The results from the study showed that the major reason for keeping donkeys is for their economic contribution through transportation of goods. This implies they contribute to the livelihood of their handlers among others. Since violence to donkeys is illegal, any court penalty imposed on a donkey handler erodes this economic wellbeing in addition to disrupting other issues in a family set up.

It is also evident from the study findings that violence to donkeys leads to increased veterinary costs as well as reduced returns in the long run. The beatings subject donkeys to pain, distress and the injuries may even cause death. All these are violations of animal rights. Furthermore, the unsightly wounds and other acts of cruelty compromise the peaceful psychological processes of the community members opposed to it. Moreover, people known to be violent to donkeys are denied employment in the donkey cart business. All these have negative economic impact on donkey handlers.

The study has also revealed that those children who observe others mistreating donkeys are likely to practice the same in future. Since donkeys are living creatures, subjecting them to cruelty is a form violation of respect to life. This would imply creation of a future generation which has been desensitized and their ability to empathize even with humans is eroded. The outcome would be a violent society.

Majority of the other community members disapprove off maltreatment of donkeys by their handlers. The resultant reprimands are likely to generate aggressive exchanges, a viable source for conflicts. In the business setting the customer/client relationship is strained which is unsuitable for the sound growth of the donkey enterprises.

5.3 Conclusions

5.3.1 Empirical Conclusions

Based on its objectives, several conclusions can be drawn from the study findings. First, the donkey handlers understand what violence to donkeys is and acknowledge its existence. Injuries on donkeys' body, overloading, and underfeeding, overworking, undue confinement, canning and speeding all constitute violence. The other legal definitions that encompass disposal procedures and abandonment are not clearly understood. Over three quarters of the perpetrators of donkey cruelty are youthful men below 35 years and the practice gradually declines with age advancement as more handlers opt out of this form of livelihood. As an undertaking posting earnings above the poverty line the necessity for gender mainstreaming deserves consideration since the results showed women are neither involved in handling or ownership of donkeys. The usage of donkeys among the residents of Kibirichia Ward is purely economically oriented. Currently only the transportation opportunity is exploited yet other economic potential exists in sporting. The Ameru culture had not in any way influenced violent behaviour towards donkeys by their handlers.

In addition majority members of the community are against such violence. Therefore the probable strategies designed to address cruelty would be safe from any cultural inhibitions and enjoy strong community backing. Although, socially, the donkey handlers are comfortable with their occupation they suffer low social ranking by those outside the study area. Consequently, broad institutional approaches encompassing appropriate extension packages to promote donkey welfare and enhance development of structures to formalize the enterprise need attention.

Majority of the donkey handlers profess Christian faith in the study area. This implies that their point of reference is the Bible. Based on the numerous biblical special assignments linked to the donkey the results showed that religion had influenced the behavior of the handlers, thus treating donkeys more humanely. Revelations from the study point out a gap that requires intensified efforts through pulpit mission and other development initiatives so as to strengthen strategies to minimize cruelty to donkeys.

Since violence towards donkeys is illegal, donkey handlers in Kibirichia violating this law subject themselves to legal prosecution. Donkeys subjected to violence are likely to yield less income to their handlers and employment denial for those labeled as violent to donkeys. Socialization of children in an environment where violence to donkeys is rampant is likely to give rise to a future generation that is also inhumane to donkeys.

5.3.2 Theoretical Conclusions

The study was guided by Bandura's Social Learning Theory and the following conclusions were arrived at. According to this theory individual especially children learn aggressive responses through continuous observation of others personally. According to the study findings, donkey cart business is largely confined within the family set up. Children who later succeed their relatives grow up internalizing the inhumane donkey handling methods as normal. At the opportune moment they replicate what they had observed. It is therefore due to this socialization process that some donkey handlers have learnt to be violent to donkeys. Modeling is affected by the reward or punitive system and the duration of exposure among other factors. A major attraction to the occupation is the financial rewards associated with the donkey cart business. However, the knowledge of the legal penalties and the disapproval of donkey maltreatment by the larger society has either forced the behavior to be latent or discouraged others from perpetuating it.

This perhaps accounts for the few who never practiced cruelty to donkeys. In addition the impact of religion on psychological processes of some donkey handlers can be attributed to their humane treatment of donkeys. Therefore the study concludes that as a result of socialization through observation some donkey handlers in Kibirichia Ward have modeled and adopted the violent behaviour towards donkeys.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the study findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are aimed at addressing the fourth objective of the study. The suggestions are focused on the appropriate approaches to reduce or eliminate violence to donkeys by their handlers. In addition to the current study's input some extra recommendations are policy related and others on areas for further research.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Policy

Since it has been revealed that violence to donkeys is a learned behaviour through socialization the children should be exposed to modeling which values humane treatment of donkeys. The roles played by elders in teaching children on donkey welfare should be formally recognized and strengthened. This can be done through inclusion of packages on donkey welfare in the National Livestock Policy for gradual dissemination through extension approaches to the donkey handlers and owners as well. They should also be more empowered to monitor and report cases of maltreatment to the relevant authorities. Since majority of donkey handlers have attained only basic education incorporating the same in the education system right from primary level is equally suitable to inculcate a strong passionate affection for donkeys.

Findings from the study indicated that majority of donkey handlers are Christians. This fact combined with the favourable biblical backing of donkeys is an avenue available for the church to formulate donkey related programmes tied to humane treatment. For instance special low interest loan facilities for those with donkeys not subjected to violence and during Palm Sunday festivities physical involvement of donkeys that are well treated. Both the government and other organizations should closely collaborate with the church to formulate appropriate approaches.

Social ranking of donkey handlers by the community outside the study area is quite low. This affects their self-esteem which might be translated into hostility towards donkeys. There is therefore the need for sociologist to promote donkey cart business as a respectable source of livelihood. This can be done through confidence building sessions through which clothing's like t-shirts or caps in praise of the business are distributed.

The study recommends formalization of the donkey cart business in order to optimize the growth of the current players in the industry. Expansion of donkey business to incorporate sporting should also be explored. As an economic undertaking gender mainstreaming is necessary so that women are also empowered financially by devising strategies to make them appreciate and take up the business. However, child labour should be discouraged and those of school going age forced back to further their education. People labeled as violent to donkeys should also be denied job opportunities.

5.4.2 Recommendations on Areas for Further Research

Since the literature review indicated that donkey usage spreads across other areas a similar study can be done in another locality for the purpose of comparing the results. Despite the reasonable income earned from the donkey cart business there is sudden decline of those pursuing the business after 25 years of age. This is the age bracket when settling in family life calls for increased financial obligations. There is need to establish the reasons why some donkey handlers opt out of the business at such youthful age. In-depth understanding of the barriers blocking women from the donkey enterprise is also recommended so as to have them mainstreamed for financial empowerment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion

My name is John Chege Ndungu, a Master's student in Egerton University. With me are two colleagues (to introduce the moderator and assistant moderator by names) to help in conducting this discussion on perception of violence to donkeys, factors influencing the violence and its consequences on the donkey handlers. Since you have all experience in handling donkeys we have confidence your contributions will be very important in this discussion expected to last about 2 hours. All comments both positive and negative will be most helpful. In order to avoid missing any of your comments we shall use a tape recorder since writing alone may not be fast enough. The tapes will be destroyed after transcribing. Please be guaranteed total confidentiality and even your names will not appear in any of our reports. The outcome of this discussion will be useful in designing relevant interventions to enhance the benefits we enjoy from the donkeys. Before we start it is important we set some ground rules to allow for free and uninterrupted active participation.

Part A: Demographic Factors (for assistant moderator use only)

1. Gender male female
2. Estimate age .....
3. Are donkey handlers' employees or the owners?

Part B: Perception of Violence to Donkeys

4. Let us start our discussion by talking about what makes us keep donkeys in our homes. How do you use your donkeys in this locality?
5. How is ownership of donkeys rated socially?
6. Please explain what you understand by the term "violence to donkeys"?
7. How do people learn to be violent to donkeys?
8. What are the ways through which people portray violence to donkeys?

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Part C: Cultural and Religious Beliefs Influencing Violence to Donkeys

9. What cultural factors contribute to mistreatment of donkeys?
10. What are the other factors that contribute to mistreatment of donkeys?
11. How does religion influence the way donkeys are treated?
12. How does extension service influence donkey welfare?

Part D: Consequences of Violence to Donkeys

13. What benefits are associated with violence to donkeys?
14. What problems arise from mistreatment of donkeys?
15. How can violence to donkeys be reduced or stopped?

Questions for probes:

- Monthly income from donkeys.

- Cultural beliefs about donkeys.

- Biblical influences about donkeys.

- Socio-status in relation to donkey ownership.

- Identify organizations promoting humane treatment of donkeys.

- Socialization of children about donkey treatment.

Concluding the Focus Group Discussion

We highly appreciate all that you have shared with us. Just allow me to give an oral summary of the discussion so that if anything has been left out you may please highlight.

Have we missed anything?

Thank you for your cooperation and answering the questions.

Appendix II: Invitation Letter to Participate in Focus Group Discussion

John Chege Ndung'u
P.O. Box 92-60102
ISHIARA-EMBU
Tel: 0724793544
Email: nduchege@yahoo.com

Mr. /Mrs./Miss/M/S……

RE: Invitation to Participate in Focus Group Discussion

I am a student undertaking a Master of Sociology Degree in Egerton University and my research is focused on **"Factors Influencing Violence to Donkeys in Kibirichia Ward".**

This is therefore to request you to accept my invitation to participate in a focus group discussion lasting 2 hours on the above mentioned topic on ……..at ……starting from 10.00am. Your long experience in handling donkeys will be very helpful in generating information on the topic.

Thanks in advance.

John Chege Ndung'u

Appendix III: Interview Schedule for Interview Method

My name is John Chege Ndungu, a Master's student in Egerton University. Please assist me gather data on perception of violence to donkeys, factors influencing violence to donkeys and its consequences on the donkey handlers by responding to the questions in this interview schedule honestly and truthfully. I will clarify the various forms of violence (e.g. beating, overloading, speeding etc). All the information (including your name) will be used purely for academic purposes and will therefore be treated with the highest level of confidentiality.

Part A: Demographic Factors

Respondents will be coded from R1- R76

Name of the respondent (Optional)……

1. Gender A (Male) B (Female)
2. Age ----------Years
3. What is your religion?
   (A) Christian (B) Muslim (C) Others
4. Are you the owner of donkey(s) you use?

(a) Yes

(b) No

5. If No, please state the relationship between you and the owner
   (A) Relative (B) Employee
6. If an employee, state ethnic group: A (Meru) B (Others)
7. What is the gender of the owner of the donkey(s)?

(a) Male

(b) Female

8. What is your highest academic level attained?
   (a) Never gone to school.
   (b) Primary School.
   (c) Secondary School.
   (d) Tertiary Institution.
   (e) University.
9. What is your average daily income from donkey usage?
   Ksh ----------

10. State how you use your donkeys:

.....

.....

Part B: Perception of Violence to Donkeys

11. Inflicted wounds on the donkeys' body portray some form of violence subjected to them.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

12. Overloading donkeys is being violent to them.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

13. Beatings subjected to donkeys signify the level of violence.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

14. Please state which one of the following you also consider as a form of violence to donkeys:

(i) Speeding (1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

(ii) Underfeeding (1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

(iii) Overworking (1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

15. Undue confinement of donkey to the cart when not working is a form of violence.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

Part C: Cultural and Religious Beliefs influencing Violence to Donkeys

16. Donkeys are mistreated as a way of controlling them.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

17. Animal phobia (fear) makes some people mistreat donkeys.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

18. Some people are coerced by others to mistreat donkeys.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

19. I believe that donkeys have to be beaten since they are stubborn.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

20. Women treat donkeys in a more humane manner than men.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

21. Religion has influenced the treatment of donkeys positively.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

22. Cutting off the edge of a young donkey's ear and tie it round the child's neck to prevent diseases.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

23. Donkeys are used in sporting competitions.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

24. Our culture condemns any form of abuse to donkeys.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

25. Children are taught on how to care for donkeys in a humane way by the elders.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

26. A donkey has to be canned to work.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

27. Biblically donkeys are part of one's riches.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

28. Donkeys should enjoy special care

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

29. Extension services have not included donkeys in their packages

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

30. The Government has institutional programs in place to support and protect donkeys' welfare.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

31. The donkey carts business is informal in Kenya

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

32. Donkey ownership bestows low social status.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

33. Donkeys are regarded lowly because of their non-food value.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

34. Donkey keeping as an enterprise is not considered economically valuable.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

35. Please give any other reasons that make people to be violent to donkeys:

.....

.....

Part D: Consequences of Violence to Donkeys by their Handlers

36. People who mistreat donkeys are arrested.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

37. People convicted of violence to donkeys are penalized by courts.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

38. Other members of the community are opposed to mistreatment of donkeys.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

39. Children who observe the mistreatment of donkeys may practice the same in future.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

40. Violence to donkeys may lead to high unnecessary veterinary expenses.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

41. Donkeys subjected to violence give less income than those well treated.

(1) I agree (2) I do not know (3) I disagree

42. People known to be violent to donkeys are denied jobs as donkey handlers.

(1) I agree (2) Io not know (3) I disagree

43. Please give any other consequences that arise from violence to donkeys:

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Thank you for your cooperation and answering the questions.