

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

**WOMEN IN INTER-COMMUNITY PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN
KENYA: A CASE OF TURKANA COUNTY 1973 – 2002.**

MA. PROJECT PAPER

BY

ALOBEL MARY THURE

C50/63769/2011

**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ARMED CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

SUPERVISOR: DR. H. MISIGO-AMATSIMBI

2019

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for award of degree in any other University.

MARY THURE ALOBEI

DATE

This project was submitted for examination with approval of the following university supervisor:

DR. HERBERT MISIGO AMATSIMBI

DATE

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my dear husband Mr. Anthony Odeo for all the support he has granted me during the time of writing this research. And, to all the Turkana women for dedicating their time and effort to peace work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Almighty God for enabling me to undertake this research. I thank Him for the strength, provision and the grace to finish this paper.

I take this opportunity also to thank my supervisor Dr. Hebert Misigo Amatsimbi for his extensive and invaluable support during this process. Taking time to read this work countless times and for the encouragement and patience he showed throughout the entire process. May God bless you sir!

I am also grateful to my family for their support and continuous inspiration. My husband Mr. Odeo did a lot behind the scenes to ensure that I finish this research. My brother Francis Alobei for the support he offered to ensure that this work is completed on time. Jack Odeo for taking his time to proof read this work. And to Immaculate Apiyo for her selfless effort to ensure that I was comfortable during the time of writing this paper. God bless you!

I am also thankful to all the respondents for their treasured time in providing information critical to the study. I am especially indebted to Mr. Lucas Ekitela for all the help he offered in ensuring I obtain all the information needed. Much thanks!

To all my lecturers and fellow course mates in the Department of History and Archaeology, special thanks for the great insights, encouragement and moral support accorded to me during the time of conducting this study.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Adakar - refers to a group of families living within a particular locality.

Ateker – refers to a cluster of Eastern Nilotic languages of Eastern South Sudan, Northern Uganda, Northern-western Kenya, and Southwestern Ethiopia.

Cattle Raids – this is used interchangeably with the term rustling in this study to denote the act of armed attacks by one group on another for the purpose of stealing livestock.

Conflict - is used to mean a dispute between two or a group of people or communities leading to violence.

Conflict resolution - refers to processes and activities undertaken to end tension and violence between groups of people or communities.

Ekitoi a Ngaskou - refers to the Council of Elders in the Turkana community.

Formal Peace Process - this term has been used to refer to the more organized and modern ways of handling conflicts

Informal Peace Processes - this term has been used to refer to traditional ways of handling conflicts

Kraal- refers to an enclosure where large numbers of livestock are kept especially in the grazing fields.

Northern Kenya – is used to mean the areas of North Western, upper Eastern and North Eastern part of Kenya which borders Kenya- Uganda –Sudan – Ethiopia and Somali. These areas are mostly Arid and Semi-arid.

Pastoralism - is applied in the study to mean communities whose source of livelihood is from herding of livestock on open land. These communities include the Turkana, the Pokot, the Samburu, the Somali, and the Boran of Kenya. Among others are the Toposa and the Merille of Ethiopia and Sudan, and the Karamojong of Uganda.

Peace Building - is applied in this study to mean the enactment of actions that bring about peaceful relationships that prevent the occurrence or intensification of activities that may lead to conflicts. It is a concept that incorporates not only long-term transformative efforts related to building capacities, reconciliation, and transforming societies but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. (National Peace Policy, 2013: 54-55)

Reconciliation - is here taken to mean all processes through which individuals, societies and communities move from a past fractured by conflicts to peaceful coexistence. It implies all activities undertaken towards resolving violent interethnic conflicts.

ACRONYMS

AWP	Adakar Women for Peace
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanisms
CRC	Commission on Revenue Allocation
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DPC	District Peace Committee
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IGA	Income Generating Activities
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
LAPSSET	Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor
LWPO	Loima Women for Peace Organization
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organizations
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RWPL	Rural Women Peace Link
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
TWADO	Turkana Women and Development Organization
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USAID	United States of Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

Women from the pastoralist communities like any other women in conflict affected regions have found themselves involved in brokering peace in one way or another. This project paper, examines the contribution of Turkana women towards inter-community peace and reconciliation. The paper sought to find out the following: the causes of conflicts in Turkana; the role of women in conflicts, the contribution of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation and the impact of women work to inter-community peace and reconciliation.

It utilized the use of secondary, primary written and primary oral methods of data collection. Secondary data was obtained from books, articles and journals while a questionnaire was used to obtain primary oral data through interviews. The data was then transcribed and analyzed under different themes.

The study found out that raiding is a major cause of inter-ethnic conflicts between the Turkana and the neighbours (Pokot, Samburu, Karamojong, Merille, Dodoth and Toposa). The conflicts revolve around livestock and livestock resources. Raiding is a means through which these communities access the resources. The study also found out that Turkana women are not victims but active participants and actors in castigating conflicts. They play supportive roles such as information sharing, supply of provisions, conflict catalysts, music and dance and participation in raid rituals.

Turkana women have also contributed to peace through a variety of approaches such as women peace crusades, symbols of peace, friendship and trade, women and informal power, peace committee members, actors in early warning mechanisms, women in administration and women based organizations.

The paper has also revealed that peace efforts by Turkana women have resulted into positive impact towards peace. The positive results of women peace work include bridging the inter-ethnic bridges, improved security, promote the use of non-violent approaches to conflict resolution and sustained peacebuilding at grassroots level.

Turkana women also face hurdles that have hindered their substantive engagement in peace building work. These limitations include gender roles and cultural barriers, women lack unity and oneness, impunity and the limited capacity of women peacebuilders. These barriers limit the effectiveness of women work towards peace.

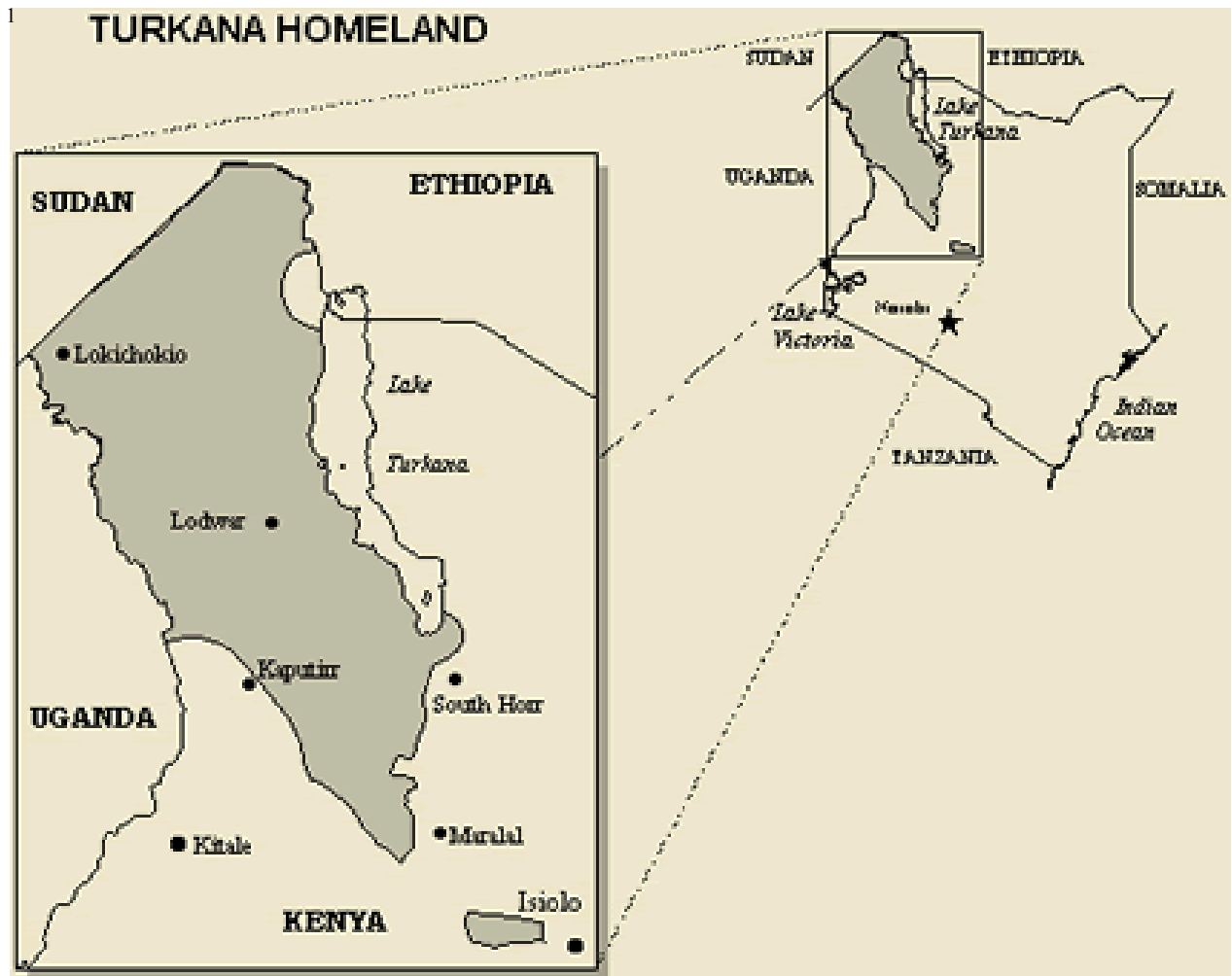
This paper argues that Turkana women contribute significantly to inter-ethnic peace and their substantive inclusion in every level of peace building and reconciliation is a vital component in achieving sustainable peace within the pastoral communities of north-west Kenya.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	v
ACRONYMS.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3. Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.3.1. General Objective.....	5
1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study	5
1.3.3. Research Questions	6
1.4. Justification of the Study	6
1.5. Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	7
1.6. Literature Review.....	8
1.6.1. Conflict in Turkana	8
1.6.2. Pastoralist Women in Inter–community Peace and Reconciliation	12
1.7. Theoretical framework.....	17
1.8. Research hypotheses	18
1.9. Research Methodology	18
CHAPTER TWO: PHYSICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA.....	21
2.1. Introduction.....	21
2.2. Position and size of Turkana County.....	21
2.3. Cultural and Ethnographic Background.....	23
2.4. Traditional Social and Political Organization.....	24
2.5. Conclusion	26

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT IN TURKANA TO	
2002.....	27
3.1. Introduction.....	27
3.2. Background to the Conflicts	27
3.3. The Nature of Conflicts in Turkana.....	29
3.4. Causal Factors of the Conflict.....	31
3.4.1. Ecological Impediments.....	32
3.4.2. Socio-Economic Factors.....	35
3.4.3. Socio-Cultural Factors.....	36
3.4.4. Proliferation of Illicit Weapons.....	38
3.5. The Role of Women in Conflicts.....	40
3.5.1. Supply of Provisions	40
3.5.2. Information Sharing	41
3.5.3. Conflict Catalysts	42
3.5.4. Participating in Raid Rituals	43
3.5.5. Music and Dance.....	45
3.6. Conclusion	47
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF TURKANA WOMEN IN INTER-COMMUNITY	
PEACE AND RECONCILIATION	49
4.1. Introduction.....	49
4.2. Women and Conflict Resolution among the Turkana.....	49
4.3. Turkana Women as Peace Agents.....	51
4.3.1. Women Peace Crusades (<i>Alokita a Ngaberu</i>).....	53
4.3.2. Symbols of Peace	55
4.3.2.1. The Lokirama Peace Accord	56
4.3.3. Friendship and Trade.....	57
4.3.4. Women and Informal Power	60
4.3.5. Peace Committee Members.....	62
4.3.6. Early Warning and Response Mechanisms	65
4.3.7. Women in Administration.....	68
4.3.8. Women Based Community Organizations.....	70

4.4. Conclusion	73
CHAPTER FIVE: IMPACT OF WOMEN’S EFFORTS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION	75
5.1. Introduction.....	75
5.2. Impact of Women’s Work in Inter–Community Peace and Reconciliation	75
5.2.1. Bridging the Inter-Ethnic Differences.....	76
5.2.2. Improved Security.....	78
5.2.3 Non Violent Approaches to Conflict Resolution	80
5.2.4. Sustained Peacebuilding at the Grassroots Level.....	83
5.3. Limitation of Women Work in Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation	85
5.3.1. Gender Roles and Cultural Barriers	85
5.3.2. Lack of Unity and Oneness	86
5.3.3. Impunity	87
5.3.4. Capacity of Women Peace Builders.....	88
5.4. Conclusion	90
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....	91
6.1. Introduction.....	91
6.2. Main Findings	91
6.2.1. Main cause of Inter- Ethnic conflicts	92
6.2.2. The Role of Women in Inter-Ethnic Conflicts	93
6.2.3. Women Contribution to Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation	94
6.2.4. Impact of Women’s Work to Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation	96
6.3. Conclusion and Implications.....	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY	101
Appendix: Questionnaire	107



¹ Fig.1: Map of Turkana County

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

This study analyses the role of Turkana women in inter–community peace and reconciliation in the context of interethnic conflicts in northern Kenya. There exist conflicts between Turkana and the neighbouring pastoralist groups, who include Pokot and Samburu to the south, Merrile and Dongiro to the north (Ethiopian border), Toposa to the north west (South Sudan border) and Karamojong to the west (Ugandan border). There has been an assumption that women from the pastoralist communities are passive victims of conflicts rather than active members who are influencing their community towards peace. This study was informed by the need to analyze women’s role in regard to conflicts and peace in northern Kenya.

Northern Kenya is one of the most volatile regions in the country. This is an area that has witnessed a myriad of endemic interethnic conflicts. It is mostly inhabited by the pastoralist communities who derive their livelihood from livestock keeping. The conflicts between the different pastoralist groups in this region can be attributed to an inter-play of factors that can be local, national, regional and international that have created an environment conducive for violent conflicts to thrive. That environment includes scarcity of resources and infrastructure, insecurity and marginalization by the State.² This has increased the risk of violence and conflicts occurring between the different communities.

The ethnic differences that lead to violence can be attributed to conflicts over resources which according to Dan Smith are essentially conflicts over power or access to economic or environmental resources which come to wear an ethnic mask.³ In the case of Turkana and the neighbours, these conflicts are associated with access and control over livestock and related livestock resources. This is the reason why the conflicts in the area manifest in form of raids. Communities engage each other in raiding and counter raiding activities as a means of accessing these resources. In fact, according to Terrence McCabe while building a case against the “tragedy of the commons” notes that...

² Frank E., A Participatory Approach for Local Peace Initiatives: The Lodwar Harmonization Meeting, Africa Today, Vol 49 no. 4, Indiana University Press, 2002, p.69.

³ Smith D., Trends and Causes of Armed Conflict, Berghof Research Centre for constructive conflict management, p.12.

Raiding has become endemic to this area with raids and counter raids occurring among the Turkana, the Pokot and the Karamojong of Uganda.⁴

This shows that livestock raiding is a widespread problem in the area that has resulted in violence with adverse effects to the lives of the pastoralist communities.

This state of affairs has its genesis in the colonial regime which promoted and propagated conflicts through economic and ideological marginalization. For instance, during the first administration of Turkana by the British under Headman Ajuga in 1906, the Turkana were facing a lot of aggression from the Ethiopians. When Ajuga requested for government protection, the government then said that the protection of the Turkana will be guaranteed as long as they paid tax which became difficult to collect due to their nomadic nature. As a result of this neglect, interethnic raids continued between the communities in the region which led to a military intervention in 1918 and the Turkana were put under strict punitive measures.⁵ This drive and other policy mistakes undertaken by the British undermined the Turkana people way of life and encouraged the community to become militarized as they endeavored to protect themselves from incursions from other communities as well as control their resources.

Economic marginalization rendered the region underdeveloped. This created room for ethnic militarization of the different groups which intensified insecurity in the area due to deficiency of basic amenities and infrastructure.⁶ It caused the communities to compete and fight over the limited resources. During the colonial period, this part of the country was termed as frontier districts thus marginalized from national development. For instance, the colonial policy of Northern Kenya by one of the colonial administrators in charge of the area Sir Geoffrey Archer described the region as:

There is only one way to treat the northern territories, the home of nomadic camel, cattle and sheep owning people and that is to give them what protection one can under the British Flag and otherwise to leave them to their own customs as far as possible and under their own chiefs. Anything else is certainly uneconomical.⁷

⁴ McCabe J.T., Turkana Pastoralism: A case Against the Tragedy of the Commons, vol 8 no. 1, Springer, 1990, p.90.

⁵ Emley E.D., The Turkana of Kolosia District, the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 57, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1927, p.158.

⁶ Bollig M., Inter-ethnic Conflict in Northwest Kenya; A Multicausal Analysis of Conflict Behaviour, Anthropos Institute, 1993, p. 176.

⁷ Hogg R., The New Pastoralism: Poverty and Dependency in Northern Kenya , Journal of the International African Institute Vol.56 No. 3, International African Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.319.

This attitude was further propagated by the post-colonial governments thus rendering the region underdeveloped. This state of affairs continued to promote cattle raiding among the different ethnic groups making the area volatile and insecure.

Other factors that can be attributed to conflicts in the area are drought that leads to resource scarcity and, ease of access to automatic weapons. These factors drive communities to raid each other as they compete over limited resources which include herds, pasture and water.⁸

The violence has resulted in adverse effects to the lives and livelihoods of the pastoralist communities in the region. Deaths, injuries and displacement of people have been witnessed as result of the conflicts. Hampered development due to insecurity, destruction of social amenities and reduction of investor confidence are all negative effects of conflicts in northern Kenya.⁹

In order to find a lasting solution to peace in the region there is need to look at the conflicts in the area from a gendered perspective. The contributions and experiences of both men and women are vital to understanding and addressing the conflict. For instance, Donna points out that peace and development interventions in many parts of the world often fail because they ignore gender issues.¹⁰ As much as men are directly involved in castigating conflicts, many times among the pastoralist groups the role played by women in perpetuating such conflicts is ignored. Recognizing their role as actors in conflicts will help in coming up with the right interventions that target both males and females.

Traditionally, peace building among the pastoralist communities especially the Turkana was the role and a preserve of the elders who were predominantly male. Lately, there has been an increasing involvement of other groups in the society such as women and youth in promoting peace among the warring communities. It is important to know how women have contributed to this vital role considering that they are faced with various challenges such as limited space and lack of recognition as peace makers. These obstacles continue to undermine their full participation in peace. Although women are faced with challenges in peacebuilding, that does not imply they do nothing in promoting peace in light of the interethnic conflicts. Women through

⁸ Gakua O., Kenya: Conflicts in the 'Badlands': The Turbi Massacre in Marsabit District, Review of African Political economy, vol. 33 No, 107, Taylor& Francis LTD, 2006, p. 82.

⁹ Ibid.p.83.

¹⁰ Pankhurst D., The "Sex War" and other Wars: Towards a feminist Approach to Peacebuilding, Vol.13 No2, Taylor and Francis, 2003, p.157.

their many roles as mothers, wives and nurturers have done a lot to contribute to inter-community peace. For instance, in Wajir women were in the forefront in bringing reconciliation among the warring clans.¹¹

It is against this backdrop that this study sought to examine the contribution and impact of Turkana women in inter-community peace and reconciliation.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Feminists have argued that conflicts are associated with masculinity and that boys have been socialized to think and act as warriors.¹² This is a mindset with which many peace actors and government agencies have approached pastoralist communities. This gives the false impression that women are only victims of conflicts and therefore failing to recognize the role women play as actors and castigators of conflicts. This kind of thinking has also influenced the category of individuals that peace interventions are targeted to. It has made the emphasis of peacebuilding initiatives to be male oriented since they are believed to be the ones behind the conflicts. This paper therefore argues that peace continues to be elusive between Turkana and her neighbours (Pokot, Samburu, Merille, Toposa, Karamojong, Dodoth, Matheniko and Jie) in the region despite the numerous attempts to reconcile these communities simply because of neglecting the contribution and the perspectives of women in interventions targeting inter-community peace and reconciliation.

Among other pastoralist groups, women's role in building a culture of peace is well documented. An example is the role of women in the Somali community in Wajir who were in the forefront of bringing warring clans together. The contribution of Tegla Lorupe from the Pokot and her Sports for Peace Initiative is also well documented.¹³ Among the Turkana, documentation of women contribution in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation is missing. Individual women have gone to great lengths in bringing positive change by building bridges and promoting peace with other communities yet very little has been said about them. It is not that women have not been participating in peacebuilding but rather as Becker would put, "it is the lack of

¹¹ Kinuthia M., *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peacebuilding in Communities fractured by Conflicts in Kenya*, Management Development and Governance Unit, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP, 2000, p.32.

¹² Caspary W. R., *New Psychoanalytic Perspectives on the Causes of War*, Political Psychology, Vol.14, No.3; International Society of Political Psychology, St. Louise, Washington University, 1993, p.436.

¹³ Kinuthia M., *op.cit.*, p. 33.

documentation of the analysis of the contribution of women in peace building that is missing”.¹⁴ This study agrees with Becker’s assertions that very little effort has been put to create visibility of women’s work in promoting peace and reconciliation in Turkana.

The study recognizes the need for a comprehensive analysis of the role played by women in castigating conflicts as well as peacebuilding in Turkana. Their views and perspectives in peace initiatives have been left out simply because of the assumption that they are only victims of circumstances. The study demystifies these myths and stereotypes against the Turkana women while highlighting the important roles women have played in fostering inter–community peace and reconciliation.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The main objective of the study was to investigate the role of women in inter–community peace and reconciliation in Turkana.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

This study sought to examine the following objectives:-

1. To examine the causes of conflict in Turkana County.
2. To examine the role played by Turkana women in inter–community peace and reconciliation.
3. To examine the impact of women’s efforts in promoting inter–community peace and reconciliation.

¹⁴ Becker H., *Women, Politics and Peace in Northern Namibia*, Paris, France, UNESCO, 2003, pp.47–48.

1.3.3. Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions.

1. What is the main cause of Inter- ethnic conflicts between Turkana and her neighbours?
2. What has been the contribution of Turkana women in inter-community peace and reconciliation?
3. What has been the impact of women participation in inter-community peace and reconciliation in Turkana?

1.4. Justification of the Study

This study is significant in building a body of knowledge on the role of women from the pastoralist communities in promoting peaceful societies. There is need for a comprehensive analysis on the role of Turkana women in inter-community peace and reconciliation. The study will therefore provide a broader understanding on what women have done in building a culture of peace within their communities.

Many international legal instruments have emphasized the need to include women in peace and security issues. The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 popularly referred to as the Beijing Conference, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 and others have brought to the limelight the need for women's participation and involvement in peace and security matters. This study plays a complimentary role to all these efforts that are geared towards putting the women agenda to the forefront.

Despite the many hurdles faced by women, they have increasingly become agents of change in their communities. The question is how have they managed to achieve this? The study therefore identifies with this critical need and highlights the approaches and ways in which women have become change agents and how that has helped in building stable and peaceful societies.

There are a number of lessons that this study has highlighted that are vital in informing policy decisions for the substantive engagement of women from pastoralist communities in peace and reconciliation. Some of the recommendations in this study form an agenda for further academic discourses regarding women participation in peace processes and decision making.

1.5. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study covered the conflicts in the period between 1973 and 2002. The year 1973 was very significant since it was the year that the Lokirama Peace Accord was signed between the Turkana and their neighbors the Matheniko from Uganda. This accord exemplifies a traditional conflict resolution mechanism among the pastoralists groups that involved women. The year 2002 was important because it was a period when a more coordinated approach towards peacebuilding was introduced to Northern Kenya through the establishment of the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC). It is a government department within the Ministry of Interior mandated to coordinate all actions towards peacebuilding and conflict resolution in the country. The NSC brought together the various peace actors such as Government Agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Regional bodies like Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) through the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanisms (CEWARN), the United Nations (UN) and other development partners. These organizations came to support peace initiatives among pastoralist communities in a more proactive, organized and coordinated manner.

Some of the challenges that were faced while conducting this study were; vastness of Turkana county which made it difficult to traverse and collect the data on time; illiteracy among the women and elderly who were conversant with the subject matter of the study were not able to articulate issues well without use of the local language; insecurity was also another challenge since the area is volatile especially the interior of Turkana where it borders other communities. This made it difficult to get into those areas and hear the stories from the locals; finally, the vastness of the county coupled with poor transport infrastructure and an almost non-existent public transport system made this study to be very expensive thus limiting access to certain areas.

To address these challenges, I met groups of informants together in different locations when collecting data. There were a total of 4 teams interviewed in Nairobi, Lodwar, Kapenguria and Eldoret, taking advantage of peace events that drew all these stakeholders together. This helped me avoid moving from place to place in the vast Turkana County. I emphasized the use of local language during the interviews to ensure that even the illiterate were reached out to.

1.6. Literature Review

To achieve the objectives of this study, similar works by other authors were considered and reviewed. This was to allow for identification of gaps in the existing body of literature. The materials examined were in two folds; the causes of conflicts and secondly the role of women in inter–community peace and reconciliation.

1.6.1. Conflict in Turkana

Turkana County continues to face ethnic related conflicts that have contributed immensely to underdevelopment of the area. These conflicts continue unabated despite the numerous peace efforts that have been directed to the area by different peace actors. It is therefore important to examine the reasons for the elusiveness of peace in this county and entire region. In trying to explain the reason why Turkana is in constant conflicts, Terrence McCabe brings out a combination of factors that have contributed to the continued conflicts between Turkana and the neighboring groups. He postulates that it is the fragile ecosystem and the limited political approaches that have led to conflicts in Turkana. He argues that the conflicts emerge as a result of adaptive measure to the harsh environment. This is brought about by numerous migrations, unscrupulous herding tactics, dependence on resources outside their territories, variability in livestock numbers, overstocking and the feeling of insecurity among the pastoralists. He recognizes that there are many actors and numerous issues associated in the adaptive mechanisms by the Turkana.¹⁵ Though the study agrees with his analysis of delicate ecosystem as a cause of conflict what is missing in Terrence work is the analyses of the other many factors that are not environment related that still contribute to this state of affairs. The study also disagrees with his call for provision of security for the pastoralists as a way of addressing the problem, he fails to analyze why such calls have not been effective in addressing conflicts to date. Sustainable peace can only be achieved when issues of conflicts are looked at from a gendered perspective. The gendered analysis of how men and women are involved and how they are affected by the problem of cattle rustling is very critical in addressing these persistent conflicts. This kind of analysis is totally missing in McCabe’s work. This is what this study set out to establish giving prominence on women’s role to conflict causation and their contribution to peace efforts.

¹⁵ McCabe J. T., *Cattle Bring us to Our Enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System*, American Anthropological Association, 2005, pp.733-734.

Emily Frank holds to this same argument that conflict between the nomadic groups in the region are exacerbated by a confluence of factors that can be indigenous, state, regional and global. These factors according to her have opened up an environment of economic scarcity, insecurity, isolation and disenfranchisement with state and local government. She strongly blames this state of affairs to lack of substantive development and marginalization by the government. Her thoughts about the major causes of conflicts in the region are strongly put in the excerpt below...

“An environment of extreme insecurity has caused severe social disruption and economic instability. Government services in pastoralist areas are marginal partly and the pastoralist population feels increasingly marginalized and government misconception about security and livelihood flourish”.¹⁶

Here Frank isolates marginalization by successive government as the main driver of raiding which causes conflicts. Though this is a major factor in the conflicts in the area, these communities are not at loggerhead with government but with each other. This means that there should be other motivations that are causing hostilities between the different ethnic groups. This is the main interest area in this study. What is causing the friction between the different groups and why has this continued despite all the efforts and interventions that have been put in place? Secondly what are the gendered aspects of this conflict as this is conspicuously missing in Frank's work.

Michael Bollig on the other hand looked at the causes of violence in North-west Kenya. Bollig suggests that scarcity of resources; the organization of men in age-sets, warriorhood ideology, the increased use of illicit automatic weapons and raiding are some of the explanations for conflicts among the pastoralist. He isolates raiding as the main source of inter- ethnic conflicts between the Turkana and the Pokot.¹⁷ He interestingly argues that shortage of resources is not the cause of Turkana-Pokot conflicts but rather it is the issue of raiding that is the main cause as the raiding community is more interested in having more livestock rather than gaining new territory.¹⁸

This paper tends to disagree with Bollig in his isolation of raiding for wealth and prestige as the main source of conflict without pointing at what are the drivers of raiding in this community. He

¹⁶ Frank E., *op.cit.*, p.73.

¹⁷ Bollig M., *Ethnic Conflicts in Northwest Kenya: Pokot- Turkana Raiding 1969 – 1984*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990, pp.73-90.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.79.

fails to accept that there are many drivers towards raiding and therefore increasing the numbers of one's livestock is just one reason out of the many motivations. Secondly, if you look at the position and place of Turkana geographically, it seems that the community is at loggerhead with all her neighbors whether local or international. What can explain such a scenario if not the aspect of resources where their insufficiency is the major driver of conflicts? What is the root source of raiding among these communities? And what role do women play? These are some of the questions that this study went ahead and investigated in light of the conflicts in Turkana.

Michael Bollig's on conflict behavior in Northwest Kenya points out that this is one of the most violent conflicts with devastating effects. He attributes this to distribution of the scarce resources, proliferation of automatic weapons, negative stereotyping of other communities, aggressive emotions, culture of heroism and warriorhood, marginalization, and militarization of ethnic conflicts as the main causes of conflicts.¹⁹ The gap in Bollig's work is the gender perspective of conflict in terms of the contribution of women to peace and conflicts.

According to Jon Abbink in the review of Lamphear's *Scattering Time* maintains that it is the deeply entrenched culture of raiding among the Turkana that was the main source of conflicts in the area. He points out that endemic raiding between Turkana and her neighbors as one of the factors that brought confrontation between the Turkana and the British administration. This was an issue which the British administration wanted to suppress at any cost to streamline peace, administration and taxation in the area. It seemed that raiding among the Turkana existed even before the coming of the colonial rule. In reviewing this book Jon Abbink points out that Lamphear makes too much of the Turkana being innocent victims of British colonial rule and yet according to the Turkana oral traditions, they certainly were a vast warrior people, resolutely independent, living in a state of institutionalized violence frequently raiding with nearly all their neighbors.²⁰ This clearly indicates that raiding remained one of the core causes of conflicts among the Turkana and her neighbors and as Abbink puts it

¹⁹ Bollig M., *Intra –and Interethnic Conflict in Northern west Kenya: A Multi-causal Analysis of Conflict Behavior*, Anthropos Institute, 1993, pp.176 – 184.

²⁰ Abbink J., *The scattering Time: Turkana Responses to Colonial Rule* by John Lamphear , *Ethno history*. Vol 41, No 3, Duke University Press. 1994, pp. 510-512.

“...Their raiding went on despite all warnings and reconciliation efforts by the British.”²¹

Perhaps what one needs to question is why did the raids continue despite all the reconciliation by the administration? Did the British administration involve all the sectors of the community including men and women as participants in the conflict? These are some of the issues that are missing that the study delved into.

Grey *et al* also seem to further this same argument of cattle raids as the source of conflicts. They postulate that cattle theft aided by small arms and light weapons constitute remarkably one of the traditional behaviors among these communities that encourage conflicts. They maintain that these issues pose the greatest threat to the resilience and survival of the pastoralist communities.²² But on the contrary they do not give the reasons behind raiding and yet raiding is not a cause in itself but rather there exist other factors that motivate raiding among the pastoralist groups. Secondly, raiding existed among the Turkana even before the arrival of automatic weapons and the colonial administration. These are some of the gaps that this study went ahead and investigated.

Janpeter Schilling posits that Turkana raid other communities as a survival mechanism due to reduction in pasture, water and livestock thus isolating hunger and drought as the main motives for raiding.²³ In as much as this is true schilling fails to accept that there many other factors that drive conflicts besides scarcity of resources. An analysis of the role of women in raiding is clearly missing in his work.

According to John Lamphear, it is the origin and expansion of the Turkana that can be attributed to the constant feuds between them and their neighbours. He argues that the origin of the Turkana was not monolithic in nature but rather a series of origins which were as a result of the rapid territorial expansion necessitated by their pastoral system. With their characteristic mobility and fluid frontiers, constant interethnic contacts and assimilations occurred as Turkana raided them to restock. Some of these communities decided to assimilate to avoid the pressure of

²¹ Abbink J., *op.cit.*, pp. 510-512.

²² Grey *et al*, Cattle Raiding, Cultural Survival, and Adaptability, of East African Pastoralist, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003,p.20.

²³ Schilling J., Raiding Pastoral Livelihoods: Motives and Effects of Violent Conflict in North west Kenya, Pastoralism Research, Policy and Practice, Springer, 2012, p.13.

being raided by the Turkana.²⁴ However, beside expansion for the new territories, what else drove the Turkana into constant conflicts with other communities?

On the other hand, P.H Guliver argues that it is the military nature in which the community was organized through age-sets that should be blamed for the constant conflicts between Turkana and other pastoralist groups. The age-group organization was of military importance as raids were initiated by groups of age-mates. This made raiding to be deeply entrenched in the Turkana community as those engaged in successful raids would be celebrated through dancing, boasting and general roistering.²⁵ What is missing in Gulliver's work is what other factors motivated raiding and what necessitated this kind of organization. Secondly, the place of women in how the community was organized is also missing.

Nancy Omolo too continues to build on the same arguments as Schilling and the rest. Raiding as a source of conflict in the region is motivated by climate related factors. Traditionally it was seen as a means of acquiring grazing areas, new water sources and restocking. This led to long-term hostilities between the Turkana and the neighboring communities such as the Toposa, Karamojong, Dongiro, Merile , Samburu and the Pokot.²⁶ Omolo has failed to recognize the root cause of raiding and the larger conflicts in the area. This study however, purposed to interrogate how the combination of the many factors has culminated to the endemic conflicts in the area.

As observed in the literatures above, although there are many factors that have contributed to the hostilities among the pastoralist groups of Northwest Kenya. Raiding has been isolated as the cause of endemic conflicts between Turkana and her neighbours. But was raiding really the main cause of conflict? What were the motivations behind raiding and was raiding a cause in itself or was it a manifestation of other forms of conflicts? Did women play any role in instigating raids? This is what this study sought to find.

1.6.2. Pastoralist Women in Inter-community Peace and Reconciliation

As alluded above, this study considered the literature review in two folds. One was focusing on causes and the role of women in conflict causation and secondly the place of women in the

²⁴ Lamphear J., *The People of the Grey Bull, The Origin and Expansion of the Turkana*, the Journal of History, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.35.

²⁵ Guliver P.H., *The Turkana Age Organization*, Wiley, 1958, p.916.

²⁶ Omolo N., *Gender and Climate Change- Induced Conflict in Pastoral Communities: Case Study of Turkana in Northwest Kenya*, KURT, 2008, pp.88–89.

context of intercommunity peace and reconciliation. This second section of the literature generally looks at the participation of women in inter community peace and reconciliation. This study in light of the above similarly reviewed a number of other works to establish the place of Turkana women in peace and reconciliation efforts.

The adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325(2000) calls for enhanced involvement of women on all conflict resolution processes, an indication of the significant role women play in conflict resolution. This has resulted into a worldwide call to involve women in issues of peace and security as active participants and not only as victims.²⁷

According to Shelley, the complete understanding of the root causes of violence and the corresponding attempt to build a culture of peace can never be complete without an analysis of the power relationships between men and women and the roles they play. This is because women are in a unique position to effect reconciliation and to promote values which lead to the prevention of violent conflict since they are often the first to take the risks necessary to move towards reconciliation. Further, she is of the opinion that most of the time these roles are not seen because women roles in nurturing a culture of peace arise from their already existing roles often practiced within the family and local community. Therefore, their role as peace builders is seen as a natural extension of women's roles in society and is taken for granted thus their work ending up being unrecognized and often under resourced. This results in women being marginalized, their problems ignored, their experiences unanalyzed and their skills underutilized.²⁸ In her line of thought Shelley paints a picture that women's work in peace is unrecognized and ignored but she fails to identify what those roles are. Therefore, this study sought to find the existing roles of women in peacebuilding among the Turkana and how these efforts have impacted on the peace landscape of the region.

²⁷ UN SCR 1325; United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 8, 2000.

²⁸ Anderson S., Women's Many Roles in Reconciliation; People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World; International fellowship of Reconciliation's Peace Makers Programme, 1999, pp.230 –236.

The same thoughts are held by Donna Pankhurst who is of the view that it is mostly the approaches to peace building that have either ignored or marginalized women and who remain to be a minority of participants in peace building projects. For instance, she observes that pastoralist women's role in fueling conflicts especially cattle theft cannot be undermined. This is why their role as agents of change towards peace and reconciliation becomes very critical. Therefore ignoring women's active participation as well as their collusion in organized violence brings a false assumption about their potential.²⁹ This study agrees with her in the fact that the Turkana women have for long been misconceived to be conflict perpetrators yet they do not get featured as true champions of peace building in their communities. This study has gone ahead in detail and looked at the Turkana women and their role in championing peacebuilding and reconciliation. What is missing in Pankhurst work is the analysis of what approaches have marginalized women in peace. She also fails to provide an analysis of women's contribution to peacebuilding. This is what this study went ahead and compiled in regard to Turkana women.

On the other hand, Njeru S. argues that lack of information excludes many women from substantive participation in peace and reconciliation. One way in which inclusion of women is guaranteed is through access to information through Information Communication Technology (ICT) which offers alternative platforms for women to participate in peace processes from the grassroots.³⁰ Though this is very true, what Njeru missed is that many women especially from the pastoralist communities are illiterate and might not benefit from the alternative of using ICT. But that has not stopped them from becoming change agents. What this study was keen to investigate is the contribution of women despite the many hindrances they face.

Monica is of a different view as she believes it is the rites of peace that mostly exclude women in the area of peacebuilding, but women have the ability to become catalyst of peace in the most unexpected circumstances. This indicates that the pastoralist women have a role in peacebuilding, exemplified by the Wajir story where pastoralist women from the Somali community become catalysts of peace in the most unexpected circumstance through women

²⁹ Pan Khurst D., Working Paper 5, Women, Gender and Peace Building", Centre for Conflict Resolution Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, 2000, p.5.

³⁰ Njeru S., Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Gender and Peace building in Africa: A case of Missed Connections, Peace and Conflict Review, Vol, 3, issue 2, 2009, pp. 32-40.

networks.³¹ In her work, Monica fails to point out what are these rituals of peace that preclude women. This study went ahead and unearthed the challenges to women's work in peace and how these factors have hindered their effectiveness to inter-community peace and reconciliation.

According to Watson, women have informal power around the household that is very crucial for peacebuilding. Through this influence women are able to make significant impact both positive and negative on behaviors of husbands and sons and this can be tapped in promoting peace. She further observes that women lack opportunities to exercise formal roles in mitigation of conflicts through the existing structures.³² As much as this study agrees with Watson, what did not come out clearly in her analysis is the effectiveness of women contribution to peace and reconciliation. This is why this study sought to find out more on how Turkana women have informally promoted community reconciliation. Secondly, her assumption that women have no place in formal peace processes is narrow and simplistic as this study looked at how women have contributed both in formal and informal peace processes.

Ekwam Daudi, while looking at the status of pastoralist women in Kenya examines the roles of women as perpetrators and victims of conflicts. He points out that pastoralist women have made limited progress in peacebuilding as compared to women in many other parts of the world.³³ Although Ekwam has highlighted the role of women in conflict causation, he fails to equally bring out the positive work women have done in building a culture of peace in their communities. He seems to depict women as weak and vulnerable and thus always victims of conflicts rather than bringing out the positive role women have contributed towards building peaceful societies.

Emily Franks is of the view that participation of women is never taken into consideration in peace initiatives by local peace efforts in Turkana therefore the need to employ participatory conflict approaches that will encourage women to contribute to peace and reconciliation efforts in Turkana.³⁴ Even though Emily clearly points out the marginalization of women in peace initiatives as a hindrance to peace in the county, what she did not point out clearly is which

³¹ Kinuthia M., *op.cit.*, p.33.

³² Watson C., *Pastoral Women as Peace Makers*, CAPE Unit, AU/IBAR, Nairobi, Kenya, 2003, p.10.

³³ Daudi E., *Gender Inequalities in Kenya: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding; The Role of Pastoralist Women*, UNESCO, 2006, p.130.

³⁴ Frank E., *op.cit.*, p. 82.

specific areas women can participate in and the roles they can play in promoting peace and reconciliation. This is an area that this study went ahead and explored.

Amara Odongo argues that women have the ability to mediate conflicts and it takes the effort of women to bring the warring communities together to dialogue.³⁵ As much as this is very true, what is missing in Odongo's work is an in-depth analysis of what mechanisms women have used to bring the warring groups together into talking.

Mastron and Dyck argue that relationships among women could become the benchmark for finding new ways of creating and thinking about peace. They lay emphasis on the need to have pressure groups which is a unique way in which women can be involved in supporting peace work. They argue that the more women who walk together on the path of peace, the more weight their opinions will carry and the more attention will be paid to their needs in conflict transformation and community reconciliation efforts.³⁶ Though this study agrees with their point of view, the use of pressure groups is only one of the many approaches women have used to build peace. Therefore, this study went ahead and looked at the other approaches women have employed in building a culture of peace.

Women for decades have been agents of peace in their communities. But according to Lihamba, the work that women have put in promoting a culture of peace has not been considered and documented. The problem is that their specific role has not received much attention which also includes their efforts towards supporting peaceful societies. This significant contribution has therefore been disregarded and a lot of recognition given to the men who are believed to bring peace by their disengagement from fighting.³⁷ This is an area that this study has gone further and researched and documented the contribution of women to peace including the impact of those efforts.

It is evident from the existing literature that a comprehensive analysis of the contribution of women and the impact of their work to inter-community peace and reconciliation is missing.

³⁵ Odongo A., *Role of women in Peacebuilding in Kenya: Focusing on the 1992 Rift-valley Land Clashes*; Southern and Eastern African Regional Centre for Women's law, University of Zimbabwe, 2004, pp.18–21.

³⁶ Mastrol R. and Dyck C., *Living Peace*, Carlifonia, USA, Agenda Feminist Media, 2004, p.7.

³⁷ A. Lihamba, *Women's Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution Skills in Morogoro Region of Tanzania*, Paris, France, UNESCO, 2003, p.28.

This study therefore went ahead and documented in an in–depth manner the role of Turkana women in intercommunity peace and reconciliation.

1.7. Theoretical framework

The study adopts two approaches; one is to explain the causes of conflicts in Turkana County and secondly to support the participation of women in peace and reconciliation agenda.

To explain the causes of conflict in Turkana, Homer Dixon’s Environmental Scarcity Theory is adopted. It explains scarcity of resources as the main contributor to violence and ethnic clashes.³⁸ The conflict in the area essentially revolves around access to livestock and livestock resources. This is what justifies the means through which the communities access these resources. It also explains why raiding is very rampant and explains the motive behind raiding. Raiding is just but a means through which communities access these resources.

Within the context of Turkana, scarcity has been attributed to marginalization of the area by successive governments leading to underdevelopment and poor ecological conditions. This has driven the communities to heavily depend on livestock as the main source of livelihood thus creating resource competition with other communities leading to consequential conflicts. The declining ecological conditions have forced the community to migrate to areas bordering other community territories which seem to be more ecologically endowed to support livestock production. This is translated by the other groups of pastoralists as invasion thus mistrusts and competition over grazing resources resulting to raids and counter raids. Communities can raid each other as long as their livelihoods are at stake. This theory therefore explains why the Turkana community is at loggerhead with all the neighboring communities whether local or international.

The second theoretical framework this study has engaged is the Gender Mainstreaming theoretical perspective which takes into account the capabilities of both male and female genders. The UN Economic and Social Council defines it as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation policies or

³⁸ Schilling *et.al*, Climate Change and Violent Conflict in Kenya, A Two –way, University of Humburg; Germany, 2012, p.11.

programmes in all areas and at all levels.³⁹ It is an international phenomenon adopted by the UN at the 1995 conference in Beijing.

Within the framework of peace and reconciliation, mainstreaming gender can be viewed as a way of maintaining gender equality within the peace agenda. This means broadening the term peace building to include notions of positive peace and bringing important voices and activities of women as well as men into the approach with a goal of achieving sustainable peace and gender equality.⁴⁰

Gender mainstreaming was principally valuable to this study in highlighting the different roles and responsibilities which society assigns to males and females and how women have used their unique roles to promote peace and reconciliation in the area. As such this theory has helped in understanding why women peacebuilding activities were inclined to their roles as wives, mothers and nurturers. Finally, it also explains why women's roles among the pastoralists are mostly informal and limited to domestic and household level.

1.8. Research hypotheses

1. Cattle raiding is the main source of conflict in Turkana.
2. Women play a minimal role in reconciliation among the Turkana.
3. Peace and reconciliation efforts which have excluded women have failed to bring peace.

1.9. Research Methodology

The study was principally conducted in the County of Turkana (see Figure 1). Turkana County was purposively sampled because it is occupied by the pastoralist Turkana community who are the subject of this study. Turkana County exemplifies an area experiencing inter-ethnic conflicts with her neighbours and has the need to constantly engage on inter-community peace and reconciliation.

The study was both library and field based utilizing the use of secondary, primary written and primary oral sources of information.

³⁹Walby S., *Theorizing Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice*, University of Leeds; UK; 2003, pp.7–8.

⁴⁰Munro J., *Gender and Peacebuilding*, International Development Research Centre, 2012, pp.1–4.

The first level of data collection was from secondary sources. The secondary information was obtained from scholarly books, articles, journals and periodicals on the conflicts in Turkana County. The library at the University of Nairobi and the online Library Jstor were of great help in getting the required secondary materials.

The second level of data collection was from primary written sources. This helped in filling in what the secondary sources could not provide. The study consulted reports such as the County Integrated and Development Plan (CIDP) and reports from other organizations including handing over notes from the colonial government that provided all the information required for this study.

The third level was the use of primary oral method. This involved the utilization of the data from the field through interviews which was obtained by use of a semi-structured open-ended questionnaire. Field work for this study was conducted between a span of two years i.e. 2014 and 2015. The interviews were conducted in 4 locations; Nairobi, Lodwar, Eldoret and Kapenguria and a total of 31 persons were interviewed. The choice of key informants was informed by their knowledge of conflicts and peace issues in the area.

Key informant interviews and discussions were carried with respondents drawn from religious bodies, women organizations, peace committees, administration and county government officials, civil society actors in the peace building and conflict management sectors and members of the community who had valuable information on the issues covered by the research. This enabled the study to benefit from perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitude of the different groups on the role of women in peace and reconciliation among the Turkana community. This helped also in reducing the distance travelled and time consumed by the researcher since Turkana County is very vast geographically.

To compliment data from the interviews I also attended a number of peace meetings in the area to get first-hand information of what happens in those fora. In this case I attended the Lokiriyama Peace Accord commemoration celebrations which attracted participants from the entire Karamoja cluster and the Ateker group. I also attended the Tegla Lorupe's Peace Race as well as peace committee training and dialogue meetings. This brings to a total of 5 peace meetings. These meetings were significant in understanding first-hand what the conflict issues were in the study

area. They were also important in providing an opportunity where I could interact with the community and witness how women participated in peace meetings.

The other approach I employed was observation. This involved use of first-hand experiences within the research environment where I used the opportunity to examine the elements that advance the research objectives and goals. During the interviews, I took keen interest in observing the participation of women and their involvement during interview session. I also observed gender roles among the community and their relations as this was indicative of how the community view women and how this related to their role in peace and reconciliation efforts.

After the field work, collected data was analysed using techniques of qualitative research to understand women's roles in inter-community peace and reconciliation. The data from the field was read severally and transcribed under various themes such as causes of conflict in Turkana, role of Turkana women in peace and reconciliation and the impact of women's participation in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation. Analysed data was presented in form of a narrative report with quotes from the community to represent their views in relation to the role of women in peace and reconciliation.

CHAPTER TWO: PHYSICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the background to the study area. It looks at the location, administrative boundaries, climatic and typological conditions of the area. This is very significant in that it helps in identifying the nexus between the physical background of the county and the conflicts that have rocked the area for decades.

Secondly, the chapter also explores the ethnographic and cultural background of the Turkana people, their origin, and traditional social and political organization and how these have contributed to inter-ethnic conflicts.

2.2. Position and size of Turkana County

It is amongst the largest counties by size and is situated in the Northwestern part of Kenya. Turkana County borders five counties namely: West Pokot and Baringo Counties to the South, Samburu County to the South East and Marsabit County to the East. Internationally, Turkana borders Three Countries: South Sudan to the North, Uganda to the West and Ethiopia to the Northeast. At the border of Turkana County and Marsabit County sits the salty Lake Turkana which contributes largely to the socio-economic wellbeing of the county through fishing. The County covers a total area of 77,000 Km² and lies between Longitudes 34° 30' and 36° 40' East and between Latitudes 1° 30' and 5° 30' North.⁴¹

The County is divided into 6 administrative units namely Turkana South, Turkana North, Turkana West, Turkana East, Turkana Central and Loima sub-counties. The county headquarters is located in Lodwar Town which also acts as the main commercial centre in the area. Other urban centers are Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Lokitaung and Kapedo. The rest of the county is purely a rural population with nomadic pastoralism being the mainstay of the economy. It is also worth noting that Turkana County acts as host to a number of refugees who have been affected by civil wars in Eastern and Central Africa.⁴²

Turkana County is known for her variable weather conditions characterized by frequent and prolonged droughts. The area records two rainfall seasons in a year which is the long and the

⁴¹ Turkana County, County Integrated Development Plan, Lodwar, Kenya, 2013, p.6.

⁴² Ibid.

short rains. The long rains, referred to as *Akiporo* in Turkana, occur between April and July while the short rains come between October and November. The intensity of the rain is between 52 mm and 480 mm annually with a mean of 200 mm. The drought period is known as *Akamu* which occurs in the months of January, February, August and September. The climatic conditions are warm and hot with temperatures ranging from 20°C and 41°C with a mean of 30.5°C.⁴³

Poor soils make the county unsuitable for agricultural production. This is attributed to the low rainfall and high temperatures that causes evapo-transpiration resulting into large deposits of salt in the soil. This makes only 30 per cent of the soils in the county moderately suitable for crop cultivation. The areas that are good for agricultural production include: the plains of Lorengippi, the higher areas of Loima, along River Turkwel, Nakaton and Kawalathe, along the Lake, Kalokol, and Kerio rivers and some parts of Loriu Plateaus. This makes diversification of livelihood by the community difficult due heavy reliability on livestock thus the unending problem of livestock rustling and conflicts in the county. Further, the CIDP indicates that for more than two decades, Turkana has been hard hit by failures of the annual rains leading to increased droughts and conflicts related to natural resources and raiding.⁴⁴

Turkana is endowed with a number of topographical features such as Lake Turkana, River Turkwell and Kerio River, low lying plains of Lorengippi, the Loima Ranges, low lying ranges of Kalapata and Lotikipi plains. The altitude ranges from between 1500m to 1800m above sea level. The main types of vegetation include Acacia bushes that are scattered and plant species that are herbaceous that tend to increase in mass towards the hilly areas. The herbaceous vegetation are found in what is considered as wetter areas, while dwarf shrubs and trees are spread out in areas considered as dry and the plains.⁴⁵

The main economic activity in the county is pastoralism. This is a type of economic activity where communities depend entirely on livestock for their livelihoods. The Turkana community despite being nomadic pastoralists has ventured into other forms of livelihoods as a way to

⁴³ GOK, Turkana Development Plan 2002–2008, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Government Printers, 2002.

⁴⁴ Turkana County, County Integrated Development Plan, Lodwar, Kenya, 2013, p.4.

⁴⁵ MacCabe T., Drought and Recovery: Livestock Dynamics among the Ngisonyoka Turkana of Kenya, Human Ecology vol 15 no. 4, Springer, 1987, pp.733–734.

diversify their means of survival. This includes agriculture, mostly under irrigation carried out on small scale along the two main rivers of Turkwell and Kerio, which are at times seasonal. Some of the crops grown are vegetables such as kales, fruits like watermelon and grains such as sorghum. With the presence of Lake Turkana, fishing is also another economic activity practiced in the county. This is also happening at small scale in the areas along the lake such as Kalakol. Mining is another economic activity that the county is looking up to exploit, this include gold and the recently discovered oil reserves. With these new resources discovered, the county is set to explore these new opportunities to grow economically. The county is also set to benefit from the LAPSET Corridor Program that seeks to connect Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia through several key infrastructure projects including interregional highways, a 32 berth port in Lamu, rail link and a crude oil pipeline as contained in the Kenya Economic Blue print popularly referred to as Vision 2030. Tourism is also being exploited at a low scale with Lake Turkana National Park being the main attractive feature.⁴⁶ Turkana is ranked as the poorest county in Kenya. The overall poverty in the county is rated at 74%.⁴⁷

The position, size, climatic and topographical variations have a direct implication to the conflict in the county. Turkana is facing problems related to climate variability and change which is mainly droughts and floods. This has led to resource competition amongst pastoralist groups and significantly increases the risk of conflict whose impact is high during times of stress.⁴⁸

2.3. Cultural and Ethnographic Background

The county is inhabited by the Turkana community who are a Central Nilotic people. They inhabited the area after an era of fast expansion in the early 1900 believed to be under the leadership of *Ngiputiro* generation.⁴⁹ They are divided into three territorial divisions *Ng'ithir*, *Ng'amatak* and *Ng'ibilai*. The third came as a result of splitting the *Ng'amatak* into two after migrating and reaching River Turkwel as a result of the need to protect the already conquered

⁴⁶ Turkana County, County Integrated Development Plan, Lodwar, Kenya, 2013, p.4.

⁴⁷ CRA, Kenya County fact sheets, Nairobi, Kenya, 2012, p.43.

⁴⁸ Omollo N., *op.cit.*, p.87.

⁴⁹ Lamphear J., Turkana Leadership during the Era of Primary Resistance, Journal of Africa History vol.17 No 2, Cambridge University Press, 1976 , p. 225.

territories. *Ng'amatak* remained to the West of River Turkwel while *Ng'ithir* moved Southwards and *Ng'ibilai* Eastwards.⁵⁰

The Turkana are believed to be a break-off from the Jie people of Uganda and they first settled in Lokiriama area. The Turkana are also related to the Maasai, Bari, Latuka, Karamojong, Wami, Dabosa, Dodoso, and Teso people. Theirs might be one of the contemporary migrations and they are also part of the newest formations as a tribe. This according to Barton is the great Shilluk movement of Two hundred years ago. The origin of the word Turkana is from the term *Ng'iturkana* meaning caves in a rock in which they are believed to have first lived. The Turkana people can be defined as giants with an average height of 7ft and are capable of exerting themselves, with the color of their skin ranging from chocolate brown to black. They do not practice circumcision or female genital mutilation (FGM).⁵¹

Among the Turkana, a man who has killed an enemy is recognized by their chest and shoulders being tattooed. The men also pierce their nose and put a ring and the lower lips. The lower incisors are removed and all this form part of ornamentation and beauty. For the women, the sides of their heads are shaved leaving braided hair in the middle; ears are adorned with rings and their necks with a lot of beads. They wore a v-shaped skin apron adorned with beads. They also apply red ocher on their heads and neck.⁵²

One significant characteristic of the Turkana people is their mobility. They are always on the move from one place to another. In fact, according to McCabe group of families can move up to 15 times in a year. This is a way they respond to the changing environmental conditions.⁵³

2.4. Traditional Social and Political Organization

The Turkana community had a robust social organization. The community was organized in terms of divisions such as; *Ng'iide* who included a class of young children who were unable to wield a spear and therefore of little use to a fighting tribe as the Turkana. The second was the *Ngabana* who included bachelors who had been through the ceremony of spearing a bullock and are therefore competent fighters. The third class was the *Ngiliok* who included all able-bodied

⁵⁰ Emley E.D, The Turkana of Kolosia District, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland vol. 57, Great Britain, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland ,1927, pp.161-162.

⁵¹ Barton J.,*op.cit.*, p.108.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ McCabe T., *op.cit.*, pp. 371-389.

members, mostly married men. The last group is *Ngathikou* consisting of aged and infirmed men. The women too were divided into four main social classes, passing from one stage to another was automatic and no ceremony was attached. The first class included the *Akadwarunan* consisting of unmarried girls. The second was *Ateran* who included all married women but had not yet given birth. Thirdly was *Aberu* a class of married women who had given birth and finally, the *Akimat* who included all old women past child bearing age.⁵⁴

Traditionally, the Turkana had a form of political system. It was strongly decentralized and was based on a generation-set (*Asapanu*) organization. It was organized in an alternation system most probably due to difficulties in communication due to the vastness of Turkana-land. This generation system was of military significance at the beginning of the twentieth century. During the time of conflicts, armies could be more tightly organized with units being drawn from the individual generation-sets of a particular area and the overall leadership provided by diviners, who could be consulted before raids and could sometimes initiate them. Fighting ability and courage were admired by the Turkana and the war leaders usually owned their positions as a result of their physical prowess and military skills.⁵⁵

Raids were instigated by a group of age-mates from the same territory and in all activities carried out by men they were grouped according to their age-groups. This included operations and other celebrations as well as after raids celebrations which were all age-group configured.⁵⁶

This analysis of the political organization of the Turkana community is of great significance as it helps in providing an understanding of the warrior culture and its linkage to raiding in the community. The social organization also helps in understanding the place of women in this society. While men are classified according to their masculinity and ability to fight on the other hand women are classified according to their reproductive role. This defines the greatest role of women in the community and how far their influence can go. It seems like women's roles found their place more at the household level and so do their influence too. It is however very important to see how women use these roles as perpetrators to the conflict while at the same time as agents of peace in this community.

⁵⁴Emley E.D., *op.cit.*, p.164.

⁵⁵Lamphear J., *op.cit.*, p.226.

⁵⁶Gulliver P.H., *The Turkana Age Organization*, American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 60 no. 5, Wiley, 1958, p.916.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has explained the physical characteristic of the study area and its people. The chapter also discussed the traditional, social and political organization of the Turkana people.

Looking at the position, location, climatic and ecological conditions of Turkana County have a direct implication to the conflict in the area. This probably explains the reason behind the perennial cyclic violent conflicts between the pastoralist groups in the area. As a result of increased drought, Turkana people are forced to move with their livestock to the neighboring communities in search of pasture, and this kind of interaction increases chances of cattle rustling from occurring due to increased competition over grazing resources. Competition over scarce resources significantly increases the risk of conflicts.

The cultural and political organization of the community provides an understanding of the warrior culture and its linkage to conflict in this area. It shows that raiding was part and parcel of the Turkana people. The military nature in which the community was organized through the age-set system further entrenched raiding which is a major source of conflict in the area.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT IN TURKANA TO 2002.

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the background to the conflicts in Turkana. It explores the historical aspects of the conflicts since colonial times. The chapter also discusses the nature and the dynamics of the conflicts in the area and how it manifests itself. The causes of conflicts are also discussed in an extensive manner including role of women in conflict causation.

3.2. Background to the Conflicts

The conflicts between the Turkana and her neighbours existed even before the coming of the colonial administration. Turkana and other pastoralist groups raided each other occasionally. For instance, the conflicts between the Turkana and the Pokot existed during the pre-colonial and early colonial times as the two communities engaged each other in mutual raiding. This changed between 1910 and 1918 as the Turkana gained a sense of superiority due to availability of guns they had acquired from the Ethiopians and continued with repeated raids on the Pokot.⁵⁷

The pre-colonial conflicts can probably be attributed to the origin and expansion of the Turkana that made them launch attacks on the other neighbouring groups such as the Pokot and the Samburu. Turkana are believed to have originated from the Jie people of Uganda and migrated southwards conquering other communities and acquired new territories. Lamphear notes that by 1900 Turkana found themselves with large territory approximately 24,000 square miles that corresponds to the Turkana land. This he attributes to what he calls dramatic and rapid territorial expansion led by *Ngiputiro* generation-set.⁵⁸ This might be the cause of the hostilities that existed among the Turkana and other communities in the region and probably explains the inherent hostilities that exist between the Turkana and her neighbours.

During the colonial period the raiding between the Turkana and other neighbouring ethnic groups ensued despite attempts by the colonial government to stop them. This was what brought confrontation between the Turkana and the British administration which the British wanted to end so as to institute peace, governance and taxation. In 1918 the Turkana and the colonialists would enter into a major battle known as *Apetaret* (scattering times) that left the Turkana

⁵⁷ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p.74.

⁵⁸ Lamphear J., *op.cit.*, p.225.

vulnerable, humiliated and disfranchised as a result of loss of livestock and lives. Further the community was put under punitive military expedition. Drought and disease made their lives even worse and undermined their economic base.⁵⁹ It is this kind of policy approach towards the Turkana that encouraged the Turkana to develop into a much more powerful military machine committed to independence and control of their economic resources. The economic and ideological marginalization instituted by colonialists against the pastoralist cemented militarization among these communities. For instance, the British colonial administration referred Turkana as “For most part deserts no value to anyone except the Turkana and as the most worthless district in Kenya”.⁶⁰

The post-independent Kenya did not stop this kind of mindset but continued with marginalization of the northern regions from national development plans leaving it with very marginal infrastructures. The successive governments continued with this approach thus rendering the region underdeveloped. This gave room for ethnic militarization to continue among the communities in the region. For example Bollig points out that conflicts between the Pokot and the Turkana intensified from 1974 with more frequent raids being staged after the Pokot too acquired enough guns to stage a counter raid against their neighbours the Turkana.⁶¹ Marginalization and militarization gave rise to widespread insecurity making the area to be volatile.

Dan Smith argues poor economic conditions are the most important long-term causes of intra-state armed conflicts.⁶² This assertion tries to explain the sustenance of conflicts in this region due to the effects of economic marginalization perpetuated by the colonialists and subsequent governments. So the pastoralist engaged in raids as a result of poor economic conditions thus the need to protect their livelihoods. Drought and epidemics affect the productive assets which is livestock thus pushing the pastoralists to fight to gain or to protect these assets.

⁵⁹ Abink J., *op.cit.*, p. 510.

⁶⁰ Lamphear J., *op.cit.*, p.225.

⁶¹ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p.74.

⁶² Smith D., *op.cit.*, p.7.

This paper will therefore explore further the nature and causes of conflicts in Turkana. It is important to point out that pastoralist groups engage each other through raids. This study will look at the drivers of conflicts from the raiding point of view.

3.3. The Nature of Conflicts in Turkana

In Turkana, conflicts can be categorized as pastoralist conflict which is characterized by raiding of livestock for social, economic and cultural purposes. This is where pastoralist communities raid each other for restocking purposes after a livestock epidemic or drought. In this type of conflict, killing was not the goal but rather to loot livestock. Armies of hundreds of armed tribal warriors went as far as 200km to raid other communities for livestock. These raids were both social as well as military event and were large scale in nature.⁶³

The conflicts can also be categorized as intra meaning conflicts between the Turkana and other communities within the Kenyan borders. There has been a long history of conflicts between the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu. The conflicts between these pastoralist groups existed even before the coming of the colonial governments. They staged occasional raids against each other. These conflicts in the recent past have degenerated into boundary conflicts as communities protect their territories against invasion from the other community. This might probably be due to the need to protect the dwindling natural resources i.e. water and pasture due to worsening climatic conditions. For example, there exist boundary disputes between Turkana and Baringo counties and Turkana and West Pokot counties. And this has been a source of strife between the Turkana and the Pokot which was instigated through raids.⁶⁴

The other category of conflict experienced in the area is the cross border conflicts. This is the type of conflicts that take place across the international borders pitting the Turkana against other communities across the border. There exist tensions between Turkana and Karamojong of Uganda, the Toposa of Sudan, and the Merile of Ethiopia.⁶⁵ This type of conflict is purely related to competition over scarce resources which include water and pasture. Boundaries are defended to protect water and pasture from the invasion from another community.

⁶³ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p.177.

⁶⁴ Oral Interview, Akoule J. and Lochero C., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

⁶⁵ USAID, Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflict in Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline Study Report in Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda, USAID, 2005, pp.10–11.

There are three types of raids in the area. Traditional raids which were motivated by the desire of young men to start their own homesteads increase their prestige and respect within the community. The commercially motivated raids which, is an aspect of the wider integration of pastoralists within a market economy and has more criminal aspects involved in it as promoters themselves might not be pastoralist. In this type of raids, the livestock are raided and taken to the market for sale. Finally political raids on the other hand are defined as those promoted for political reasons or involving the use of political power to enhance a politicians or leaders reputation to scatter away or intimidate voters of the opposing group just before elections or to generate funds for an electoral campaign or to gain popularity.⁶⁶

The evolution of raids from traditional to commercial and political has increased insecurity in the area and strained the intercommunity relations. There are also other emerging activities that have escalated conflicts such as road banditry where attacks are staged on motorists to rob them or even kill. These kinds of activities are mostly motivated by commercial or political reasons and are criminal in nature. There is also opportunistic raiding involving stealing of isolated livestock such as calves, donkeys, milking cows and goats that are kept at the homestead. This is purely motivated by economic issues and is criminal in nature and has serious dimension to the conflict in the area in that it fuels intercommunity tensions and animosity. It strains community relations leading to retaliations and counter attacks and to that end violent conflicts are triggered.⁶⁷

There are five conflict areas in Turkana, which include north, south, east and west conflict corridors. For instance, in the north east, the conflict is between the Turkana and the Dodoth who occupy the area around the escarpment that divides Turkana north and Uganda plateau. The Dodoth are better endowed ecologically since their area receives more rainfall than areas on the Turkana side. Traditionally, the Turkana have always grazed their livestock on the Ugandan side of the border when grazing resources are depleted on their side. Unfortunately, this has provoked raids between the two groups attracting the attention of the Ugandan authorities that have

⁶⁶ Kratli, Saverio and Swift J., *Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya: A Literature Review*, 2002, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁷ Oral Interview, Muriiri P., Lodwar, 28th, June, 2019.

discouraged the Turkana from crossing over to the Ugandan side in a bid to curb the raiding and counter raiding between the two groups of pastoralists.⁶⁸

In the northern part of Turkana County, the conflict is between Turkana and Merille of southern Ethiopia living along river Omo. The two communities have historically clashed over ethnic differences and competition for resources since environmental factors such as droughts have made water and pasture scarcer. Human factors have exacerbated the conflict too; such factors include overpopulation, over dependence on livestock, wide availability of illicit guns and cultural factors. This conflict occurs along Lake Turkana with cattle raiding and killings over territorial claims and grazing grounds being the cause of the conflict.⁶⁹

In the north west the aggression is between the Turkana and Toposa of South Sudan occurring along the Sudan-Kenya border around the areas of Nadapal and Lokichoggio. Frequent clashes also occur in the valley along Mogila. The conflict is however as a result of migration by either the Toposa moving south into Kenya or the Turkana moving towards the border into South Sudan.⁷⁰

In the South the conflict is between the Turkana and the Pokot. The relationship between the Pokot and the Turkana around Kainuk has degenerated to the extent that killings are frequently reported. Attacks on the vehicles plying the road due to increasing road banditry has led to the need for security escort. This conflict appears to be partly commercial and partly an ethnic/politically motivated feud, moving away from the traditional raiding of livestock to simply killing and theft.⁷¹

3.4. Causal Factors of the Conflict

This study has identified a number of factors that are deemed to be the underlying causes of conflicts between the Turkana and neighboring communities. What emerged is the nature in which the conflicts issues interrelate to each other. It is difficult to single out or isolate conflict causes distinctively since the conflict issues are overlapping. USAID unpublished baseline report

⁶⁸ Bevan J., Blowback: Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District, An Occasional Paper of the Small Arms Survey, Switzerland Small Arms Survey, 2008, p.26.

⁶⁹ Ibid .

⁷⁰ Ibid.p.28.

⁷¹ Watson C., Pastoral Women as Peace Makers, Nairobi, CAPE/AU/IBAR, 2004, p.7.

on the causes of conflict in Karamoja region points out that there exists a complexity of cause-effect relationship that has made response to conflicts challenging. This is probably one of the main reasons why peacebuilding initiatives are not able to bring to an end the conflict in the region. Some of the factors that the report identified as key in conflict causation in the region included socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors.⁷²

The field interviews identified the following as the causes of conflicts in the area: raids, unemployment, poverty, natural resources, illiteracy, culture of warriors, porous borders, access and availability of weapons, and droughts. The interesting observation is how these factors are intertwined making the conflict in the area to be very complex. All these factors identified are associated to control and access of resources which include water, pasture and herds. Anything that affects these resources directly affects the livelihoods of pastoralists thus increasing the need to raid to increase their productive assets which is herds. Raiding becomes the means through which these communities accessed these resources. For instance, Michael Bollig argues that raiding should be seen purely from an economic perspective.⁷³

The paper has identified, categorized and discusses the causes of interethnic conflicts in Turkana as follows: ecological, socio-economic, socio-cultural, and proliferation of illicit weapons.

3.4.1. Ecological Impediments

The Turkana community practices nomadic pastoralism as their way of life. They move from one place to another in search of water and pasture. This type of lifestyle is faced with many challenges such as climate change which has affected availability of resources. There is a bio-physical complex arising from long term environmental changes which is characterized by worsening climatic conditions thus increasing competition over diminishing scarce resources. Dwindling resources compel pastoralist communities to fight with one another as they compete for these resources.⁷⁴ For instance between 1972 and 1999, the Turkana experienced 14 years of

⁷²USAID, Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflict in Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline Study Report in Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda, USAID, 2005, p. 2.

⁷³ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p.82.

⁷⁴ USAID, Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflict in Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline Study Report in Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda, USAID, 2005, Pp.10–11.

drought and famine that had literally wiped out their entire stock. The depletion increased pressure on them to raid other communities to restock.⁷⁵

The Pokot-Turkana raiding seemed always to deepen after droughts and livestock epidemics. This was because it generated competition over grazing resources as the size of the herds surpassed the capability of a given area to sustain the livestock. There are two things that are suggested as a reason for this state of affairs; one may be due to an increase in herds and two may be a decline of biomass production because of drought or overgrazing. Therefore, raids were instigated as a means of territorial gains by the pastoralist. This created strain in the intercommunity relations as raids eventually resulted in counter-raids from the other community leading to violent conflicts.⁷⁶

Michael Bollig suggests two types of scarcity that drive raids namely objective and subsistence scarcity. The scarce resources include water, pasture and herds. Objective scarcity was when herds were not sufficient to take care of the subsistence needs of a household like (milk, meat and income) while perceived scarcity was when herds were reduced due to consumption of livestock through prestigious activities such as bride price, initiation ceremonies and acquisition of weapons. The raiding habits for the Turkana were motivated by objective scarcity while for Pokot was as a result of perceived scarcity. Whether perceived or objective any scarcity would affect the size of the herds thus forcing the communities to raid to get more livestock.⁷⁷

Ecological conditions such as droughts have had direct impact on the size of the herds. Drought affects availability of water and pasture which also affected the number of the one's herds. The pastoralists would respond to this in two ways. One would be to move to areas that supported their livestock to secure their livelihoods by protecting their stocks from dying. The other community would view this as an act of invasion and in a bid to protect their own territory would engage in raids to guard their territory. This would then lead to raiding and counter raiding resulting to violence. The second coping mechanism would be raiding another community to restock the dwindling stock either due to drought or epidemics. This too would attract counter

⁷⁵ Kinuthia M., *op.cit.*, p.33.

⁷⁶ Bolling M., *op.cit.*, p.77.

⁷⁷ Bolling M., *op.cit.*, p.78.

raids between the pastoralists leading to violence.⁷⁸ This explains why the Turkana have been in constant feuds with all her neighbors whether international or local. This could be attributed to the poor ecological conditions that undermined the community's economic base that supported their livelihoods. Raiding therefore was a way in which the communities coped with the effects of harsh climatic conditions to their livelihoods as well as a means of accessing productive resources such as herds.

Another important aspect of pastoral conflicts as it relates to ecology was the issue of boundaries and its interpretation by the pastoral groups. Boundaries had become a major point of strife between the Turkana and her neighbors whether internally or externally. This was as a result of the pastoral societies ignoring the colonial boundaries and interpreting them according to traditional ecology. This has exacerbated tensions between the Turkana and other neighboring communities. For instance, there exist boundary tensions between Turkana and West Pokot as well as between Turkana and Baringo counties. This has been a cause of perennial conflicts in that area. The main reason behind this type of conflict was the need by communities to expand their territories to acquire more grazing land for their livestock. During good rainy seasons livestock had enough pasture to graze. However when the rains failed and droughts occurred animals were often taken to territories belonging to other clans or ethnic groups.⁷⁹ Terrence MacCabe explains this scenario from an adaptation point of view. He identifies mobility as a principle adaptive strategy by pastoralist for the utilization of scarce resources such as water and pasture. In order to protect themselves from the vagaries of weather such as drought, pastoralists moved to where pasture and water were available. And since boundaries were defended, they fought in order to access those resources.⁸⁰

This study draws a general conclusion that ecological factors thus played a very significant role in escalation of conflict between the Turkana and the neighboring communities. Poor ecological conditions contributed significantly to escalation of violent conflicts among pastoralists groups. The conflicts were mostly associated to scarcity of grazing resources leading to competition over these resources. The conflicts were as a result of coping mechanisms to the harsh ecological conditions that compromised the livelihoods of the communities. Raids were a means of

⁷⁸ Oral Interview, Areng J., Kapenguria, 6th, Nov, 2014.

⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Lotitipu F., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

⁸⁰ MacCabe J. T., *op.cit.*, p.88.

accessing the resources (water and pasture) while mobility was a strategy to utilize the resources. These coping mechanisms put the communities at loggerhead with each other thus the vicious violence in the region.

3.4.2. Socio–Economic Factors

Most intra–state armed conflicts have been attributed to economic factors.⁸¹ The raiding among the pastoralist groups was for economic purpose. The historical marginalization of the north had left the area with very marginal resources and underdeveloped. This undermined the economic system of the pastoralist communities. The post-colonial period too was marred by continued economic and ideological marginalization. This increased the militarization among the pastoralist groups leading to increased interethnic conflicts.⁸²

The underdevelopment experienced in these areas contributed to the high levels of poverty. The poverty level according to Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) in Turkana is at 74%. This shows that majority of the population are impoverished thus needed to survive and raiding became the available means for that survival. Therefore poverty and drought becomes the strongest motivation for raiding among the Turkana. The reason being poverty and drought significantly affects the livestock which are the main source of livelihood of the community. Like other pastoralists groups, Turkana were attached to large numbers of livestock. Traditionally Turkana would raid other communities as a way of restocking especially after a severe drought.⁸³ For instance, Lamphear notes that raids in Turkana were a necessity to their subsistence and had become an integral part of their whole economic system. This mostly happened in times of famine when their stock had been reduced by droughts or raids by other communities.⁸⁴ This agrees with Bollig’s postulation that raiding was an economic activity and anything that affected the size of the herds affected the economic base of the household as well. That was the reason why communities would invest heavily in acquisition of automatic weapons to ensure that larger share of the loot was obtained.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Smith D., *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁸² Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p.176.

⁸³ Oral Interview, Akoule J., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

⁸⁴ Lamphear J., *Aspects of Turkana Leadership during the Era of Primary Resistance*, Journal of history, Cambridge University Press, 1976, p.227.

⁸⁵ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p. 82.

The economic aspects probably would explain the emerging culture of commercialization of raiding where raids have been conducted not to increase the number of one's herd but rather for trade. That could be attributed to the need for wider integration of pastoralists into the market economy. This aspect of raiding was opportunistic and criminal in nature and involved clansmen, businessmen and even politicians taking advantage of the conflicts to obtain wealth. Gun traffickers too encouraged this in order to get business through sale of firearms.⁸⁶

Lack of employment coupled with high illiteracy among the youths also contributed majorly to the problem of raids. With increasing modern economy, quite a number of youths especially the illiterate ones find themselves with very little to do to make a living. Pastor Moses Ayeng noted that...

In Turkana many youths are loitering in the villages and idle. The current market economy is not able to absorb them as they do not have the necessary skills or education so the only way for them to make a living is engaging in banditry activities and cattle rustling. Lack and poverty has made many young people waylay motorist on the way and rob travelers especially along Kainuk–Lodwar road. This is purely criminal activity that has been promoted by poverty as young men resort to it as a means of survival. This has had adverse effect to intercommunity relations as these acts of rustling and banditry attract counter activities from other pastoralist groups thus escalating the conflicts further.⁸⁷

The socio economic aspects have immensely contributed to conflicts in the area. This happens when there is reduced household income resulting from limited livestock production due to droughts, epidemics or raids. This therefore pushed many to raiding as a means of securing their livelihood. In turn counter raids happen thus escalating to violent conflicts among the pastoralist communities.

3.4.3. Socio-Cultural Factors

The culture of raiding was deeply entrenched among the Turkana people. The community used to raid traditionally as a cultural practice which was either to restock due to droughts or as a way of expanding their territories.⁸⁸ To show how raiding was part and parcel of the Turkana community, Lamphear notes that raids were a typical of Turkana military activity and fighting

⁸⁶ Schilling *et al*, *Raiding Pastoral Livelihoods: Motives and Effects of Violent Conflict in Northern-western Kenya*, Pastoralism, Research, Policy and Practice, 2012, p.8.

⁸⁷ Oral Interview, Pastor Ayeng M., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

⁸⁸ Oral Interview, Ekal S., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

ability and courage were admired by the Turkana and the war-leaders owed their positions to physical prowess and military skill.⁸⁹

The political and social organization of the Turkana community in itself encouraged raiding and warrior economy. The community was organized in terms of age-set. An age-set organization among the Pastoralists equaled military organization. Raids were conducted by men of different age-sets as an aggressive group. For instance, raids were initiated by regional groups of age-mates and in all male activities, men were grouped by age-group during operations. Raids were mooted in an ad hoc manner, and mostly when local members of the same age-group met. The plans would then be laid and news carried around by the age-mates and other age-groups to join in until the number increased. Large numbers of men would begin to assemble at a convenient point usually near the homestead of a war-leader or diviner. The men were given blessings by the diviner (*Emuron*) before they set off for the raid. Whenever new age-groups were established, the new members would start planning to carry a raid for this was like a point of honor that initiates should go on a raid as early as possible. This was driven by a strong desire to demonstrate one's self as a man and the need to gain from the new advantage of warriorhood.⁹⁰

Another cultural aspect attached to conflicts in the area was the issue of ethnic stereotyping. Culture promoted ethnic stereotypes and prejudices such as glorification of heroism. Much significance was attached to heroism among the Turkana and which contributed immensely to inter-ethnic clashes. A lot of recognition was accorded to individuals for killing members of the other communities perceived to be their enemies and they were looked upon as heroes. They were given a lot of respect and they assumed leadership positions in the community. Such individuals were tattooed depending with the number of people they had killed as an indication of their heroism and they would get a lot of admiration from women and girls.⁹¹

It was this type of individuals that every girl would want to marry. In fact, as these men arrived from the raids the girls would sing and dance praising them. Their prowess and bravery in fighting was recognized. Through glorifying the perpetrators of raids, many young men got attracted to it since they too aspired to be heroes and enjoy the widespread recognition. Since

⁸⁹ Lamphear J., *op.cit.*, p.227.

⁹⁰ Gulliver., *op.cit.*,p.916.

⁹¹Ruto *et al.*, *op.cit.*, p.53-54.

warriors were highly regarded in the community every young man grew knowing that it was expected of them to be defenders of the community. The resultant was raids and counter raids, fueling tension among the Turkana and their neighbors thus increasing the opportunities for violent conflicts to occur.⁹²

Changes in the scale and intensity of raids also impacted this practice negatively. Traditionally raiding was a small scale cultural activity used as a means of restocking. This has changed with time as raids became more frequent and larger in scale thus increasing the likelihood of conflicts to occur. This was due to the criminal and commercial aspects that had been introduced to this cultural activity leading to increased violent conflicts in the area.⁹³

The age-set system has long been weakened as a result of modernization and the community's integration to the larger Kenyan society. The culture of warriorhood and status are of great importance to the pastoralist groups hence making it one of the major drivers of conflicts.

3.4.4. Proliferation of Illicit Weapons

Since the 1970s, the Karamoja Cluster has been awash with automatic weapons which have changed the raiding dynamics making the region increasingly insecure. Raiding among youths in the area became much more frequent resulting in increased number of fatalities. The easy availability of guns also promoted opportunistic raiding which was commercially motivated.⁹⁴

The spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) has been recognized as having impacted negatively the violence among the pastoralist. It has exacerbated commercialization of livestock raiding, dispute over land tenure rights, banditry and predation. This culture of violence has become more prevalent, advanced, fierce and gravely damaging among the communities.⁹⁵

There are a number of reasons as to why the communities invested a lot of resources in order to obtain guns. The heavy investment in guns by men guaranteed success in the entire raiding group and not just the individual. Secondly those with guns hoped for more share of the loot. And,

⁹² Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16, Dec, 2015.

⁹³ Schilling *et al.*, *op.cit.*, p.8.

⁹⁴ Frank E., *op.cit.*, p.74.

⁹⁵ Schilling J., *op.cit.*, p.16.

thirdly it provided a sense of security to the household. This explains the motivation behind securing weapons by the pastoralist communities.⁹⁶

The other explanation for the acquisition of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) was driven by the need for security by the community to protect their lives and property. Turkana County borders three countries namely Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda and the communities living along these borders are in conflict with the Turkana community. One of the reasons advanced by the community as to why the area is awash with illicit firearms is that the government is not providing enough security for them to protect them against external aggression coming through the international borders. The Turkana community felt that the government had abdicated its responsibility of providing security and protection to its citizens. As more weapons were being acquired under the cover of self-protection, the more cases of livestock rustling are being witnessed through misuse of the same weapons. Young men not only got involved in cattle rustling but also engaged in banditry activities along the busy highways thus more conflicts being witnessed with disastrous effects.⁹⁷

The issue of firearms is at the heart of the Turkana community that discussing it is like a taboo. Even with the government efforts to recover all illicit weapons, the Turkana community is not ready to surrender the gun any time soon until a lot of confidence building measures have been undertaken to reassure them that the government is in a position to protect them from any form of aggression. For instance, Mr. Ekitela pointed out that...

“The Turkana are vulnerable from attack from all sides of the borders, the government has refused to position the army along the Kenyan borders as their Ugandan counter parts are doing, the only option the Turkana community is left with is to defend themselves by acquiring automatic weapons. This way we can protect our cattle from external aggressors or otherwise we will forever remain impoverished”.⁹⁸

The gun culture has escalated the practice of raids and made it more fatal. With automatic weapons young men got more engaged in raiding and in indiscriminate killings. The use of guns generally increased insecurity with issues like road banditry being on the rise. Generally guns have endeared the communities to raiding.

⁹⁶ Bollig M., *op.cit.*, p. 82.

⁹⁷ Oral Interview, Achobolem P., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2014.

⁹⁸ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

3.5. The Role of Women in Conflicts

Women have the ability to influence the society they live in. Their place in the community gives them the opportunity to influence what happens either positively or negatively depending on how this influence is exerted. It can either be used to promote peace or inter-ethnic conflicts.

Women in Turkana community either contributed towards peace or promoted the escalation of conflict with the other communities. Traditionally women contributed to the escalation of conflicts and breakdown in inter-community relations. Turkana women would become perpetrators of conflicts out of necessity to survive. This occurred mainly when their livelihoods were severely affected by diminishing herds as a result of droughts, epidemics and raids. Severe droughts and epidemics would cause a decrease in the number of livestock hence not being able to meet the subsistence needs of a household. The women out of the need to see their livelihood secured would encourage and taunt their men to go out and raid. The second instance that would push women to support conflicts was after a devastating attack that left many people dead and livestock taken and children crying all over and the situation looked dire and yet the men seemed not to respond to recover what was lost. In such instances women would cry and taunt their men to take action and recover the lost livestock and in this way they acted as perpetrators of conflicts. They would encourage men to raid other communities by supporting and approving rituals and activities conducted during raids.⁹⁹

This paper analyses the various ways in which women participated as promoters of inter-ethnic conflict in Turkana. They did it by encouraging their husbands and sons to take part in raids. This led to breakdown of intercommunity relations as a result of tensions and hostilities arising from raiding and counter raiding activities leading to escalation of violent and vicious conflicts between the Turkana and the neighboring communities.¹⁰⁰ Women did this in a number of ways:

3.5.1. Supply of Provisions

Women were involved in conflicts by supporting the men through supply of provisions during fighting. While the men gathered and regrouped from different places and planned on how to execute a raid on a neighboring group, women on the other hand provided food and water and even at times transported weapons to the men. Women cooked and took food and water to where

⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Eyanee E. and Nakuo D., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

¹⁰⁰ Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

the men were hiding and doing their planning. The planning does not happen inside the village, the regrouping of men for *Arem* (attacking another group) usually occurred outside the village in the bush. It was only a few individuals who knew where the men were hiding. This was a place where they strategized on how to carry out the attack and also briefed each other of what was expected. The *Emuron* (seer) then blesses the team so that they could go and carry out the attack successfully. As the men were planning and strategizing, the women on the other hand provided food and other necessities such as water, tobacco and even weapons. Their collaboration at this stage indicated of their approval and support towards the attack on the other community.¹⁰¹

3.5.2. Information Sharing

Besides provision of supplies and other necessities, women also provided critical information and or rumours to the men who were in isolation. Women gathered information concerning the other community as well the authorities and passed that information to the men going out for the raid. The women passed any information that would be useful to the men in carrying out their mission successfully. The women would collect the information from their friends, market place or as they go about their work. It was their involvement as information bearers that would contribute to the general success or failure of the raiding mission.

Women, while they undertook their day to day activities such as fetching water and firewood were able to notice unusual events and reported that to the men who were ideally the protectors of the community from external aggression. As much as this was good sometimes it could be malicious and could cause a lot of damage to peace. Women are prone to promoting rumours that are not factual and could cause unnecessary tensions with neighboring communities. A casing point was where tensions developed between Turkana and Pokot in 1999 near Alale as a result of women giving wrong information. Some women alleged that while fetching firewood in the forest they saw some Pokot warriors spying the area. This made the Turkana men to respond promptly and staged a counter attack against the Pokot. Later on this information was found not to be true. The damage had already been caused and it took time before calm was restored.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Oral Interview, Ayeng M. and Ayop S., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁰² Oral Interview, Akoule J., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

3.5.3. Conflict Catalysts

Women had great influence on the raiding activity of their men. They determined whether their men took part in raiding or they would deter them from raiding. They either encouraged their men or discouraged them by expressing their support towards raiding or their fears of losing the men in the raids.¹⁰³ In this way women acted as catalysts to conflicts. As catalysts though they were not direct aggressors they fanned the conflict by encouraging the men to carry on with the aggression. They heighten existing tensions making the conflicts to escalate. Women did this through taunting and ridiculing their men to take part in raiding which in turn strained the inter-ethnic relations through raids and counter raids leading to escalation of violent conflicts.¹⁰⁴

Married women (*Ng'aberu*) would encourage raids by pressuring their husbands to go for raids. For instance, when faced with shortages of household necessities, the woman would scorn the male members of the household, singing songs that pressure them to go for raids. This was done either directly to the man or indirectly by scolding or even sometimes beating the children and telling them where she could get the milk to give them from when their father is seated while other men have gone to look for cattle for their children's milk. This was meant to awaken the emotions of the man by making him feel as though he was doing nothing to ensure his family's well-being was taken care off.¹⁰⁵

Mothers (*Ng'akimak*) too had influence over their son's participation in raids. Mothers whose sons were old enough to participate in raids encouraged their sons to take part in raiding by saying that mothers who gave birth are the ones milking while her who never gave birth has nothing to milk. This was done within the son's hearing and presence. This would make the son feel as though he was doing nothing to support his parents and will go out and raid to show his mother that she could also be proud of him.¹⁰⁶

Mothers and daughters (*Ng'akadwarunak*) also encouraged raiding through dowry payment. The Turkana have a high bride price. Young ladies (*Ng'akadwarunak*) would want to be married by men who can pay high dowry price for them. Mothers too would ridicule men who pay least

¹⁰³ Schilling J., *op.cit.*, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ Oral Interview, Lochero C., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁰⁵ USAID, Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflict in Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline Study Report in Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda, USAID, 2005, p. 37.

¹⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Lochero C., Kapenguria 7th, Nov, 2014.

dowry for their daughters. This made men collect enough livestock before beginning the process of paying dowry to avoid embarrassments. They did so by raiding enough livestock for them to gain the respect accorded to such men.¹⁰⁷

3.5.4. Participating in Raid Rituals

There were rituals that were performed during the different cycles of raids which can be categorized as pre-raids rituals, during raids rituals and after raids rituals. In all these stages, women had crucial roles to play. This was an indication of their significant contribution in support and approval of cattle raiding problem in the area. The rituals involved the engagement of all categories of women such as mothers, wives, single girls and the elderly women. The following is an analysis of women involvement in raiding rituals that led to inter-ethnic tensions:

a) Pre-Raid Rituals

Before the raids, women played a critical role of blessing the warriors going for raids. This was done either by the mothers or the elderly women. The most elderly woman in the area would be consulted by the warriors to pronounce blessings on them. They came with gifts such as tobacco or a ram to appease her to bless them for the raid. The woman would then smear them with red ochre and saliva as a sign of protection. The blessings event may also involve crawling by the young men through her legs while she stood astride. This assured the young men that they were blessed to engage in the raiding mission.¹⁰⁸

Mothers too had a role in their son's lives and their involvement in raiding. Every young man in the Turkana community would aspire to have their mother's blessings before going for a raid. For example, warriors would ensure they received blessings from their mothers before setting out for raids. The mother did this by washing her breasts with water in a bowl and then sprinkled that water on the son's face and bare chest while pronouncing blessings. At the same time, she invoked the names of her ancestors and offered charms for protection.¹⁰⁹

Married women too had their place in the rituals. As a way of protecting the men from bad omen, they abstained from having intimacy with their husbands. It was a taboo among the Turkana for

¹⁰⁷ Oral Interviews, Lochero C., Kapenguria 7th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁰⁸ Ekwam D., *op.cit.*, p.131.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

the men going out for a raid to sleep with a woman. Men who went against this taboo were excluded from the raiding mission for it was believed that this would attract bad omen to the group and such men would die during the raid. Women involvement during this stage showed of their approval for men to go out and carry out raiding.¹¹⁰

b) During raids Rituals

These were rituals that were observed to guarantee safe return of the young men during raids. This was a practice that was observed by the women in the life of the young men, either the mother or the wife. One of the rituals to be observed during this period was the tying of the knot. This was where a mother to the young man tied a knot on the edge (*Echilet*) of their gown (*Eleu*) which was made of skin until the son returned (or was confirmed dead). By tying the note, the woman was declaring protection to the young man. The second ritual observed during this time was ensuring that no milk got into the special guard belonging to the raider. This was observed by either the mother or the wife. This guard remained empty until the return of the owner. This was an act of mourning because the mission undertaken by the raider meant life or death. Third, the raider's mother or wife stayed without taking a bath or oiling their bodies under the period the raider was away. This too was symbolic of mourning until the raider returned safely. Four, mentioning of name of a person on a raiding mission was a taboo, therefore women ensured that no one mentioned the warrior's name during his absence. It was believed that mentioning of the name would haunt him during the raid. And finally, any debts owed by the raider were settled by the kin during the period too.¹¹¹

During the raiders' return after a successful raid, women were at the forefront in celebrating which was an act of glorifying the raiding. The celebrations involved dancing, ululation, celebration and merry making which were spearheaded by women. It was the task of the women together with elders to ensure that no warrior (or raided livestock) entered the homestead before they were cleansed (*Amook*). After cleansing the women received the warriors with a lot of singing and dancing while praising their courage to go out and raid. The young men who did not partake in the raid taunted and branded as cowards. The single girls too had a role to play in this process. They tattooed the warriors to show how many people they had killed in the battle. They

¹¹⁰ Oral Interview, Naperitwa L., Kapenguria, 6th, Nov, 2014.

¹¹¹ Ekwam D., *op.cit.*, p.132.

also sung to praise them as an honor. Sharing of the loot was also another place that women's influence was seen. Among the Turkana, it was the eldest aunt of the raider who had priority in the share of raided animals her acceptance or refusal showed her approval or disapproval of the practice.¹¹²

3.5.5. Music and Dance

Through the use of music, women also promote raids. This was done mostly before raids to encourage men to go out and stage a raid or after the raiding when they receive raiders back to the village. They used songs that showed admiration to raiders or those that scold men who did not participate in the raids. This forces men to undertake raids that mostly end up in counter raiding leading to violent conflicts.¹¹³ Examples of the songs that provoke men to go for raids are highlighted below.

Turkana	English Translation
<i>1. TAREME NGATUK</i>	<i>RAID COWS</i>
<i>Iwooye iwooye</i>	<i>Yes! Yes!</i>
<i>Iwooye iwooye</i>	<i>Yes!Yes!</i>
<i>Teremo!</i>	<i>Let's Raid</i>
<i>Teremo Ngatu , terem nakaalak</i>	<i>Let's Raid, lets raid many cows</i>

In this song, women are encouraging the men to go out and raid cows. They are basically telling the men that raiding is the only way to get cows. They not only tell them to go out and raid but they are also instructing them to raid as many cows as they can. This song was meant to build confidence among the young men as they prepare to go out for raids since they got to understand the purpose of going out to raid which was basically to acquire more wealth! It was mostly sung during the pre-raid rituals and ceremony to prepare the raiders to go out.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ekwam D., *op.cit.*, p. 132.

¹¹³ Oral Interview, Akiru J. and Arot A., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Turkana**2. AREM NATWEL NAROO***Aremi Natwel Naroo**Mmmmmhshhhhh!**Terem Ngimoe**Yeiya**Terem Ngimoe**Yeiya**Arem Natwel Naroo**Mmmmmhshhhhhhh!***English Translation***NATWEL HAS RAIDED NAROO**Natwel has raided Naroo**Ohhhhhhhh**He raided the enemies and overpowered them**Ooh Yes!**He raided our enemies and overpowered them**Ooh Yes**Natwel has raided Naroo**Ohhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh!*

Here, Natwel is praised for raiding a place called Naroo. The women adore him for his courage and prowess in fighting their enemies and wiping them out. He has defended them from being attacked and he is a good defender of the community. This song was used to challenge the young men to get out and raid their perceived enemy. The song was sung during pre-raid rituals to evoke the emotions of the young men to join in and go out and fight like Natwel and wipe out the enemy.¹¹⁵

Turkana**3. KIPUROE NYEKADEDENGAN***Ekile iyong**Nyekadedengan iyong**Ekile iyong**Nyekadedengan iyong**(Chorus)**Kipuroe, kipuroe**Nyekadedengan woiyo**Kipuroe kipuroe**Nyekadedengan woiyo***English Translation***PRAISE THE BRAVE ONE**You are a man**A brave man indeed**You are a man**A brave man indeed**Praise! Praise**Praise the brave one ooh**Praise! Praise**Praise the brave one oooh!*

This was a song mostly sung during the after-raid rituals. It was a song sung by young ladies and girls to welcome back the raiders from a successful raiding mission. It was a praise song to the returnees and for the job well done. It was a song to appreciate their effort to go out and raid. This song was also meant to taunt those who did not go out for raids by recognizing raiders as men and brave men indeed! It was meant to make those who did not participate in raiding feel as

¹¹⁵ Oral Interview, Akiru J. and Arot A., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

losers and not men enough. This song encourages raids and makes it look like a very glorious activity.¹¹⁶

The above examples highlighted the important role the Turkana women played in conflict causation from the inception to the end of the raiding activity. It also showed the nature in which women's influence in the society was exercised. Women have informal influence that was exercised within the confines of their homes. No matter how insignificant this role seemed to be, women's role in fueling conflicts cannot be ignored. They are not only victims of the conflicts, but active participants in the conflicts as well. This therefore makes them very essential actors in the discourse of peace and any other matter that affects the community.

3.6. Conclusion

The chapter has analyzed the historical background to the conflict which include; the genesis, nature and the causes of conflicts between the Turkana and the neighboring pastoralist groups. It also analyzes the role of women in conflicts among the Turkana.

The conflicts between the Turkana and the neighbours existed even before the colonial administration set in. There was mutual raiding between the different pastoralists groups for purposes of restocking after an epidemic or droughts. The coming of the colonial government exacerbated the conflicts due to economic and ideological marginalization that promoted ethnic militarization. The post-colonial government continued with the same mindset of marginalization leading to underdevelopment and economic scarcity that promoted ethnic militarization and conflicts.

The causes of conflict related to control and access of resources (water, pasture and herds). Any factor that decreases these resources led to conflicts. The conflicts manifested through raids making it a means through which communities' accessed the resources.

The women played important role in conflicts in the area as well. They were key actors in the conflicts and were fully involved in its perpetuation. Women employed very informal mechanisms to incite their men into conflicts through their roles as mothers, wives and nurturers. This involved use of songs and dances, blessing and receiving of raided livestock and blessing

¹¹⁶ Oral Interview, Akiru J. and Arot A., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

the warriors. This demonstrates that women were not only victims but active participants in the conflict in the area.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF TURKANA WOMEN IN INTER-COMMUNITY PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter considers the role of Turkana women as peace agents and how this role translates to peace and reconciliation with other communities. The approaches women have employed in conflict prevention and resolution and peacebuilding are examined and discussed in an in-depth manner.

There have been worldwide calls on the need to promote women participation in peace and security matters. To respond to these calls the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 as an important step to promoting gender in peacebuilding operations. It is a comprehensive resolution on women peace and security. The resolution recognizes the vital contribution of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding. This International instrument points out the significance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts geared towards the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It also recognizes the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.¹¹⁷ This calls for the need to pay attention to the existing roles of women in peace while emphasizing the need for their substantive involvement in all matters of peace and security.

4.2. Women and Conflict Resolution among the Turkana

Although women in this society had their place confined within the household, they have used this opportunity to contribute immensely to peace and reconciliation. Often, women use different methods in promoting the agenda of peace from that of men. This was because their experiences in conflicts differed from that of men and therefore how they responded was different from how men would respond. This chapter therefore explores the work of Turkana women in building peace and reconciliation.

Among the Turkana, decisions regarding peace and reconciliation were made by the elders. The discussions happened at the tree of Men (*ekitoe a Ng'ikiliok*) which was the council of elders and the highest decision making authority in the community. When inter-ethnic conflicts occurred, it

¹¹⁷ UN SCR 1325, United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 8, 2000.

was the elders who engaged in dialogue with the other communities and performed rituals that indicated that reconciliation had taken place.¹¹⁸

Being a patriarchal society, women had very limited space in the public sphere and much of their roles were relegated to the household level in addition to reproductive roles. In this regard they had no room to influence the peace agenda in the public level because it was the role of elders and men to make decisions regarding peacebuilding. Whatever women did was mainly achieved through their influence on their husbands and sons who later influenced the decisions at the tree of elders. Women had to be creative so that their input could be considered as well. Therefore most of their peace work was done behind the scenes.¹¹⁹

Although women among the Turkana were not given space at the public sphere to influence decisions concerning peace, it was still expected of them to develop and maintain the inter-ethnic relations with other communities. This role was important because of sharing of resources such as water and pasture during droughts and was based on the ethnic relations between two communities. If the relationships between those communities were cordial, then sharing of resources would happen but if the relationships were strained then hostilities would manifest instead. Esther Ng'ibeyo comes from Lokichar and remembers how through their interactions with the Pokot women opened grazing opportunities between the Turkana and the Pokot after a series of counter raiding activities between the two communities back in 1997. The pasture was available on the Pokot side and through women interaction at the market the Turkana women shared how their livestock were dying from drought. The Pokot women carried the message and shared with their husbands and that is how the Turkana managed to secure their livestock during that period.¹²⁰

Women provided early warning information of impending conflicts too, for instance women while fetching water or collecting firewood would come across unfamiliar footprints that indicated that a group of raiders had passed there. This information was interpreted and shared with the elders for action. For example late Sarah Elim was renowned for her ability to interpret foot prints and could tell the number of the people and where they were coming from. This

¹¹⁸Ruto P., Adan M. and Masinde I., *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms among Pokot, Turkana, Smaburu and Marakwet*, Nairobi, ITDG, 2004, pp. 45–58.

¹¹⁹ Oral Interview, Lotitipu F., Lodwar , 27th , June, 2019.

¹²⁰ Oral Interview, Ng'ibeyo N., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

helped in taking up measures that will avert the conflicts and the associated effects. Secondly while women slaughtered an animal they would also observe the pattern in the intestines and would interpret this information if it indicated an attack (*Arem*) was impending. The community would then take necessary action.¹²¹

The women also deterred conflicts by discouraging the men from engaging in raids through lamenting, crying and pronouncing curses on anyone who went for the raids against their wishes. Turkana women in Lobeyi–Kotaruk cursed a bunch of young men who refused to heed to their advice of not engaging in raids. The young men went ahead and raided the Pokot. Since the young men disregarded the advice of their mothers they never came back they were all killed by the Pokot. This incident served as a deterrence of other young men from engaging in raids. Hence better ethnic relations were maintained with the Pokot resulting to peace.¹²²

They also ensured that they went through a process of transforming conflicts so that long term results can be realized. Turkana women in collaboration with other women engaged in activities that would ensure that lasting peace is realized. For example, in Turkana South women like Josephine Akiru collaborated with their Pokot counter parts like Maria Mariach to promote peace through approaches such as development, peace dividends and education that ensured that some of the root causes of conflicts were addressed.¹²³

4.3. Turkana Women as Peace Agents

This section explores the many approaches that Turkana women have employed in promoting inter–community peace and reconciliation.

Traditionally, Turkana women acted both as perpetrators of conflicts and the same time as agents of peace depending with the prevailing circumstances. Turkana women would become perpetrators of conflicts when their livelihoods were severely affected either by drought, epidemics or a devastating raid and all their livestock were diminished and the community needed to survive. In such instances, women would cry and taunt their men to take action and recover the lost livestock and that way they acted as perpetrators of conflicts. On the other hand, women would act as agents of peace to protect what they had. For instance, during drought when

¹²¹ Oral Interview, Kerio K. and Nakou D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

¹²² Oral Interview, Akori S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹²³ Oral interview, Kerio D. and Nakou D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

the community has moved towards other community's territory in search of water and pasture. Women would act as peace makers and ensured that the inter-community relations were maintained with the neighbouring communities. In this way the community would benefit from shared resources through the strengthened relations.¹²⁴ It seemed that there was thin line between Turkana women as agents of conflicts and being agents of peace. What determined which position women would take was the prevailing circumstances and the effect on their lives. During times of peace women would also engage in activities that enhanced inter-community relations to cement peace so that the community could continue to enjoy benefits such as access to grazing resources. For example, between the Jie and the Turkana though the two communities share common origin, occasional raids occurred between them. The Turkana women would visit the Jie women and help in harvesting sorghum. The Jie women would offer sorghum to the Turkana women and they would drink sorghum beer as a sign of peace. This exemplifies not only a strong value system but expresses a history of inter-community relations.¹²⁵ And this guaranteed sharing of resources between the two communities in times of stress such as droughts.

In Turkana, women engaged in peace in two ways. One of the approaches was employed through informal method. Informal means that some of the methods they use in building peace were exercised within the household level. It was achieved within the confines of one's home and mostly exercised through the influence of sons and husbands. This influence was achieved through begging, nagging, manipulation, blackmail, scolding and taunting etc. for example since women were not allowed to speak at the tree of elders they would influence their husbands to take a certain position while decisions were being taken. On the other hand, formal methods of peace building mean that women are taking part in influencing their communities towards peace within the public sphere. This was where women moved out of their domestic roles and made their voices heard within the public sphere. Women gathered together and joined in with others from the warring groups to speak up for peace and influenced their society positively.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

¹²⁵ Kemal M., Sorghum as a Gift of Self: The Jie Harvest Ritual through Time; History in Africa; Vol.36, African Studies Association, 2009, pp.393–394.

¹²⁶ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

Josephine Akiru who is the secretary to Turkana County Peace Forum attests that what made her be an advocate of peace in her community was the need to see peaceful and resilient communities. This motivated her and other women like Sarah Doki, Lucy Naperito and Ng'irantalle to be involved in peacebuilding. Their involvement called for more innovative approaches in order for them to be the change agents in their community.¹²⁷

Some of the approaches employed by Turkana women in peacebuilding are discussed below.

4.3.1. Women Peace Crusades (*Alokita a Ngaberu*)

Alokita is a group of women united for the purpose of communicating messages to the community through songs, poems, speeches and dance. The Turkana women joined in with women from other communities such as the Toposa, Didinga, Nyangatom, and Pokot. The women adopted this method to reach out to the elders and the men who were engaging in raids to stop and embrace peace. The first crusade was formed in 2001 by Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology (CAPE) unit, an African Union funded programme. The crusades were meant to reach out to the communities living along the borders of Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia.¹²⁸

The peace crusades drew women from different areas as well as from different communities that neighbor the Turkana and with whom they were in conflict with. For instance, the Turkana–Toposa–Didinga–Nyangatom crusade brought together the Turkana, the Toposa, Nyangatom and Didinga women. This particular *Alokita* took place in July 2001 inside Toposa land in South Sudan and in the grazing fields and it lasted a total of 12 days. The crusade begun from Lokichoggio passing through villages such as Lotimur, Kalach, Namorupus all the way to Narus deep in the interior of South Sudan. Women like Nasiru Nameji from Mogilla, Sarah Loongor from Lorau, Mary Katome from Kibich and Elizabeth Ngi'choi from Song'ot attended this first *alokita*.¹²⁹

Through the peace crusades women like Nasiru, Rebecca Kaporo and Katome advocated for issues that affected them such as cattle raids and conflicts. They did this through songs, dance

¹²⁷ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015 .

¹²⁸ Akabwai D., Turkana–Toposa–Nyang'atom,–Diding'a Peace crusades, The July Peace Crusade,CAPE/PACE/IBAR, 200, p.4.

¹²⁹ Ibid p.16.

and laments. For example during this *alokita*, Nasiru spoke out their experiences as mothers and how their lives had been shuttered by conflicts that occur as a result of raids. She called upon young men to desist from conducting raids or even engaging in banditry activities. When the women finished their presentations, the men were moved by the cry of these women and they committed themselves to pursuing peace and reconciliation.¹³⁰

The crusades opened opportunities for dialogue between the communities involved in the peace crusades. For instance, at the time the Turkana–Toposa–Didinga–Nyangatom was going to Toposa land there were tensions between the Turkana, Toposa and Didinga. Through this *alokita* the three communities were able to talk and dialogued over the issues of cattle raids that had affected the relationships between the three communities. It helped in restoring and strengthening the interethnic relationships between these communities. The crusade also helped in reaching out to the young men with the messages of peace in the grazing fields where conventional methods such as workshops and conferences could not do. The women called upon the young men to stop raids and embrace other communities through peace. Their calls as mothers were heeded upon because young men have deep respect for their mothers. The women also got an opportunity to call for the return of raided livestock.¹³¹

By the year 2003, there were about four women peace crusades spread across the county. These include Turkana-Toposa-Nyangatom-Didinga; Lukumong-Toposa-Woyakwara-Ngikamatak; Turkana-Toposa; and Turkana-Pokot. These crusades were successful in creating an avenue for communities to address their conflicts peacefully. Since then other organizations continued to work with these crusades while new ones like Lorengipi–Nawoiyapong–Loiya that address conflict matters along Kenya–Uganda border were also formed.¹³²

For example, such efforts saw the restoration of inter-community relations especially along Kenya-South Sudan border in the area of Nadapal. The Turkana-Toposa women peace crusade was effective in ensuring that there was relative peace in Nadapal area and that the two communities were able to live together and shared resources peacefully. An illustration from Mr. Lotitipu...

¹³⁰ Oral Interview, Akiru J. and Eregae E., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

¹³¹ Oral Interview, Akiru J. and Eregae J., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

¹³² Oral Interview, Lotitipu F., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

“They have sung songs to our communities to live together peacefully. Two years ago, they cursed some Turkana young men who attacked a Toposa village and took some cows and goats. During one of the *alokita*’s, when one of the Toposa women, an elderly lady cried out loudly that she has been left without anything to milk, this aroused emotions among the women as they cried and cursed the young men who conducted such acts. This action moved the elders who committed themselves to follow up the young men and to recover the livestock. Two weeks later, all the livestock were recovered and the young men family and clan were fined some more livestock a percentage of what was stolen. All the recovered livestock were returned to the Toposa community. These are some of the initiatives that have brought calm in Nadapal area”¹³³.

4.3.2. Symbols of Peace

A woman in this community represented peace and that is why even during raids women and children were not killed. Their involvement in blessing and cleansing the raiders before and after raids respectively represented their identity as symbols of peace. Although women in the Turkana community were not involved in any formal peace processes there was a general recognition that when women witnessed the sealing of a peace pact then, it holds a lot of significance. This was because one of the key roles of women in Turkana community was reproduction and bringing up children. They passed on important aspect of the culture to the children and the generations to come. Therefore, their presence in such ceremonies ensured that the components of the peace agreement were passed to the next generation.¹³⁴

The decisions concerning peace were made by the council of elders which was the highest decision making body. It was known as *Ekitoe a Ngaskou* meaning the “Tree of Elders” and it was composed of men only. This was the body that was entrusted with peacemaking and reconciliation issues. When inter-ethnic conflicts occurred the Turkana engaged in dialogue with the other community and if an agreement was reached then they performed rites that indicated settlement had been reached.¹³⁵ This was not usually complete because, there was a place for women to take part in such rites. Such consultation between Turkana elders together with the elders of the other community was not recognized as complete without women taking part in celebrating the sealing of the agreement to peace.¹³⁶.

¹³³ Oral Interview, Lotitipu F., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

¹³⁴ Oral Interview, Echuchuka L., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

¹³⁵ Ruto P., Adan M. and Masinde I., *Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms among Pokot, Turkana, Smaburu and Marakwet*, Nairobi, ITDG, 2004, pp.43–58.

¹³⁶ Watson C., *Pastoral Women as Peace Makers*, Nairobi, CAPE/AU/IBAR, 2004, p.9.

Once an agreement was reached, an animal was slaughtered and the two communities took the blood as an oath while at the same time the waste from the intestine was smeared upon the elders as a binding sign to the terms of the agreement. There was also the burial of the tools of war where the weapons were symbolically buried to indicate an end to the conflict. The animal that was slaughtered was given to the women to cook. Women from both communities took part in cooking indicating that there was oneness and they served the cooked meat to the elders of the two communities who sit and eat together. The women acted as witnesses to the agreement and the rituals undertaken. Their participation and acceptance showed their support for the initiative and their readiness to implement it. The presence of women in such events symbolized peaceful resolution of the conflict and that reconciliation had taken place. This marked the onset of resumption of normal activities between the two communities such as trading and sharing of grazing resources. The inter-ethnic relations were restored and women as the custodians of this relationship went ahead and ensured that they were maintained. An example a community pact that involved women was the Lokirama Peace Accord.¹³⁷

4.3.2.1. The Lokirama Peace Accord

The Lokirama (meaning meeting point) Peace Accord was signed in December 1973 between the Matheniko of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya. The exact date when the accord was signed seems not to be very clear according to the oral interviews. This is one of the longstanding community peace pact that is being observed by the two communities. It came as a result of continued conflicts between the two communities due to constant raids that resulted in great losses. After a major encounter between the two communities at Nakiloro river where hundreds perished brought the need between the two communities to seek for a solution that would bring peace between them. The Turkana under the leadership of the then Chief Akimat and other elders like Mzee Imana begun the negotiations that would end the feuds between the Matheniko and the Turkana. After three months of negotiations an agreement was reached that provided on how the two communities would share grazing resources as well as address the raiding issues between them. The accord was signed in Lokirama in Loima hence the name Lokirama peace accord.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Oral Interview, Ayeng M., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹³⁸ Oral Interview, Ayeng M., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

The details of the accord were passed from generation to generation and are still being observed and respected by the two communities. The Turkana and the Matheniko of Uganda have had a cordial relationship since then. The two communities have enjoyed sharing of grazing resources as well as friendship and trade. Inter-community peace has prevailed in the area between the two communities. This is probably attributed to the fact that women were part of the peace process and they have succeeded in passing over the tenets of the accord and the importance of honoring the pact to the many generations that have come since then. The accord has withstood the test of time and has proven that if all sectors of the society are involved especially women in peace building then sustainable inter-community peace can be achieved in the region. It has also shown the ability of women by ensuring that such community pacts are binding from one generation to another.¹³⁹ The women who participated in the accord seem to have been deceased and from the oral interviews it was difficult to get the names of those women. This is probably an area where more research needs to be done.

Isolated cases of raids still happen between the two groups but their relationship continue to be cordial meaning there is sharing of resources and the good interethnic relations. The Lokiriyama Peace Accord is commemorated every year in Loriyama. The success of the accord attracted a lot of support from both local and international organizations. The celebrations draw participants from the larger Karamoja cluster. Women became such an important element of these celebrations that inclusion of women from different communities within Karamoja cluster was a must thus enhancing peaceful inter-ethnic relations in the region.¹⁴⁰

4.3.3. Friendship and Trade

This is also another approach through which women have contributed immensely towards inter-community peace and reconciliation. Women used friendships, trade and marriage with other communities to strengthen ties and enhance relations leading to harmonious and peaceful communities.

During seasons of peace and tranquility between Turkana and other communities, the women would involve themselves in trading activities with these communities across the board. For instance, between the Turkana and Pokot despite the endemic conflicts, women endeavored to

¹³⁹ Oral Interview, Ayeng M., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Oral Interview, Areng J., Kapenguria, 6th, Nov, 2014.

work together in promoting peace. When inter-community relations were good, the women would conduct business with each other. Pokot land is well endowed ecologically and therefore they are agro pastoralist meaning they also practice crop farming alongside livestock keeping. During the seasons of calm, the Turkana women would get grain from the Pokot in exchange of livestock. The same happened with the communities from the neighboring countries such as Uganda and South Sudan. In Uganda, the Karamojong are also well endowed ecologically therefore produce food crops alongside livestock keeping. They also exchanged food crops with livestock with the Turkana. The women engaged in trading along the border and exchanged their goods with each other. As the women met at the market place, they would talk and discuss on how to promote peace among their communities and to some extent share information on impending raids and see how to intervene to avert eminent conflicts. In this way inter-community relations were strengthened and peace was enhanced.¹⁴¹

The same also happened between the Toposa of South Sudan and the Turkana. These two communities occasionally experienced conflicts. The Turkana women exchanged the beads that are found easily in Kenya with sorghum and millet that the Toposa produce. In this way the relationships between the two communities were restored and strengthened. As a result, Turkana crossed the border and grazed their livestock in Toposa's territory where grazing resources were available.¹⁴²

Between the Turkana and the Jie, the harvesting of sorghum presented a great opportunity among the women to strengthen their ties and deepen peace and reconciliation. The two communities occasionally experienced raiding and counter raids which were a potential cause of conflicts between the two neighbors. The women from the two communities used harvesting of sorghum as an opportunity to strengthen their ties as well as eliminate threats to peace and reconciliation. During the harvesting season, the Turkana women would visit their Jie friends to help them with the harvesting of the crop. They would carry with them wild fruits a delicacy available in their land as gifts. As the harvesting was happening, women from the two communities strengthen their relations as they talked about many things including the happenings of both present and past. They shared with each other about the current events in their regions. Issues such as

¹⁴¹ Oral Interview, Akori S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁴² Oral Interview, Akiru J., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

weather conditions, state of livestock and upcoming raids were discussed and information passed on. Sometimes plans to avert emerging conflicts were mooted in such gathering. They used their emotions to express about events and they helped each other by making more solid relationships. Such activities continued to unite the two communities leading to strong inter-community relations and enhanced peace and reconciliation.¹⁴³

Through trade, strong friendship ties were developed as well with women from other communities with whom they even exchanged gifts. Strong ties were developed such that even when relationships between communities were strained women helped each other by sharing information and intervening when hostilities broke out. Women shared across communities on planned raids thus averting breakout of conflicts and violence.

Marriage ties were another way in which women endeavored to enhance peace and reconciliation between pastoralist groups. Inter-marriage happened between the different communities in that area. Marriage creates very strong social bonds between communities. This became a point of connections between the two communities. For example are the villages of Seremach in West Pokot and Loyiapat Turkana East. The two communities are divided by river Malmalat. The Turkana of Loyiapat have intermarried with the Pokot of Seramach. A number of Turkana women are married in Pokot land. The two communities experience conflicts as a result of raids and road banditry activities. Although the conflicts occur, the intermarriages that have happened have become a point of connection between the two villages. The social bond created by the intermarriage has helped in strengthening the interethnic relations between the two groups. This has especially helped with the issue of retaliation and revenge. In case of a raiding incidence from the Pokot, sometimes the Turkana community desists from revenging because of their girls that are living on other community. This kind of relationships has helped to ensure that even after a conflict normal relation such as trading and sharing of resources resume because of the interdependence created by marriage. Marriage could be through the normal processes but it could also be as a result of abductions during raids.¹⁴⁴ For instance, Watson, points out that even marriage that results from abduction across the ethnic borders would still provide ties between

¹⁴³ Kemal M., *Sorghum as a gift of Self: The Jie Harvest Ritual through Time; History in Africa*, vol36, African Studies Association, 2009, pp.414-415.

¹⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Eyanae E., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

communities who may be in conflict.¹⁴⁵ These relationships are cemented by visits from either community to the other. During times of conflicts it was upon families that had marriage ties to protect each other from the attacks. This was done by sharing information on impending attacks and raids. If either of the community was planning a raid, information was passed to the other community and interventions such as dialogue were arrived at. In this way the other community was indebted to their in-laws thus such ties became important during conflict and enhanced peaceful relations.¹⁴⁶ Although the effectiveness of inter-marriage in bringing peace between communities in the northwest is still debatable. According to the interviews, Turkana women have been married to other communities but hardly do you see Turkana men marry from other neighbouring communities. The reasons provided for this scenario were not very clear. Thus, this subject calls for further interrogation.

The trade and social links initiated by the women played a big role in enhancing inter-community peace and reconciliation. They also helped in cementing peace between communities thus promoting the peace and reconciliation agenda.

4.3.4. Women and Informal Power

Generally, women have significant power and influence within their sphere of influence. This influence can be used positively or negatively to impact the community and the larger society. This power is what is called informal, meaning it is exercised outside the public arena and within the confines of domestic and household level.¹⁴⁷ This influence was mostly achieved through the male relatives such as husbands or sons. Despite the fact that Turkana women were not allowed to sit at the Tree of Elders, sometimes they were allowed to sit and listen from a distance especially when weighty community matters were being discussed. It was in such opportunities that women would get to know what was happening and later within the confines of their houses influenced the decisions their husbands or sons were going to take at the Tree of Elders. Later in the evening the same subject was revisited in their houses. Issues were discussed in the evenings because this was the time when women were able to get the full attention of their husbands. Since women experienced and viewed issues different from men, a diverse dimension of the subject would be introduced that the men had not thought of. Eventually the entire decision

¹⁴⁵ Watson C., *op.cit.*, p.24.

¹⁴⁶ Oral Interview, Eyanae E., Lodwar, 26th, June , 2019.

¹⁴⁷ Watson C.,*op.cit.*, p.13.

might end up being changed with the men taking up new positions that they would share at the Tree of Elders.¹⁴⁸

The other way women exercised this influence was through their sons. Elderly women past child bearing age also known as (*Ng'a kimak*) had great influence over their sons through tears. It was a taboo for a Turkana man to make his mother cry. It was believed that it would attract a curse and if going for a raid he will die. A man will do anything within his control not to see his mother cry. In such situations a mother would cry and wail over the decision that the son is going to make thus making the son to take a different position. For instance, if the son was going for raids a mother would refuse to bless him and cry as though mourning for the death of the son, and since it was a taboo to make ones mother cry, the son would abandon the mission thus not engage in raids. A casing point was in Lobei–Kotaruk where young men disregarded their mother's calls not to attack the neighbouring Pokot community. The women refused to bless them and instead cursed them. All the young men never made it back. They all perished in the raid after a team of security officers caught up with them after the raid. This deterred other young men from engaging in raids thus enhancing inter–community peace between the two communities.¹⁴⁹

Through this influence women deterred raids from taking place thus promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation. During pre-raid activities women would choose to keep off the rituals in order to discourage men from engaging in raids and officially register their disapproval of the planned mission. For instance, it was mandatory for a mother to bless her son or the most elderly woman in the village to bless warriors before going out to raid. Instead of doing so, women chose to remain behind in their houses and not engage at all in the rituals. A son to defy his wailing and crying mother only attracted a curse on himself. It was a taboo for a son to see his mother cry. This would be detrimental for him and the entire team during the raid since it will attract a bad omen. A mother's cry would definitely cause the son to drop out of the raiding mission. Wives on the other hand apart from crying and begging their husbands not to go for raids for fear of losing them, also seduced their husbands into sleeping with them. It was considered a taboo for a man to engage in intimacy before going for raids. This was believed to

¹⁴⁸ Oral Interview, Akoule J., Looim A. and Lochero C., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Oral Interview, Akoule J., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

attract a bad omen to the team going for the raid. A man who has done so was expelled from the mission. In doing so, women discouraged their men from engaging in raids thus maintaining inter-community peace.¹⁵⁰

During after-raid rituals, women chose to keep off the celebration process. They took a low profile and chose not to undertake the cleansing rituals of the warriors after their return from a successful raid. By keeping off the cleansing ceremony, that meant that the raided livestock will not be received into the homestead and instead women chose to negotiate with the raiders to return the stolen livestock to the other community. The eldest auntie is usually the first to receive her share of the loot but in this case, she would decline to receive her share thus disapproving of the exercise and she would insist that the animals be returned to where they came from.¹⁵¹

Mothers to daughters also refused to receive livestock paid as bride price for their daughters if the source from raids. Young girls too have had a major contribution by refusing to praise the young men who had come from raiding. Instead they composed songs ridiculing those that engaged in raids that put the whole community at risk.¹⁵²

Some Turkana young men from Kaakong in Kainuk were planning to raid Masol in West Pokot were deterred from attacking the area by a mother who had lost all her 3 sons to raids. When she heard about the planned raid she begun wailing and crying and warned the young men from undertaking the raid. She begged them by telling her story of how she lost all her 3 son to raids and she was left childless. The young men heeded to her calls and the attack was aborted. As a result of this intervention good ethnic relations were maintained with the Pokot. This created an enabling environment for dialogue, truth telling and reconciliation to take place.¹⁵³ Such initiatives saw very potential conflicts being averted thus enhancing peace and reconciliation.

4.3.5. Peace Committee Members

The Turkana women like Dorcas Kerio, Zipporah Imoni, and Josephine Akiru slowly took up opportunities that allowed them to contribute to inter-community peace at the public arena through the peace committees. These were committees established to deal with conflict

¹⁵⁰ Oral Interview, Looim A., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁵¹ Oral Interview, Adome M., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁵² Oral Interview, Doki S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁵³ Oral Interview, Eyanae E., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

resolution within a community and it was one way of ensuring that communities owned the peace processes in their locality.

With the establishment of the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) in 2002, also came the District Peace Committee (DPC) concept which was introduced among the pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya. The peace committee concept was borrowed from the Wajir Peace Process which was women led and was successful in bringing peace and reconciliation among the warring clans. The National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management is a Government Agency under the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government. It is mandated to coordinate all actions of peacebuilding and conflict management and furthermore bring all actors including civil society organization to work together with the various government agencies and departments on issues of peacebuilding and conflict management.¹⁵⁴

The NSC then after establishment together with the other non-state actors embarked on the process of establishing the peace committees in the conflict prone regions of Northern Kenya to enhance conflict resolution at the local levels and ensured communities owned and took lead in their own peace building processes. The District Peace Committee (DPC) approach was built on the local conflict resolution framework existing in the communities such as the council of elders framework.¹⁵⁵

A 15 member committee consisting of 5 executive members and 10 members representing women organizations and other interest groups such as the youth, people living with disabilities, business community, religious groups and other community based organizations. Milka from NSC who is in charge of gender issues remarked...

“The NSC tries very much to have women represented well in these committees though sometimes it was a challenge due to cultural and religious beliefs in the pastoralists’ communities which is a male dominated society. It took a lot of training and engagement with the elders in these communities and slowly women were embraced as part of the peace committees. Since then more and more women are taking up positions in peace committees and this has significantly improved the effectiveness of the peace committees in handling conflicts”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Oral Interview, Magotsi D., Nairobi, 29th, March, 2019.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Oral Interview, Chepkirui M., Nairobi, 29th, March 2019.

These assertions might be true for instance in Turkana South there are five women members in the committee. They include Josephine Akiru, Esther Ng'ibeyo, Esther Ng'irantalle, Lucy Loperitwa and Sarah Doki. While in Turkana East Mary Ekale, Margaret Akal and Akiru Jane are some of the active women in the peace committee. Peace committees encouraged peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue, prevention through sharing of early warning information and promoted conflict transformation. Peace committees came up with initiatives such as dialogue forums through which communities could talk and reconcile. The presence of these women in such committees was important since they have the ability to build relationships that were essential for dialogue.¹⁵⁷ The same sentiments on women ability to dialogue across differences has been echoed by McCarthy...

“This catalyses reconciliation efforts and promote the inclusion of all sides in these discussions”.¹⁵⁸

Turkana women used this ability to reach out to influence peace committees especially when the situation was tense to dialogue with the other communities. Women though not the majority in the committees, tried to influence their male counter parts by spreading peace messages to them especially when they took up hard line positions. They helped their male counterparts to see things from a different perspective and the need to embrace dialogue in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts. This helped the peace committees gain trust and confidence from the different tribal divides and making the roles of peace committees significant among the community.¹⁵⁹

The Turkana women have strengthened the peace committees through information sharing with their counterparts in other communities. For example, Josephine Akiru who is the chairperson for Turkana South peace committee and the secretary to the county peace forum notes that they shared information with their women counter parts from Pokot. Women like Maria Mariach, Susan Cheyiet and Roselyne Lokorkilip. This helped in recoveries of raided animals thus strengthening reconciliation process among communities. A casing point was a raid conducted by the Turkana warriors against their neighbors the Pokots in Alale area. Silvia Akori and other women like Grace Nachipon and Martha Natiir in the committee got hold of information that the livestock were spotted in a village in Kotaruk. This information was shared with the rest of the

¹⁵⁷ Oral Interview, Chepkirui M., Nairobi, 29th, March 2019.

¹⁵⁸ McCarthy M., *Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle*, University of Pennsylvania, 2012, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵⁹ Oral Interview, Chepkirui M. and Kemboi V., Nairobi, 29th, March, 2019.

committee members together with the elders in the area. Though the men within the committee and the elders were adamant in returning the livestock citing that livestock raided earlier were not returned by the Pokot. These women explained the importance of righting a wrong and pleaded on importance of ending this conflict peacefully since it was bound to attract another counter raid. They reasoned with the team on importance of dialogue and after a lot of deliberations an agreement was reached, they approached the village, livestock were recovered and handed over to the elders and the peace committee from the Pokot side. A ceremony was conducted to hand over the livestock to the Pokot in the presence of the law enforcement officials and other government representatives as witnesses. Out of such initiative, 132 livestock were recovered. This was viewed as a big milestone towards enhancing peace and reconciliation among the two communities.¹⁶⁰

4.3.6. Early Warning and Response Mechanisms

Early warning is a concept which was introduced to forecast natural calamities and stock market crashes. In the 80s, this concept was adopted to forecast famine and potential refugee flow in humanitarian situation. Early warning is a knowledge based model that has helped decision makers create strategies to avert or reduce the negative effects of violent conflicts. It emphasizes on anticipating the potential for crisis and coming up with measures to curb it.¹⁶¹

In Turkana, women took up different roles in the implementation of Early Warning Systems and further preventing escalation of violent conflicts from occurring. Women such as Dinah, collected and analyzed information for Early Warning Systems. Dinah Nakuo was the only female Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) peace monitor in Turkana and she was based in Loima.¹⁶²

CEWARN was an initiative of the seven-member Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to promote peace and security in the Horn of Africa. As a peace monitor her role was to collect and analyze any conflict information and passes the same to the Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit (CEWERU) based at the NSC which was the local response

¹⁶⁰ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Lokuruka B. and Arot A., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁶¹ Schmeidl S., and Piza-Lopez E., Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Framework for Action, UK, 2002, p.4.

¹⁶² Oral Interview, Magotsi D., Nairobi, 29th, March, 2019.

centre and as well as to the CEWARN headquarters in Addis Ababa Ethiopia so that response could be implemented to avert further escalation of conflict. ¹⁶³

According to Dinah, she was able to work hand in hand with a network of community members who gave information and provided alerts of impending raids or attacks. She analyses the situation and provided advice on what needs to be done regarding the conflict issues. Ms. Dinah confirmed that as a woman she gained trust from the community especially fellow women who shared information with her freely. Once she obtained the information she went ahead and shared it with the relevant authorities who intervened where necessary. This played a major role in enhancing peaceful coexistence as well as strengthening the reconciliation efforts. She further notes that...

“As a woman, it was easier for me to get information and share it with the relevant authorities. Sometime back I obtained information from my counterpart from North Pokot that there were a number of young men armed who were sighted crossing over to Loima to conduct a raid, I shared that information with the Peace committee and the local Law enforcement authorities, quickly a contingent of police officers was mobilized and sent to that area. An attack that could have affected many people including causing loss of life and livestock was foiled while an opportunity to strengthen the community relations as well as fostering reconciliation was created”. ¹⁶⁴

Women like Silvia Akori from Kotaruk, late Sarah Elim from Urum and Natelengo Akadeli from Lobei provided information for early warning. The places where these women came from were some of the areas where interethnic conflicts were experienced since they border other communities. They volunteered to provide alerts on eminent conflicts for purposes of response. They worked together with other members of the community and provided any information that indicated that conflict could occur. They shared the information with Dinah and the security team in Lodwar for rapid response. ¹⁶⁵

Other ways through which women contribute to early warning was sharing of information with each other sometimes even through rumors. Once the information was verified then it could be shared with the relevant authorities for response. A good example was in a village in Kainuk where Turkana and Pokot women were able to avert eminent attacks by sharing information with

¹⁶³ Oral Interview, Magotsi D., Nairobi, 29th, March, 2019.

¹⁶⁴ Oral Interview, Nakuo D., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

¹⁶⁵ Oral Interview, Akori S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

each other. A group of Pokot youths were planning to attack vehicles plying the Kainuk–Lodwar route. The Pokot women in the village got the information that was going around as rumors and shared the same with Turkana women. The information was verified and an alert was raised with the relevant authorities. This information was shared with the motorists while the security officers provided security escort and another team of law enforcement officers went ahead and arrested the youths.¹⁶⁶

Turkana women also obtain information by observing peculiar events while undertaking their day to day activities like fetching water and firewood. Women were able to notice for instance foot prints of raiders in the area for example at a water point. That was information worth sharing and women like late Sarah Elim was good in interpreting such information and could tell even the number of raiders and where they came from by just observing the footprints. This information was then relayed to the local authorities for response purposes.¹⁶⁷

While interacting with women from other communities in the market places and fetching water or firewood Turkana women were able to observe unusual events and gave alert where necessary. For instance, in 1999, during a market day in the border of Kenya and Uganda through women information gathering techniques an impending attack was averted. The market in Loiya is shared by four communities who include Pokot and Turkana of Kenya and Tepeth and Matheniko of Uganda. A strange thing happened during that day when Tepeth and Pokot women were conspicuously missing in the market. Once the Women noticed the incidence, they reported the information to authorities who shared widely. It was later confirmed from the authorities from Pokot side that the Pokot and the Tepeth had made an alliance and were planning to stage a very big attack on the Turkana. An alert of this impending raid was shared with the community to be on high alert. A response team of law enforcement officers from Turkana and West Pokot Counties helped in deterring the raid thus averting grounds for further conflicts.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Oral Interview, Nakuo D., Lodwar , 27th, June, 2019.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Oral Interview, Akori S., Kapenguria, 8th ,Nov , 2014.

4.3.7. Women in Administration

Turkana women also used their positions like administrators to influence and enhance peace and security in the area. They have acted as icons of peace and dedicated their lives in promoting peace and reconciliation with other communities. Women chiefs used their positions to promote peace. The examples of women chiefs who used their positions to promote peace include the chief for Kainuk Ms. Sarah Akoru Lochodo, the late Sarah Elim who was the chief for Urum, Josephine Akiru the chief for Lokichar and Ann Elamach the chief for Nawoitarong. These women contributed significantly towards inter–community peace.¹⁶⁹

For example the chief for Kainuk has contributed immensely to inter–community peace and reconciliation between the Turkana and the neighboring Pokot community. Sarah is based at Kainuk which is a very volatile place and experiences constant violence between the Turkana and Pokot. She used her position as an assistant chief to influence her community to embrace peace and harmony. She has not only won the trust of her community the Turkana but that of the Pokot as well.¹⁷⁰ Her inspiring story was documented and featured by Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice; University of San Diego in 2010. She is termed as one of the uncelebrated heroines in this nation who devoted her life in empowering her community by promoting peace and reconciliation especially between the Turkana and the Pokot. She is the founder of Women Peace Link, an organization that sought to empower women and reconcile the warring Turkana and Pokot communities.¹⁷¹ One of the ways through which she contributed towards peace is by encouraging dialogue instead of violence. She called for dialogue meetings and encouraged return of raided livestock while at the same time promoting reconciliation to take place. A case is cited where the Turkana raiders killed a Pokot boy. In retaliation, the Pokot vowed to kill 100 Turkana to avenge for the boy's blood. On getting this information, Sarah took her role as a woman and as a mother to persuade the Pokot youths not to revenge but rather consider retribution for the boy's family by following an earlier signed agreement between the Turkana

¹⁶⁹ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

¹⁷⁰ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Lodwar , 26th, June, 2019.

¹⁷¹ Tornquist S., Empowered to Hope: The Life and Peacebuilding Work of Sarah Akoru Lochodo; 2010 Women Peacemakers Program; Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, University of San Diego, 2010, p.18.

and the Pokot. Through her persuasion this was agreed upon and the offender who was a Turkana was not only arrested but he also paid 40 herds of cattle to the bereaved family.¹⁷²

The late Sarah Elim from Urum in Loima also played an important role in promoting peace. She was crucial in sharing of early warning information especially along the Loima–Moroto border. She reported any incidences and alerts that indicated attacks coming from communities from the Ugandan side or the Turkana staging attacks towards the Ugandans. She was also known for her ability to interpret foot prints and would tell the number of raiders as well where they were coming from. She was very crucial in early warning and conflict prevention. She also promoted dialogue between the communities living along either side of the border to allow for peaceful resolution of conflicts. During conflicts she pleaded with elders to drop hard line positions and embrace peace with the other community. Sarah also ensured that those who engaged in raiding were arrested and faced the rule of law. In this way inter–community peace and reconciliation was fostered.¹⁷³

Josephine Akiru the chief for Lokichar also contributed to inter–community peace through her position. As a chief she encouraged the community to return illicit weapons. She encouraged disarmament of communities, by promoting voluntary disarmament. This is where communities are encouraged to return the illicit firearms under their custody without coercion and punishment. She created awareness among the communities on the dangers of having illicit weapons and their negative impact on the community. Akiru also worked with women from both the Pokot and Turkana communities in promoting peace between the two communities. She is the secretary to Turkana–Pokot Women for Peace Organization which sought to bring an end to endemic conflicts between Turkana and Pokot. She also organized forums for young men who engaged in raiding activities. In these forums she spoke on the ills of raiding and persuaded them to stop and embraced peace. In this way, many youths mindset were changed and they engaged in other activities that promoted peaceful. Over 40 youths reformed and got involved in small scale businesses including farming.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Tornquist S., *Empowered to Hope: The Life and Peacebuilding Work of Sarah Akoru Lochodo*; 2010 Women Peacemakers Program; Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, University of San Diego, 2010, p.19.

¹⁷³ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Kapenguria, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁷⁴ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Arot A. and Eregae E., Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015.

Ann Elamach from Nawoitarong location Turkana Central on the other hand promoted importance of education among the Turkana community. The vice of raiding thrives because many youths are uneducated. Ann took upon herself to speak to the community on why they should take their children to school. She gave her own example that she was a senior chief because she went to school. This challenged many parents to embrace education and more so girl child education. She also supported women empowerment programmes. She passionately promoted the well-being of women and encouraged women to engage in income generating activities. She linked them with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for grants to start small businesses and even farming. In this way the household income for families was increased and this helped in reducing overreliance on livestock which was a major source of conflicts.¹⁷⁵

Women make the most of every opportunity they get to bring the change they so desired in their communities. Using their positions as chiefs these women (Ann, Elim, Nakoru and Akiru) were able to contribute towards promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation. They also mentored other women to embrace peace.

4.3.8. Women Based Community Organizations

Collective action is well known as a positive force to effect change among communities. Through women organizations, Turkana women were able to come together to collectively push for positive change in their community. This helped them overcome barriers that had hindered their full participation. In Turkana, women established groups and community based organizations that enabled them to collectively advocate for peace among their communities and also worked together in creating opportunities that advanced peace with other communities.¹⁷⁶

There are a number of women led organizations in Turkana that worked in advocating for positive change in the community. Some of these organizations and groups worked with grassroots women in addressing drivers of conflict in the area as well as responding to minimize the negative effects of violent conflicts among the women. These groups also came together to advocate for their rights as well as created a platform through which they channeled their views on developmental challenges that were specific and common to women. Such organizations

¹⁷⁵ Oral Interview, Nakuo D., and Kerio D., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

¹⁷⁶ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

spoke on behalf of women who in most cases would have no voice especially in a society that is male dominated like the Turkana.¹⁷⁷

These groups and organizations are community based meaning they are established and run by the local women themselves and within their locality. Some of the women led organizations that were spearheading peace and reconciliation include: Turkana Women and Development Organization (TWADO) that championed for women rights and reduce impunity for violence against women. TWADO also ensured that women were well represented in peace and security matters and supported women through training and capacity building on peace and security issues. Another organization is Adakar Women for Peace (AWP) which worked to ensure that women were represented in the peace committees. AWP promoted the participation of women in peace and development issues especially at the village level. They supported women peace building activities such as Women *Alokita* (peace crusades). There is also Loima Women Peace Organization (LWPO) that worked with both the Turkana and women from other communities across the border to promote cross border peace. Rural Women Peace Link (RWPL) is also another organization working in the area. It is a network of women working for peace in their local communities supported by the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). It advocated for peaceful coexistence and supported women peace building initiatives.¹⁷⁸

These organizations and groups worked with women at the grassroots on ways of promoting peace and reconciliation. They achieved this through building their capacity on peacebuilding and conflict management. They trained women on peacebuilding skills such as negotiations, mediation, and dialogue. Through their support women were more visible in peacebuilding initiatives and proactive in ensuring that their community was living harmoniously with other neighboring communities. Women were better equipped in promoting the non-violent ways of handling conflicts thus enhancing inter-community peace and reconciliation. For instance, the Turkana Women and Development Organization (TWADO) enhanced the capacity of women on topics such as paralegals, peacebuilding and gender. These women after training were used to

¹⁷⁷ Oral Interview, Kerio D., and Eyanae E., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

¹⁷⁸ Oral Interview, Kerio D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

identify and monitor cases of gender violence, monitor conflict issues with other communities and provide information where necessary.¹⁷⁹

Another role played by the women organizations was encouraging women to be self-reliant and contribute to household income through income generating activities (IGAs) such as small scale businesses. Ideally a Turkana family income would revolve around livestock which was the mainstay of the community. By diversifying household income reliance on livestock as a source of income was reduced thus lifting the pressure and the need for men to go out and raid. In the long run, peace was enhanced as drivers for conflicts were gradually reduced. For example, Adakar Women for Peace (AWP) worked hand in hand with development partners to support women with grants to establish small businesses or promote food production through agriculture in areas along River Turkwel.¹⁸⁰

The women based organizations also provided a platform where women voiced their concerns on the matters affecting the community. When women came together they were able to influence decisions that not only affected them but the entire society as well. Through these organizations Turkana women collaborated with women from Toposa, Karamojong and Merille communities to promote peace across the border. Communities living on either side of the border cooperated for the betterment of their communities such as grazing resources and free trade across the border. For example through Adakar Women for Peace that had supported Women Peace Crusades across the board helped women voice their concerns on conflicts in those forums. That helped the men embrace peaceful means of resolving conflicts rather than violence.¹⁸¹

These organizations too supported cross cultural interaction that helped in removing stereotypes and other barriers to inter-community peace and reconciliation. These interactions created opportunities for dialogue and helped create long term relationships. Organizations such as Loima Women for Peace Organization worked with all cross border communities to promote peaceful coexistence. They trained women from all communities together on peace and development and encouraged their participation in promoting the same. This created a strong network for women from the Jie, Matheniko, Tepeth and Dodoth communities enhancing

¹⁷⁹ Oral Interview, Kerio D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

¹⁸⁰ Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Oral Interview, Arot A. and Akiru J., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

information sharing especially concerning raids. Rural Women Peace Link worked with both Pokot and Turkana women and ensured that the inter-community relations were established and strengthened. This was achieved through initiatives such as exchange programmes and self-help groups. Women interacted in these groups to establish strong friendships and appreciated each other's culture. They discussed importance of promoting peace and development in their communities and at the same time came up with measures to reduce conflicts. In this way, the barriers that hindered communities from living together were broken while opportunities for dialogue and reconciliation created. The communities then begun to view each other as friends and not foes. In the process conflict drivers were identified and discussed while providing remedies to addressing the conflict issues. All these provided opportunities that were essential to promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation.¹⁸²

Ordinary women have power that can bring change if they come together with oneness of purpose. This has been demonstrated by what women did through their networks and organizations. They discovered their ability as peace builders and change agents who have made remarkable transformation in lives of their communities.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an extensive analysis of the role of women in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation in Turkana. The chapter has shown that Turkana women were able to contribute to peace and reconciliation through exercising their roles as mothers and wives. Building on these roles became an important benchmark towards intercommunity peace and reconciliation.

Although they had limited space to participate in issues of peace and reconciliation in the community, Turkana women came up with many creative ideas that ensured that they contributed to inter-community peace and reconciliation. The approaches ranged from informal ways meaning it was limited to the domestic level and formal that which was being practiced at the public sphere. Building on the existing roles will facilitate the promotion of substantive participation of women in peace and reconciliation.

¹⁸² Oral Interview, Nakuo D. and Kerio D., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

Finally, women have the ability to bring transformative change that will promote intercommunity peace and reconciliation when they unite and come together through their networks.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPACT OF WOMEN'S EFFORTS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

5.1. Introduction

This Chapter considers the impact of women's participation in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation. It seeks to answer the following questions: Have the approaches employed by women in peace and reconciliation borne any fruits? And what are the tangible results of these efforts towards peace and reconciliation? Finally what have been the failures in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation?

While women's role in peace is widely recognized as important, it is equally significant to consider whether their participation has translated into any positive change towards peace. This chapter therefore highlights the successes as well as the limitations of women's work in inter-community peace and reconciliation.

5.2. Impact of Women's Work in Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation

The effectiveness of women in peace can be observed in the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's statement when he remarked to the Security Council in October 2000 ...

“For generations, women have served as peace educators, both in their families and in their societies. They have proved instrumental in building bridges rather than walls.”

Women have been able to bring together parties in a conflict even in situations where leaders have deemed conflict resolution futile in the face of the so called intractable ethnic hatred. For example, in the case of Sudan where women conducted shuttle diplomacy and organized Wulnit convention that brought peace between the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups. Also in the case of India and Pakistan where women reached out to each other and organized big rallies to seek for peace.¹⁸³

In Turkana women, such as Josephine Akiru, Dorcas Kerio, and Dinah Nakuo with a host of others spearheaded peacebuilding in Turkana. Their efforts have taken root and are getting positive results in regard to promotion of peace. They took up every possible opportunity to

¹⁸³ Hunt S. and Posa C., Women waging Peace; Foreign Policy no. 124, Washington Post, 2001, p.41.

contribute towards inter-community peace and reconciliation.¹⁸⁴ The following are some of the impact of women efforts to inter-community peace and reconciliation.

5.2.1. Bridging the Inter-Ethnic Differences

Although women in Turkana were not included in decision making where peace was negotiated their position as mothers and wives within the society gave them the ability to influence decisions that resulted to peace with other communities. In this case they acted as connectors between their community and the perceived enemy (*emoit*). Through their day to day activities such as going to the market, fetching water, collecting firewood and wild fruits provided opportunities for interactions between them and the other community. This helped in bridging ethnic divisions thus becoming a link towards dialogue between them and the community involved in the conflict. In this case women involved themselves with activities that brought the warring groups together to think towards peace in the area.¹⁸⁵

Continued raiding and counter raiding had deeply fractured the inter-community relations between the Turkana and her neighbors the (Pokot, Toposa, Jie, Matheniko, Karamojong, Merille, and Diding'a). Turkana women enhanced relationships between these communities and created opportunities for their communities to come together and dialogue for purposes of finding solutions to towards peace. They bridged the seemingly insurmountable differences between Turkana and these communities. Through roles such as *alokita*, friendships, marriage and trading, women took a step to act as linkage between communities thus creating opportunities for deeper engagement through dialogue. For instance between the Toposa and the Turkana, through women *alokita* the two communities are living harmoniously despite the constant cattle rustling activities that takes place.¹⁸⁶

Nadapal is at the border between Kenya and South Sudan and is one of the conflict corridors in Turkana County pitting the Turkana against the Toposa of South Sudan. The Turkana moved out of Nadapal due to constant raids from the Toposa community. The two communities are interdependent in a number of ways; one the Toposa area is more endowed ecologically than the Turkana side therefore has a lot of grazing resources. On the other hand the Toposa come to the

¹⁸⁴ Oral Interview, Sarah D., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁸⁵ Oral Interview, Areng J., Kapenguria, 6th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁸⁶ Oral Interview, Eregae E., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

Kenyan side to shop for clothes, beads and other necessities that are not readily available in their land. Due to constant conflicts, the area of Nadapal was deserted as a result of increasing hostilities between the two groups. It took the concerted effort of women peacebuilding work to bridge the differences between the two communities. The Turkana women reached out to their counterparts from the Toposa and initiated talks that resulted in the communities coming together. The Turkana women invited their counter parts to join them in peace caravans (*Alokita*) that promoted peace between the two communities.¹⁸⁷

In fact, Ann Looim from Turkana West pointed out that ...

“The Peace that we enjoy at Nadapal is the work of women, we talked with our counter parts across the border, we traded and even talked with our young men to stop raiding because we are one people and we needed each other to survive. When there was plenty of harvest on their end we went there to buy grains. And they come here to get beads. This is how we managed to restore our relations on this side of the border”¹⁸⁸

After these initiatives, the Turkana community settled back in the area and was able to cross over the border and access grazing resources freely that were available on the Toposa side. As a result of improved inter-community relations these two communities were able to share their resources freely. The Toposa were also able to cross over to the Kenyan side and shop for clothes, beads and other necessities in Lokichoggio. The Toposa children were also able to access education by attending Kenyan schools in Turkana such as Mogilla girls. This was as a result of the women concerted efforts and their ability to build bridges across the two communities.¹⁸⁹

Another area where women enhanced inter-ethnic relations was between the Merille of Ethiopia and Turkana in the northern part of the county. This was an area that had experienced serious conflicts that led to loss of life and property. Despite the bloody conflicts that had occurred in this region, women consistently enhanced reconciliation between the two groups. The women like Mary Katome, Agnes Lama and Leesio Akoloum in Turkana North could not stand the difficult life they were living and as a result they begun meeting as Turkana women and discussing how they could address the issues of conflicts between them and the Merille of Ethiopia. The women decided to pay a visit to the other women from the Merille side. What

¹⁸⁷ Oral Interview, Looim A., Eldoret, 8th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid .

¹⁸⁹ Oral Interview, Ekal S. Ekadeli, Eldoret, 17th Dec, 2015.

followed was a series of women peace crusades between the Turkana and the Merille and women were in the forefront in calling upon the two communities to embrace peace.¹⁹⁰

The endemic conflict on the southern parts of the county between the Turkana and Pokot has been there for decades. The conflicts are usually deadly leading to massacre and displacement of communities. Turkana women worked hand in hand with their counterparts in Pokot in a bid to enhance peace among the two communities. Women like Josephie Akiru, Esther Ngibeyo, Mary Loperitwa and Sarah Doki collaborated with women from Pokot side like Maria Marach, Susan Cheyiet and Roselyne Lokorkilip in sharing alerts on impending alerts and conflict issues. They established a women peace network that brought women together from the two communities. This way the interethnic relations between the two communities continued to be strengthened. Through this kind of interaction communities were able to view each other as friends and not foes.¹⁹¹

In Kainuk the Adakar Women for Peace also worked hard to bring calm in the area. With the support of Chief Sarah Lochodo, they mobilized women to come together and speak on the need for peace. Turkana and Pokot women held peace crusades meetings to advocate for dialogue as a tool of resolving conflicts as well as sharing information on planned raids to avert imminent conflicts. This helped in building confidence among the two communities as well as helped bridge the ethnic differences. Women were also involved in small scale business enterprises that acted as connectors between communities. For example Pokot women would sell milk to Turkana women and Turkana women sold charcoal to Pokot women in Kainuk. As they traded with each other, interactions happened therefore acting as connectors between the two communities.¹⁹² Women managed to have a breakthrough in enhancing interethnic relations between different communities which is an important aspect in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation

5.2.2. Improved Security

Insecurity is a characteristic of conflicts in northwest Kenya. Easy availability of illicit weapon has led to rise in banditry activities. Young men are involved in road banditry as well as raiding

¹⁹⁰ Oral Interview, Esekon H., Eldoret, 17th, Nov, 2014.

¹⁹¹ Oral Interview, Akiru J, Eldoret , 17th , Dec, 2015.

¹⁹² Oral Interview, Arot A, Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

of livestock for commercial purposes. This made the area increasingly insecure for communities to engage productively with their day to day activities. The Turkana and Pokot women peace dialogue meetings and peace crusades in the area helped in improving security especially in areas that were deemed volatile. For example, relative calm resumed between the Pokot and the Turkana in areas such as Lodokat, Nakwamoru, Lokapel and Kaputir. As a result of constant raids communities had moved away from these places. But due to peace efforts by women communities resettled back in these areas. ¹⁹³

The peace efforts also brought greater understanding for the need to promote peace for the good of the two communities. Moreover, greater accountability was placed among the elected leaders who incited communities against each other. Improved working relationship was seen between the political leaders from Loima and Pokot North. This kind of move translated to relative peace between the two communities. Communities living along the border of Loima and Pokot North were willing to vote on either side depending on which county they were living in something that was not deemed impossible. Resource sharing is also seen in areas of Lorengipi and Kotaruk. ¹⁹⁴

With relative calm along Turkana and Ugandan border, there was free movement across the border as communities engaged in trade and other activities. The Turkana were free to move their livestock to Uganda and accessed grazing resources without any problem from the communities or authorities there. In fact, Turkana livestock had moved as far as mount Moroto in Uganda in search of grazing resources. And there were close to 3000 Turkana herders in Ugandan territory. The trading activities in cross border markets such as Loiya became very vibrant and the communities were able to trade freely. The Loima–Moroto corridor also became very vibrant with trading activities involving communities from Uganda like the Matheniko, Jie and Dodoth. ¹⁹⁵

Restoration of security on the roads was also another area that women efforts were seen to have borne fruits. The constant problem of road banditry could not allow ease of passage for people, livestock and goods across ethnic territories especially between Turkana and Pokot. Josephine Akiru remarked on the state of insecurity on the roads...

¹⁹³ Oral Interview, Ekal S., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

¹⁹⁴ Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁹⁵ Oral Interview, Ekitela L., Lodwar, 27th June, 2019.

“Areas such as Marich pass, Kalemung’orok, and Lokori were impassable due to insecurity. People lost lives and property due to road banditry. But as women we moved in and begged our young men to stop this vice and calm was restored. Through joint activities with Pokot women we engaged the warriors. This is how security was restored on our roads”.¹⁹⁶

Due to the resulting calm between the Pokot and the Turkana, people and livestock were able to move freely and this had been indicated by the reduced need for security escorts by vehicles plying across the two counties. Crossing from West Pokot to Turkana County was difficult due to banditry activities especially along the Lodwar–Kainuk road. This was being exacerbated by rogue young men from both communities and had resulted to people losing lives and property along the roads. However, through women led dialogue meetings with warriors the problem of banditry on the roads was significantly reduced. The issue that was almost a daily occurrence was reduced to isolated cases of probably once in two months.¹⁹⁷

Women led peace initiatives also translated into communities cooperating in identifying stolen livestock within their locality and facilitating the return of these livestock to the rightful owners. This process led to open confessions on wrongs and killings done by either community which is a prerequisite to complete reconciliation and forgiveness. As an internal mechanism of retribution, individuals who were seen as peace spoilers and raiders were identified and punished by the community. Some were also arrested and prosecuted hence deepening the foundations for community reconciliation and cohesion. According to TUPADO’s database, a community based organization dealing with peace, a total of 800 livestock were identified, recovered and returned to the owners between 2001 and 2002. This was attributed to community’s commitment to peace brought about by women led peace initiatives.¹⁹⁸

5.2.3 Non Violent Approaches to Conflict Resolution

Violent conflict between the Turkana and their neighbours were as a result of raids and counter raiding. A raiding activity would attract a raid from a retaliating group. This would lead to a series of counter raiding activities leading to violence. Turkana women through their engagement such as peace crusades, peace committees, early warning, and women in administration

¹⁹⁶ Oral Interview, Akiru J., Lodwar, 17th, Dec, 2015.

¹⁹⁷ Oral Interview, Muriir P., Lodwar, 28th, June, 2019.

¹⁹⁸ Oral Interview, Sammy E., Lodwar, 26th, Dec, 2019.

promoted dialogue as a way of resolving conflicts shifting from the confrontational way to non-violence approach. There was greater awareness among the communities on the need to dialogue rather than use violence in resolving their differences. And at the same time embrace conflict prevention as a way of ensuring that there was sustained peace.¹⁹⁹

Women involvement in inter-community peace and reconciliation provided avenues where women, elders and youths spoke openly about raiding and its consequences. Through women peace crusades, opportunities for dialogue were created where warring communities were brought together to talk and find a solution to the conflict. This does not mean necessarily agreeing but rather speak on issues affecting the two communities. Through such initiatives, more home grown solutions to conflicts in the area were developed and implemented with the support of the local community. A classic example is where Pokot women from Nawoyiapong and Turkana women from Lorengipi reached to each other after hostilities ensued between the two communities due to constant raids and counter raiding activities. This harmed their interethnic relations such that if one community crossed to another's territory that would attracted an attack. The women were tired with this type of life, Turkana women and Pokot women reached out to each other creating an opportunity for elders to dialogue. This initiative saw the two communities in the area share resources peacefully.²⁰⁰ Embracing non-violent approaches also meant identification and punishing of peace spoilers so as to safeguard prevailing peace. Where there was need for retribution it was done and the matter was closed, and the communities move forward. For example, some 3 Pokot youths in Kirioko stole 10 cows from Turkana of Napeito. This was done against the prevailing peace in the area. On learning of what had happened the elders together with the peace committee got hold of the young men and the livestock and went to face their Turkana neighbors. The 10 stolen cows were returned and the culprits were identified and taken to the Police to face charges while the two communities continued to enjoy peaceful coexistence. Naturally, this would have attracted a counter raid from the Turkana but since the Pokot elders reached out and the Turkana listened the matter was resolved in a peaceful way.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Oral Interview, Akori S., and Doki S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

²⁰⁰ Oral Interview, Areng J., Akoule J. and Lochero C., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

²⁰¹ Oral Interview, Lochero C and Akoule J., Kapenguria 8th Nov 2014.

The Turkana–Toposa–Didinga–Nyangatom *alokita* initiated talks between Turkana, Toposa and Didinga who had strained relationships. As a result of the women *alokita* the three communities were able to dialogue and address the issues of raiding that had ensued among them. The three communities resolved to end raiding, follow-up on previously raided livestock to be returned and also address road banditry activities on the Lokichoggio–Nadapal road. Out of these talks the Turkana community was able to resettle back in Nadapal.²⁰²

Communities embraced the concept of conflict prevention too through early warning and early response. There was sharing of information on conflict alerts with community members providing information of any incidences that would lead to conflict so that response could be initiated before escalation of the conflict. For example with the support from women like Nakuwa, Akiru, Elim, Akori and others who shared information on any conflict incidence with the security personnel as well as elders so that action could be taken. For example if they noticed foot prints that indicated an attack was impending that information was shared with security personnel and the elders. If the raiders were from Pokot the same information was shared with the elders and the security team from Pokot side. The response was in form of dialogue where the elders from the two communities begun talks to address the problem while the security team moved in to repulse the raiders. In this, what could have been a violent scenario was peacefully resolved.²⁰³

Awareness on ills of raids and the need for peaceful and harmonious living among the youths was another area Turkana women led peace initiatives impacted positively. The women specifically managed to reach out to the youths who were the main actors in the raids. For instance through women initiatives in Turkana South over 40 youths were reformed and got involved in peacebuilding work. Through women persuasion the young men left the vice of cattle raids and embraced a totally different lifestyle like small scale businesses and farming. They got involved as community ambassadors encouraging other young men to stop raiding. An example is Loriono who is a reformed warrior. He and 4 other young men (Kagete, Naperit, Ekutan, Lochodai) attended a women peace crusade that had brought together Pokot and Turkana women and was traversing the areas of East Baringo, Turkana South and West Pokot. They learnt

²⁰² Oral Interview, Lotitipu F., Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019.

²⁰³ Oral Interview, Akori S., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

a lot about the ills of raiding and how it affected the community. When they saw mothers who had been left childless and widowed crying, it really moved him and his friends. They vowed to stop cattle raids and embrace a different kind of life that does not cause harm to others. They took their firearms to the police voluntarily as a first step to change. Their perspective on raids was completely changed through their encounter with the women and they learnt things they did not know before. Loriono and his friends work with peace organizations to educate others on the need to transform and embrace peace.²⁰⁴

5.2.4. Sustained Peacebuilding at the Grassroots Level

The peace efforts by the Turkana women engaged the communities at the local level. For example the use of *alokita* has reached out to the communities at the grassroots. *Alokita* moved across villages and grazing fields reaching out to many community members unlike the conventional workshops and conferences practiced by other organizations and are held in towns. This initiative has seen peacebuilding process move from being a boardroom and a town affair to the villages and kraals where raiding happens and where the victims and the perpetrators are based. This is well illustrated by Ann Looim below...

How else could we have reached to the reformed warriors if not by visiting them at the villages (*Adakar*), kraals and grazing fields?²⁰⁵

Through women led community based organizations that were within the community, follow-up on initiated peace activities became easy. These organizations did not require a lot of funds to monitor the progress of their work. For instance, Loima Women for Peace Organization covers the communities living along Kenya–Uganda border only. There was constant engagement with the communities through trainings and capacity building activities. Through constant interactions with communities the organization was able to identify areas of need and what intervention could be directed there.²⁰⁶

Women embarked on long term engagement with communities with interventions that would transform the wellbeing of the community and address the root causes of conflicts. For example, Adakar Women for Peace organization supported women to engage in income generating

²⁰⁴ Oral Interview, Loriono L., Kaagete K. and Lochodai E., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

²⁰⁵ Oral Interview, Looim A., and Lochero C., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

²⁰⁶ Oral Interview, Nakuo D., Lodwar, 25th, June 2019.

activities such as small businesses and farming that increased household income and reduced over reliance on livestock which was one of the resources that motivated conflicts. This helped in building the community's capacity to handle conflict as well as enhanced their resilience mechanisms.²⁰⁷

Other members of the community also got involved in peace too. In Turkana South women reached out to reformed warriors like Loriono, Naperit, Kaagete and Ekutan. The young men got initiated into peace work and they began their own peacebuilding initiatives such as joint meetings with warriors from West Pokot. They came together to preach peace and created awareness on the perils of raiding among other warriors since they understood each other well.²⁰⁸

Women collaborated with other stakeholders and peace actors. This was drawn from the lesson that every person has a role to play in peacebuilding and peace was not a preserve of any particular entity, therefore the need to engage all the stakeholders. The Turkana women embraced partnerships with government through the provincial administration, NGOs like AU/IBAR, CBOs such as Riamriam, Adakar Peace and Development Initiatives (APEDI), Turkana Pastoralists and Development Organization (TUPADO), Lotus Kenya Action for Development (LOKADO) and Agency for Pastoralist Development (APaD), development agencies like UNDP and Oxfam GB, and the Security sector (police, chiefs, intelligence officers and the administrators). The multi-sectoral approach employed by the women led to all the entities working on peace in Turkana County to deliver as one hence avoid duplication of efforts.²⁰⁹

Women like Looim, Nasiru and Katome were unschooled but got involved in peace through the support of women led organizations. More women especially those in the village and uneducated also got the opportunity to be involved in peace work. Through these continuous engagement women were seen to be more proactive and their roles more accepted and appreciated by the community.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

²⁰⁸ Oral Interview, Arot A., Eldoret, 16th, Dec, 2015.

²⁰⁹ Oral Interview, Lochero C. and Akoule J., Kapenguria, 7th Nov, 2014.

²¹⁰ Oral Interview, Lochero C. and Akoule J., Kapenguria, 7th, Nov, 2014.

5.3. Limitation of Women Work in Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation

Turkana women were faced with numerous obstacles that hindered their participation in peace and reconciliation. The challenges cut across cultural, social and economic divides. These challenges made it difficult for women to be effective in their work.²¹¹

The following are some of the limitations to women peace efforts in Turkana:

5.3.1. Gender Roles and Cultural Barriers

In their peacebuilding efforts Turkana women have failed to transcend beyond their traditional roles and cultural barriers. Peacebuilding and reconciliation was a male dominated process among the Turkana community with deep rooted cultural and patriarchal structures. Women were not given enough space to air their views and opinions thus not able to substantively participate in peace processes. Women peacebuilding roles remained limited to domestic level and attached to their gender roles as mothers and wives. This made it difficult for them to substantively contribute to inter-community peace and reconciliation. They faced prejudices as they were only considered as mothers and care givers. These roles were used to exclude them from discussing peace matters in the public sphere. Therefore, many times their perspectives were not considered when decisions concerning peace were made. In this regard women had to be creative and find ways in which to make their voices be heard. This hindered their work from achieving greater impact in the community.²¹²

Traditionally men's role was to be protectors and defenders of the society including peace negotiations while women took care of the children and the home. This cultural aspect however hindered women involvement in peace and reconciliation efforts as it was considered as a man's role. While peace matters were being discussed, women were busy taking care of the home and yet they were part of the stakeholders to peace. For women to make their voices heard they had to go through their husbands or sons. For example, women were prohibited from talking during the council of elders meeting known as "The tree of Elders" which was a decision making body among the Turkana community and which handled peace and reconciliation issues. All views were articulated by the family head who was the husband thus barring women from sharing their

²¹¹ Ayo S, How women make Peace Worldwide, 2010, p.10.

²¹² Oral Interview, Chepkirui M., Nairobi, 29th, March, 2019.

experiences and expertise and expressing their opinions. In their approaches to peace women still propagated this through their informal approaches thus making their work less effective.²¹³

Women participation and engagement in inter-community peace would have realized more impact if their efforts transcended beyond their gender roles and cultural barriers. They needed to breakthrough this hurdle by making their voices heard beyond their homes. This was significant because their input and contribution was vital to inter-community peace and reconciliation.

5.3.2. Lack of Unity and Oneness

Women and their networks were fragmented in the way they were working on peace issues. For their efforts to accrue more results there was need for a critical mass of women to come together and push for their involvement in peace agenda. The women organizations lacked synergy and focus as well.²¹⁴

In Turkana and the neighboring communities there was no network of women organizations that was mobilizing women across the region to push for women involvement in peace. The existing organizations all worked in a disjointed manner thus making it hard for them to speak in one voice. Without oneness women could not achieve much in the pastoralist communities due to the cultural hurdles that hindered their participation in matters concerning peace. The other issue was that organizations like TWADO could not receive full acceptance by the wider community since it was seen to be promoting women interests only. This was because TWADO was also involved with other programmes that advocate for women rights. The lack of focus on peace issues alone made it difficult for them to make inroads in these communities thus limiting the effectiveness of their work.²¹⁵

The women among the pastoralist communities also failed to embrace their commonalities. They were divided across their own ethnic, regional and family backgrounds. They did not embrace the greater good of the society. They viewed things from their differences rather than their universal challenges. This made it difficult for them to fight the problem of cattle rustling in the

²¹³ Oral Interview, Kerio D. and Nakuo D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

²¹⁴ Oral Interview, Areng J. and Ekutan M., Kapenguria, 8th, Nov, 2014.

²¹⁵ Oral Interview, Areng J. and Lochero C., Kapenguria, 8th Nov, 2014.

area. To effectively address this challenge, truth telling is very important. It required that women provide information so that those that were perpetuating the act were held accountable for their actions. For example, both Turkana women and from neighbouring groups covered up for their husbands and sons when they were involved in rustling activities instead of exposing them. Women also supported and received the loot from cattle raids. This encouraged the vice of cattle rustling to continue thus hurting deeply the inter-community relations in the area. Women also covered up for raiders and peace spoilers in their communities. Even where it was known who carried out an attack against another community, women from that community failed to disclose who those raiders were. In such an environment, suspicion and lack of trust thrived hindering promotion of inter-community peace and reconciliation. This was a clear indication that women efforts would not avail much as long as women from the different warring groups do not commit to work together in curbing the problem.²¹⁶

5.3.3. Impunity

Women efforts lacked mechanisms to address deep rooted impunity that was part of the conflicts in northern Kenya. The culture of impunity had taken root in the raids between the Turkana and the neighboring communities. For instance raids become more criminal than cultural as it used to be in the past. There was need to view raids as criminal activity and the perpetrators be held responsible for their actions. Treating raids as a cultural activity while ignoring the criminality in it was what continued to promote raiding in these communities. This made the achievement of sustainable inter-community peace and reconciliation unattainable. It also made it difficult for women's efforts in peace to achieve the required impact. As such women's efforts in peace failed to bring this impunity to an end. This was why the culture of cattle rustling continued unabated in the area.²¹⁷

As a result of continued raids, victims of conflict in this region incurred great losses such as loss of life, destruction of property and trauma. But very little was done to address the causes and identify the perpetrators of these conflicts. The perpetrators of cattle raids were neither brought to book nor charged. Women's efforts had no mechanisms to address the issue of justice, compensation or retribution. So bringing perpetrators of conflict to justice was not something the

²¹⁶ Oral Interview, Echuchuka L. and Eyanae E., Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019.

²¹⁷ Oral Interview, Muriiri P., Lodwar, 28th June, 2019.

women were able to address. This allowed for the vice to continue unabated despite of the many peace efforts put in place by women. As much as women were trying to ensure that inter-community peace was realized across the board the issues of accountability still diluted the gains made by their interventions.²¹⁸

Therefore women's peace interventions would have been more successful if the issue of impunity in raids was addressed. But as long as the perpetrators of raids were free, the vice continued and more severe conflicts continued to be experienced in the region.²¹⁹

5.3.4. Capacity of Women Peace Builders

Limited capacity is one key factor that undermined the effectiveness of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation. Their interventions were challenged by major capacity gaps ranging from illiteracy, specialized training for individual women, funding for women peace activities and strategy. These barriers affected the level of influence of women's peace interventions. As a result, their level of influence remained limited to the local and village level. This has hindered the attainment of sustainable inter-community peace and reconciliation.²²⁰

Generally, the illiteracy level in Turkana County is very high. The population with secondary education was at 12.7% by the year 2012.²²¹ Though the data was not aggregated by gender it is indicative that illiteracy is even higher among women. However, due to lack of formal education majority of the women could not fully participate in some of the peace processes. Many did not know how to communicate in English or Swahili leave alone writing. This made some of the women to be completely left out from leadership and other peace processes. For instance some of the women form part of the peace delegations but they barely give their opinion in those meetings since they did not know how to communicate. This hindered them from fully participating in peace work including taking up positions in peace committees and other forums. The few that were schooled had limited skills in the various aspects of peace building such as specialized trainings in negotiations, mediation and reconciliation. This made them lack

²¹⁸ Oral Interview, Muriiri P., Lodwar, 28th June, 2019.

²¹⁹ Oral Interview, Echuchuka L., Lodwar, 26th June, 2019.

²²⁰ Oral Interview, Chepkirui M., Nairobi, 29th March, 2019.

²²¹ CRA, Kenya County fact sheets, Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

confidence to share their views and perspectives in formal forums. It meant that even though they were represented physically in meetings their contribution and perspectives was missing in the outcome of the meeting. For instance, during a stakeholder consultative forum for peace committee for Turkana South organized by the National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NSC), while there were 6 women out of the 15 member committee only two women participated actively in the discussion with their male counter parts while the rest of the women just observed. This was something replicated across the county. Though there have been efforts by organizations such as the NSC to train women on peacebuilding and conflict management, deliberate efforts needed to be undertaken to reach out to the uneducated women as well.²²²

The other limitation to women's work in peace was lack of resources. They continued to face difficulties in acquiring funding for their activities thus were unable to do much in promoting peace. In Turkana County the few women networks that existed barely got funding that would have enabled them implement activities on peace and reconciliation. Ms. Kerio from TWADO pointed out that much of their work as women was achieved through volunteerism. This was due to the fact that some of the organizations did not know how to access funding due to lack of fundraising skills. Secondly, where they were able to meet potential partners, these organizations had stringent conditions that the women were unable to meet thus end up being disqualified from funding. This affected the type of activities they conducted as well as their coverage. It also led to failure to sustain the peace work in the area thus limiting their impact.²²³

Lack of proper strategy was also another limitation facing women in peacebuilding. Due to limited capacity, women failed to come up with peace interventions that were keen to address the ever changing conflicts dynamics in the region. Some of the programmes women came up were considered archaic, rigid and retrogressive. For example, the use of informal methods through manipulation, nagging, taunting and scolding as a means of deterring men from engaging in raids. The level of influence of these approaches was low therefore lacked wider acceptance and

²²² Oral Interview, Chepkirui M., Magotsi D. and Kemboi V., Nairobi, 29th March, 2019.

²²³ Oral Interview, Kerio D., Nakuo D and Ekal S., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

buy in from the communities across the region. Poor strategy has also led to failure to sustain efforts by women interventions.²²⁴

Lack of finances limited the coverage of women peace work and sustenance of peace efforts thus less impact to community peace. This means their work was limited mostly to local level translating to less people being reached with peace work in the long run having less impact to inter-community peace and reconciliation. Secondly the level of influence of their work was also low due to lack of proper skills and as result of poor strategy. Their efforts were not able to address the ever changing conflict dynamics in the area. This means that their work was less effective and failed to achieve the desired results. To address some of these challenges, women organizations such as Adakar Women for Peace, TWADO and Loima Women for Peace prioritized training and capacity building for the women on different areas on peacebuilding through partnerships with organizations such as NSC. Secondly these organizations also encourage women to volunteer to do peace work. For instance, women like Silvia Akori, Sarah Elim and Natelengo Ekadeli were purely doing volunteer work in providing early warning information.²²⁵

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter examines the impact of women interventions in peace and reconciliation. It highlights the positive result that has been accrued through women participation in peace and reconciliation. The chapter revealed that Turkana women were influencers of positive change in the society and their efforts had advanced intercommunity peace and reconciliation.

Secondly, the study also recognized that there were areas that the women's efforts failed in realizing positive impact towards peace. These limitations were both systemic and structural and have continued to undermine women efforts in intercommunity peace and reconciliation. This calls for concerted effort among the peace actors in order to address these barriers and enhance the effectiveness of women peace interventions.

²²⁴ Oral Interview, Kerio D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

²²⁵ Oral Interview, Kerio D. and Nakuo D., Lodwar, 25th, June, 2019.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the field work conducted in Turkana County on the role of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation. This study has proved that women just as men have equally greater role in promoting peace and reconciling in their communities. Their roles are complementary meaning that both have the capacity and abilities that are significant in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation.

The main purpose of this study was to explore the roles of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation among the Turkana. The study principally looked at 3 main objectives; to examine the causes of conflicts in Turkana County; to explore the role of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation and finally to examine the impact of women's work in inter-community peace and reconciliation.

The study hypothesized that; cattle raiding is the main source of conflict; women played a minimal role in inter-community peace and reconciliation among the Turkana and peace and reconciliation efforts that have excluded women have failed.

In order to meet the requirements of the study, this paper utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary data was obtained from the field through interviews with community members. A semi structured open ended questionnaire was administered in order to obtain the required information. More information was also sought from secondary sources such as books, Journals, Government reports, articles and the internet.

The information obtained was analyzed using the techniques of qualitative research. The data from the field was read and then transcribed in three main themes namely; Causes of conflict in Turkana, Role of women in inter-community peace and reconciliation and finally the Impact of women's efforts in inter-community peace and reconciliation.

6.2. Main Findings

The findings of this study sought to examine the following thematic areas:–

6.2.1. Main cause of Inter- Ethnic conflicts

According to the field interviews, boundary disputes, resource conflicts, and banditry were mentioned as types of conflicts between Turkana and her neighbours. While raids, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy, the culture of warrior hood, limited resources, porous borders and availability of weapons were identified as causes of conflicts in the area. This study has identified and categorized ecological impediments, socio-economic, socio-cultural and proliferation of small arms as the causes of conflicts. Although during the interviews it was not easy to distinguish between the causes and types, they were all used interchangeably by the respondents. This could be attributed to the relational and overlapping nature in which conflict issues in the area manifested themselves. Cattle raiding and theft were mentioned both as a source and type of conflict probably because all the other types of conflicts manifested themselves as raids. This concurs to what this study had hypothesized that cattle's rustling is the main source of conflict in the area.

Raiding seemed to occupy a significant place in the inter-ethnic conflicts in the area. The causal factors listed above acted as drivers of raids thus making raids to be a major source of inter-ethnic conflict. The study established that raiding was not only a cause of conflict but was also a trigger and manifestation of other forms of conflicts such as resource based conflicts, boundary related conflicts and political instigated conflicts. This means raiding became a means through which pastoralist communities engaged each other in conflicts. Secondly the conflicts in the area pointed out to control and access to limited resources (water, pasture and livestock). The scarcity of resources was caused by poor ecological conditions in the area that led to stiff competition among the pastoralist pitting them against each other. Raiding was used by the pastoralist communities as a means of acquiring and accessing these resources. Therefore, this made raiding the major causal factor of conflicts in the area.

To this end, the study has also revealed that dispute over administrative boundaries was also source of strife between the pastoralist communities as the majority of the respondents identified it as either a type or a cause of conflict. Pastoralist could fight in the past over territories due to control and access to water and pasture but there is a rise in conflicts over boundary demarcation especially between the Pokot and Turkana that has nothing to do with water and pasture. Though this type of conflict manifested itself as cattle rustling, the underlying problem was boundaries

with each claiming ownership of certain places due to development activities and establishment of key government installations in those areas for example the Turkwell Gouge. The communities would raid each other in order to dislodge the other community from the area. Political incitement featured prominently when such conflicts were discussed. The respondents felt that the conflicts could not be a problem if they were not instigated by politicians. The Turkana politicians would fund warriors to raid other communities and vice versa. This made them to be viewed as champions of the community. Amid all this cattle rustling was used as a means of attacking the other community. The youths get manipulated due to poverty, high levels of illiteracy and unemployment.

The study has further revealed that raiding was a cultural mechanism among the ethnic groups living in North West Kenya. This supposed cultural activity evolved over the years into a commercial activity with criminal aspects. Commercialization of raids aggravated the conflicts resulting in adverse effects to the community such as deaths, injuries, loss of investment and property leaving the region generally underdeveloped. It was the economic aspects of raiding that promoted activities such as road banditry and theft. The use of automatic weapons such as small arms and light weapons further aggravated the situation.

Finally, the study proved that my hypothesis of cattle raids as the main cause of conflicts between Turkana and her neighbours as true. Secondly the conflict revolved around livestock and livestock resources. This was what justified the means through which they accessed these resources proving Homer Dixon's theory of environmental scarcity as a source of conflicts.

6.2.2. The Role of Women in Inter-Ethnic Conflicts

The study found out that women were not only victims but active accomplices in the conflicts in the area. They were actors in instigating and fanning conflicts. The interviews revealed that women contributed in the breakdown of inter-community relations by supporting and approving raids. For instance, when asked whether women contribute to conflicts all the respondents agreed that women through their collaboration promote escalation and act as catalyst to the conflicts.

The Turkana women castigated conflicts out of necessity. This happened when the community was faced by severe drought that wiped out their entire livestock and they needed to be replenished. Women too acted as perpetrators of conflicts when they were attacked and the

community had suffered great losses such as deaths and loss of livestock, children crying, the situation looked dire and the men seemed not be taking any action. To ensure that the community recovered from the loss; women would taunt their men to go out and raid. They promoted and supported activities and rituals conducted during raids. Their collaboration and participation in such activities indicated their support for raiding to be carried out. They played supportive roles such as supply of provisions such as water, food and weapons; information sharing by acting as informers, catalysts to conflict by encouraging men to go for raids through ridiculing and taunting those who have refused to participate and finally in rituals attached to raiding such as blessing the raiders before they go, cleansing raiders when they return and receiving the loot from the raids.

This indicated that Turkana women played active roles during the conflicts. It seemed that there was thin line between Turkana women as agents of conflicts and being agents of peace. What determined which position women would take was the prevailing circumstances and the effect on their lives.

6.2.3. Women Contribution to Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation

The study also established that Turkana women were positive change agents in the community as well. They acted as agents of peace and contributed to inter–community peace and reconciliation.

The study also established that women were mostly entrusted with the role of promoting inter–community relations. Women would act as agents of peace mostly to protect what they had. This was mostly during drought when the community had moved near other community’s territory. Women would act as peace makers and ensured that the inter–community relations were maintained with the neighbouring communities. In this way the community would benefit from shared resources and the strengthened relations would ensure that peace was maintained and their livelihoods were secured. During times of peace women would engage in activities such as trade and friendships that enhanced inter–community relations to further cement peace and reconciliation.

The study showed that women had influence over their husbands and sons and would use that to build peace even at the confines of their homes. This ability is what this study has referred to as

informal power. Women used manipulation, blackmail and taunts to achieve this control. This succeeded in deterring raids by women through discouraging their sons and husbands not to participate in raids. For instance, women used this informal power to contribute to decisions made at the powerful *Ekitoi a Ngaskou* (Tree of Elders) which was the main decision making body in the community. Women were not allowed to speak in this forum and yet this was where matters regarding peace and reconciliation were discussed and decisions reached. This meant that women perspectives were not considered when such decisions affecting the community were made. Women through their influence on the husbands or sons were able to influence the decisions undertaken at the tree of elders. Women went out of their way as mothers, wives and sisters and worked behind the scenes to build peace. This study has revealed that women contributed to peace through a number of approaches which include:- women peace crusades (*Alokita a Nga'beru*), symbols of peace, friendship and trade, women informal power, peace committees, early warning and response mechanisms, women in administration and women organizations. All these approaches helped in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation. Although the effectiveness of inter-marriage in bringing peace between communities in the northwest was a debatable subject. This was indicated by the fact that as much as quite a number of Turkana women have been married by other communities, you hardly see other women being married by Turkana men. This is a subject that requires further interrogation.

The study further revealed that modernization has had an impact on the role of women in peace. Increasing efforts in enhancing women participation in peace has made the woman visible in her role in peace building. Traditionally, peacebuilding among the Turkana was a preserve of the elders only. The women's efforts were not considered as it was mostly done informally. This study has been able to show that modern methodologies and the need to have women on the peacebuilding agenda has helped in making women's role among the Turkana visible. Women are also now more actively participating in peace processes and have their place recognized. Women are members of peace committees, either elected or nominated as leaders in various peace forums. They also have come up with their own organizations that they use to promote peace. However, their level of engagement in such forums due to low capacity is still debatable. This can be attributed to efforts such as UNSCR 1325 aimed at increasing women participation

at the negotiating table was bearing fruits.²²⁶ This was the first legal document that recognized the need to have women participate in peace negotiations. The study revealed that the community was more aware of the need to have women represented in peace related activities. As such, peacebuilding meetings strived to have women representation, whether they spoke and aired their views or not.

This study had hypothesized that women played a very minimal role in peace and reconciliation among the Turkana. This study however proved that the hypothesis was wrong by revealing that women have played an important role traditionally and even now in promoting peace and reconciliation. The challenge has been space to exercise what they do and the visibility of their work was missing. Nowadays women are given space to air their views and opinions in public which was not the case in the past. The results of their work are seen as the community strived to engage in peace with other communities.

6.2.4. Impact of Women's Work to Inter-Community Peace and Reconciliation

This study has shown that women's efforts have had tremendous impact in inter-community peace and reconciliation in the area. There are successes to women interventions on peace as well as failures.

The study has shown that women's peace activities translated into tangible positive results that promoted inter-community peace and reconciliation in the region. Most of the respondents agreed that women involvement in peacebuilding and reconciliation has been effective in promoting coexistence among the various ethnic groups in the area. This was attributed to the fact that women through their various approaches acted as connectors between communities and built good relations leading to peace. They also experience conflicts differently from men thus bring in different perspective to the whole agenda of peace and reconciliation. This study also established that through their many approaches Turkana women have succeeded in impacting positively to inter-community peace in the area in a number of ways. Some of the positive results attributed to the women interventions in peace include bridging the insurmountable differences between the Turkana and the neighboring groups through friendship, trade and marriage. Through these approaches good relations between communities have been initiated and

²²⁶ UN SCR 1325; United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 8, 2000.

strengthened. Women's peace activities also translated into peace and security in the area leading to relative peace among communities. Their activities managed to weed out factors that drive insecurity and violence such as raids and road banditry. Promotion of non-violent approaches to conflict resolution was also another area where women's efforts were successful. Through their ability to bridge differences between communities, they created opportunities for dialogue and brought their communities together. In this way communities embraced dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts rather than use of violence. Finally women have managed to sustain engagement for peace activities at the grassroots. They brought peace from boardrooms to the village level where conflicts were more experienced. They have also helped in bringing all the stakeholders together to support peace activities at the local levels.

Women experience conflicts differently from men. Their perspectives and experiences give a different view to the issues of peace and conflicts. Since they are actors in conflict causation, their involvement in resolving the conflict is important as well. Excluding them from peace efforts mean that their abilities, experiences and perspectives will be missing thus making those interventions unsustainable. This is why their involvement in peace and reconciliation was equally important for sustainable inter-community peace to be achieved. This study however has validated my hypothesis that peace efforts that have excluded women have not been sustainable.

This study has also found out that women's peace efforts had some limitations too. These limitations stemmed from lack of community structures that supported women involvement in peace activities. The limitations undermined women substantive engagement in inter-community peace and affected the effectiveness of their peacebuilding work. Their efforts failed to breakthrough gender roles and cultural barriers. Women faced stereotyping and prejudices where peace matters were concerned. Their place has always been viewed as subordinate to that of men and therefore their recognition as equal players in peacebuilding continued to be challenged. This limited the coverage of women peace interventions to local and domestic levels. Secondly, women lacked oneness and unity thus making it difficult for their interventions to achieve much impact. For instance, women as mothers and wives at times covered up for their sons and husbands who were engaged in raiding instead of exposing them. This has made the vice of cattle raids to thrive despite of the many peace efforts that had been put in place. Thirdly women's efforts also failed to curb the deep rooted impunity that has made raiding to thrive.

Perpetrators of conflicts needed to be held accountable while justice was given to the victims of conflicts. The women peace interventions could not address the cultural aspect of cattle raids without addressing the criminality in it. This barrier made the achievement of sustainable inter-community peace a challenge. Finally, capacity of women greatly hindered their performance in peace. The level of education among women is very low in the County. This hindered their contribution in peace matters. Secondly, women lacked necessary skills to conduct peace processes such as negotiations, mediation, dialogues, trauma healing that are valuable in inter-community peacebuilding. Financial constrains too continued to pose challenges to women's work in peacebuilding. Women organizations lacked adequate funding to engage in peace work as a result of limited capacity in fundraising or sometimes stringent funding conditions that women organizations could not meet. This confluence of factors continued to make women interventions in peace less effective thus reducing their impact to inter-community peace and reconciliation.

6.3. Conclusion and Implications

This study has provided a comprehensive analysis on Turkana women in conflicts, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. It has provided a border understanding of what women have done in building a culture of peace within the pastoralist communities. This study will be useful in enhancing the body of knowledge in women in inter–community peace and reconciliation.

This study has also demonstrated that women will always have a significant place in peace and community reconciliation efforts. Being such an important group, their contributions, experiences, abilities and skills remained vital for lasting and sustainable inter-community peace and reconciliation. Any efforts and policy level programming should be deliberate to safeguard the substantive involvement of women at all levels. Their considerable engagement and input into peace processes is significant in shaping the peace and security environment in northern Kenya.

Sustainability of peace processes is entirely dependent on inclusivity. In fact, this paper argues that peace efforts that do not include women end up being futile. This is very significant considering how vital the role of women remained to peace and reconciliation efforts not only in Turkana but to the wider pastoralist communities. They cannot be sidelined or even marginalized

in inter-community peace and reconciliation due to the significant influence they have in the community. This study has revealed that women were at the core of this society. They played important role whether there was room for their inclusion or not. What emerged from the study was that women had influence and control over their sons and husbands which could be tapped to achieve sustainable peace and reconciliation among the communities in the region. Policy makers and organizations working for peace could benefit from this existing role of women.

Participation should not only look at the numbers involved but rather ensure that there is equality in terms of representation and engagement. This means that women should be given a level playing ground to be able to participate just as much as men. While for instance holding a dialogue meeting, peace actors should not just have women to indicate the number of men and women that were represented. They should ensure that women are given room and environment to contribute to the discussions as well as men. This will ensure that their thoughts and ideas are taken into consideration too. This is what amounts to substantive participation of women in peace and reconciliation. And this will trigger more positive results in terms of inter-community peace and reconciliation in the area.

Recognizing women's role as important in promoting inter-community peace and reconciliation is not enough but treating their role substantively is what is important. Substantive treatment of women role in peacebuilding is identifying women as effective and equal players in peace and reconciliation. This forms the first step in mainstreaming their role to peace and development work. Women have the ability to nurture and build relationships which positions them well to bridge the ethnic and cultural differences. They are able to use their roles as mothers and nurturers to create the environment conducive for peace and reconciliation to thrive. This is a big lesson to peace and security stakeholders to ensure that women are not only included but their roles are substantively treated for realization of sustainable inter-community peace and reconciliation.

The role of women in peacebuilding requires a lot of visibility. This study has shown that Turkana women have contributed immensely to the promotion of inter-community peace and reconciliation in the region. Lack of visibility had made it look like women were doing nothing or very little to contribute to peace and reconciliation in their communities. This was due to the fact that most of women's roles in peace and reconciliation are limited to the household and

domestic levels. Therefore ensuring visibility and awareness of their work will further enhance their participation in peace and reconciliation work.

Finally this study has identified few areas that will form an agenda for future research. The areas for further academic discourses include:–

1. The role of inter–marriages in promoting inter–community peace and reconciliation. How effective is it and how can it be used as a tool for peace?
2. The paradox of Turkana women being peacebuilders as well as promoters of conflict at the same time. What was the defining moment?
3. Documenting the women who played a role in the Lokirama peace accord.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

I. Oral Sources

The informants list below has been arranged in the following order, Name, Place of Interview, Date of Interview, Designation/ Organization and Age at the time of the interview.

- Akoule Joseph (Male), Kapenguria, 7th November 2014, Executive Director SIKOM, 45 years.
- Ann Arot (Female), Eldoret, 16th Dec, 2015, Chair Adakar Women for Peace, 48years.
- Ann Looim (Female), Kapenguria, 8th Nov, 2014, Turkana West Peace Committee, 39 years.
- Bonface Lokuruka (Male), Eldoret, 17th, Dec, 2015, Turkana Central Peace Committee, 47years.
- Charles Lochero (Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov, 2014, SIKOM, 38years.
- Dickson Magotsi (Male), Nairobi, 29th March 2019, Programme Manager NSC, 44years.
- Dinah Nakou (Female), Lodwar, 25th June 2019, CEWARN Peace Monitor, 36years.
- Dorcas Kerio (Female), Lodwar, 25th June 2019, Exec Dir TWADO, 58 years.
- Ekutan Moses(Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov 2014, Reformed Warrior, 57years.
- Erastus Eyanae(Male), Lodwar, 26th June , 2019, Board Chair Kaputir Resource Management Organization, 44years.
- Eregae Emmanuel (Male), Eldoret, 16th Dec 2015, Turkana West Peace Committee, 40 years.
- Francis Lotitipu (Male), Lodwar, 27th, June, 2019, Turkana Peace and Development Organization 53 years.
- Jane Akiru (Female), Eldoret, 16th , Dec, 2015, Turkana North Peace Committee, 42years.
- Joseph Areng (Male), Kapenguria 6th Nov, 2014, Turkana County Peace Forum, 34 years.
- Josephine Akiru(Female), Eldoret, 17th Dec, 2015,Secretary County Peace Forum, 42years.
- Kaagete koli(Male), 7th Nov 2014, Reformed Warrior, 47years.
- Lochodai Emanikwer (Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov 2014, Reformed Warrior, 52years.
- Loriono Lopusmoye (Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov 2014, Reformed Warrior, 43years.
- Lucas Echuchuka (Male), Lodwar, 26th June 2019, Peace Officer NDMA, 34years.
- Lucas Ekitela (Male), Lodwar, 26th, June 2019, CEWARN Peace Monitor Turkana, 38years.
- Lucy Naperitwa (Female), Kapenguria, 6th, Nov, 2014, Turkana–Pokot Women for Peace, 43years.
- Milka Chepkirui (Female), Nairobi, 29th March 2019, Gender Specialist NSC, 40years.

Monica Adome (Female), Eldoret, 17th Dec, 2015, Loima Women for Peace, 54 years.
Naperit Kokot (Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov, 2014, Former Reformed Warrior, 73years.
P.Muriiri Deputy (Male), Lodwar, 28th June, 2019, Deputy County Commissioner Turkana West, 52 years.
Pastor Moses Ayeng (Male), Eldoret, 17th Dec, 2015, Chairman Loima Peace Committee, 64 years.
Paul E. Achobolem (Male), Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019, Adakar, Peace and Development, 44years.
Sammy Ekal (Male), Lodwar, 26th, June, 2019, TUPADO, 47years.
Samuel Kamar (Male), Kapenguria, 7th Nov, 2014, Turkana South Peace Committee, 73years.
Sarah Doki (Female), Kapenguria, 8th Nov, 2014, Turakana South, 40years.
Silvia Akori (Female), Kapenguria, 8th Nov, 2014, Loima women for Peace, 52years.
Simion Ayop (Male), Eldoret, 19th Dec, 2015, Turkana East Peace Committee Chair, 74years.
Veronicah Kemboi (Female), Nairobi, 29th March 2019, Program Officer NSC, 30years.

II. Primary Written Sources

C RA, Kenya County Fact Sheets, Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.
GOK, 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census Report, Nairobi, KNBS, 2010.
GOK, Turkana District Development Plan 2002–2008, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Government Printers, 2002.
KLR, Petition 133of 2015.
OSCE/ODIHR, “Gender and Early Warning Systems: An Introduction”, 2009.
Turkana County, County Integrated Development Plan, Lodwar, County Government of Turkana, 2013.
United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000.
USAID, “Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflict in Greater Horn of Africa: A Conflict Baseline Study Report in Karamoja Cluster of Kenya and Uganda”, Nairobi, 2005.

Secondary Sources

I. Dissertation/ Thesis

Kratli, Saverio and Jeremy Swift. "Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflicts in Kenya: A Literature Review", 2002.

Odongo, Amara. "Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Kenya: Focusing on the 1992 Rift Valley Land Clashes, Southern and Eastern Africa Regional Centre for Women's Law, University of Zimbabwe, 2004.

II. Articles and Publications

Abbink, Jon. "*The Scattering Time: Turkana Responses to Colonial Rule by John Lamphear*", Duke University Press, 1994.

Anatole, Ayassi. "*Women and Peace in Africa: Case Studies on Traditional Conflict Resolution Practices*", France, UNESCO. 2003.

Anderson, Shelley. "*Women's Many Roles in Reconciliation; People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World*", International fellowship of Reconciliation's Peace Makers Programme, 1999.

Bailey, Martha J. "*Mediation as a "Female" Process.*" Paper presented at the National Conference on Peace and Conflict Resolution, Montreal 1989.

Bevan, James. "*Blowback: Kenya Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District*", Switzerland, Small Arms Survey, 2008.

Bollig, Michael. "*Ethnic Conflicts in North West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana Raiding 1969-1984*", Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990.

Bollig, Michael. "*Intra and Interethnic Conflict in Northern West Kenya: A Multi-causal Analysis of Conflict Behavior*", Anthropos Institute, 1993.

Bollig, Michael. "*Turkana Herders of the Dry Savanna: Ecology and Behavioral Responses of Nomads to Uncertain Environment*", Anthropos Institute, 2000.

Caspary, W. R. “*New Psychoanalytic Perspectives on the Causes of War*”, International Society of Political Psychology, St Louise, Washington University, 1993.

DeEtté, Walt Beghtol. “*Powerful Rural Women in Turkana*”, Women Peace Link, Eldoret Kenya, 2004.

Ekwam, Daudi. “*Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: The Role of Pastoralist Women*”, Gender Inequalities in Kenya, UNESCO, 2006.

Emley, E.D. “*The Turkana of Kolosia District*”, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1927.

Frank, Emily. “*A Participatory Approach for Local Peace Initiative: The Lodwar Border Harmonization Meeting*” Indiana University Press, 2002.

Gakuo, Oscar. “*Conflicts in the ‘Badlands’: The Turbi Massacre in Marsabit District*”, Review of African Political economy, Taylor& Francis LTD, 2006.

Grey, Sandra. “*Cattle Raiding, Cultural Survival and Adoptability of East African Pastoralists*”, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Guliver, P.H. “*The Turkana Age Organization*”, American Antropologist, Wiley, 1958

Heike, Becker. “*Women, Politics and Peace in Northern Namibia*”, Women and Peace in Africa, France, UNESCO, 2003.

Hogg, R. “*The New Pastoralism: Poverty and Dependency in Northern Kenya*”: Journal of the International African Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Hunt, Swanee and Cristina Posa. “*Women Waging War*”, Washington Post, LLC, 2001.

Juxon, Baton. “*Notes on the Turkana Tribe of British East Africa Part I*”, Oxford University Press, 1921.

Kinuthia, Monica. “*Unveiling women as Pillars of Peace: Peacebuilding in Communities Fractured by Conflicts in Kenya*”, Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Development and Governance- UNDP, 2000.

Lake, and Rothchild D. “*Ethnic Fears and Global Engagement: The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict*” Policy Paper No.20, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1996.

Lamphear, John. “*People of the Grey Bull: The Origin and Expansion of the Turkana*”, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Lamphear, John. “*The scattering Time: Turkana Responses to colonial Rule*”, Duke University Press, 1994.

Lamphear, John. “*Turkana Leadership during the Era of Primary Resistance*”, Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Lihamba, A. “*Women’s Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution Skills in Morogoro Region, Tanzania*” Women and Peace in Africa France, UNESCO, 2003.

MacCabe, Terrence. “*Drought and Recovery: Livestock Dynamics among the Ngisonyoka Turkana of Kenya*”, Springer, 1987.

Mastron, Ruth and Carmen Dyke. “*Living Peace*”, California, USA, Agenda Feminist Media, 2004.

McCabe J. Terrence, “*Cattle Bring Us to Our Enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics, and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System*”, American Anthropological Association, 2005.

McCarthy, M. “*Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle*”, University of Pennsylvania, 2012.

Mkutu, Kennedy. and Wandera, “*Policing in the Periphery: Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Reserves*”, Switzerland, Small Arms Survey, 2012.

Munroe, Jean. “*Gender and Peacebuilding*”, International Development Research Centre, 2000.

Mustafa, Mustafa. “*Sorghum as a Gift of Self: The Jie Harvest Ritual through Time*”, Africa Studies Association, 2009.

Njeru, Shatsey. “*Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Gender and Peacebuilding in Africa: A case of Missed Connections*”, Peace and Conflict Review, 2009.

Omollo, Nancy. “*Gender and Climate Change Induced Conflict in Pastoralist Communities: A Case Study of Turkana in North- Western Kenya*”, KURT, 2008.

Pan Khurst, Donna. “*Women, Gender and Peace Building*”, Centre for Conflict Resolution Department of peace Studies, University of Bradford, 2000.

Ruto, Adan Mohamed., and Isabella Masinde. “*Conflict in Northern Kenya; A Focus on Internally Displaced in Northern Kenya*”, Nairobi, ITDG, 2003.

Ruto, Pkalya. “*Indigenous Democracy: Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms among Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet*”, ITDG-EA, Nairobi, 2004.

Schilling, Janpeter. “*Raiding Pastoral Livelihoods: Motives and Effects of Violent Conflict in Northern-western Kenya*”, Pastoralism, Research, Policy and Practice, 2012.

Schilling, Jurgen Scheffran., and Thomas Weinzerl. “*Climate Change and Violent Conflict in Kenya; A Two-way Relationship*”, Humburg Germany, University of Humburg, 2012.

Schmeidl, Susanne., and Eugenia Piza–Lopez. “*Gender and Early Warning: A framework for Action*”, UK, International Alert and Swiss Peace Foundation, 2002.

Simona, Sharon. “*Towards feminist Theorizing in Conflict Resolution*”, Unpublished Paper, George mason University, 1994.

Tornquist, Noma, (Ed). “*Empowered to Hope: The Life and Peacebuilding Work of Sarah Akoru Lochodo*” Joan B.Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, University of San Diego, 2010.

Walby, Silvia. “*Theorizing Gender Mainstreaming; Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice*”, University of Leeds, 2003.

Watson, Cathy. “*Pastoralist Women as Peace Makers*”, Nairobi, AU/IBAR, 2003.

Appendix: Questionnaire

Introduction

Thank you for taking your time to answer the questions below. Respond to the questions appropriately as indicated. The purpose of this data collection exercise is purely for academic purposes and not for any other business. Please note that utmost confidentiality will be given to the information provided.

Mary Thure Alobei

Mobile:

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____

Area of Res/Org _____

Designation: _____

Part A: Causes of Conflicts in Turkana County.

1. Highlight the main types of conflict in Turkana County?
2. What do you think could be the main causes of conflict in Turkana County? Please explain briefly.
3. Do you think women have played any role in promoting conflicts in this County? If yes, please outline those roles.

Part B: Role of Turkana Women in Peace and Reconciliation.

4. Traditionally, were women involved in peace and reconciliation effort? If yes explain how they carried out these roles
5. Currently in Kenya, do you think women are substantively involved in peace and reconciliation? In what ways are they being involved?
6. Does modernization affect the role that the Turkana women play in peace and reconciliation? If your answer is yes describe how?
7. What specific activities or approaches that women peace builders undertake that contribute to peace and reconciliation?

Part C: Effectiveness of Women efforts in promoting Peace and Reconciliation.

8. Do you think women are effective Peace builders? Please explain how?
9. What are the impacts of women peacebuilding efforts in Turkana? Please describe and give examples.
10. What challenges do women face in their bid to promote peace and reconciliation in Turkana?
11. What do you recommend should be done to increase the participation of Turkana women in peace and reconciliation?