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**Trans-local Peace Building among Pastoralist
Communities in Kenya**

The Case of Laikipi Peace Caravan

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Preface

Violent conflicts have haunted northern Kenya – a semi-arid region inhabited by pastoral communities – since some decades. The enormous increase of violence in recent years has several pertinent causes. Instability in neighbouring countries and a far flung network of small-arms trade has brought thousands of semi-automatic guns to the region. Political change in Kenya has created a lee-way for competing politicians to engage vigilantes on their behalf. Beyond these causes which are rather to be sought for at a macro-level there are a number of factors located at the micro-level. Rampant food insecurity linked to population increase coupled with a stagnant economic system, changes from a pastoral mode of production to more sedentary lifestyles and a continued focus on a heroic warrior ideal contribute to the situation. While there have been a number of efforts to manage and suppress violence through army, police or other state actors, non-state actors have become important during the past few years. It is here that Okumu's thesis has its focus. During a two months stay in northern Kenya he studied the "Laikipia Peace Caravan" (LPC). The LPC is constituted by about 70 professionals, highly educated members of pastoral communities like the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana. The members of LPC generally live in Nairobi or in other urban centres of Kenya. All of them still have strong linkages to their pastoral communities. They are engaged in well-paid jobs, have good links to the press or other media and have also ties to the political establishment. They have formed an NGO which has as its aim to step in immediately once violence is threatening or has happened in order to prevent an escalation of conflicts. In an ethnographic effort Okumu sheds light at the origins, principles and practices of the peace caravan and analyzes its potential to foster peace.

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|---------|--|
| ACTED | Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development |
| AIC | Africa Inland Church |
| ALRMP | Arid Lands Resource Management Project |
| CAFOD | Catholic Agency for Overseas Development |
| CBO | Community Based Organisation |
| CEWARN | Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism |
| DAI | Development Alternatives Inc. |
| DC | District Commissioner |
| DO | District Officer |
| FBO | Faith Based Organisation |
| FGD | Focus group discussions |
| GoK | Government of Kenya |
| IADC | Integrated Agriculture Development Consult |
| IIBRC | Interim Independent Boundaries Review Commission |
| IGAD | Intergovernmental Authority on Development |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| ITDG-EA | Intermediate Technology Development Group-Eastern Africa |

| | |
|---------|---|
| LPC | Laikipia Peace Caravan |
| KANU | Kenya African National Union |
| KES | Kenya Shillings |
| K.H.R.C | Kenya Human Rights Commission |
| NCCK | National Council of Churches of Kenya |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NRT | Northern Rangelands Trust |
| NTV | Nation Television |
| OGW | Order of Grand Warrior |
| SALW | Small Arms and Light Weapons |
| SARDEP | Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme |
| SDPDC | Samburu District Peace and Development Committee |
| SNV | Netherlands Development Organisation |
| TRPRDC | Tana River Peace Reconciliation Development Committee |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| WPDC | Wajir Peace and Development Committee |

1. Introduction

The Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities have been perpetrators and victims within a vicious cycle of violent conflict that has claimed lives and destroyed property of unknown value over a long period of time in equal measure. The violent conflict among these communities has been attributed to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, political incitement, competition over scarce and diminishing water and pastures, celebration of a culture of heroism that elevates the social status of raiders, the decline of the role community elders, marginalization by successive governments and little presence of state security. Among these three communities violent conflict can be seen in a cycle of revenge killings and cattle raids that often starts with *morans*¹ from one community raiding a rival community either to replenish stock or to feed the highly profitable cattle market that booms in Rift Valley province and beyond. This spirals into attacks and counter attacks that after a while leads to long periods of hostilities. Violent conflict among these communities can also be seen as a result of neglect by the Government of Kenya. The provision of adequate security that protects human life and property is a core function of the state, these communities have never enjoyed being part of the Kenyan state, the state has often had minimal interest in arid and semi-arid lands occupied by pastoralists. The Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965 (GoK 1965) prioritized economic growth of Kenya to “high potential” areas like the White Highlands and other areas with infrastructure thus laying the foundation of marginalization of pastoralist communities in Kenya. The trajectory of violent conflict among pastoralist communities in Kenya is punctuated by series of massacres.

Several approaches at conflict resolution and peace building have been implemented ranging from forceful disarmaments by both the colonial and successive independent Kenyan governments to the use of traditional authorities and the signing of peace pacts between different communities with penalties for any member who violates the peace. The absence of a government has also led to the provision of basic social services by non-governmental organizations who are also involved in various efforts at conflict resolution with mixed results.

This study therefore gives a critical look at the role of the Laikipia Peace Caravan; a relatively new non-state actor in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities. The Laikipia Peace Caravan Trust is an organization of local professionals² that have decided to promote inter-community peace-building among communities living in East Pokot, Samburu East, Samburu West,

¹ *Moran* is a Maa word meaning warrior. Also called *Il murani* by the Samburu, *muron* by the Pokot and *Ngimurani* or *Ngithorok* among the Turkana.

² Also called *Laisomi* or *Lageni* in Samburu, *psukulen* in Pokot and *Ngikeswamak* in Turkana.

Samburu North (Baragoi), Samburu Central and Laikipia West, Laikipia North and Turkana South districts. The need for Laikipia Peace Caravan (LPC) was necessitated by the failure of government agencies to address insecurity and violence orchestrated mainly through cattle raids and banditry among the Samburu and the Pokot which started in 2004 and culminated into the Kanampiu Massacre in Laikipia North when 31 Samburu and 11 Pokot mostly women and children perished on 15th September 2009³. The LPC was first convened by the Laikipia West Member of Parliament Nderitu Mureithi who succeeded in bringing together professionals from Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Kikuyu communities to foster peace-building efforts by holding “peace caravan” meetings. In these meetings *morans* were invited and ceremonial peace rituals such as the slaughter of animals and joint eating of the food took place. Professionals then took center stage and addressed the meetings together imploring their kinsmen to emulate positive inter-community relations as exhibited by the professionals themselves. The Peace Caravan has since worked with community elders and “reformed”⁴ *morans* in these communities, in each location there is a structure headed by a Chair, Vice Chair, Secretary and a Treasurer. This group liaises with the Secretariat in Nairobi which organizes the events in specific locations mostly depending on information received on chances of violence or cases of impending violence or cattle raids. The initial meetings of the Laikipia Peace Caravan were held at Lororra on 12th December 2009 and in Damu Nyekundu⁵ trading center in Laikipia West in early 2010 respectively. These meetings were called by key members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan such as Maison Leshoomo, Nderitu Mureithi, James Lopoyetum Teko, Richard Lesiyampe and Faith Akiru, the initial meeting having been called by Nderitu Mureithi as a Member of Parliament for Laikipia West, this was out of the realization that professionals had to step in and use their influence in attaining cessation of hostilities. Since then meetings have been held at Damu Nyekundu, Longewan, Lonyek, Kapedo, Amaya, Rumuruti, Kanampiu, Morijo, Kurkur and Ameyian among other places. The key question therefore is, what circumstances necessitated a non-state actor like the Laikipia Peace Caravan to act in the face of violence among pastoralist groups in Northwestern Kenya?

The motivation to seek peaceful interaction and good neighborliness among the Pokot, Samburu, Turkana following the escalation of violence especially between the Samburu

³ Government documents and newspaper reports points at 35 killed while Laikipia Peace Caravan indicates 42.

⁴ The term “reformed” *morans* is used here to imply those Pokot, Samburu and Turkana warriors who have renounced violence and have been assisted by Laikipia Peace Caravan to start small scale businesses such as cattle trade.

⁵ Damu Nyekundu meeting was held after the Kanampiu Massacre on December 12th 2009 also called Ndemu Nyekundu in Laikipia West district.

and Pokot in which about 500⁶ people were killed between 2004 and 2009 can be attributed to educated elite⁷ who have interacted with the “outside” world in terms of education opportunities in high schools and universities across Kenya and professional undertakings. Bollig & Österle (2007:33), observed the emergence of the elite Pokot who no longer shared the need to be aggressive and conform to cultural expectations of being a warrior. According to Bollig & Österle education seemed to provide an alternate route for upward social mobility among these pastoralist communities.

“Clearly there has been a differentiation in the role of male youths over the past two decades. Numerous young men have finished secondary school education, some went to universities and others hold high-salaried jobs in Kenya’s cities or in Kenya’s national administration. Some have joined the Kenya army and taken part in UN Missions as far afield as Eritrea and Sierra Leone. Some of these soldiers came back as rich men, documenting their wealth with prestigiously built stone-houses in the small centres of Pokotland. There can be no doubt that there are well-accepted alternative careers for males nowadays.” (Bollig & Österle 2007:33)

The approach of the Laikipia Peace Caravan involves travelling as a single group to areas of high tension within the three communities, the aim being to present a united front to their warring communities and to create a platform for inter-community dialogue on issues that promote conflict with a view to finding amicable solutions. In an interview⁸ with IRIN News (2010), James Teko Lopoyetum, a Pokot member of the Caravan gives a broad based approach and attitude change with which the Laikipia Peace Caravan envisions peace-building among these communities:

“Several attempts have been made in the past to end rivalry between us but failed... they all involved the use of force. Our approach is different, our people listen to us and I am confident they will accept our messages. Northern Kenya has always been like a war zone. The situation has worsened in recent years. It is shameful that we always meet to plan funerals and raise money for the injured while professionals from other parts of Kenya meet to discuss development issues” (IRIN News 24th September 2010).

1.1 Recent History of Violent Conflict

Since 1990 the severity of violent conflict in terms of loss of lives has been immense. Violence has clearly taken a pattern of retaliatory attacks accompanied by massive loss of livestock. According to Umar (1997), in December 1996 suspected Pokot raiders attacked

⁶ The real number of those killed in the Pokot-Samburu violence from 2005 to 2009 is not known however this estimate was given by Evans Onyiego of Catholic Peace and Justice Commission Maralal.

⁷ It must be noted that the members of the LPC have interacted through the education system; most of them went to High Schools in the Central Rift Valley, Nairobi or Central Province and therefore made friends across ethnic lines thus defying the cultural enmity that has for long defined the socialization of Samburu, Turkana and Pokot children.

⁸ The Interview with James Teko Lopoyetum (a Pokot) was conducted by IRIN News on 24th September 2010 at a Peace Caravan Meeting at Naisunyai area in Wamba, Samburu district.

a Samburu village killed 50 Samburu and stole over 600 herds of cattle, further, Umar reports that on the 12th of November 1996, armed bandits attacked Doldol town scared residents and looted shops. Quoting a Ministerial Statement submitted to Kenya National Assembly, Umar (1997:17) reported that:

“Turkana cattle rustlers had attacked their Samburu neighbours eleven times in six months, while the Pokot had staged eight raids. Speaking on the escalating raids in Samburu, which had in December 1996 seen 50 Turkana villagers massacred by Samburu/Pokot bandits, the area DC said, ‘the Government would deal firmly with those out to cause chaos in the district. Tragically, while engaged in the “rambo-style” pursuit of the bandits, the DC was reduced to charred dismembered parts by the bandits, when his helicopter was downed in the Suguta valley, after they had taken off with 15,000 head of cattle. The motive, of such concerted and sustained attacks is not the supposed hunger for animals, but the need to terrorise and inflict fear among rivals, and by so doing, push them away from points of conflict – pasture and water”.

Nene Mburu⁹ also records the violent conflict pitting the Turkana against the Kenyan Pokot and the Tepe from Uganda where 50 Turkana were killed and 7,000 cattle stolen by a combined force of Pokot and Tepe raiders numbering about 1,000 men armed with AK47 assault rifles. It is notable here that, these attacks are highly organized with a working chain of command, since Mburu further reports that another violent attack in *“March 1999, where 1,000 Pokot gunmen from Kenya attacked a Turkana village killed 30 people and made away with 2,000 herd of cattle”*(Mburu:10, Accessed on 19th May 2012). The sheer numbers involved in terms of raiders and cattle stolen points to the commercialized form of cattle raiding while the fact that 1,000 young men could be recruited to participate in violence also denotes lack of economic opportunities to young people, availability of illicit small arms and light weapons, the collapse of traditional authority and the weakness of state security apparatus in the face of a well-organized and well-armed cattle raiders. The extent of state fragility in Karamoja Cluster¹⁰ is also evident when Mburu points out an alliance between the Turkana and the Karamojong in August 1999, where *“140 Dodoth of Uganda were massacred”* (Mburu:10, accessed on 19th May 2012) it is notable here that, the execution of inter-state cattle raids in this region occurs mainly due to the weakness or unwillingness of these states to commit their resources to the marginal arid and semi-arid lands that make up the pastoral lands of Karamoja Cluster. In the attack on the Dodoth, the Turkana and the Karamojong *“burned food crops, gang raped women, set huts on fire and threw seventy children into the flames”* (Mburu:

⁹ Even though the year of publication of Nene Mburu *“The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: the Case of Appropriate Disarmament Strategies* is not indicated it can be found at <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/Guns.pdf> accessed on 19th May 2012.

¹⁰ According to Practical Action, “Karamoja Cluster” refers to an area of land that straddles the borders between South-western Ethiopia, North-western Kenya, South-eastern South Sudan and North-eastern Uganda, and contains 14 pastoralist communities who share common language and culture. More information on Karamoja Cluster can be found at: http://practicalaction.org/docs/region_east_africa/karamoja_project_profile.pdf

10 Accessed on 19th May 2012). The incapacity of the state to protect its citizens in Karamoja Cluster is further exemplified by an attack by the Ugandan Karamojong on the Kenyan Pokot in February 2000 where 100 people were killed, 6,800 cattle and sheep stolen.

In their work with communities in Kerio Valley, SNV, NCK and SARDEP¹¹ (2001:9) also note the trend of revenge killings that has marked violent conflict in pastoral lands in Northwestern Kenya, they note that:

“Indeed the infamous Murkutwo massacre¹² of March 12, 2001 where 53 villagers – most of them women and children –died at the hands of Pokot raiders can be explained from this perspective. A month earlier, the Marakwet had attacked Pokot herdsman and stole hundreds of cattle. The Pokot’s request for the return of the cattle fell on deaf ears. Knowing fully well that the Marakwet would have either sold or slaughtered the cattle by the time they counter-raided, the Pokot kept warning that if they would not recover their cattle they would not fail to kill women and children as a lesson to the Marakwet”.

Mkutu (2001) also reports on the trajectory of revenge killings among pastoralist communities, here it is also worth noting the alliances built by different communities during times of need, such as the Turkana-Karamojong alliance against the Dodoth in the previous illustration. The January 1998 attack and stealing of fifteen goats by Pokot raiders from a Kikuyu farmer in Laikipia triggered a series of intermittent violent conflict pitting warriors from Pokot, Samburu and Turkana against the agricultural Kikuyu. The fact that Kikuyu youths also retaliated by stealing 54 animals from the Pokot led to increased tension in the area, prompting the local District Officer (D.O.¹³) to call a peace meeting between Pokot and Kikuyu communities. The diminishing power of traditional elders as well as the incapacity of state security apparatus is further laid bare by the killing of four Kikuyus accompanied by *“burning and looting of houses in Olmoran”* (Mkutu 2001:27), by a contingent of Pokot, Samburu and Turkana immediately after the government initiated peace meeting. According to Mkutu (2001:27) this attack then triggered further violence leading to the displacement of 2,000 people. The severity of armed conflict is further exemplified by casualties suffered by the Kikuyu in Laikipia when *“On 17 January, the Kikuyu organised a response to the attacks and over 100 men armed with pangas (machetes) and rungus (sticks) confronted the raiders at Rum-Rum Valley, Mutamiayu.*

¹¹ SARDEP is the Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme implemented through a bilateral agreement between the Governments of Kenya and Netherlands in Kajiado, Keiyo, Marakwet and Laikipia.

¹² Again precise number of dead in Murkutwo Massacre of 2001 varies according to source, the SNV, NCK and SARDEP put it at 53 while others like Kenya Human Rights Commission insist on 56.

¹³ A District Officer is a government official in charge of security and administrative matters in the Division under the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security in Kenya.

The majority of raiders had guns. Almost all the deaths in Laikipia District were from bullet wounds¹⁴” (Mkutu 2001:27).

ITDG-EA (2005), reports of another retaliatory attack which claimed lives in Kainuk, in what is today Turkana South district during which suspected Pokot raiders killed four Turkana herders and stole 600 goats and sheep in an alleged revenge attack following an earlier Turkana killing of one Pokot herder and stealing of 47 herds of cattle in Turkwel. In the Kainuk attack, three Turkana businessmen and a Kenya Police Reserve¹⁵ Officer were killed after an ambush on their truck by Pokot bandits who fired at them after establishing their identities.

The BBC News (2008) further reports the killing of 25 Pokot villagers including twelve from one family in Baringo district on 20th March 2008, the suspected attackers from Samburu ethnic group numbering 200 also made a way with 200 herds of cattle, this being a revenge attack for the killing of eight Samburu villagers by suspected Pokot raiders just two days earlier on the 18th of March 2008. More killings were further reported by the BBC News (2002), where eleven Turkana villagers were shot dead and another seven wounded by suspected Pokot raiders in a retaliatory attack. The link between competition over diminishing pastures, contested boundaries, land and proliferation of small arms and light weapons is also claimed to have been at the center of the Kanampiu Massacre in Laikipia West in September 2009. Writing in the *Standard Newspaper*, James Munyeki (2009) reports that the killing of Samburu in Kanampiu was a strategy devised by Pokot herders to scare away the Samburu from the area in order gain exclusive use of the 6,000 acre ranch for herding their animals¹⁶.

1.2 Context of Violent Conflict

Violent conflict among pastoralist communities have been documented by many scholars since early colonial times, in this study therefore I seek to contextualize violent conflict among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana into the environmental/traditional, political and economic spheres.

¹⁴ This points to the use of arms by the pastoralist communities who retaliated in the attack against the Kikuyu in Laikipia

¹⁵ Kenya Police Reservists are recognised under the Police Act , this can be found at http://www.kenyapolice.go.ke/resources/Police_Act.pdf accessed on 12th May 2012

¹⁶ It is observable that cattle rustling and ethnic violence is being used here as part of a larger inter-community battle over land and therefore the fight is merely not over cattle per se but a strategy through which rival communities can lay exclusive claim to resource use.

1.2.1 Environmental/Traditional Context of Violent Conflict

The environmental and traditional angles to violent conflict among the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana involves the competition over scarce and diminishing water and pasture resources and the need to restock after cattle decimation by drought, numerous cases of retaliatory attacks launched by rival communities to revenge against a raid or killing of a kinsman, the socio-cultural urge to gain respect among one's peers through the heroism bestowed on a celebrated cattle raider and the ultimate need for cattle accumulation for payment of bride wealth. Bollig & Österle (2007) document the praise, heroism and the associated upward social mobility bestowed on successful raiders vis-à-vis the ridicule and shame seen in the perceived community towards who have failed to bring home raided cattle. This is also closely associated with the socio-cultural need to accumulate capital (cattle) for social obligations such as marriage and sustenance.

According to Leff (2009), scarcity of water and pasture resources has contributed to the escalation of violence among competing pastoralist communities in East Africa, he argues that droughts force herders to move out of their home areas and to far fields where they have to compete with herders from other communities, this competition is thus the genesis of violent conflict between these communities, further, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has enabled unscrupulous business elite from within and without the pastoral sector to hire unemployed youth from these communities as commercial raiders, raiding has further been spurred by political leaders or aspirants to political offices who sponsor commercial raids to raise funds for political campaigns.

In my study in this region, I also noted that common grazing areas such as Kurkur, Lonyek and Amaya where herders from different communities have used during periods of droughts have been major areas of conflict; many of these areas have thus been declared "no man's land"¹⁷ due to high incidences of violence. Leff further argues that the increase of population and the climate change has incapacitated the traditional coping mechanisms previously employed by pastoralists to cope with drought and loss of cattle. Wario et al (2012), takes the view that violent conflict among pastoralists does not occur during droughts, he argues that pastoralists prefer peace and tranquility during drought seasons to enable the sharing of scarce resources, however he argues that violent conflict mainly expressed through cattle raids is witnessed mainly during the wet seasons in the months of March-April and November-December.

Retaliatory attacks by different pastoralists groups has been observed over a long period of time, the Kenya Human Rights Commission (2010) notes that retaliation by rival communities in response to previous raids or killings have been at the core of recent

¹⁷ It is notable here that the so called "no man's land" has some of the richest grazing areas that previously accommodated cattle from different communities during times of drought.

violence among the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot communities. KHRC points out that retaliatory attacks are prevalent among pastoral communities in Kenya mainly due to the lethargy associated with government response to cattle raids in Northern Kenya. Krätli & Swift (1999:10) note the devastating effects of retaliatory attacks caused by commercial raids; “As the raided herds need to be restocked, professional raids — well equipped, organized, highly effective— may cause a shower of clan raids — smaller, less equipped, extemporaneous — easily generating a chain reaction of violence”.

1.2.2 Political Context of Violent Conflict

The primary objective of violent conflict among pastoralists’ communities during the electioneering period is to influence voting patterns by eliminating voters from communities perceived to be a threat to the successful candidature of a particular candidate (Krätli & Swift 1999). Violent conflict among the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana has been witnessed during the electoral cycles of Kenya since the advent of multi-party politics in 1992. In my interviews among the Samburu, the political angle to conflict among the Samburu and Turkana came out clearly regarding the conflict in Baragoi where the Turkana population has increased over the years leading to the fear of the “foreign” Turkana influencing the local voting patterns in what the Samburu perceive as their exclusive forte¹⁸. Osamba (2001), Muchai (2003) and Weiss (2004) also point out the advent of warlords in 1980s where rich and politically influential members of these pastoralists’ communities used young men to perpetrate violence with the aim of driving out members of other communities from one constituency to another during electoral periods, further (Osamba 2000) alludes to the exploitation of ethnic rivalries between local political leaders who incite communities into ethnic violence in order for self-preservation in power. KHRC (2001) also found a link between political influence and the Murkutwo Massacre where the Pokot warriors killed 56 Marakwet in March 2001 in the run up to the 2002 General Elections when the then KANU government wanted to maintain its political control over the Marakwet which was drifting to the opposition. Krätli & Swift (1999) also allege the complicity of politicians in funding raids to gain political mileage among the voters and to have an edge over competitors.

The prevalence of conservancies and issues of land tenure is at the core of politics and violent conflict among pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya. The Eltungai Conservancy¹⁹ for instance is seen by the Pokot as an infringement on their pastoral land while the Samburu have welcomed it as a source of Revenue through the Samburu

¹⁸ Also alluded to by Evans Onyiego of the Catholic Peace and Justice Commission Maralal.

¹⁹ This Conservancy continues to be the bone of contention between the Pokot and Samburu, Rev. Musa Maklab a Pokot who lives in Amaya told me that the Pokot are not included in the Group Title deed of the Conservancy and therefore they feel cheated by the Samburu over their land.

County Council and a buffer zone that protects them from Pokot raids. The perceived political support accorded to the Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT)²⁰ which runs the conservancy is seen by the Pokot as political support by the Government to the Samburu. Recent studies by Greiner (2012) also reveal conflict meshed into contests over ethnic, administrative and political boundaries, even though cattle rustling is still seen as the major avenue through which violence is meted out, the coded message here is often about core contests bordering on political exclusion and territory.

1.2.3 The Economic Context of Violent Conflict

One of the primary motivations for cattle rustling is to accumulate livestock for mass sale during seasons of high market demand, thus violent conflict must also be seen simply from a rational economic perspective of maximization of profits. The gist of the “commercialized” form of cattle raids therefore involves middlemen who hire young men to use excessive violence when raiding cattle to supply beef to urban populations (KHRC 2010). According to Krätli & Swift (1999) arms in Northern Kenya are often supplied on credit and the same suppliers of arms are also involved in seeking a quick market for sale of raided cattle. This implies a network of commercial interests that sustain violent conflict based on economic gains accrued from the ownership of guns with which cattle raids for commercial purposes is made possible. The symbiotic relationship between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), raiders and middlemen in violence escalation therefore leads to a significant contribution to violent conflict among the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu communities in Kenya. Eaton (2008:94) also views modern cattle raids as driven by material gain:

“These raids involve well-armed professional bandits whose sole motive is plunder. Aided by unscrupulous businessmen or politicians, raiders are able to sell stolen cattle rapidly and then use the money to pay for new recruits, new weapons or a rapidly growing array of status symbols like designer clothes.” (Eaton 2008:94)

The eruption of violent conflict between the Pokot and Samburu from 2004 to 2009 has been attributed to contest over the Eltungai Conservancy in Samburu district (Greiner 2012). While the Samburu argued that the land around river Amaya is legally their communal land, it’s not lost on independent observers that members of the Pokot community had been living in these areas for a long time. In my interviews in Amaya, I

²⁰ The NRT has had massive support from Samburu community, since it is a huge source of revenue for the Samburu County Council, however the NRT recently appointed a Pokot a Manager of the Eltungai Conservancy in efforts to incorporate the Pokot in its management, I also witnessed the posting of 6 Pokot Guards as NRT Rangers even though the Pokot communities were totally opposed in fact the local leadership of Pokot threatened these guards.

was informed of eviction letters²¹ given to Pokot villagers who previously inhabited the Plateau overlooking River Amaya. The violent conflict that erupted thereafter was thus economic as it was political since land is historically highly contested and emotive not only in Northwestern Kenya but all over the republic. Further, it is worth noting that the pressure on land especially due to increase in population has also contributed to intra-ethnic tension and violence as witnessed among the Pokot in Amaya where a few Pokot guards employed at Eltungai Conservancy faced opposition for “collaborating” with Samburu over the disputed area between the two communities.

The multi-faceted context of violent conflict among pastoralists groups in Northwestern Kenya therefore implies that peace-building must be approached through background knowledge of the socio-economic and political challenges that have sustained violence among the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu.

1.3 Problem Statement

Dave Eaton (2008) in his book, *“The Business of Peace; Raiding and Peace Work along the Kenya-Uganda Border (Part I and Part II)”* gives a critical analysis of the successes and weaknesses of non-state actors in peace-building with a particular focus on non-governmental organizations (NGO), faith based organizations (FBO)²² and community based organizations (CBO). Even though many organizations and even governments in the Karamoja Cluster working on peace-building among pastoralist communities have focused for years on core issues of cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the diminishing pastures and water resources, it is notable that little has been achieved as many of these pastoralists including the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities still experience high levels of insecurity. The problem with many of these approaches has been three-fold; first many scholars and organizations have ignored the role of “revenge” when addressing the violence and conflict among these pastoralist communities. The spiraling violence that leads to massacres as witnessed in Murkutwo village, Marakwet in 2001, Lokodi village in East Pokot in 2008 and Kanampiu village in Laikipia North in 2009 are often started by petty cattle thieving and incidental murder of a member of one community by the other, the weakness of traditional and modern state security apparatus to address these acts of crime gives room for a spate of inter-community revenge attacks. Given the little attention on the issue of revenge attacks by media, scholars, development workers and the governments, success in addressing violent conflict among the Turkana, Pokot and the Samburu has been elusive.

²¹ The supposed eviction letters were said to have been issued by a Samburu civic leader.

²² Its particularly notable that FBOs and churches run most of the social services in pastoralists areas such as schools and health-centres, the weakness or absence of government could explain their work in conflict resolution.

Secondly, even though many scholars have noted “expansionism” as a contributing factor in the spate of endless violence among pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya, a critical look into how contests over land and ethnic boundaries contribute to these conflicts has not been given its due attention. In memorandums presented to the Interim Independent Boundaries Review Commission (IIBRC)²³ of Kenya in 2010, the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities laid claim to “ancestral²⁴” lands currently occupied by either of them, the violence that has long been associated with these communities must then be seen as an attempt to redraw ethnic boundaries by claiming perceived ancestral lands. The narrative of violence over land and boundaries has been witnessed in Kapedo²⁵ between the Pokot and Turkana, in Amaya between the Samburu and Pokot²⁶ and in Baragoi²⁷ between the Turkana and Samburu. This is exemplified by Kitpuru et al (2010:10), who allege that districts neighbouring East Pokot (read communities) are “eyeing” Pokot ancestral areas such as “Kapedo, Naudo, Loruk, Lake Baringo, Mukutani, Amaya and Alkosom”. This points to the shift in motive of violence from gaining cattle for pride, sustenance or illicit businesses to violence aimed at reclaiming land. The Samburu on the other hand also handed to IIBRC, a memorandum²⁸ laying claim to their “lost” ancestral lands such as Malaso, Tinga and Amaya.

Thirdly, even though the government of Kenya as well as non-governmental organizations such as Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), Oxfam GB, the Catholic Church through its Peace and Justice Commission, the Africa Inland Church (AIC), Action Aid, NCCCK, Practical Action (formerly ITDG-EA), ACTED, World Vision and even Tegla Lorupe Foundation have implemented series of conflict resolution projects among pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya, violent conflict persists. This points to the lack of involvement of young educated members of these communities in conflict resolution and peace-building, in the past conflict mitigation programs have originated from “outsiders” meaning persons who themselves are not pastoralists, the leadership of the educated young men and women from the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana in an inter-community driven peace initiative has been lacking in all past mitigation measures implemented

²³ IIBRC was formed under the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act of 2008, Article 41B (1), (2) and was mandated to make recommendations to Parliament on delimitation of constituencies under Article 41C (a) of the Constitution of Kenya.

²⁴ Historically, many pastoralists’ communities were nomadic and therefore, the notion of ancestral lands cannot be very accurate.

²⁵ The Kapedo conflict flared up after the release and adoption of the Interim Independent Boundaries Review Commission, the conflict between Pokot and Turkana concerns boundary with Pokot producing colonial maps to support their claim. See Kipturu Jacob, Kapoi John & Nabuya Victor 2010; Memorandum by East Pokot Leaders, Professionals and Community Council of Elders to Hon. Andrew Ligale the Chair of Interim Independent Boundaries Review Commission (IIBRC)

²⁶ Personal interviews in Amaya.

²⁷ Interview with Evans Onyiego of Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, Maralal Diocese.

²⁸ Samburu Memorandum was presented to IIBRC at 2nd March 2010 at Allamano Hall, Maralal by community leaders.

mainly due to state marginalization that had affected education standards in the whole of Northern Kenya thus contributing to this failure.

The current trends of violent conflict among pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya therefore points to an amalgamation of low intensity but vicious cycle of revenge and expansion-motivated attacks spurred by ethnic politics and contests over political and administrative boundaries though mainly expressed through cattle raids, these demand a different approach to peace-building, hence a critical analysis of trans-local peace-building through the prism of the Laikipia Peace Caravan an organization founded by professionals from the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana.

1.4 Literature Review

Efforts at peace-building and conflict resolution among pastoralist communities in Kenya has been undertaken by various research institutions, government agencies, Inter-governmental organizations such as Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), non-governmental organizations, the private sector and lately groups of professionals born and bred among the warring pastoralists. These efforts have therefore ranged from government disarmaments, promotion of income generation activities to fill the unemployment void, strengthening traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, arming different communities to protect themselves through Kenya Police Reserve and the utilization of the members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan to preach peace among pastoralist communities in conflict. It is imperative that these approaches to peace-building be analyzed further.

1.4.1 Disarmaments

Disarming pastoral communities across Kenya has for decades been the major approach to “keeping law and order”. Dietz (1987) notes that disarmaments have sometimes “resulted in outbursts of government violence” (1987:187). This clearly indicates the brutal methods used by successive administrations in “seeking peace”. Wepundi et al (2011), claim that pastoralist communities in the North of Kenya have experienced over 100 disarmament exercises over the last 100 years. They further note that in 1950, a disarmament operation targeting the Pokot was carried out in what is today Kollowa²⁹ Division by the colonial government, under the Moi administration that lasted from 1978 until 2002 Wepundi et al (2011:8) record that; “...not less than 20 operations targeting the Pokot community were carried out”.

²⁹ Kollowa is also an administrative unit (Division) in East Pokot district inhabited by the Pokot also called Koloa.

In 2006, the Government of Kenya launched a military operation aimed at mopping up illegal firearms in several districts in Northwestern Kenya. This operation dubbed “*Dumisha Amani*” meaning “maintain peace” in Swahili was among several such efforts implemented by the government over the decades (Leff 2009), this was succeeded by Operation *Okota 1 and 2* (Collect 1 and 2). Disarming pastoral communities has often been criticized given the human rights violations and brutality of security agencies that has accompanied these exercises over the years (Kopel et al 2006, Palmer & Allan 2010), however, proponents of disarmaments (IGAD 2007) argue that disarmament helps in the reduction of destruction by preventing deaths and injuries to human beings and animals that would have occurred due to possession of weapons, it reduces the propensity of criminality in urban areas as a result of movement of weapons from pastoral areas to urban centers, it helps in promoting negotiated resolutions to the conflict as opposed to the use of arms, it creates an environment for infrastructural and socio-economic development among pastoralists, and eliminates chances of threats by neighboring communities who otherwise would be armed.

While concurring with the possibility of building peace through disarmaments of pastoralists Buchanan-Smith & Lind (2005:25) note that previous efforts at mopping up arms have been “notoriously unsuccessful” however they argue that the adoption of the *Nairobi Declaration*³⁰ in March 2000 ensures a regional effort and a broader approach to issues of security and development thus at peace-building through arms mop up. While noting the successes of *Operation Dumisha Amani* in Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, Samburu, Baringo East, Laikipia East and Trans Nzoia districts, Wepundi et al (2011:10) also points out that:

“Despite these achievements, Dumisha Amani I left communities in some places such as Samburu more vulnerable to attacks. This is because the Samburu were the most co-operative in surrendering their arms, while their neighbours are believed to have mostly handed in non-serviceable weapons”.

In 2010 the Government of Kenya rolled out the 2nd phase of *Operation Dumisha Amani* which aimed to recover 50,000 firearms in Northern Kenya (Wepundi et al 2011), even though this operation was accompanied by “development projects” such as building of schools, sinking of boreholes, construction of Administration Police Posts, water pans and dams, Wepundi et al (2011), points to the lack of incorporation of community leaders views and the uncoordinated points of command for the General Service Unit, the

³⁰ Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa was signed on 15th March 2000 and can be found at http://www.recsasec.org/pdf/Nairobi_Declaration.pdf it was signed by Burundi, DR Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, The Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Accessed on 14th April 2012.

Administration Police, the Kenya Police and the Kenya Army as a major reason for its minimal success by recovering 1,201 firearms, 1,665 rounds of ammunition and 201 livestock (Wepundi et al 2011). Kubasu & Munene, while writing in the "*Horn of Africa Bulletin*³¹" (2012:8), argue that peace-building through disarming communities in Northern Kenya must adopt "an approach that is sensitive to conflict dynamics and that works to promote peace". They opine that *Operation Dumisha Amani II* led to the militarization of the targeted communities thus creating an environment of negativity by pastoralist communities towards the exercise hence compromising peace-building efforts. UNDP (2010), also shares the view that disarmament as an approach to peace-building should be a measure of last resort. In its study "*Conflict Dynamics in Samburu East, Isiolo and Marsabit South districts of Kenya*", it recommends that disarmament be carried out only after the government has guaranteed the security of the communities previously engaged in conflict.

1.4.2 Addressing Inequality and Marginalisation

Poverty, inequality and marginalization have been pinpointed by many scholars as one of the major reasons for violence among pastoralists' communities in northern Kenya (Weiss 2004, Chikwanha 2007, Buchanan-Smith & Lind 2005, Ekuam 2006, Sambanis 2004, Theisen 2010). Consequently efforts at peace building by addressing poverty, inequality and marginalization have been carried out by government agencies, non-governmental organizations' and even faith based organizations in the larger Northern Kenya region and even more specifically in the wider Laikipia Valley where the East Pokot and Samburu communities live. Weiss (2004) has documented several efforts by different stakeholders working among the Pokot and the Samburu these include government initiatives such as the Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP)³² a project implemented in the larger Northern Kenya and funded by the World Bank with a view to enhancing peace building by focusing on environmental resource management, gender inequalities, HIV/AIDs education among pastoralists and income generating activities especially targeting the youth and women in these communities. According to Weiss (2004), World Vision Area Development Programme (ADP), has been implementing a multi-faceted approach to peace building among communities in the North Rift since 1997. Weiss (2004:95/96) reports that; "In July 2003, a cross-cutting peace initiative began to integrate

³¹ Horn of Africa Bulletin is a publication of Life & Peace Institute and several versions are available on <http://www.life-peace.org/resources/publications/horn-of-africa-bulletin/> Accessed on 8th April 2012.

³² ALRMP was initiated in 1996. See map of districts covered by ALRMP at: http://www.aridland.go.ke/dm/alrmp_map.pdf Accessed on 11th May 2012.

peace and conflict issues throughout development projects. The ADP focuses on water, sanitation, education (including child sponsorship), food security, and other specific community needs such as HIV/AIDS education and advocacy, environmental projects, child rights, and support for Christian impact groups". According to Weiss, World Vision intervention in Kollowa, Tot and Lokori between the Pokot, Marakwet and Turkana communities aimed in the long-term at ending conflict by initiating sustainable livelihoods through small scale business alternatives and to reduce the pastoralists' dependency on cattle.

Approaching peace building through community development projects is also recommended by Masinde et al (2004) in their analysis of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms among the Pokot, Samburu, Marakwet and Turkana. They advise that provision of water, education, sanitation and food security projects by governmental and non-governmental organizations play a crucial role in inter-ethnic conflict resolution among these communities. Drawing from their experience in Kerio Valley, SNV, NCKK & SARDEP (2001) concurs with the implementation of development projects that improve livelihoods and reduce chances of inter-ethnic violence, further it adds implementing agencies to establish shared resources such as schools and dispensaries between communities as a starting point of inter-community peace-building. Noting that unemployment and general idleness has been blamed for violent inter-ethnic conflict among pastoralist communities in Kerio Valley, SNV et al recommends the establishment of small scale livestock rearing ventures mostly targeting *morans*, involving young men and women from both the Samburu and Pokot in buying and selling of hides and skins through micro-financial projects, however these inter-community projects are pre-conditioned concerted efforts by local leaders to maintain peace and tranquility.

In using income generating activities as an approach to conflict resolution the Maralal Catholic Diocese came up with a Livelihoods Project where goats were given to five Pokot, Samburu and Turkana families on pre-condition that once a goat had delivered, its kid would be given to another beneficiary from a different community than the giver (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium 2012:13). This was done based on the culturally accepted notion among these communities that; "once I give you a goat we are brothers". Galgalo & Scott (2010), while evaluating the CAFOD sponsored Integrated Livelihoods Project in Maralal also argue for the infrastructural access to Suguta Valley to ease positive and peaceful interactions between youths from the various communities. Berger (2003) captured the work of ITDG among the Turkana and Samburu and its positive impact of inter-community poverty alleviation projects on local peace-building efforts by stating:

"Teams of Samburu and Turkana men and women have constructed the dams jointly. The two tribes have much shared history, way of life and intermarriage, conflict has been severe only recently. The dams project has brought both tribes to work together on a

cash-for-work scheme, and given the opportunity for informal interaction and renewed recognition of common problems. [...] Where sand dams are not appropriate, shallow wells have been improved. Building parapets, and providing a cemented trough for watering livestock have improved the capacity and functioning of traditional hand-dug shallow wells. This it is hoped will prevent conflict arising from digging new wells (which reduces water supply to existing wells). Other benefits are improved hygiene, and reduced time spent on watering livestock" (2003:253).

1.4.3 Traditional Conflict Resolution Systems

The argument for revitalization of traditional conflict resolution and peace-building approaches has been made by several scholars and development practitioners working among pastoralists' communities in Kenya and the Eastern Africa region (Berger 2003, Weiss 2004, Eaton 2008, MacGinty 2008, Ngeiywa 2008, Chopra 2008, Bronkhorst 2011). One of the most elaborate traditional conflict resolution mechanisms is aptly described by Masinde et al (2004), in their research on traditional conflict management mechanisms among the Pokot, Samburu, Turkana and Marakwet in Northwestern Kenya they outline that the Pokot traditionally have an early warning system that alert the council of elders (*kokwo*³³) of impending attacks by their neighbors, secondly, the Pokot often used negotiations with their neighbors to ensure peaceful coexistence and joint utilization of scarce pasture and water resources during droughts. These negotiations may lead to peace pacts which are referred to as *miss* among the Pokot and as *Lmumai* among the Samburu. It is claimed that a peace pact agreed upon by the Pokot and Samburu in early 1900 at Mt. Elgon (Masinde et al 2004) ensured peaceful coexistence and even comradeship in cattle raids, this was further renewed in 2001 at Amaya only to be violated in 2004 after which violence erupted between Pokot and Samburu and went on until 2009. The use of traditional peace building mechanisms has also often taken the form of compensation and fines to settle disputes and avert cases of retaliation among the Pokot, Samburu or Turkana community members. Masinde et al (2004) have documented inter-community agreements on compensation when lives are lost or cattle are stolen due to cattle rustling. For instance, they mention an agreed compensation of 100 cattle in case of death between Pokot and Turkana, further the Kollowo declaration between the Pokot and Marakwet also pegs compensation due to loss of lives in inter-ethnic violence at 40 cows per every life lost.

The role of traditional elders in conflict resolution has gained prominence as one of the viable routes to effective peace-building among pastoralist communities. Drawing from his research among the Turkana and the Gabra in Northern Kenya, Berger (2003), notes that Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa (ITDG-EA) now called Practical

³³ Also called *Lpayiani* among the Samburu and *Ngikathukoi* by the Turkana

Action was keen on reinforcing community elders in key decision making processes in these communities by directly working with the the *Yaa*³⁴ of the Gabra and the *adekar*³⁵ of the Turkana. Peace-building through elders and communal traditions have also often been called upon by various communities, in many cases, inter-communal penalties and fines in terms of cattle or even cash have been agreed upon by sets of elders from different communities in attempts to foster peaceful coexistence and joint utilization of common resources such as pasture and water points. A report by Integrated Agriculture Development Consult (IADC 2009) portrays the role of traditional authority in conflict resolution and peace building between the Gabra and Borana communities across the Ethio-Kenyan border. The Peace Declaration signed between these communities came after the Turbi Massacre in which 76 people from both communities lost their lives and over 13,000 cattle, camels and goats were raided (IADC 2009). The Declaration sets out the fines to be charged upon any member of the two communities that kills a member from the rival community or one that steals cattle from a rival community. As shown in the

MAIKONA AND WALDA PEACE DECLARATION 28th July, 2009

We, the undersigned, have accepted peace between our communities, the Borana and the Gabra. We pledge to live peacefully with one another and to share the natural resources of water and pasture. Peace will be maintained through regular meetings between representatives of both communities, at alternating locations.

Peace will be safeguarded through the implementation of the following fines.

If a person is caught with a stolen animal, the fine is 4 animals per animal stolen.

The culprit also has to pay the expenses incurred for tracking that animal, and will be handed over to government law.

If a person injures another with intent to kill, the fine is 15 cows and they will be handed over to government law.

If a person kills another, the fine is 30 cows and they will be handed over to government law.

If a person is spreading lies and propaganda, inciting people to fight, they will be fined expenses and 5 cows.

If a person conceals a culprit or information, they and the concealed person will be fined the same, depending on the crime.

Five representatives (3 men and 2 women from each) of the two groups have signed the Walda Mikona declaration.

Adopted from Integrated Agriculture Development Consult (IADC) (2009:33)

textbox below:

Box 1: Maikona and Walda Peace Declaration.³⁶

³⁴ Yaa are the traditional council of elders that make key religious and political decisions among the Gabra.

³⁵ Adekar is loose informal organization of respected leaders from several households among the Turkana community.

³⁶ Source: IADC 2009: <http://edu.care.org/Documents/ExistingApproachesandBestPracticesinCrossBorder.pdf> accessed on 17th April 2012.

1.4.4 The Wajir Model

Persistent and deadly conflict among pastoralists' clans in Wajir district in Kenya in the 1980s and early 1990s led to massive loss of lives and the withdrawal of non-governmental organizations from the area. Ibrahim & Jenner (1996: 11) captures the magnitude of the violent conflict in Wajir in the early 1990s by stating; "Over 1,200 people were killed another 2,000 were injured or raped; and thousands of livestock, including 15,000 sheep and goats, over 1,000 camels and 2,500 cattle were stolen. Business and daily life was severely disrupted by the looting or destruction of 500 businesses and the hijacking of 30 cars, five of which were never recovered. Fifty primary and secondary schools were disrupted, with adverse effects on 15,000 students; ten of these schools, serving 2,500 students, were forced to close".

This led to the formation of the of the Wajir Women for Peace Group and another organization led by professionals representing all the clans in Wajir district which was called Wajir Peace Group these eventually merged to form Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC) in 1995 (Adan & Pkalya 2006). The WPDC has been hailed as a significant step in mitigating violent conflict in Wajir district given its successes in reducing ethnic violence through promoting dialogue and reconciliation among different clans in Wajir. This was achieved through "tracing, retrieving and returning stolen livestock to the owners, conducting reconciliation meetings between communities, fining defaulters in accordance with agreed community based parameters like Modogashe Declaration and cursing wrong doers in accordance with respective customs and beliefs" *Adan & Pkalya (2006:14)*.

The WPDC was also instrumental in raising conflict awareness and coordinating peace initiatives in Wajir district by partnering with non-governmental organizations and the government of Kenya to educate communities and share information on areas of potential violence for quicker mitigation. These successes enabled the replication of the Wajir Model to other pastoralists' areas such as the Samburu District Peace and Development Committee (SDPDC) and the Tana River Peace Reconciliation and Development Committee (TRPRDC) Adan & Pkalya (2006) note that TRPRDC was very successful in arbitrating the conflict between the pastoral Orma and the agricultural Pokomo communities in the Coast province in Kenya.

1.4.5 Role of Women

Women in pastoralists' communities have been accused and praised in equal measure when it comes to promoting pastoral conflicts and spearheading peace building initiatives. Several authors have narrated the different roles played by women in singing praises to raiders from the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities after successful raids, at other

times women have also been at the forefront in ridiculing their sons by even composing songs to berate young men who are deemed to be afraid and cowardly when faced by the enemy (Bollig & Österle 2007, Masinde et al 2004). However, a number of authors have also argued for the positive role played by women from these arid and semi-arid lands in Kenya, women have been seen as pioneers of peace-building in Wajir in the early 1990s during a period of intense inter-clan warfare (Ndegwa 2001, Juma 2000, Grahn 2005), a case in point being the formation of the Wajir Women for Peace by educated middle class women working as civil servants, teachers, health-workers and even local NGO staff and business women. The Wajir Women for Peace was the forerunner of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee that has been highly praised by scholars for its successes in encouraging the participation of all stakeholders in peace-building in the district. According to Ndegwa (2001), the participation of women in peace-building efforts in Wajir was critical to the success of WPDC which led to the cessation of hostilities, the formation of a multi-stakeholder Rapid Response Team to monitor and respond to cases of violence.

The unique role played by women in preventing conflicts among the Turkana, Dodoth, Jie and Toposa is also illustrated by Akabwai (2001) through the *Alokita*³⁷ Peace Crusades, in his report Akabwai describes the *Alokita* as having played a crucial role in easing the peaceful interaction between women from the Turkana community and the Jie, Toposa and Dodoth, these meetings enabled the Africa Unions Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources (AU/IBAR) to carry out veterinary services in the Karamoja Cluster.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Trans-local peace-building can be seen as having its roots in the rise of a “mediated state”. The phenomenon of the mediated state has been witnessed in many Africa countries and across the world (Central African Republic, Somaliland, Chad and Northern eastern Kenya) where groups of individuals are continually taking a keen interest in the need to pursue peace building efforts through inter-community partnerships aimed at fostering lasting peace outside the official channels of the state. These groups are community members who have interacted with the members of “rival” communities through sharing of schools or professional undertakings and as such can therefore arise above cultural prejudice and ethnic enmities to lead efforts on resolving conflicts between different communities. Scholars have argued that the mediated state has become

³⁷ *Alokita* is a Turkana/Karamoja word meaning a group of women united for the purpose of communicating messages through songs, poems, dances and speeches (Akabwai, 2001) more information can be found at: <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/womcrusaug.pdf> accessed on 1st May 2012. *Alokita* Peace Crusades were used by Community-based Animal Health and Epidemiology (CAPE) of the Pan African Programme for Control of Epizootics (PACE) at the Organisation of African Unity/Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources (OAU/IBAR).

inevitable since central governments have failed in effectively addressing root causes of violent conflict among its citizens at the periphery (Menkhaus 2008, Boege et al 2008, Wennmann 2009, Moe 2010).

According to Menkhaus (2008:15):

“Whether a mediated state strategy is actually an option then depends on the presence of reasonably authoritative local actors which the state can accept (a secessionist polity, for instance, would not be acceptable; nor would a liberation or radical movement bent on the overthrow of the government or entire political system). Finally, for a mediated state strategy to succeed as a peace-building and governance strategy, the sources of local authority must be relatively legitimate and committed to peace and good governance, not predatory or corrupted local elites”.

The emergence of the Laikipia Peace Caravan in response to violent conflict between the Samburu and Pokot communities in Northwestern Kenya can therefore be seen in light of an urgent and necessary reaction by non-state actors from these communities in a bid to foster peace-building while noting the failure of government to do so over the past century, in this case therefore the mediated state is a rational choice accepted by governments to ensure peace-building in their peripheral borderlands, Menkhaus (2005:56) points out that; “This aspect of the mediated state – that it is not a policy preference but rather a default position for weak states seeking to promote governance and security in its frontier areas – sets it apart from other contemporary forms of state “outsourcing” of governance”. The Laikipia Peace Caravan can thus be viewed as an off-shoot of a mediated state since it comprises of members who have received formal education and are pursuing different careers across different parts of Kenya as doctors, civil servants, teachers, religious leaders and even politicians. They work in tandem with local elders especially those that sit in the village, locational, divisional and district peace committees. Their input in peace-building efforts is highly valued by the government and it is currently accepted as part of the Kenya Governments National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management (GoK 2011).

While outlining the underlying weaknesses of the peace-committees that emerged in Northern Kenya to address issues of insecurity in places like Wajir, Menkhaus also points to the need for training and financial support from both the government and other donors. In the case of the Peace Caravan, funding is still a challenge but the issue of training has been bridged by the fact that these Caravaners are all educated at least up to post-secondary education levels and therefore may not need basic training to undertake inter-community peace building activities.

Raeymaekers et al (2008), argue that mediated states allow for chance for peace-building and conflict negotiations in places where state power is weak by encouraging locals to intervene through conflict resolution mechanisms. The Laikipia Peace Caravan can then

also be seen to be welcomed by the Kenyan government given that it's culturally embedded and has great resonance with pastoral communities in the region in terms of peace-building.

The fact therefore that Laikipia Peace Caravan is acceptable to the communities involved in conflict, non-governmental organizations and to the government of Kenya as a viable tool for trans-local peace building resonates with Scheye (2009:7/8) when he states; "A consensus has emerged within the development community that non-state/local justice and security networks are, often, more effective, accountable, efficient, legitimate, and accessible service providers of justice and safety than are the agencies and institutions of the post-colonial state. These networks, therefore, are indispensable for the short- and intermediate-term distribution and delivery of justice and safety. It is important to underscore that these networks are also associational groups, part and parcel of civil society".

From the foregoing discussions, I would therefore define the concept of "trans-local peace-building" as a non-state locally initiated conflict mitigation and peace-building structure run and organized by educated members of these pastoralist communities in conjunction with community structures to address inter-ethnic violence using traditional and modern conflict interventions in realization of the inability of the state to fully and permanently provide a viable peace-building mechanism.

2. Methodology

This section outlines the research process and the methodology applied. It reveals the sampling and data collection techniques in this study and highlights the limitations of the study.

2.1 The research process

The model below illustrates the research process:

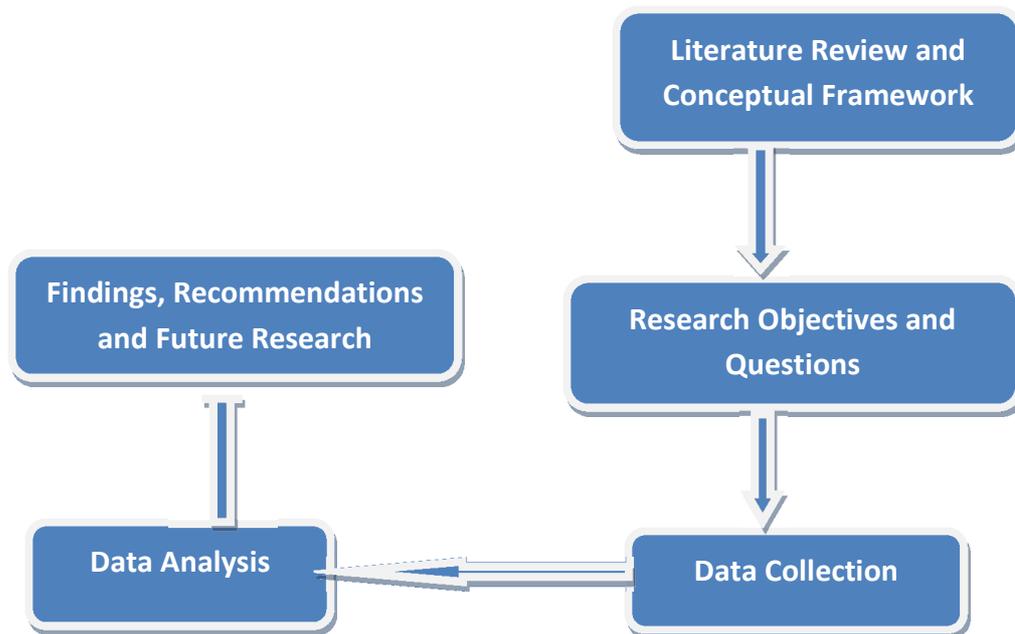


Figure 1: The Research Process

Close attention was paid at each step to ensure that the study was conducted properly and the findings are as valid as possible under unpredictable research conditions. The research process is not a clear-cut sequence of procedures following a neat pattern but a complex interaction between the conceptual and empirical world, with deduction and induction occurring at the same time.

2.2 The Study Area

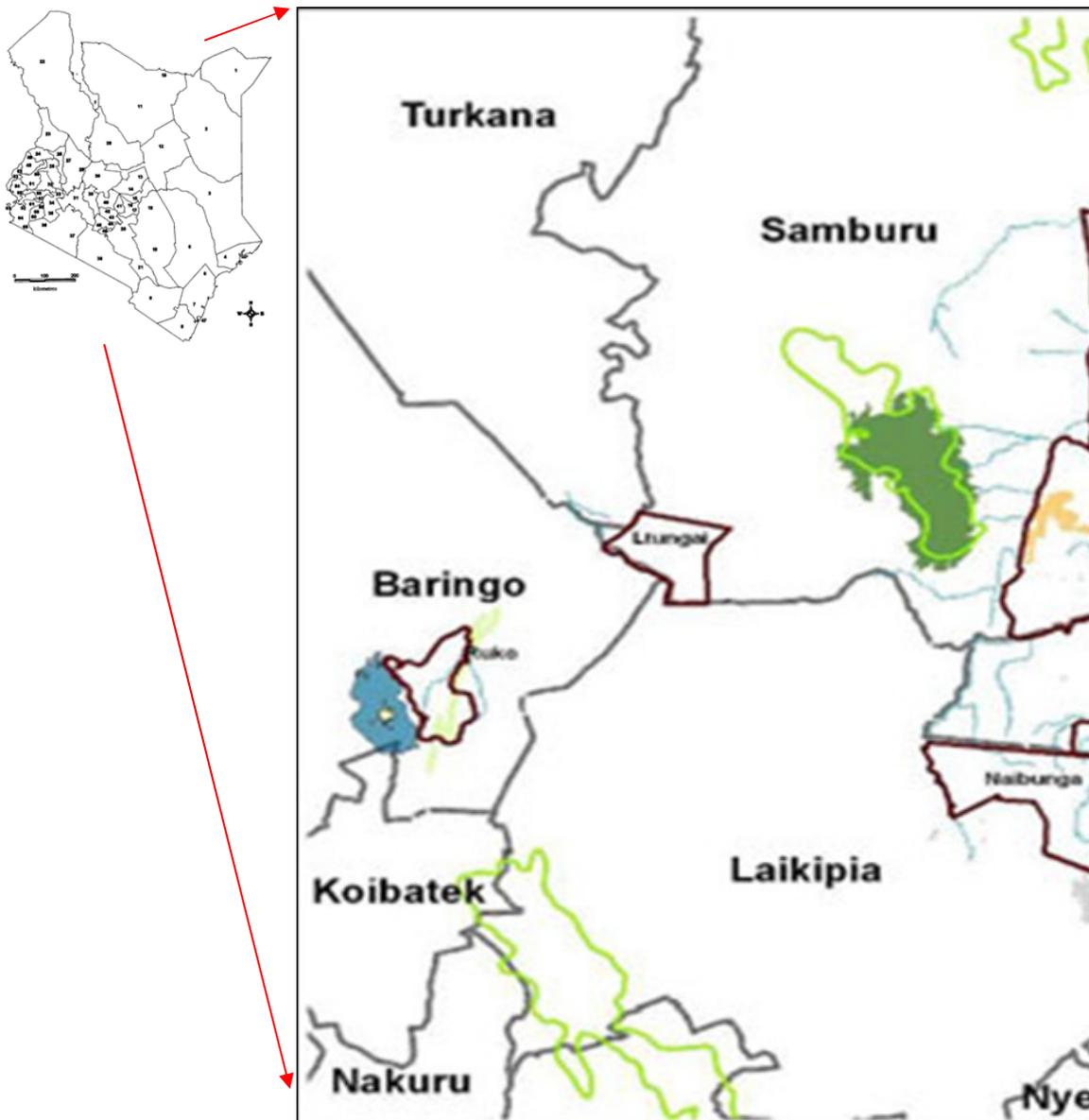


Figure 2: Courtesy NRT Conservancies, November 21st 2011³⁸ (www.greenstone.org, 21.11.2011)

2.3 Research Objective

The general objective of this research is to understand and document the factors that led to the genesis of non-state actors like the Laikipia Peace Caravan, its involvement in the peace-building process, its approach, successes and weaknesses. The findings therefore are crucial in contributing to policy formulation by the Government of Kenya and other regional governments in Eastern Africa and the Horn where violence among pastoralist's communities has been prevalent over the years. Secondly, the findings will also inform the soon-to-be crafted County Governments in the vast Northwestern and Northeastern

³⁸ The map above shows the ethnicities covered by this study, the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana.

Kenya where pastoralist's communities are abound on how to support local professionals in peace-building and conflict resolution. Thirdly, this study sought to link the emergence of the Laikipia Peace Caravan with the idea of "mediated state" given the years of violent conflict witnessed by pastoralist communities in northwestern Kenya, in so doing, the study envisions Laikipia Peace Caravan as an off-shoot of the idea of a mediated state where governments work in tandem with educated and professional elite from marginal lands to initiate and sustain conflict resolution and other development efforts in realization of state weakness or unwillingness to fully undertake its security and developmental responsibilities to all its citizens. This link is therefore vital in understanding the relationship between the state and communities living in marginally peripheral areas such as pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya and therefore study recommendations will seek to influence future state policies on adopting the trans-local peace-building model.

2.4 Working Hypothesis

This study is premised on the assumption that trans-local peace-building model through inter-community, locally based and owned organizations such as the Laikipia Peace Caravan offers a more pragmatic and realistic opportunity for genuine conflict resolution and peace-building among pastoralist communities in Kenya. Further this study underlines the inevitability of trans-local peace building approach given the failure or incapacity of the state to provide security to its citizens living in the marginal lands such as northwestern Kenya.

2.5 Key Research Questions

What is the historical context and key factors fuelling violence among the Turkana, Samburu and Pokot communities in Kenya and who are the main actors?

Which peace-building approaches have been initiated in attempts to reduce violence among the Turkana, Pokot and the Samburu and who have been the main actors?

Which underlying issues have motivated the "Caravaners" from different communities to the Laikipia Peace Caravan and how different are they from other approaches previously adopted in pursuit of peace?

What effects has the Laikipia Peace Caravan had in conflict management among the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu and what are its future prospects?

2.6 Rationale

This study is a look into alternative peace-building mechanisms that could work among pastoralist communities in the Karamoja Cluster and more particularly among pastoralist

communities in northwestern Kenya. The need for a trans-local approach to peace-building among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities is inevitable given the well recorded failures by different approaches from different actors and stakeholders at conflict resolution in these areas. The Laikipia Peace Caravan therefore gives a glimpse of hope given its formation by young and educated sons and daughters of these pastoralists' communities, it then provides community ownership to peace-building processes and gives a chance to would-be *morans* from these communities to be mentored and inspired by fellows brothers and sisters who have had an opportunity at formal education and are pursuing professional careers in various fields role-modeling thus an opportunity to look beyond *moranism* as a way of gaining social standing in one's society. This study therefore seeks to enrich peace-building among pastoralists in the region by highlighting the positive role that could be embraced by educated members of these communities in conflict resolution and peace-building. Noting that previous conflict resolution and peace building studies have focused in West Pokot-Turkana-Samburu border particularly due to better infrastructure, this study sought to focus on the East Pokot-Samburu-Turkana borders where little work on peace-building has been carried out particularly due to very poor infrastructure.

2.7 Qualitative methods

The methodology employed is primarily qualitative using documentary reviews to complement data gathered through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. For a study of this kind, which needed to focus on the perceptions of the Caravaners, local communities and a few Government officials, a qualitative method of research proved to be a better option than quantitative methods of data collection. A reflective approach provided the best answers to the research questions because it focuses on the local communities and the key stakeholders and the idea of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, its feasibility, goals and impacts. This helps in capturing narrations from different members of the communities who have participated in peace building through the Laikipia Peace Caravan.

2.8 Data collection techniques

This study was conducted for a period of seven weeks between 1st of August and 21st of September 2011.

a) Desk Review

A desk study review of literature on the concept of trans-local peace-building was carried out and relevant documents including publications from scholars, government and civil society organizations and international bodies were consulted. Among the key documents

reviewed were the Draft National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management by the Government of Kenya, Dave Eaton's³⁹ work *"The Business of Peace; Raiding and Peace Work Along the Kenya-Uganda Border Parts I & II 2008*, latest academic journals on Peace-building and Conflict Resolution, newspaper reports, minutes from the Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat, publications from NGOs such as Practical Action East Africa (*Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana, 2004*). The desk review sought to consolidate comprehensive data on all the actors, concepts and cause-effect dynamics that have informed trans-local peace-building among pastoralists' communities in Northern Kenya.

b) Participant Observation

This approach was important during the whole study period; participant observation was used to pick out facial expressions, gestures and even the body language of respondents. While attending interviewing different respondents from these three communities meetings I used participant observation to note opinions on the success of the Laikipia Peace Caravan and the possible challenges it faces ahead.

c) Key Informant Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with key persons from Samburu and Pokot communities involved in the Laikipia Peace Caravan was conducted in Churo⁴⁰, Maralal, Chemolingot, Amaya, Rachuonyo, Nairobi, Nakuru and Eldoret. The respondents involved were village peace committee members, reformed *morans* and government officials at the divisional levels, non-governmental organization personnel, women, district peace committee members, and members of Laikipia Peace Caravan. In total 28 respondents were interviewed and the information obtained analyzed.

d) Focus Group Discussions

Six Focus Group Discussions were conducted in at different venues. The sampling method used for the selection of the participants was mainly geographical cluster sampling and it focused on respondents residing in contested areas such as Amaya and Kapedo. One discussion was carried out at Amani Primary School⁴¹ on the Samburu side of Amaya River where a discussion with teachers from Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities was used to obtain views on peace initiatives vis-à-vis incidences of violence since the launch of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, while three other FGDs were conducted

³⁹ Dave Eaton (2008) gives a critical analysis of peace building as carried out by NGOs in North-western Kenya, also points to the rational approach of the perpetrators of inter-community violence. Online version of Part I of his work can be found at:

<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/107/426/89.full.pdf+html> and Part II of Dave Eaton (2008) is at: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/107/427/243.full.pdf> accessed on 14th April 2012.

⁴⁰ Churo is an administrative unit (division) in East Pokot district, headed by a District Officer; Amaya Location is headed by a Chief who works under the D.O based in Churo.

⁴¹ Amani School has pupils from Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities and is located on the Samburu side of River Amaya.

at Amaya market with village elders participating in one and *morans* participating in the other while another comprised of Samburu women who buy and sell hides and skins at Amaya market. Another FGD was conducted in Churo which involved Ground professionals who liaise with Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat in Nairobi and final one took place in Marigat town particularly targeting young men from Turkana community who have run away from Kapedo after losing their cattle due to cattle rustling, these young men live in Marigat and work as casual laborers.

d) Biographical Interviews

Four Biographical Interviews were conducted with members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat. The interviews targeted intentionally targeted younger Caravaners⁴² from these communities at their unique role in coordination, administration and fundraising for the Laikipia Peace Caravan. Through this approach, I aimed to capture the drive of these young men and women and what motivates them to participate in this unique effort.

3. Research Findings

3.1 Structure of the Peace Caravan

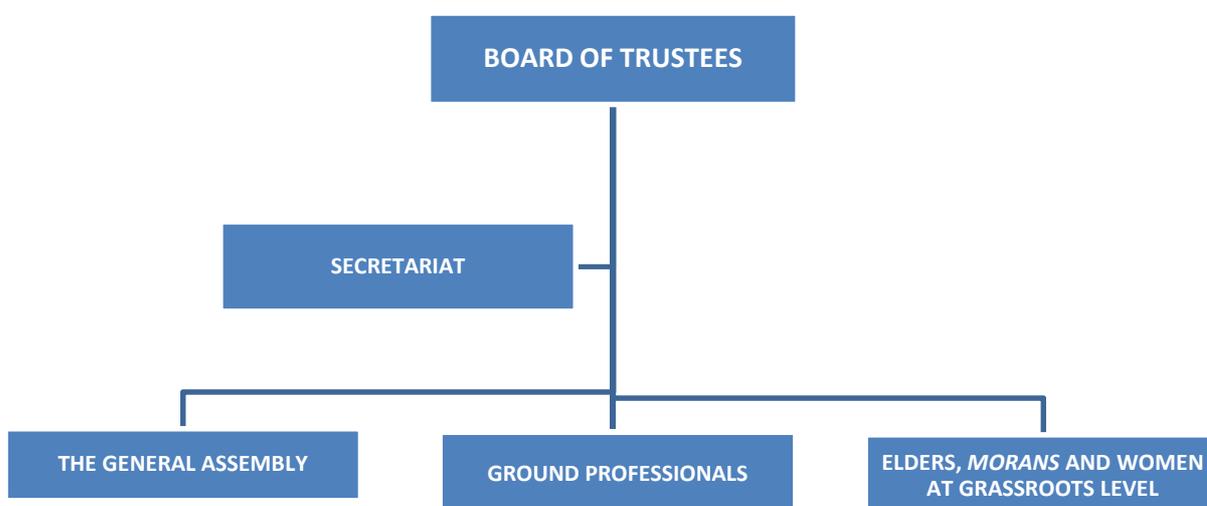


Figure 3: Structure of the Peace Caravan

The Laikipia Peace Caravan is headed by a Board of Trustees⁴³ comprising of professionals from the Pokot, Samburu, Turkana and Kikuyu communities drawn from East Pokot, Laikipia West, Turkana South and Samburu West districts in Kenya. The

⁴² Messages from LPC Secretariat always addressed members as Caravaners.

⁴³ Include Richard Leshiyampe (Samburu), Dr. Lenai (Turkana), Mr. Silemoi (Pokot), Ms. Faith Akiru (Turkana) Ms. Naisula Lesuuda (Samburu), James Teko Lopoyetum(Pokot), Mr. Nanok Tutui (Turkana) and Nderitu Mureithi (Kikuyu).

General Assembly is the decision-making organ of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, it comprises of over 70 members from these pastoralist communities and it sits every Wednesday at Teleposta Towers in Nairobi. During the General Assembly meetings members of the Caravan take time to review information about incidences of violence that has been reported during the week, members are obliged to inform the General Assembly of any information they have that should be acted upon promptly. The Secretariat⁴⁴ of the Laikipia Peace Caravan comprises of nine personnel working in three distinct though inter-linked departments, these are the Fundraising Team, the Logistics and Operations Team and the Documentation, Coordination and Publicity Team, the Secretariat is based in Nairobi and works to ensure smooth running and flow of information on planned peace meetings and gives logistical support to Ground professionals. Ground Professionals are mainly civil servants, teachers, community health-workers and local business men and women who are based within these communities and are often the first to get information whenever there is breach of peace. They relay this information to the Secretariat mostly through the use of mobile phones and the Information is then forwarded to the Laikipia Peace Caravan General Assembly which is the decision-making organ. Lastly, the Laikipia Peace Caravan works closely with village elders, women groups and reformed *morans*, they are crucial in mobilization of community members to attend Peace Caravan events. The Laikipia Peace Caravan was previously funded by the USAID through Development Alternatives Inc (DAI), however, this funding ceased in 2011 and therefore the General Assembly pegged membership on registration and payment of different categories of membership fees⁴⁵, gold membership is for those who pay annual fee of KES 10,000 (100 Euros) while silver membership costs KES 5,000 (50 Euros) and bronze membership costs KES 1,000 (10 Euros). It must however be noted that the Laikipia Peace Caravan still lobbies and receives logistical support in terms of vehicles and office space from government agencies such as the Ministry of Industrialization, Kenya Wildlife Service, Kenyatta National Hospital and Vision 2030 Secretariat.

3.2 Composition of the Laikipia Peace Caravan General Assembly

The current data base of the Laikipia Peace Caravan reveals that 39.32 per cent of the General Assembly are from the Samburu community, while the Pokot membership amounts to 28.08 per cent, the Turkana make up 15.73 per cent, the Somali commands 8.98 per cent of General Assembly membership, with the Kikuyu and the Borana claiming

⁴⁴ Include Mr. Daudi Kona (Turkana), Daniel Lemeleny (Samburu), Jonathan Lodumpui (Pokot), Lesootia Joel (Samburu), Felistas Naserian (Samburu), Ken Nadeiwa (Pokot), Shukri Ibrahim (Borana), John Muthee (Kikuyu) and Samichi Joseph (Pokot).

⁴⁵ Details on registration fees originate from my interviews with secretariat members and also from Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the Laikipia Peace Caravan held on 16th February 2011 at Teleposta House from 6.25pm to 8.30pm.

5.61 per cent and 1.12 per cent representation respectively. This shows the level of dedication and goodwill expressed by professionals from the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities in driving forward local peace-building efforts as indicated below;

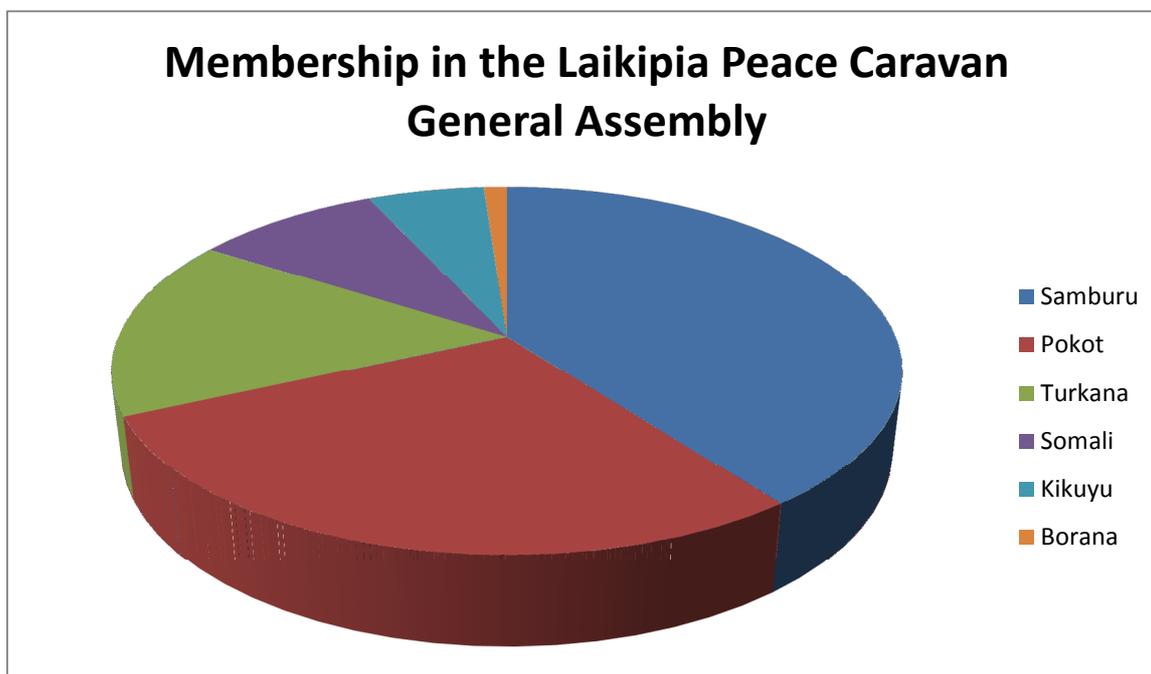


Figure 4: Composition of the Laikipia Peace Caravan General Assembly

3.3 Biographies of Key Members

a) Ms. Naisula Lesuuda, Coordinator Laikipia Peace Caravan & News Anchor KBC TV (Samburu Community).

Naisula Lesuuda⁴⁶ was born in Kirisia Division, Samburu Central district in Samburu County in 1984; she went to Singore Girls High School in Iten township in the Rift Valley Province and she proceeded to Daystar University where she studied Journalism. As a News Anchor on the national broadcasting television KBC, whenever Naisula appeared on the news screens of most Kenyan homes, she put on a brave face as she eloquently broadcasted the 9.00 p.m. news. In spite of her bravado, no one could tell that day after day, as she reported on the killings in her home area of Samburu in Northwestern Kenya, that the news had such a traumatic impact on her. Until one morning in September 2009, when the breaking news reported a massacre that had taken place at Kanampiu, and the death toll kept rising until 40 people lay dead. At this point, she could not cast the news that night and wept for her people and the Kenyans that had been killed in cattle raids. Alongside the immense grief, came a resolve within her and other professional members

⁴⁶ Lesuuda was awarded Order of Grand Warrior by the President of Kenya in 2011 also received International Labour Organisation Wedge Award 2011 for Prowe Outstanding Professional Woman. See "*Her Cause Captured Kibakis Eye*" <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000058109&pageNo=1> accessed on 13th May 2012.

from the affected communities, to do something about the killings and the cattle raids once and for all. This resolve brought forth the Laikipia Peace Caravan (LPC); a peace initiative that was made possible through USAID funding, to mitigate the conflict caused by perennial cattle raids among the pastoral communities of Samburu, Turkana and Pokot.

As a young unmarried woman from a pastoral community, Lesuuda stood no chance of influencing her community to end the destructive tradition that was claiming her age mates and possible future husbands for the young girls. The highly patriarchal society had no place for women's voices let alone, unmarried girls. On the other hand, as a tradition, the young women were expected to sing heroic songs as a blessing to the *morans* (warriors), as they prepared for the raids. Following the killings, the professionals joined efforts and resources to appeal to their communities to find a solution to the conflict. During the initial dialogue meetings, three other brave young women teamed up with Lesuuda, a move that encouraged the elderly women to find their voices and speak out. Looking back, they all recall how fearful and scared they were as they stood in front of *morans*, elders and women from each of the communities. Each tribe wanted to hear nothing of the other, and one could not afford to go to the enemy grounds and expect to come back alive.

Nevertheless, the young women became the forerunners of the peace caravan since they appeared to be none threatening to the *morans*. With hearts in their mouths and tears of sorrow in their eyes, they introduced a human face into the hardened communities, and the *morans* hesitatingly listened to the extra ordinary song. Asked what gave them the courage to stay on, the young women confide that the pain and hopelessness they saw in the eyes of the *morans* was unbearable and they wanted to be a source of hope to them. Naisula was awarded the Order of Grand Warrior (OGW) by the President of Kenya in 2011 in recognition of her efforts at peace-building among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities through the Laikipia Peace Caravan. She is also a recipient of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Wedge Award 2011 for being selected as the Prowe Outstanding Professional Woman.

b) Ken Siwareng Nadeiwa, Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat & Programme Officer Mercy Corps in Eldoret (Pokot Community).

Ken Nadeiwa was born in 1983 in Barpello village, Nginyang Division, East Pokot district in Baringo County; he went to AIC Churo High School and then proceeded to Daystar University where he earned a degree in Community Development. He comes from a family of ten siblings and he is the first born, Ken speaks proudly of his membership in the Laikipia Peace Caravan secretariat, being a Pokot he has grown to witness firsthand the devastating effects of violent conflict between the Pokot and Turkana and Samburu. According to Nadeiwa, the Laikipia Peace Caravan was an inevitable idea given the

marginalization and lack of interest by the government of Kenya to solve security challenges that has pervaded the area since independence. As professionals we decided to come together and use our influence as educated elites from pastoralists' communities to encourage peace-building among our communities, our approach being to go back to our communities and talk to our brothers, sisters and parents to stop the violence by involving all members of the community from the top to the bottom and even government officials., for instance if the Peace Caravan is coming to the Pokot community, we as Caravaners ensure we network with community elders to mobilise the Samburu and Turkana who share a common market like in Amaya or Kapedo to attend a Peace Caravan meeting taking place in Pokotland, this encourages open inter-dialogue where different communities interact, socialize and discuss their challenges regarding insecurity in their communities and possible solutions to these problems. As the Caravan we lobby government departments such as the Kenya Wildlife Service and the Ministry of Internal Security and Provincial Administration to provide vehicles and other logistical support during these functions. Our efforts are therefore a gradual process to inter-community peace-building by working to change the people's mindset and to demystify cultural enmity among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana and thereby entrench peaceful coexistence.

c) Daniel Ropoki Lemeleny, Peace Caravan Documentation Team member, Compassion International

Daniel was born in 1982 in Marti Location in Samburu North district (Baragoi) he went to Maralal High School and then proceeded to study Entrepreneurship and Business Management at Daystar University, he asserts that the Laikipia Peace Caravan started as a meeting as professionals, the Turkana, Samburu and Pokot, sons and daughters of pastoralist communities from Northwestern Kenya met at Teleposta towers in the boardroom of the Ministry of Industrialization after receiving news of the Amaya Massacre in September 2009, he describes the initial meeting as highly emotional in his own words, "we all met crying since 40 people died within one hour during the Kanampiu massacre these included 10 Pokot raiders and 30 Samburu including women and young children we decided that we have to address the issue of conflict between our communities. We went to Kanampiu on a very desperate situation to try and heal wounds and urge our communities to embrace peace, previously efforts by different organisations have been fruitless since many of these efforts targeted members of our communities who live in trading centers and these ignored the opinions of the local women, youth and even professionals.

The Laikipia Peace Caravan meetings start with prayers from elders and religious leaders from all the communities present, we treat the local communities as our Guest of Honors,

by giving them a lot of time to talk, ventilate and pour out their bitterness, our role being to facilitate. I remember a case whereby a Pokot was killed, and his brother who is a member of the Peace Caravan had to go and calm down Pokot warriors who wanted to attack Samburu to avenge his brother's death, he argued that the dead Pokot was his own brother and therefore if he didn't see the need for revenge then Pokot warriors should do the same.

Our approach has been effective for the following reasons; the Laikipia Peace Caravan has been able to traverse the breadth of these pastoral lands to look for warriors and villagers who have never been reached with the message of peace, we go to where communities graze their cattle, their pasture lands, we target the real actors in these conflicts that is the *morans* who are directly involved in these conflicts, those who are armed. Secondly, we are the sons and daughters of the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana, these communities recognize us, they know we mean well for them by trying to bring them together, thirdly, we don't lecture our community members but we create a platform for people to negotiate and dialogue, for instance when the Laikipia Peace Caravan brings the Turkana and the Samburu together, we facilitate and guide the meetings so that permanent solutions can be sought through abandoning violence. Since December 2009 we have held over ten events, the first one was Kanampiu in December 2009 and then we went to Lorora, Amaya, Ameyian, Longewan, Lokori, Kapedo, Damu Nyekundu, Malaso, Maralal and Nginyang.

The government of Kenya has recognized the significance of the Peace Caravan, the Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Internal Security Francis Kimemia, sent the Peace Caravan Team to preach peace and reconciliation among the Samburu and Turkana in Baragoi district further, we as the Laikipia Peace Caravan have convinced the government of Kenya to allocate some money to address issues regarding water scarcity, building of boarding schools, and improvement of roads and security; this is what we refer to as Peace Dividend.

Eltungai Conservancy is a good grazing land; the Pokot fears that it will deny them pasture land while the Samburu claim it as ancestral land, the fact that the NRT has been employing more Samburu in the conservancy. As the Laikipia Peace Caravan we can address the issues of land and boundary, we need to educate the people on these issues since we have goodwill.

Some of the key challenges the Laikipia Peace Caravan has faced include financing since we rely mostly on contributions from the professionals. The distance from Nairobi to these areas is quite far coupled with bad roads while some areas are inaccessible. When we went to Lomelo, we had to leave the vehicles and walk because of poor infrastructure, these bad roads impede our efforts as the Peace Caravan, the government must address

the issue of bad roads since these encourage criminality and delay response by community members and even by the security forces.

The Laikipia Peace Caravan has had positive impact since we started when the disarmament program was going on, we really assisted the government in convincing community members to hand over the illegal guns back to the security forces. Indeed, our communities now measure success based on how long they can sustain peace with among themselves, as opposed to how many raids our community can undertake successfully against each other. The peace is being actively sustained because it is a source of pride and success to those involved, through this process; the professionals have understood that the power is with the people, not the area politicians.

3.4 Social Identity of the Caravaners

The modest success of the Laikipia Peace Caravan can be attributed to the unity of purpose and years spend together by the professionals from the Turkana, Samburu and Pokot in learning institutions such as Maralal, Kabarak and Churo High Schools, this has seen the development of friendship that transcends ethnic prejudice, indeed most of the professionals met and spent years in same High Schools or to Colleges. For instance, Amaya Primary school is one of the learning institutions which for years acted like a unifying factor since it is situated along the border of the three communities, Amaya trading centre borders the Samburu County, Laikipia County, Turkana County and Baringo County. In fact, most of the members of the Pokot community from Amaya area went to Amaya Primary School among these were the Panga brothers of whom one is a medical practitioner while the other is Albert Panga an Accountant. The government sponsored Amani Primary School in Amaya has also been of strategic importance to the Laikipia Peace Caravan having hosted the 1st anniversary of the Laikipia Peace Caravan in December 2010, further, the presence of school children from Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities at Amani Primary School in Amaya embodies the goal of the Laikipia Peace Caravan which is to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the three communities and to encourage peaceful sharing of resources.

Maralal High School founded in 1969 has contributed immensely to the cohesion and comradeship that we see in the Laikipia Peace Caravan today, it boasts of several “old boys” from Maralal who are today key professionals in different sectors of Kenyan society and also opinion shapers within pastoralists’ communities in North-western Kenya. Among these are Mr. Gabriel Lengoboini who was in the pioneer class of 1969-1972, he went on to earn a Commonwealth Scholarship between 1984 and 1986 to pursue an MSc degree

in Statistics at the London School of Economics and later became the Principal of Maralal High School, today he serves as the Chief Executive Officer of the Teachers Service Commission under the Ministry of Education in Kenya. Mr. Lengoboini has been key in facilitating meetings between the Laikipia Peace Caravan and the Kenya Vision 2030 Secretariat.

The significance of Maralal High School in enhancing the unity of purpose among the Caravaners can further be seen in the diversity of members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan who at one time or the other were classmates with members from either the Pokot, Turkana or Samburu communities respectively. Albert Panga a Pokot working as an Accountant and hailing from Amaya went to Maralal High School and was a senior to Solomon Lemunen a Samburu who works as a Human Resources Officer at Car & General in Nairobi. Solomon Lemunen, Wilson Loremoi, Daniel Lemeleny and John Ekale all met at Maralal High School, while Loremoi was in his final year the rest were in their initial year of study at Maralal. Today, Wilson Loremoi a Pokot who works as a Clinical Officer at Nakuru District Hospital, Daniel Lemeleny a Samburu works for Compassion International in Narok while Mr. John Ekale a Turkana works as a Teacher in Nairobi.

Wilson Loremoi, a Pokot who was born in 1977 in Baringo and now works as a Clinical Officer states that:

“Maralal High School has contributed to the success and unity we see today in the Laikipia Peace Caravan, since we have classmates from different communities who are today colleagues in the professional field. As a Pokot, I joined Maralal High School in 1993 and in 1996, John Ekale joined from Turkana, Daniel Lemeleny joined from Baragoi and Solomon Lemunen also joined from Samburu, they were in all in Form One when I was in Form Four, they are all great friends of mine till today, even though I did not go to university, we met in Nairobi since I went to Kenya Medical Training College while Lemunen went to Kenya Methodist University and Ekale went to Kenyatta University, while Lemeleny went to Daystar University, as friends we have shared our desire for our communities to live together in peace and when the initiative of Laikipia Peace Caravan was founded after the Kanampiu massacre, we all found ourselves playing an active role in urging our communities to live together in peace. The success of the Laikipia Peace Caravan therefore lies in the our shared experiences and our deep friendships that was made possible by attending the same schools, therefore I see the future of Laikipia Peace Caravan as sustainable since we still encourage many of our younger brothers and sisters to attend schools away from home and meet other people from Pokot, Samburu and Turkana if we do that then we will have no reason to pick up weapons and attack each other, to me Lemunen and Ekale and Lemeleny are my true friends, I don't see them as my enemies at all since we have shared so much together since our days in Maralal and that's the message we take to different places when we make joint visits among our communities as members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan”.

3.5 Facilitating Inter-community Dialogue

The Laikipia Peace Caravans approach to inter-community peace-building has been through facilitating dialogue among the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu communities. In my interviews and Focus group discussions⁴⁷ with community members and the LPC membership, the recurring sentiment was that the role of the LPC is to act as an avenue for community members to ventilate their issues openly and seek amicable solutions. To this effect therefore, several meetings involving warriors were organized particularly in common grazing areas such as Kanampiu in Laikipia North, Ntipakun and Lomirok in Samburu North and Amaya in East Pokot. The role of the Laikipia Peace Caravan in facilitating the formation of grazing and peace committees⁴⁸ in areas where communities share common pasture can also be pointed out, in its tour of Samburu North district between the 14th to the 20th August 2011, the Laikipia Peace Caravan helped in the formation of peace and grazing committees in Suyan, Kawap, Nachola and Marti.

3.6 Cessation of Hostilities

One of the major achievements of the Laikipia Peace Caravan is the cessation of hostilities between the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities, this was made possible by convincing *morans* to abandon cattle rustling, in a landmark event at Amaya market in December 2010, the Peace Caravan brought members of the Turkana, Samburu and Pokot communities to celebrate one year of peace in the region. According Laikipia Peace Caravan Chairman Richard Leshiyampe, the LPC identified *“a few morans and educated them on the need to end cattle rustling and live peacefully. In one year cases of rustling and the resultant deaths have dropped significantly. In the last year, less than 10 people have dies in cattle raids and this is tremendous because in the last few years hundreds were killed each year”* (Daily Nation, December 23rd 2010).

The 2004-2009 Pokot-Samburu violence over land and boundary disputes around Amaya led to the closure of schools such as Amani Primary School and the removal of Samburu students and teachers from the from Churo High School. The cessation of hostilities therefore enabled not only the reopening of these schools but the return to these teachers to return to work. The lifting of 'self-imposed 6 p.m. curfew'⁴⁹ at Baragoi centre and free movement of both Samburu and Turkana communities and their animals across the main Maralal-Baragoi-Loiyangalani road that was regarded as the divide between the two communities, this was made possible through the lobbying of Laikipia Peace Caravan for

⁴⁷ Focus group discussions with Samburu women in Amaya on 9th August 2011 attributed access to markets to Lakipia Peace Caravan

⁴⁸ Details of these committees are contained in Laikipia Peace Caravan Report on Samburu North district meetings held from 14th-20th August 2011.

⁴⁹ Notes from discussion with Lesuuda in September 2011.

a joint Turkana-Samburu Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) to be created to respond to conflict incidents. The situation is so stable that the Samburu North District Commissioner (DC⁵⁰) is now being allowed to go on leave. This was unheard of a year ago when even a request for sick leave would be denied in view of the insecurity.



Photograph 1: Pokot and Samburu *Morans* symbolically shake hands at Amaya Peace Monument in December 2010⁵¹

The first anniversary of the Laikipia Peace Caravan was celebrated by Pokot, Turkana and Samburu communities in December 2010 at Amaya. This was a very symbolic gesture given that a previous truce among these communities had been solemnized here and marked through the burial of “tools of war”. The presence of community members from these three communities as well as the Caravaners from the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana communities along with the media, gave the Laikipia Peace Caravan positive publicity that Kenyan media rarely gives pastoralist communities. According to respondents who are members of the LPC Secretariat the positive media coverage was

⁵⁰ District Commissioner (DC) is a government official in charge of security and administrative issues with a district under the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security in Kenya.

⁵¹ Courtesy www.laikipiawest.org The Peace Monument shown in Figure 3 above symbolised the Peace Pact between the Pokot and Samburu, it was initially agreed upon in 1913 and renewed in 2001, after cessation of hostilities, the celebration of peace during the first anniversary of the Laikipia Peace Caravan therefore is a renewal of the inter-community peace that existed pre-2005. Accessed on 12th November 2011.

critical in winning over many government officials and attracting even more professions from these regions who had not registered with the Laikipia Peace Caravan.

The Laikipia Peace Caravan has also used its influence among the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot to support government initiated disarmament programs in efforts to reduce armed conflict in these areas, meetings⁵² urging community members to hand over these arms were held in Amaya, Kapedo and Lorora. Minutes, reports and interviews with Laikipia Peace Caravan members indicate strong support for disarmament of pastoralist communities in Northwestern Kenya, given that politicians from these regions have never supported disarmament initiatives this marks a break from the past. In my analysis, the support to disarm pastoralists of illegally acquired firearms may stem from the shared view by many members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan of cattle rustling and subsequent killings purely as criminal offences. Respondents like Naisula Lesuuda are on record for advocating for the application of the rule of law in cases of loss of lives or property as a result of raids. Further, the need to bring the justice system closer to these communities was also point out by members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan as being key to applying the rule of law. These views therefore indicate a shift from the reliance on traditional justice systems to the application of the state judicial jurisdiction over offences and crimes within the width and breadth of Kenya.

The modest success of the LPC in trans-local peace building can be partly attributed to its willingness to partner with other organizations and groups based at the community level who have implementing projects aimed at peace building and development. A case in point is the partnership the Morijo Intergrated Pastoralist Programme (MIPP)⁵³, online reports from MIPP indicate joint peace meetings held on July 29th 2010 and attended by Samburu and Pokot community members at Siambu-Malaso, while another indicates a peace meeting held on July 30th 2010 with members of Pokot and Samburu communities in Angata Nanyukie, the main message being inter-community peaceful coexistence. This is also agreed to by Paul Mwaniki⁵⁴ (2011), when he attributes the peaceful grazing of cattle by morans from Pokot and Samburu communities in Laikipia West district.

⁵² These meetings were convened by Laikipia Peace Caravan members and attended by community elders, provincial administration and community members.

⁵³ Information about MIPPP can be found on <http://artofpeace.weebly.com>. Accessed on 15th May 2012.

⁵⁴ Paul Mwanikis article appears on Issue 048 of the Reject Online Bi-Monthly Newspaper of October 1st-15th 2011 it can be accessed at: http://www.mdcafrica.org/documents/reject/Reject_048.pdf accessed on 7th April 2012.

3.7 Peace Agreements

The partnership between the Caravaners, local elders, Community Based Organisations, Youth and Women Groups and the Provincial Administration in Kenya has also led to the formulation of measures aimed at peace-building in the region. The Damu Nyekundu Peace Agreement signed between the Pokot and Samburu communities living in Lorora and Ol Moran in June 2010 in Laikipia North district came against the backdrop of the Kanampiu Massacre, this peace pact was spearheaded by LPC members, Maison Leshoomo, Nderitu Mureithi and Richard Leshiyampe and Jonathan Lodumpui. While John Emeripus⁵⁵, a Turkana member of the Laikipia Peace Caravan helped in drafting the 13 Commandments to fight cattle rustling which was incorporated into the Kainuk-Sarmach-Turkwel-Masol Corridor Peace Agreement in December 2010. The treaty enables the Pokot and Turkana communities to share water and pasture resources thus reducing chances of conflict (Reject Online 2011, The Standard 2011). Sarah Lochodo⁵⁶ an Assistant Chief in Kainuk and a renowned peaceworker among the Pokot and Turkana captured the multi-stakeholders participation in the signing of the peace agreement:

"The peace agreement was reached following a meeting between elders from both the Pokot and Turkana communities. Police officers, professionals and chiefs were also present," (The Standard 23rd March 2011).

The Peace Agreement puts in place punitive measures in terms of fines and penalties against perpetrators from both communities, the offences listed in the agreement range from acts of murder, stealing of livestock and even interfering with beehives. The "13 Commandments" have enabled the recovery of stolen livestock thereby reducing cases of revenge attacks that often spiral into massacres as witnessed previously. For every cattle stolen the thief is fined four herds of cattle, this applies to cows, goats, sheep and camels. If one commits murder against a member of a different community (in this case a Pokot killing a Turkana or vice versa during a raid), the culprit and his family are obliged to pay the family of the deceased forty herds of livestock, in case of bodily injury, the perpetrator is fined twenty herds of cattle. The Peace Agreement led to the recovery of fourteen goats and six cows by the Pokot from the Turkana, while the Turkana have had to pay twelve goats as a fine for one cow. From the Pokot side eight sheep stolen from Kainuk have been returned and a fine of four goats paid to the Turkana for one goat slaughtered by the Pokot warriors.

⁵⁵ John Emeripus works as Information and Public Communications Officer at the Ministry of Information, Kenya.

⁵⁶ Ms. Lochodo was recently featured in Joan B.Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice 2010 Women PeaceMakers Program. Her page is http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/profile/SarahAkoruLochodo?xg_source=activity accessed on 19th May 2012.

3.8 Peace Dividend

The May 2010 meeting between the President of Kenya, Members of Parliament from the 32 arid and semi-arid districts inhabited by pastoralist communities in Kenya, Professional Groups and government officials noted the need for peacebuilding through initiation of development projects, it therefore agreed on a government budgetary allocation of KES 5.2 billion spread over two financial years starting from 2010/2011, even though this funding was subsequently allocated to the line ministries of the government of Kenya to cater for education, roads, energy, health and communication projects in the arid and semi arid lands and therefore not allocated directly to the professional organizations such as the Laikipia Peace Caravan, this in itself is a step in the right direction given the nonchalant attitude and insignificance with which pastoralist communities have been viewed by successive governments since the colonial period. It should not be lost to observers however that the Laikipia Peace Caravan identified a number of projects and indicated to the government the specific project areas:

| Area | Proposed Project |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Baragoi/Barsoloi | Aloevera |
| Malaso | Wind power |
| Wamba/Marti | Honey processing |
| Nkuronit logologo | Irrigation |
| Amaya | Irrigation |
| Tangulubei | Aloevera |
| Churo | Honey processing |

Source: Minute of the Eighth Meeting 2nd March 2011, Peace Caravan.

Table 1: Projects identified by LPC for implementation

Subsequent meetings with the Kenya Vision 2030⁵⁷ Secretariat indicates a reawakening and change of approach by the state and the need to partner with trans-local peace-building organizations such as the LPC to foster security and development within the

⁵⁷ The meeting with Mugo Kibati the Director General of Vision 2030 is contained in the Minutes of the 12th Laikipia Peace Caravan Meeting held on 27th July 2011 from 6.30pm to 8.30pm at Teleposta House, Nairobi. Vision 2030 is the Government of Kenya's Socio- Economic and Political blue print of making Kenya a middle-income state by the year 2030. More information http://www.vision2030.go.ke/cms/vds/Popular_Version.pdf accessed on 17th May 2012.

Kenyan state. The recent discovery of oil⁵⁸ in Turkana may also push future County and National governments to work more closely with trans-local peace-building actors by supporting peace-building and development efforts since this will enhance the government's ability to utilize the oil resource for the national good.

Further evidence of using development initiatives as a means of fostering sustainable peace can be seen in the fundraising⁵⁹ held on behalf of "reformed" Pokot morans on the 29th of January 2011 by members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, in my interviews the members saw these fundraisers as a means through which money could be pooled to fund "reformed" morans to start-up small business such as cattle trade for self-sustenance while also leading in attitude change on the possibility for warriors to provide for one's family without engaging in cattle raids or banditry. A total of KES 730,000 (7,300 Euros) was raised towards this effort through a broad based fund raising effort facilitated by the Laikipia Peace Caravan members and their friends from other ethnic groups in Kenya.

3.9 Peace Caravan Effect

The publicity and awareness created through the Laikipia Peace Caravan have seen the birth of a multiplicity of other Peace Caravans and the registration of the Peace Caravan as a Trust in Kenya, from my interviews with Peace Caravan secretariat members I further learnt that the original Laikipia Peace Caravan has further been restructured into Turkwel Peace Caravan (Turkana and Pokot professionals from Turkwel area), Suguta Peace Caravan (Turkana and Pokot), Waso Peace Caravan, Oasis Peace Caravan and Samburu North Peace Caravan to give more focus to professionals from these areas to deal more specifically with peace building and conflict resolution efforts affecting their communities, however, the coordination of all these activities are still done under the Laikipia Peace Caravan secretariat. According to minutes and reports from the Laikipia Peace Caravan, other "caravans" have sprung up across Kenya to address ethnic violence in different communities, among these are; the Kipkelion Peace Caravan which was formed by professionals from Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Abagusii communities to address land related conflict in Mtaragon area of Kamasian division in Kipkelion in the South Rift Valley, the Molo-Kuresoi Peace Caravan formed by Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Kisii and Luo professionals who hail from Molo and Kuresoi where violent conflict over land which was previously a settler scheme with many of these communities moving in from Nyanza and

⁵⁸ Oil was discovered in Kenya by Tullow Oil Plc in Nakukulas area in Turkana South District on 26th March 2012, more information can be found: [http://files.the-group.net/library/tullow/pdf/Tullow_Oil_plc-Ngamia-1_well_result_\(FINAL\).pdf](http://files.the-group.net/library/tullow/pdf/Tullow_Oil_plc-Ngamia-1_well_result_(FINAL).pdf) accessed on 17th May 2012.

⁵⁹ Details of this fundraising originates from my interviews in Amaya as well as from Minutes of 5th Laikipia Peace Caravan Meeting Held on 2nd February 2011 at Teleposta House Nairobi.

Central provinces. Ndeffo Peace Caravan draws membership from Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities in Ndeffo area in Molo which had been a theatre of post-election violence; it was formed to assist in reconciliation and peace-building. Kuria Peace Caravan was formed by Kuria professionals to address inter-clan⁶⁰ violence that had degenerated into massive loss of lives, displacements and cattle raids. Kericho Peace Caravan was also formed to enhance peace building efforts between the Luo, Kikuyu, Kipsigis and Abagusii communities, the aim being to use the influence of professionals coming from the ethnic border areas of these communities to lobby the government in addressing land related inter-community conflict as well as new phenomenon of cattle raiding along the Kipsigis-Luo border around the Sondu river.

The success of the Laikipia Peace Caravan can also be attributed to the ample media attention it has generated and received, given the fact that most of the people involved at the Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat are young people under the age of 35 and the Coordinator being a journalist, the Caravaners exploited the use of traditional media and news of Laikipia Peace Caravan appeared on all major electronic media outlets such as Citizen TV, Kenya Television Network, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation TV and NTV, further, the Caravaners embraced social media platforms such as *facebook* and *twitter* to spread their messages and share information on issues on peace building and conflict resolution. The following messages were sent and received from mobile phones and social media;

SMS From Naisula Lesuuda⁶¹ to Nairobi Caravaners

"Greetings Caravaners, please note that we will be meeting at 5.30pm at Teleposta 11th Floor, we have a lot of issues to discuss so lets keep time, thank you and see you then" - 17th September 2011

Twitter-Naisula Lesuuda

Good Morning. Off to a peace meeting with Samburu Morans #ThePeaceCaravan 26 Nov 2011

mugokibati MugoKibati "@Lesuuda:

#ThePeaceCaravan brings together professionals from warring pastoral communities who sacrifice their free time."Great initiative. 27 Nov 2011

Lesuuda Naisula #

ThePeaceCaravan acts as a voice but also a bridge between Govt and Communities and Politicians and vice versa!! Bring all together!!

⁶⁰ Inter-clan violence among the Abakuria pits the Wagombe clan against the Wakira clan, these clans are armed with illegal firearms.

⁶¹ Courtesy Ken Nadeiwa, August 2011, Eldoret.

Naisula Lesuuda @Lesuuda62

From where i come from girls sing to the young men to go raid, for that reason i have been singing to them to value life and embrace peace!! 7:41 PM - 13 May 2012

Araiyo @hija3000 @Lesuuda

congratulations! i remember the2009 attacks.i was in Isiolo @ the hosp&had a few clients.also participated in waso&oasis caravans

3:17 PM - 11 May 2012

From the ongoing exchanges of information through the social media, it is worthy of note that many people involved in the drive to achieve sustainable peace through public discussion by young men and women who see a role for themselves in finding a lasting solution to the perennial ethnic violence by their kinsmen and women, further, these Caravaners see themselves as change agents who not only seek the cessation of hostilities but to mentor their younger brothers and sisters in the villages in Turkana, Samburu and Pokot while also seeking the support of the government in terms of development. The use of conventional media especially radio has also been very crucial to the success of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, among the Samburu, Serian (Peace) FM⁶³ has partnered with the Laikipia Peace Caravan, the LPC Secretariat uses this avenue for broadcasting peace caravan events and to mobilize the Samburu community. However, the lack of reliable radio among the Pokot is a setback in information sharing and in peace-building efforts, the fact that the Pokot have to rely on one hour daily slot on KBC radio mean that incidences of tension, cattle rustling, or boundary disputes cannot be acted upon in time, it slows down any quick response by Ground Professionals in case of escalation of hostilities. The Turkana community however, use Radio Akicha 99.5 owned by the Catholic Church in trans-local peace-building efforts.

3.10 Reopening of Markets

The cessation of hostilities among the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu led to the reopening of markets and trade routes, the Samburu for instance are now able to trade with the Pokot in Amaya, Malaso, Rumuruti and Loosuk markets as a result of the efforts of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, in my initial visit to Amaya, I encountered four Samburu women who had travelled from Lonyek to come and purchase goat skins from the Pokot. The markets between these communities have been avenues for socio-economic interactions for centuries and the Laikipia Peace Caravan held some of its meetings in markets shared by at least two communities in conflict, the strategy being to hold a peace caravan

⁶² Courtesy of Naisula Lesuuda.

⁶³ Serian is a Samburu word meaning peace

meeting on a market day when the highest number of community members would be able to attend, perhaps this view is better portrayed by an article entitled “*Guns Fall Silent as Peace Efforts Pay Off*”, in this article, the authors narrate a story about Ronte Lemaramba a Samburu elder:

“Driven by a new initiative for peace, the lull in violence has caused excitement as it has created new opportunities for business. Markets such as Lolkuniani, which had closed, are now bubbling with activity. Dubbed the peace caravan, the campaign is targeting hotspots of violence in areas that have suffered tribal fighting over the years. It involves elders, professionals, and civil society groups, who are crisscrossing these areas urging various communities to accept one another” (the Standard 13th September 2010).

Other markets and health centers opened are Longewan and Suguta Marmar in Loroki division, Losuk in Maralal and Poro in Samburu west.

3.11 Integrating Trans-Local Peace-building into Peace and Conflict Resolution Policy in Kenya and the Karamoja Cluster

The visibility received by the Laikipia Peace Caravan has contributed to the formal recognition of informal and traditional conflict-resolution systems and their significant role in peace-building among pastoralist communities in Kenya. The National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management Final Draft (GoK 2011) state:

“Generally, non-state initiatives have formed the foundation upon which local conflicts have been addressed by both the government and communities” (GoK 2011:21)

The Government of Kenya through the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands (GoK 2009) has also recognized the crucial role played by non-state actors in peace-building efforts within pastoralists’ communities hence its aim to support locally initiated peace-building initiatives. The National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management which is the coordinating agency of all peace-building programs in Kenya under the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security has since included representatives of the Laikipia Peace Caravan in its deliberations and policy formulation in conflict resolution and peace-building. This is evidenced by the participation of Mr. Jonathan Lodumpui⁶⁴ a member of the Laikipia Peace Caravan Secretariat in policy formulation and training of peace committee members in Laikipia County. Further evidence of the growing policy influence of the Laikipia Peace Caravan can also be found in the invitation and participation of Naisula Lesuuda, Brigit Teko and Faith Akiru all members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan from the

⁶⁴ Mr. Lodumpui was part of the Laikipia County Meeting on Reconstitution and Training of Peace Committees in Laikipia West and North Districts in Rift Valley, held at Rumuruti in October 2010. The report can be accessed at: <http://www.nscpeace.go.ke/nsc/index.php/resource-library/downloads/5-reports?start=10> Accessed on 16th May 2012

Samburu, Pokot and Turkana communities respectively in the “*Karamoja Women for Peace Building Network Meeting*” held between the 25th and 26th of June 2010 in Eldoret, Kenya, this meeting was organized by Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism Unit of IGAD (CEWARN) to incorporate new inter-community peace building approaches within the Karamoja Cluster. Further interviews with Laikipia Peace Caravan members also revealed continuous consultations with the Senior⁶⁵ Officers at the Ministry of Internal Security over conflicts in Laikipia, Baringo, Samburu and Turkana Counties; this is further supported by minutes of such meetings.

The Laikipia Peace Caravan works in close partnership with Locational, Divisional and District Peace Committees, the Provincial Administration, and religious leaders such as the Turkana-Pokot Pastors Forum⁶⁶. It is believed that by forming this network of stakeholders’ information flow and planning on peace initiatives within these communities is better enhanced and inclusive. The all-inclusive approach to peacebuilding is further shown in the community leaders meeting organized by the Laikipia Peace Caravan and the District Peace Committees at Nanyuki⁶⁷ in October 2011 and attended by a host of government officials including the Minister for Internal Security.

3.12 Criminalisation of Gun Culture

The Laikipia Peace Caravan has taken a distinct view of community members who poses and use illegally acquired firearms as criminals, this is contrary to the view held by other stakeholders such as traditional elders and local chiefs who were previously accused of complicity in gun related crimes ranging from cattle raiding to killings and highway banditry. In my discussions with members of the Peace Caravan, they pointed out the need for the government to establish District Magistrates Courts at district headquarters in Chemolingot, Baragoi and in Turkana South to enable the prosecution of those accused of crimes such as murder, rape and cattle raiding. Naisula Lesuuda a Samburu journalist in an Interview with IRIN News presents the changing view of cattle raids and murders committed by warriors from these communities:

“The morans who raid our neighbours are thieves, killers. The women must stop singing

⁶⁵ Minutes of the 4th Meeting of the Laikipia Peace Caravan Held on 26th January 2011 from 6.15pm to 9.30pm at Teleposta House in Nairobi indicate meetings with the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and International Security.

⁶⁶ More information on the Turkana-Pokot Pastors Forum can be found at <http://wvpeaceprize.ning.com/forum/topics/pokotturkana-pastors-forum-1> accessed on 22nd May 2012.

⁶⁷ The Nanyuki meeting was held at Sportsman Arms hotel on 31st October 2011 and attended by government officials, the Chair of National Cohesion and Integration Commission, area Members of Parliament, District Peace Committee members, religious leaders, Laikipia Peace Caravan members and Pokot, Samburu and Turkana, Borana and Rendille communities.

praise songs for them or accepting stolen animals as dowry,” (IRIN, 24th September 2010)
Similar sentiments were expressed by a reformed Samburu warrior, a Mr. Lenkaitole⁶⁸ who viewed the violence between the Turkana and Samburu at Ntipakun in Samburu North district as impunity encouraged by the lack of prosecution of criminals who commit these offences.

4. Recommendations

The emergence of the LPC and its role in peace building and development among the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu is a great sign of the changing times among pastoralists' communities in Kenya. The LPC however has a huge task ahead if it's to achieve a prosperous and peaceful coexistence among pastoralists' communities in Northwestern Kenya, the emerging hostility and contests over rights to land and ethnic boundaries however poses a great challenge of to the resolve of the Laikipia Peace Caravan membership, it is therefore imperative upon the LPC to use the goodwill it currently enjoys from the Government of Kenya to tackle the issue of land and boundaries, through consultative process involving elders, women, warriors, the professionals, the government and even religious leaders. To address the issue of land the LPC will need to go an extra mile and prevail upon politicians from these three communities to refrain from inciting warriors to evict members of other communities who have settled in places such as Amaya, Kapedo and Baragoi. The Caravaners may use the legal system to achieve this since Chapter Six of the Kenyan Constitution⁶⁹ prohibits anyone of questionable integrity from seeking public office in Kenya.

Lack of information has contributed to the very low education standards among the Pokot in East Pokot district. In my stay there, I noticed that unlike the Samburu and Turkana who have radio stations where information is shared the Pokot in Baringo County are cut-off from information sources, this encourages many young people to drop out of school at primary level and thus seek upward social mobility only through warrior-hood. Initiating a community radio within East Pokot district will therefore go a long way in opening up the Pokot society to the outside world, the Laikipia Peace Caravan should prioritize the initiation of an inter-community radio that broadcasts in Turkana, Pokot and Samburu, this will enhance inter-community cohesion and strengthen peace building efforts.

⁶⁸ Mr. Lenkaitoles views are captured in the Laikipia Peace Caravan Report on the meetings held in Samburu North from 14th-20th August 2011. The Joint meeting between Samburu and Pokot warriors was held at Ntipakun on the 19th of August 2011.

⁶⁹ The Constitution of Kenya 2010 can be found at <http://www.kenyalaw.org/klr/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Acts/ConstitutionofKenya2010.pdf> accessed on 1st of June 2002.

The inclusion of the Pokot community in East Pokot district in the Group Title⁷⁰ deed of the Eltungai Conservancy is vital for trans-local peace building, while it is worth-noting that NRT management has recently appointed a Pokot as the manager along with six Pokot guards, an inter-community consultative approach to resolving resource access and allocation issues over Eltungai will be vital to the peaceful coexistence between the Pokot and the Samburu. The Caravaners must therefore lobby the government and initiate a broad-based process through which Pokot community members especially those who were evicted from their lands in Amaya can be part of the decision-making process on the future of this Conservancy. The divergent perspectives regarding Eltungai must not be ignored, to the Pokot Eltungai Conservancy is a land grab from the Pokot while to the Samburu, the Conservancy is an investment and a security insurance against Pokot raids, these issues must be harmonized for sustainable peace and development.

Supporting *Amani* schools is one of the ways through which Caravaners can socialize young people from these communities to look beyond warrior-hood to gain respect and admiration among their peers in the community. It is worth-noting that many schools in pastoral lands have been managed by churches and NGOs hence the Caravaners must continue to mentor young boys to seek education as a way through which they can contribute and influence their communities positively in the future.

Lesuuda & Kona⁷¹ (2011) identifies the movement and settlement of Pokot and Samburu in Laikipia in idle lands owned by absentee Kikuyu landlords as a major source of conflict between these two communities. It must also be noted that some observers also indicated that the Kanampiu Massacre in Laikipia North was an attempt by Pokot raiders to evict the Samburu from a 600 acre in order to gain exclusive pasture rights, hence the demarcation of land between the Turkana, Samburu and Pokot communities and indeed among other pastoralists groups will be key to future peace and development among pastoralists. The Caravaners therefore have a role to play in creating an enabling environment for discussions on land in these contested areas.

It is notable that the LPC has begun to address the issue of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), given that these communities are armed due to the inability of the government to provide them with adequate security, the Caravaners must lobby the incoming County governments in Turkana, Baringo, Laikipia and Samburu to prioritize

⁷⁰ Interview with Rev. Musa Maklab.

⁷¹ The Peace Caravan Comprehensive Report (2010) by Naisula Lesuuda and Daudi Kona, both members of the Laikipia Peace Caravan, it was written on behalf of USAID which initially funded the Caravaners, courtesy of Lesuuda.

security in pastoral areas, further, the Caravaners should seek to directly influence policy development and allocation of resources in both national and county governments as currently exemplified by Maison Leshomo⁷².

The Caravaners should also lead a discussion on diversification on food, in my work in these areas, I noted that meals comprise of *ugali*⁷³, *sukuma wiki*⁷⁴, beef, *githeri*⁷⁵ and sometimes milk. The Peace Caravan Comprehensive Report identifies food insecurity as one of the major causes of raids hence encouraging community members to exploit other naturally growing traditional vegetables will decrease the dependency on relief food. While most of these pastoral areas are arid, the fact that sedentarization of pastoralists is taking place in places like Churo should also be accompanied by education by government officials such as extension officers on farming methods. Further, irrigation can also be exploited along river Amaya and the Turkwel, this will boost food production and thereby reduce dependency on relief food and the propensity for cattle raids.

Devaluing political leaders who engage in incitements among the Pokot, Turkana and Samburu will be significant to sustainable peace. Lesuuda & Kona have identified Laikipia County as a theatre where Pokot, Samburu and Turkana politicians and political aspirants incite their communities during electioneering periods, the Caravaners should therefore use their influence to come up with a charter on leadership and integrity in line with the new Kenyan Constitution, this Charter should be deliberated upon and signed by civic, parliamentary, senatorial and county aspirants in Turkana, Samburu, Pokot and Laikipia Counties. It is observable that politics of exclusion or “us versus them” prevailed in the abandonment of the name “Baragoi” and the reversion to Samburu North district as the official name of this district with equal Samburu and Turkana populations, this is a negative sign in terms of trans-local peace-building and development since it implies that Turkana living in Baragoi (officially called Samburu North) are “foreign” to the area and therefore cannot claim equal rights to resource allocation. This must be discouraged at all costs.

Infrastructure development especially roads and communication networks for mobile phones will enhance peace building through prompt response during raids or banditry attacks. Opening up of roads in Samburu, especially tarmacking the road that passes

⁷² Leshoomo is a nominated MP, a Samburu woman and one of the patrons of the Peace Caravan.

⁷³ Ugali is the staple food in Kenya, its maize flour made into dough and eaten mostly with fish, beef, and/or vegetables

⁷⁴ *Sukuma wiki* is Kale in English is a green vegetable eaten by communities across Kenya

⁷⁵ *Githeri* is a traditional meal eaten in Kenya, it's a mixture of boiled beans and maize

through Eltungai Conservancy to Maralal is key to taming the raids and counter raids conducted between the Samburu and Pokot. Tarmacking the road from Loruk to Chemolingot is crucial since the District Commissioner of East Pokot and his security team sits at Chemolingot, the road connecting Nginyang to Kapedo should also be tarmacked to check the raids by Pokot and Turkana around the contested area of Kapedo. Lack of reliable mobile phone network also hinders information sharing among these communities, the Caravaners must therefore lobby the Ministry of Information and mobile phone network providers such as Safaricom and Airtel to extend network coverage to Samburu, Turkana, Laikipia and Baringo Counties, this will not only enhance security but it will catalyze entrepreneurship and development through mobile banking services such as M-PESA⁷⁶. It is appalling that pastoralists' communities have been left behind in mobile banking, which has seen growth in banking among rural Kenyans since the launch of M-PESA In March 2007. Mobile banking would spur growth in areas like Kapedo, Churo, Amaya and Nginyang; it would serve as a sure way of encouraging small scale enterprise among women and youth among these communities. Currently, Pokots from Amaya have to travel over 95 kilometers to Marigat to withdraw money from M-PESA agents.

The Peace Dividend that was negotiated by Caravaners in the meeting with the President of Kenya⁷⁷ in 2010 should be factored into the financial projections by the government of Kenya in its annual budget in the financial year 2012/2013. If the government fully allocates the promised 5.2 billion KES (about 48.7 million Euros) to the pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya, the Caravaners should hold a broad based consultative process through which community views on priority projects are identified and implemented, further the Caravaners must monitor how the government spends this budgetary allocation and ensure it benefits pastoralist communities in regards to roads, schools, security and health services.

The Peace Caravan must look at cattle raiding as a criminal offence, so long as inter-community raiding is justified as culturally acceptable, then peace will be elusive. Violent robbery is an offence under the Chapter 75 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Laws of Kenya⁷⁸. In looking at pastoralists violence as criminal, arrests and possible imprisonment

⁷⁶ MPESA is a mobile banking system initiated by Safaricom Ltd. An Overview can be found at <http://www.safaricom.co.ke/fileadmin/M-PESA/Documents/Presentations/2008.09.01-M-PESA Media Workshop.pdf> accessed on May 12th 2012.

⁷⁷ This meeting took place on 21st May 2010 and included Members of Parliament from pastoral communities, Permanent Secretaries and Professionals.

⁷⁸ This document can be found at <http://.kenyalaw.org/Downloads/Acts/Criminal Procedure Code.pdf> accessed on 21st May 2012.

of individual perpetrators by a court of law will deter other warriors from carrying out inter-community violence under the pretext of cattle raids.

5. Conclusion

This study has focused on Laikipia Peace Caravan and its work among the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana as a testament of the concept of trans-local peace building among pastoralists' communities in Kenya. The symbolic shift in upward social mobility from warrior-hood to educated and career-oriented young men and women from these communities is crucial to long-term peace building. To sustain this peace however, critical questions regarding land, boundaries, ranches, conservancies and illicit arms trade have to be tackled by both the government and the professionals.

The emergence of a mediated state in the arid and semi-arid lands of Northwestern and Northeastern Kenya through organizations like Laikipia Peace Caravan marks a complete shift from "gun diplomacy" previously witnessed in disarmament campaigns, this informed by the inevitability of the state to continue on the course of neglecting pastoralist communities living in its borderlands and the emergence of a critical mass of educated elite from pastoralist communities, these elites are the fore-bearers of emancipation among pastoralist communities in Kenya though their organizations therefore, pastoralist communities can not only tackle teething problems such as violent conflict that has bedeviled them for over a century but also take part in national discourses such as allocation and distribution of resources, at county and national government levels in Kenya.

Trans-local peace building as an off-shoot of the concept of the mediated state therefore exemplifies a viable approach through which sustainable peace can be attained among pastoralists' communities in Kenya. Given that this "peace" is brought by the sons and daughters of the Turkana, Pokot and Samburu through open and highly participatory inter-community dialogue in grazing areas and the initiation of development projects by lobbying for financial allocations such as the Peace Dividend, the Laikipia Peace Caravan is an avenue through which the very foundations of pastoralists violence in Northwestern Kenya can be addressed.

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7. Appendix

The Laikipia Peace Caravan List of Membership



THE PEACE CARAVAN MEMBERS DATA BASE

| NO | NAME | OCCUPATION | COMMUNITY |
|----|----------------------|--|-----------|
| 1 | Nderitu Muirethi | Laikipia West Member of Parliament | Kikuyu |
| 2 | Maison Leshoomo | Nominated Member of Parliament | Samburu |
| 3 | James Teko Lopeyetum | Director of Currency Central Bank of Kenya | Pokot |
| 4 | Sam Kona | Director Development Alternatives Inc. | Turkana |
| 5 | Joseph Samich | Director KEMRI | Pokot |
| 6 | Richard Lesiyambe | CEO Kenyatta National H. | Samburu |
| 7 | Abduba Nagele | IT Manager Serena Hotel | Somali |
| 8 | Jonathan Lodompui | Assistant Director Vision 2030 | Pokot |
| 9 | Dr. Timothy Panga | Physician | Pokot |
| 10 | Naisula Lesuuda | Journalist | Samburu |
| 11 | Daudi Kona | Development Specialist, Chermonics International | Turkana |
| 12 | Lenabaala Byron | National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Resolution, Ministry of Internal Security | Samburu |
| 13 | Andrew Panga | Kenya Army | Pokot |
| 14 | Lorengi Amos | Kenya National Assembly | Pokot |
| 15 | Luke Adoket | | Turkana |
| 16 | Amose Lentoimanga | Farmer | Samburu |
| 17 | Joel Lesootia | Kenya National Assembly | Samburu |
| 18 | Joan Chebet | | Pokot |
| 19 | Brian Kadukoi | University Student | Pokot |
| 20 | Saruni Lelekoiten | Accountant | Samburu |

| | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| 21 | Veronica Nachuch | Teacher | Samburu |
| 22 | Tilio Marko | Journalist | Pokot |
| 23 | Hasan Mamo | | Somali |
| 24 | Stephen Chiyan | Farmer | Pokot |
| 25 | Francis Lemoile | | Samburu |
| 26 | Ken Nadeiwa | Development Worker | Pokot |
| 27 | John Bulyar | University Student | Somali |
| 28 | Shukri Ibrahim | University Graduate | Somali |
| 29 | Faith Akiru | Central Bank of Kenya | Turkana |
| 30 | Loorubat Dickson | | Pokot |
| 31 | Philip Lelesiit | Kenya Wild Service | Samburu |
| 32 | Lemunen Solomon | University Student | Samburu |
| 33 | Joseph Ekiru | Business Man | Turkana |
| 34 | Hawa Sirayon | University Student | Samburu |
| 35 | Letowon Joseph | College Student | Samburu |
| 36 | Leserewa John | College Student | Samburu |
| 37 | Abduba Yatani | NGO Worker | Somali |
| 38 | Albert Panga | Accountant | Pokot |
| 39 | Joseph Rotich | College Student | Pokot |
| 40 | Jeneriah Lekilelei | Graduate | Samburu |
| 41 | Moses Kales | Graduate | Pokot |
| 42 | Bonaya Adano | | Somali |
| 43 | Daniela Lenatiyama | Graduate | Samburu |
| 44 | Nagilae William | | Turkana |
| 45 | Jackson Peng'at | | Pokot |
| 46 | Zacharia Sileta | Kenya Meat Commission | Samburu |
| 47 | Patrick Njue | | Kikuyu |
| 48 | Ropoki D. Lemeleny | Compassion International | Samburu |
| 49 | Robert Lowoko | | Pokot |
| 50 | Boniface Eng'olan | | Turkana |

| | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 51 | Christopher Areman | | Samburu |
| 52 | Kakuko Amos | | Pokot |
| 53 | Felistas Naserian | NGO Worker | Samburu |
| 54 | Florence Wangeci | | Kikuyu |
| 55 | Philip Ekiru | | Turkana |
| 56 | Makele Zeleiman | | Borana |
| 57 | Henry Ethokon | | Turkana |
| 58 | Anthony Ebu | Kenya Revenue Authority | Samburu |
| 59 | Bridgid Cheyen Teko | Barclays Bank of Kenya | Pokot |
| 60 | Tache Elemabuda | | Samburu |
| 61 | Lenanguram Joseph | University Student | Samburu |
| 62 | Dr. Lenai Joseph | M.O.H Naivasha District Hospital | Samburu |
| 63 | Amina Mohamed | | Somali |
| 64 | Habiba Gallo | | Somali |
| 65 | Philip Loburi | Securicor Ltd | Pokot |
| 66 | Panga Benjamin Yatich | University Student | Pokot |
| 67 | Esikwan Lucia | | Turkana |
| 68 | Joshua Lenoseuri | Administration Police | Samburu |
| 69 | Esther Chelimo | | Pokot |
| 70 | Irene Loyatum | | Pokot |
| 71 | Gabriel Letiwa | | Samburu |
| 72 | Tutui Nanok | | Turkana |
| 73 | Mark Leleruk | Principal Laikipia University College | Samburu |
| 74 | Daudi Lengoiboni | College Student | Samburu |
| 75 | David Muthee | Business Man | Kikuyu |

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