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Coexisting with Cultural “Others”: Social Relationships between the Turkana and the Refugees at Kakuma, Northwest Kenya

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INTRODUCTION

In the African continent, there are civil wars and ethnic clashes taking place in several countries. The ethnic conflicts in Rwanda that led to the massacre of 800,000 people are still fresh in our memory. It seems very difficult to find solutions to the civil wars in Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and Somalia. As a result of these serious situations, there has been a spread of negative views such as the idea that the old custom of tribalism is prevalent in Africa, and that people cannot overcome cultural frictions to create an orderly world spontaneously.

In this paper, I will try to overturn these images, by showing that people can find ways of coexisting with cultural “others.” This objective has relevance to the following anthropological theme. Anthropologists have repeatedly criticized the ideas that “primitive” societies have autonomous and unchanging cultures, and that they are independent from outer world. Anthropologists have also emphasized the events that people transgress cultural and ethnic boundaries and that a mixture of cultural elements is in progress. However, these arguments tend to interpret human actions in relation to political struggles and/or discourses on power relations. How it becomes possible for the people of different ethnic and cultural identities to coexist, and the kind of practices that are being attempted and taken up by the people have not been fully explored.

This paper deals with the Turkana of northwestern Kenya. Their population is about 300 thousands and most of them live in the Turkana District that covers an area of 68,000 square kilometers. Their land is very dry with 200 to 400 mm annual rainfall on average, and most of the people have continued a pastoral way of life keeping cattle, camels, goats, sheep and donkeys (*e.g.*, Little and Leslie 1999). This is one of the most remote areas in Kenya, being continuously ignored by the national development policies. I have been doing anthropological research in northwestern Turkana areas since 1978, based in the town of Kakuma, located 100 km northwest of Lodwar, the centre of the District.

In 1992, the Turkana in Kakuma area suddenly encountered the peculiar situation of having to live side by side with huge numbers of complete strangers. UNHCR set

up a refugee camp at Kakuma in order to accommodate refugees from Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, etc. The camp had more than 80,000 people in August 2001.

Needless to say, the Turkana had various experiences of associating with “others” previously. They live next to other ethnic groups, such as the Toposa, Jie, Dodoth, Karimojong, etc. However, these peoples lead pastoral ways of life somewhat similar to the Turkana, and their languages and cultures are not very different from those of the Turkana. There were some immigrants in the Turkana District such as Christian missionaries, governmental officers, workers of developmental agencies, and traders with whom the Turkana kept various contacts. However, they faced completely new experiences with the emergence of the refugee camp because the number of strangers was enormous.

The refugees did not have any contact with the Turkana before they arrived at the Kakuma camp. In the case of most refugee camps that were located near international borders in Africa, refugees and their hosts had kept close relationships before the camps were established. They sometimes belonged to the same ethnic groups and spoke the same language. They shared the same cultural backgrounds and kept close social relationships with each other, even having kinship relationships (Hansen 1993; Leach 1992; Lassailly-Jacobs 1994; Kok 1989; Merx 2000; Horst 2001). In this respect, Kakuma refugee camp was unique, because the refugees were sheer strangers for the host Turkana.

In previous studies of the relationships between the refugees and host population, some have argued that the hosts have been the beneficiaries of the refugee camps. They have pointed out that the local infrastructures have been improved and that employment opportunities opened when refugee camps were established. Others have shown that the hosts have been the “losers” because refugee camps exercised negative effects on the host population such as environmental degradation and the deterioration of public security (e. g., Chambers 1985). It has also been pointed out that refugee camps do not influence the host population uniformly, but hosts’ relationships with the camps vary according to age, gender, and experiences in school education. Thus, it is important to assess the positive and negative influences of the camps on the host population in detail, for the design and management of the camps.

However, in this paper, I will concentrate on showing how the Turkana created ways of coexisting with the cultural “others,” by repeated interactions and negotiations, even though there were occasional conflicts. The Turkana, as well as the refugees, were able to take full advantage of the resources and opportunities that were brought from outside. They built interdependent relationships spontaneously that were beneficial to themselves, and which humanitarian interventions had never foreseen.

KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

I visited Kakuma area first in 1978. After that, I continued to visit to conduct anthropological research. Over the years, children grew up, got married and became fathers and mothers themselves. Members of the families that I have gotten to know

well became independent and made their homesteads here and there.

In June 1992, I first got the news that a refugee camp would be opened at Kakuma. I remember that day very well. Four elderly Turkana men visited my homestead with the news that the refugee camp, which had been built at Lokichoggio would be transferred to Kakuma. Lokichoggio is a small town near the border of Sudan and Uganda, about 100 km northwest of Kakuma. I was already informed a few weeks ago that Sudanese refugees had flooded into Lokichoggio. The Turkana men told me that a vehicle had come to some places near my homestead in order to investigate the area. My homestead was located about 6 km north of the town of Kakuma. I wondered why they had come so far from the town, and supposed that they were planning to set up the camp far from the town. I was so ignorant at that time, and I could not imagine the camp would be so huge that it would spread from the town to my homestead.

The four old men were worrying about the camp, saying, “In Sudan, people are killing each other. We will not agree to letting dangerous strangers come and settle nearby.” After three days, several young men brought other news to me from Kakuma: they said that many people would be employed in the construction work for the refugee camp. One of them, who had been employed on road construction work before told me excitedly, “We can get a big job. We will be paid 50 Shillings a day.” He asked me for some scissors to cut his hair, which was woven in the traditional style, in order to get a job. He was wearing a shirt and trousers that day, although he usually wore only a sheet around his body. To my regret, I could not see the refugees, because I had to come back to Japan a few days later.

I visited Kakuma the next time in October 1993. I was very surprised to find that the landscape had changed drastically. Kakuma was crowded with strangers taller than the Turkana and with much darker skin color. Some of them had cut marks in their forehead. They were the Nuer, of whom I have read about in the classic ethnography, *The Nuer*. I was really surprised to meet them in the Turkana land. Others were Ethiopians, with a smart urban manner. Along the roadside, the refugees were busy selling a variety of goods in the open air such as blankets, clothes, powdered milk, oil, rice, and wheat flour that were supplied to them by aid agencies. Formerly, Kakuma had only a few shops that stood on both sides of the street. But now, there was a second shopping street, on which even reggae music tapes were sold. Kakuma seemed to have swelled ten times its former size. I went to see the general manager of the refugee camp at the UNHCR office. He told me that the camp held about 35,000 people.

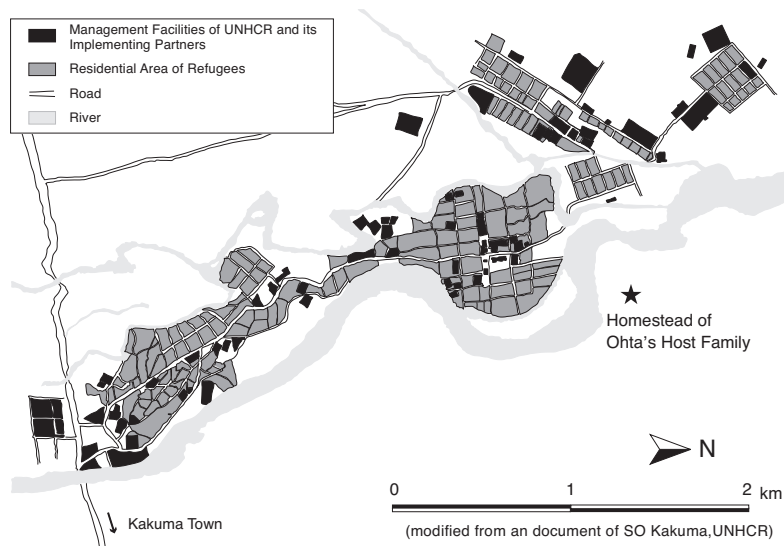
The camp appeared almost out of nowhere and is still there twelve years later¹). It covers an area of about 2km x 5 km (Figure 1), with UNHCR and NGO offices and a residential area for the officers in the southern part. Its population grew to over 80,000, with people from nine countries (Table 1). The Sudanese are the most numerous (80%), followed by the Somalis (15%) and Ethiopians (3%). The number of males is larger than females, and there are large numbers of children under 17. It is best to keep the number of refugees in a camp at less than 20,000 (UNHCR n.d.), but Kakuma camp holds more than four times that number.

Relief goods and working funds came into the camp on a massive scale, which

Table 1 Population of refugees of Kakuma camp (August 28, 2001)

Country of origin	Sex	0-4 yrs	5-17 yrs	18-59 yrs	≥ 60 yrs	total	%
Sudan	F	4,169	9,539	10,508	418	24,634	30.7
	M	4,764	15,597	19,153	332	39,846	49.6
	T	8,933	25,136	29,661	750	64,480	80.3
Somalia	F	796	1,826	2,819	110	5,551	6.9
	M	964	2,119	3,557	71	6,711	8.4
	T	1,760	3,945	6,376	181	12,262	15.3
Ethiopia	F	83	171	342	8	604	0.8
	M	104	242	1,436	9	1,791	2.2
	T	187	413	1,778	17	2,395	3.0
Uganda	F	38	51	56	0	145	0.2
	M	27	56	114	2	199	0.2
	T	65	107	170	2	344	0.4
DR Congo	F	18	38	44	1	101	0.1
	M	18	35	141	1	195	0.2
	T	36	73	185	2	296	0.4
Rwanda	F	14	29	41	1	85	0.1
	M	15	36	79	1	131	0.2
	T	29	65	120	2	216	0.3
Burundi	F	2	14	23	1	40	0.0
	M	14	15	54	2	85	0.1
	T	16	29	77	3	125	0.2
Eritrea	F	0	1	5	0	6	0.0
	M	2	1	21	0	24	0.0
	T	2	2	26	0	30	0.0
Liberia	F	0	0	1	0	1	0.0
	M	0	0	1	0	1	0.0
	T	0	0	2	0	2	0.0
Stateless	F	0	15	37	0	52	0.1
	M	6	14	35	1	56	0.1
	T	6	29	72	1	108	0.1
Grand totals	F	5,120	11,684	13,876	539	31,219	38.9
	M	5,914	18,115	24,591	419	49,039	61.1
	T	11,034	29,799	38,467	958	80,258	100
%		13.7	37.1	47.9	1.2	100	

Source: UNHCR Sub-Office Kakuma
 F: Female, M: Male, T: Total

**Figure 1** An overview of Kakuma refugee camp

exerted a profound influence on the local Turkana. Before the camp, Kakuma was a small town of slightly more than 2,000 people in 1989. Its population grew up to more than 9,000 according to the census of 1999, and many Turkana, mostly the destitute who lost their livestock due to draught, swarmed and settled on the periphery of the town. They take firewood, charcoal, materials for building houses such as tree branches, and milk from livestock to the camp to sell, and they buy cheap foodstuff there. The price of livestock took a jump because of the high demand for meat. The camp accelerated the spread of a cash economy among the Turkana. Young men with school education were employed by UNHCR and its partners as various types of officials, school teachers, drivers, guards, and physical laborers.

The camp is not merely a place of residence for refugees. It bears all the characteristics of a large town (Kurimoto 2002). People of different nationalities and ethnic identification, speaking multiple languages all live there. Their cultural and religious backgrounds are also different. The camp has kindergartens, primary and high schools, vocational schools, a hospital, clinics, libraries, community centers, churches, and mosques. People engage in business briskly at restaurants, general stores, butcheries, and vegetable shops. There are theatres that show videos of various movies and promotion videos of popular singers like Michael Jackson. Several restaurants have satellite broadcast dishes, and we could watch soccer games taking place in Italy. There are also copy services, international telephones, and international remittance services. Bicycle-taxis come and go busily on the roads of the camp. It surpasses all we usually imagine when we think of refugee camps (Photo 1).

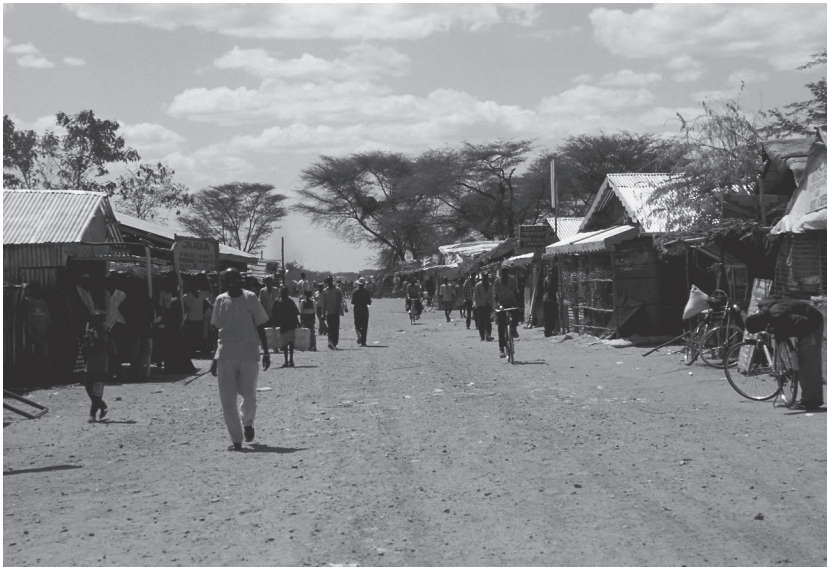


Photo 1 Main street of Kakuma refugee camp

TURKANA AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

Before I examine the relationships between the Turkana and refugees, I will take a general look at how the Turkana regarded and associated with “others” before the Kakuma camp was established.

In Turkana language, *emoit* (pl. *ngimoi*) means “an enemy” and/or “a non-Turkana.” I was always called by this term in the early years of my research among them. As I came to understand a few of their words, I was very shocked realizing that was what they called me, because at that time, I understood the term as signifying an enemy. I asked my research assistant, a Turkana boy of about 15 years old, “Am I an *emoit*?” He was at a loss for an answer, but he finally told me, “Yes, you are, because you are not a Turkana.” Later, I realized that the term *emoit* means both “an enemy who attacks us and raids our livestock,” and merely “a non-Turkana” depending on the context. However, they never apply the term among themselves, even for those who have conflicts and troubles.

They have an idiomatic expression similar to “Oh, my God!” which they utter when they are surprised, shocked, and impressed. But instead of “my God,” they say “Turkana people,” as well as “my people” and “XX (name of the deceased father).” In this expression, it seems that they take pride in themselves, and make a clear distinction between themselves and others.

However, when we investigate their relationships with others closely, we can see other aspects. The Turkana border several ethnic groups and have direct interchanges with them. The relationships of the Turkana with these neighboring groups have both hostile and friendly aspects. They have continued to raid livestock from one another. Formerly they fought with spears, bows and arrows, but they began to acquire weapons like AK-47s from neighboring countries that were going through civil wars, and many lives have at times been lost in these conflicts. When these clashes have gotten out of control, governments, NGOs and local elders have intervened to make peace, which usually does not last very long. People have repeated the cycle of peace and war over and over at one to two year intervals²⁾.

However, the purpose of the fighting is not to exterminate their neighbors but to acquire livestock, which is very different from modern war. Even while two groups may be overtly hostile, individuals on both sides maintain close social ties. They are relatives and friends, visiting each other and exchanging goods or livestock. They cross over the ethnic boundaries, and marry each other. For example, I know one family that came from Jie land in Uganda and settled in Kakuma area. Their men married Turkana women. Everyone knew their origins, but it was not problematic at all.

Another Turkana man mentioned that his ancestors came from the Samburu, another neighboring ethnic group, when one of my colleagues who was conducting research among the Samburu visited me at Kakuma. I was very surprised because this was the first time for me to hear this story directly from him, although I had already been informed that his ancestors came from Samburu land. In short, ethnic boundaries are not rigidly fixed but people move across the boundaries. It is common for them to

alter their ethnic affiliations over time.

TURKANA’S VARIOUS RELATIONSHIPS WITH REFUGEES

In the language of the Turkana, there was no term for refugees. They call the refugees *ngi-dinkae*, which originated from a term “Dinka,” which signifies an ethnic group in Sudan who account for the majority of the refugees. Currently, refugees are also called *ngi-kakerak*, which is derived from *aki-ker*, which means “to run away, to dread.” In Swahili, the refugees are called *wakimbiji* (sing. *mkimbiji*), which is derived from *ku-kimbia*, which means “to run.” This Swahili term seems to have been translated into Turkana language³).

The Turkana and refugees have had various violent clashes with each other. These were especially frequent in early years after the refugee camp was established in 1992. The Turkana accused the refugees of cutting trees for firewood and building materials; trees which played vital role for the Turkana. They also claimed the refugees beat Turkana children, stole livestock, and killed donkeys that strayed into the refugee camp.

The Turkana have a great deal of pride and often act in a provocative manner even among themselves. When I walked with Turkana men in the refugee camp, they frequently heaped abuses on the refugees who happened to be passing, calling out things like “You are thieves!” As well, when we were walking through the refugee camp, a Turkana woman warned me saying, “Don’t leave the other Turkana. You should walk side by side with them. Aren’t you afraid of the refugees? I am afraid of them.” For the Turkana people, the refugees are total aliens with different cultures and languages. The refugees appeared suddenly and become their neighbors, and in order to make a living, it was inevitable for the Turkana to make contact with them.

The Turkana actively cultivated personal ties with refugees (Ohta 2005). They formed quasi-marital relationships and friendships, or became business customers. At first, I was astonished to learn about these social ties, but afterwards when I got a closer knowledge of these ties, I began to think that this was a very Turkana-like way of forging social relationships. They have built personal social relationships with the refugees, regardless of their ethnic affiliations. I will describe these relationships below.

1) Friendship through gift exchanges

Some Turkana have made friends with refugees through exchanges of gifts. This is in accordance with Turkana custom. Among the Turkana, people seek to make friends by begging and giving tobacco, food, and goats in the later stages. This relationship is not between individuals, but involves family members on both sides and is termed “bond-friendship” (Gulliver 1955). It seems to me that the Turkana did not experience the slightest difficulty in applying their custom to the refugees.

In the case of a Turkana friend of mine named Mogila, things shaped up as follows. First, his wife took milk to the refugee camp to sell. One day, she sold it to a refugee

woman, who asked her to bring milk every day. She continued to take milk to her, and they became friendly with each other. Mogila's wife sometimes gave out the milk free of charge, and the refugee woman gave her rationed maize flour, etc. in return. Then, Mogila's wife took her husband to the refugee camp and introduced him to the family of the refugee woman. They were treated to a meal, and given a blanket and a cooking pot. Then a few days later, the refugee family visited Mogila's homestead. Mogila slaughtered a goat for them. The refugees ate some of the meat there, and took other parts home.

I did not witness this process directly, but I had a chance to visit the refugee family together with Mogila. In the refugee camp, several houses share a fence to make a compound. When we entered the compound of the family, about ten people came out of houses, holding out their hands to us and calling Mogila's name. We could hardly understand each other's languages, but one refugee woman knew a bit of Turkana, so we could communicate through her interpretation. Although the head of the compound who was Mogila's close friend was absent, we were taken to one of the houses to have cups of tea.

Then, because I was with the Turkana, they called a refugee man who was a teacher at a primary school in the refugee camp and could speak English. I could ask questions with him as an interpreter. The wife of the head of the compound, who was the first woman to get acquainted with Mogila's wife, told me the same story as had been told to me by Mogila's family. They were Dinka-Bor from Sudan. We were given cups of tea with plenty of sugar. It was a special treat, because sugar was not supplied to refugees by UNHCR and it was not easy for them to obtain it.

Mogila slaughtered one goat for every two more refugee families. He was given blankets, cooking pots and food, and assistance when he visited the hospital in the refugee camp. Another Turkana friend of mine gave four goats to a refugee between 1997 and 2001. Although it is not easy to estimate how frequently they establish this kind of relationship, roughly speaking, one out of ten of the Turkana households I am well acquainted with has built up a "bond-friendship" with refugees. The Turkana have applied their traditional ways of making friends to the refugees. It seems that whether the other party is a Turkana or an outsider is not a consideration. What is important for them is to cultivate personal relationships through face-to-face interactions, and through definite exchanges of gifts.

2) Marital relationships

Some Turkana and refugees have marriage-type relationships. In most cases, Turkana women are married to refugee men, while the opposite is rare. After the camp was established, Turkana girls took milk, firewood, charcoal, and building materials to the camp to sell, because that kind of task is mainly done by them. They learned Kiswahili quickly, which is a common language in the camp, and some girls acquired even a lot of words of an Arabic dialect, which is a common language in southern Sudan. Then, some of the girls got on intimate terms with refugees, and started to live together in the camp.

The bridewealth was not paid in most of these "marriages." That is, these were not formal marriages for the Turkana. However, it is common among the Turkana that unmarried girls have sexual relationships with men and give birth to children. In such cases, the biological father of the children should pay a fixed amount of livestock to the patrilineal kinsmen of the girl as compensation⁴. The father (or elder brother) of the girl will be the "sociological" father of the children. Neither the girl nor her children are stigmatized. They stay either with the girl's father or her boyfriend.

Having this tradition, the Turkana were not strongly opposed to the love affairs between Turkana girls and refugee men. However, when the girls had children, their kinsmen were very forceful in their demands for compensation, which sometimes led to severe conflicts. Some refugees refused to pay, saying that it was unfair for them to pay the compensation, because the child would belong to the girls' family even after the payment was made. Other refugees agreed to pay in cash, because they do not have livestock. However, they should have had hard negotiations because the amount that should be paid is not clearly prescribed. When the confrontations heated up, the problem was sometimes taken to the office of the Turkana chiefs for arbitration⁵.

I have no statistical data on how stable these kinds of relationships are. They are sometimes short-lived. In one case, a Turkana girl was chased away when she became pregnant by a Sudanese refugee. Kinsmen of the girl visited the refugee for negotiations, but he denied that he was responsible for the pregnancy. When the girl gave birth, her kinsmen went to see the refugee again to demand compensation because the baby's physical characteristics showed that its father was a Sudanese. The refugee refused to talk, and an outraged Turkana shot him dead. It seems that the couple's relationship was just a passing passion.

However, other cases show that there are also long-lasting relationships. I learned this from a case of a Turkana man who married a refugee woman. I know only three cases of this marriage pattern. In two of them, a Turkana man married a Toposa woman. The Toposa live in southeastern Sudan and their language is similar to that of the Turkana, and these two groups have kept close social and economic ties. In the third case, a Turkana man married a Dinka-Bor woman, and he happened to be a kinsman of a family with whom I have been on friendly terms.

His name was Elis and he was in his late twenties. He had never attended school. He was employed as a construction worker at the refugee camp. Susan, the woman he married, came to Kakuma in May 1999, and met Elis there. In September 2000, they had a baby girl. Susan's family demanded bridewealth of 20,000 Kenya Shillings (about US\$300), and he completed the payments by August 2001 with his salary. Susan's father lived in Sudan and had visited Kakuma only once to see Elis. Susan's mother and brothers lived in the camp and demanded gifts. Elis gave them five goats and a lot of alcohol, according to him. The couple was living in a Turkana homestead during 2000–2001, but moved to the refugee camp in 2002.

In August 2002, I visited their home. Elis was working as a night watchman in the camp. I met him when he came back from a day's work in the morning, and he took me home. Their home was located in the north end of the camp. Susan was at home



Photo 2 Food Distribution Card (The numbers 1–10 at the upper right shows the number of people entitled to distribution. On this card, the number 3 has been punched.)

and welcomed me. The house was small. It had only one room with a straw-thatched roof and mud plastered wall. Her relatives and neighbors came to greet me one after another, and Susan introduced me to them. Three Turkana men accompanied me and Susan spoke with them in fluent Turkana, which came as a real surprise to me. However, it was natural, considering that she had lived in a Turkana homestead for over a year.

Then, she went out of the house saying that she would prepare cups of tea for us. Elis told me that he was registered as a refugee and showed me a ration card that enabled him to receive rations for three people (Photo 2). After a while, Susan came back with cups of tea, and then she treated me to a lunch of noodles. When I finished the lunch, she finally sat with me and began to explain her predicament to me.

She had been living with another man before she arrived at Kakuma camp, and had one son staying with her. The boy was attending primary school and she asked me to pay school fee for him. She also asked me to assist with the food expenses for her family. When she spoke to me in an Arabic dialect, to my surprise, Elis translated her talk into Turkana for me. It was very careless of me not to realize that Elis was so fluent in Arabic. Elis has been living with Susan for years, and he has also had a lot of contact with speakers of the language because he has been employed in the refugee camp.

I was very impressed with both of them, as they had built a stable partnership and surmounted the language difficulties. This example shows that both the Turkana and refugees have high potential for creating personal relationships with cultural “others.” It should also be emphasized that they made these relationships entirely on their own initiative.

CONCLUSION

The Turkana established personal relationships with the refugees through various other channels as well. For example, some Turkana take care of the refugees' livestock. Refugees buy livestock from the Turkana, and sell it to butcheries in the camp to earn money. But there is no space to keep the livestock in the camp, and the refugees are prohibited from keeping them outside the camp. However, Kenyan police and administration officers turn a blind eye when the refugees entrust their livestock to the Turkana. Some Turkana women engage in the trade of milk, firewood and charcoal, and have regular customers among refugees with whom they have cultivated stable personal relationships. It is impossible to overemphasize their distinctive ability to form these relationships.

When the Turkana interact with others, it has been pointed out that, in face-to-face interactions, they demand that they each be involved deeply in the present situation (Kitamura 1991), and that they are able to bring out others' activeness (Kitamura 1997). It has also been argued that they do not rely on external reference points as laws and rules, but take impromptu measures suited to the individual occasion when they seek mutual consent (Ohta 1996; 2001). The Turkana always deal with others in terms of "You who are in front of me," not as "He/she who is away and absent."

"You" and "I" belong to the same space and time. "You" have several attributes, but you are a living body who cannot be reduced to mere attributes. "You" and "I" have direct and concrete interactions in looking for ways to coexist. However, "He/she" is an object even when it exists just in front of us. Imagine a scene, in which you are looking at a crowded street. "He/she," who is passing by, might be a youth, a woman, a foreigner, etc., who belongs to a certain category and who does not have his/her own individuality. Then "I" can detach myself from personal interaction, and take transcendent position, from which I can "control" others.

It is one of the distinctive characteristics of the modernity that we make others "absent" while placing ourselves in a subjective place from which we can manipulate others (Oda 1997). When we regard an ethnic group as exclusive and monolithic and place others as members of such a group, the others lose their own individuality and become "absent." The Turkana, on the contrary, persistently try to place others in the position of "You" who are present and irreplaceable, not "He/she" who is absent and replaceable. The Turkana created various personal relationships with the refugees who abruptly appeared amongst the Turkana. This shows that they have maintained and applied their "principle of collaboration" (Kitamura 2002) to cultural "others," without making them "absent."

NOTES

- 1) The comprehensive peace agreement was signed between the Sudanese government and the southern Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) on 9 January 2005 in Nairobi, Kenya, which brings an end to 21 years of civil war. The Sudanese refugees might begin to go

- back, and the Kakuma camp will be gradually closed, although it might take quite a while.
- 2) Livestock rustling causes serious insecurity today. The nature of some livestock raiding has changed into mere robbery, in that plundered animals are directly taken to urban areas to sell (see Hendrickson *et al.* 1996, 1998).
 - 3) Some Turkana are clearly aware of the original homelands of the refugees. They call Ethiopians *ngisituopiai* (sing. *esituopia*), Somalis *ngisomali* (sing. *esomalit*), Zairean *ngisairei* (sing. *esaireit*), Ugandans *ngiugandai* (sing. *eugandait*), Rwandans *ngiruwandai* (sing. *eruwandait*), Burundi *ngiburundi* (sing. *eburundit*), and Sudanese *ngisudanya* (sing. *esudanyit*). Among the Sudanese, who make up the majority of refugees in Kakuma, Turkana people recognize such groups as Dinka-Bor Nuer, Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal, Ngok Dinka, Shilluk, Lotuho, Didinga, and Acholi. The latter three groups were known to the Turkana before the refugee camp was established.
 - 4) Regardless of the sex, 11 head of large livestock (cattle and camels) and 20 head of small livestock (goats and sheep) should be paid for the firstborn, and one head of large livestock and 10 head of small livestock for the second born and so on. Recently, there has been a tendency to substitute small livestock for large livestock. When the biological father of children has a close social tie with the patrilineal kinsmen of his girlfriend/wife, these payments can be postponed for a long period.
 - 5) Turkana chiefs are government officers in direct contact with the public.

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