Finding the way forward

Reporting from a Gathering of Pastoralists at Koora, Kajiado District, Kenya, August 2008







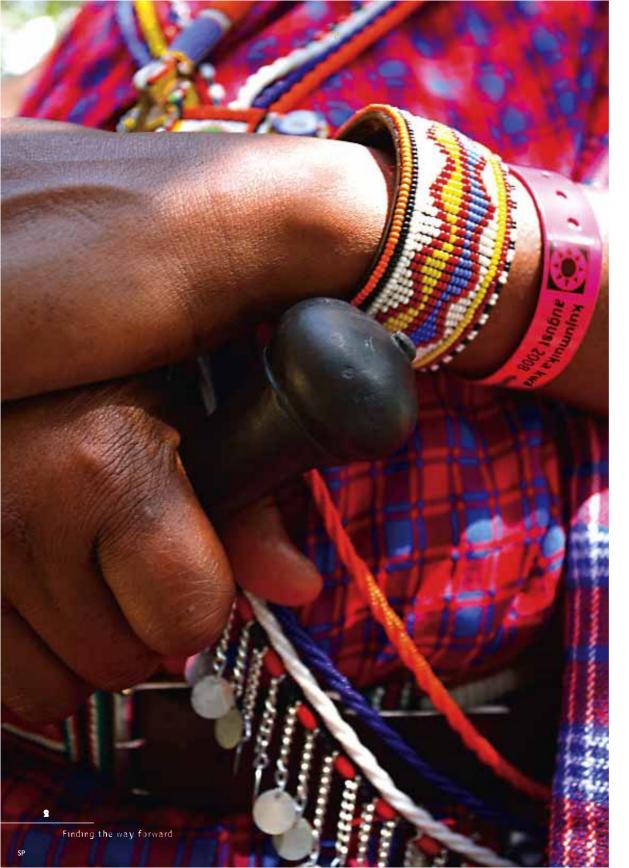












Finding the way forward

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WELCOME TO KOORA ------ LAND ----- PEACE ----- GOVERNMENT ----- OUT OF KOORA





here had been no rain for four months in southern Kenya, yet just as delegates approached Ol Donyo Onyoike Group Ranch, rain clouds swept in to release a deluge on the parched grassland. Eighty kilometres south of Nairobi, the pastoralist gathering in Koora, Kajiado District, started auspiciously with the unexpected rain, which is always a blessing.

Turning left off the Magadi Road, the powdery yellow soil quickly turned to mud. The tented camp was wet and soggy, yet a rainbow shimmered overhead. Clumps of soil clung to boots and sandals. The committee made introductions and offered goat stew with ugali and sukuma wiki. As the rain settled in, small groups sipped warming drinks under the sheltering verandah of their tent.

The morning was still and cloudless. Moisture clung to the straw coloured grass. In the mess tent there was tea and coffee with cow's milk or camel's milk. A group of elders sat to discuss and settle the agenda. Pastoralists from all corners of Kenya and Ethiopia filtered into the meeting area, slipping off shoes to sit on mats, or alternatively in safari chairs around the perimeter, in the shade of surrounding trees.



OPENING PRAYER BY MAASAI ELDER FROM KOORA, TUMAIN

Nai intaiki iyioko osotua k tiatuwa ena tiim ana ekor lenakop ang ekenya ole eth tepookin naitutumo iyook. 1 Nai intisipa nena baa pook osotua, lenakop-ang orkilanai irukoki iyook nena nik ulo anamatak onotote a kulo oshon pookin onotote opia. Tamayiana iyook Jai iriwaki iyook enjan. in nikiimaki naipirare -orok. Naa tenkarna ino ito mano iye Enkai-ang.





WELCOME TO KOORA

JOSEPH OLE KISHAU

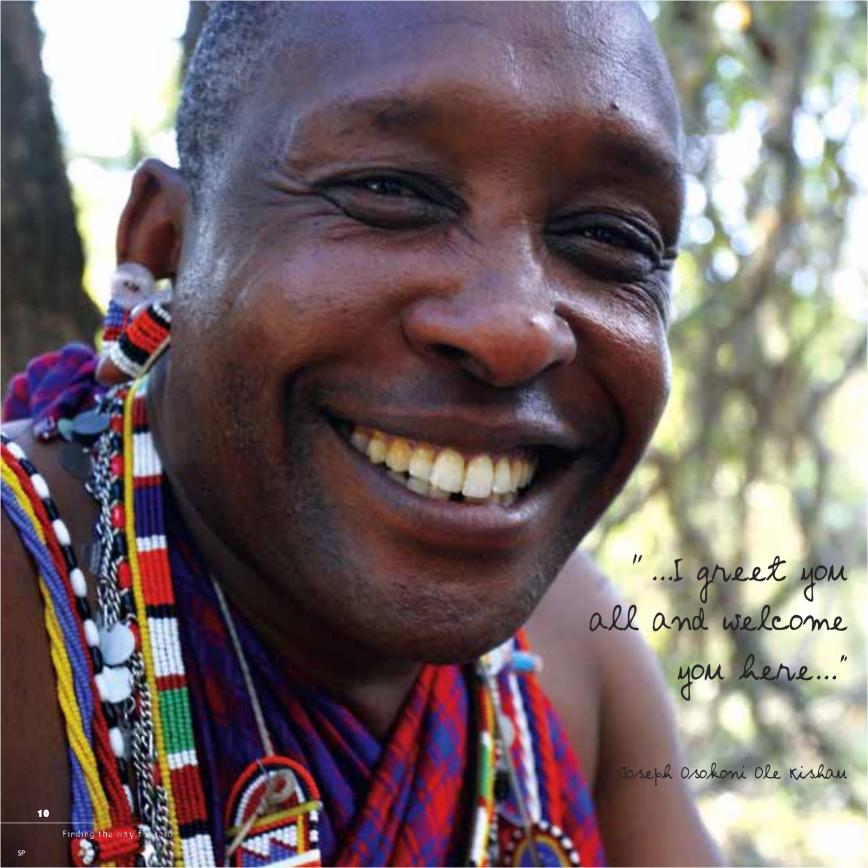
MAASAI ELDER, RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE, LEADER OF THE GATHERING

I'm called Joseph Osokoni Ole Kishau. I am from Namuncha village, Naivasha District in Kenya and I am one of the elders responsible for setting up this meeting. I greet you all and welcome you here.*

I want to welcome our leaders. I believe they also rear cattle like us. When they hear the mooing of a cow they hasten to where it is coming from. By the way, that is why it has rained, because the elders have come. I want to inform you why we have called you here. In May this year we had a meeting in the Maasai Mara. We realised that we had important issues to discuss; things like the national land policy, the Kenyan constitution, the creation of the new Ministry of Northern Kenya, and Vision 2030. As pastoralist communities it is imperative for our position to be known on all these important

issues. We agreed in that meeting that we should involve people from Ethiopia, but for us to take the leading role to see if we can make it a success.

^{*} The words reported in this document have been translated into English from a variety of languages.





TUMAINA OLE KILEU

LEADER OF MAASAI GENERATION & ASSISTANT CHIEF, KOORA

My name is Tumaina Ole Kileu, I come from here, I was born here at Koora and I am still living here. Thank you very much for coming here for this meeting today. This place of ours is an arid area as you can see. We are very happy to be here with you so that we can find a way to help one another. We Maasai live the way that you see. During the dry season we bring our livestock here and during the rainy season we move. We want to talk, cooperate, and see whether we can get help from our government. You can see we are very happy. People have come from all over. This meeting will benefit us pastoralists and people from other countries. Today let's talk and see how we can

benefit. Since we are here with the leaders who understand the problems of pastoralists, problems like drought, when they go back they will be able to represent us better. I would like to welcome all visitors. Koora is for pastoralists. Our minister, Honourable Mohamed Elmi, has arrived and also Honourable Ole Kaparo. We pastoralists are united and ready to cooperate with the people who have come to help us.

JOSEPH OLE SAKAYA

MAASAI ELDER, CHAIRMAN OF THE OL DONYO ONYOIKE GROUP RANCH, KOORA

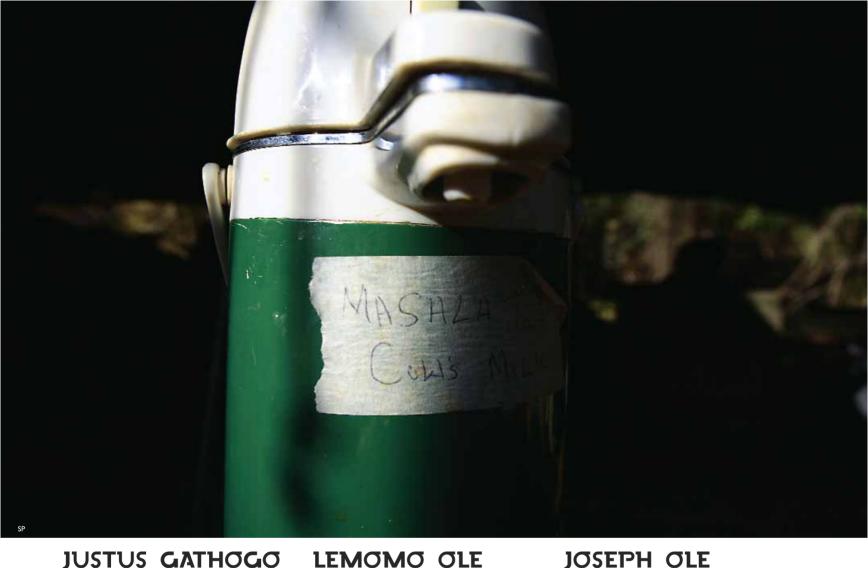
My name is Joseph Ole Sakaya. I am the chairman of this group ranch called Ol Donyo Onyoike. The ranch has 1,157 members and occupies an area of 68,000 hectares. The residents are all Maasai. We

keep cows, goats, sheep and camels. We all have donkeys for transport. In this group ranch we live under one title. It has not been subdivided. We welcome you all. Please feel at home.

HIRAM KAHIRO MAINA

DISTRICT OFFICER, MAGADI

I am the administrator in charge of law enforcement and security here. I personally have worked with pastoralist communities for the past seven years and I know, without any fear of contradiction, that there are certain problems specific to pastoral communities that you as pastoral communities need to discuss. Therefore fear not; discuss all that affects you without fear. I am very happy that the Minister is here, because some of the things you are discussing touch on policy issues.



JUSTUS GATHOGO

DISTRICT LIVESTOCK OFFICER, KAJIADO

 \mathbf{I} would like to give thanks on behalf of the Kajiado pastoralists for bringing this meeting here. Eighty percent of the population of Kajiado district is pastoralist, so this is the right place for holding such a meeting. You will talk about insecurity, water for livestock, pasture and land degradation. I ask you to take this meeting seriously. It will make your problems disappear tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. The solution lies within yourselves.

KERETO

MAASAI LEADER, KOORA

Tsee you have already taken off your shoes. So feel at home.

JOSEPH OLE KISHAU

 $T^{
m he}$ elders have welcomed us. So now let's start discussing what brought us here.

Finding the way forward

THE AGENDA

MOLU KULU

GALGALO

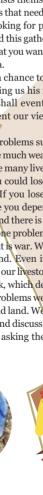
 $\frac{\text{GABRA YAA ODOLA LEADER, UPPER EASTERN}}{\text{PROVINCE}}$

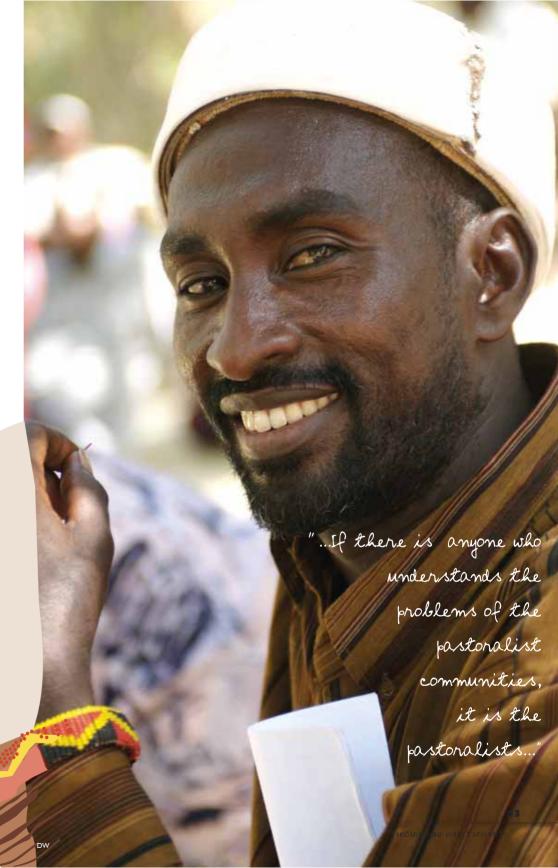
The report we received about the Maasai Mara meeting from *Mzee* Ole Kishau prompted us to come together and have a meeting to deliberate. We realised that our main problem as a pastoralist community is that we have no forum where we can discuss the issues that concern us. We agreed that if there is anyone who understands the problems of the pastoralist communities, it is the pastoralists themselves. It is they who know the pressing things that need to be talked about. That is why we went looking for people from pastoralist communities to attend this gathering. When we visited you, we asked you what you wanted to discuss. It was you who set the agenda.

In this meeting everybody will have a chance to contribute. Each person will start by telling us his name and where he comes from and we shall eventually come to a consensus before we present our views to the government.

We pastoralists are faced with many problems such as drought, insecurity and so on. We have much wealth in terms of livestock. Today you may have many livestock but tomorrow you might be poor. You could lose that wealth because of war and drought. If you lose livestock, life can be very difficult because you depend on those animals. Rain comes from God and there is nothing we can do when the rains fail. The one problem that gives us a bigger headache than drought is war. We also have a major problem concerning land. Even if God gives us rain, if there is no land to graze our livestock we cannot succeed. Our wealth is livestock, which depend on water and pasture. So the biggest problems we have are these three things: drought, war and land. We have called you here so that we can debate and discuss these

issues and find solutions before asking the government to help us.







NURA DIDA

CHAIRMAN OF OROMIA PASTORALISTS' ASSOCIATION, OROMIA REGIONAL STATE, ETHIOPIA

We are herders. We derive our livelihood from livestock. We herders are people who live where we live in this country and are known as such. We have our laws and our traditions and we are known by all these things. Our livestock are valuable and beneficial to us and beneficial to others as well. There are different forms of wealth; our wealth is in livestock - cows, donkeys, goats, camels and horses. We know our wealth is superior to the kind of wealth other people have. Last night every person here asked for tea with milk. Milk comes from our wealth. People choose to

eat meat. Meat also comes from our wealth. Our wealth has value and people like it. Keeping livestock is hard work but most people do not value our work; they do not respect it because they do not know it. Also as pastoralists we do not respect our work either. In short, if we respect ourselves and our work, other people will respect us too.

Before we start seeking help from other people, we ourselves must first appreciate our own way of life. We must know our work. We must know what we ourselves need to do, so that our work gets the recognition it deserves. After we recognise our work, after we know our capabilities, our problems, our strengths and weaknesses, then we shall be able to solve the problems we are facing. After knowing and understanding all these things, then and only then can we go to the

government and tell it what we want. I want to tell you that if there is any work we are supposed to do for ourselves, we had better do it before we approach the government or any foreign donors for help. It is meaningless for us to expect others to do for us what we are supposed to do for ourselves. This meeting is not about asking for aid; it is meant for us to know and understand what we need to accomplish for ourselves and what we can ask the government to do for us as its citizens. When we open the meeting we shall start to identify what we need to do for ourselves and what we shall sak others to do for us.

AMBASSADOR DR. HUKKA WARIO

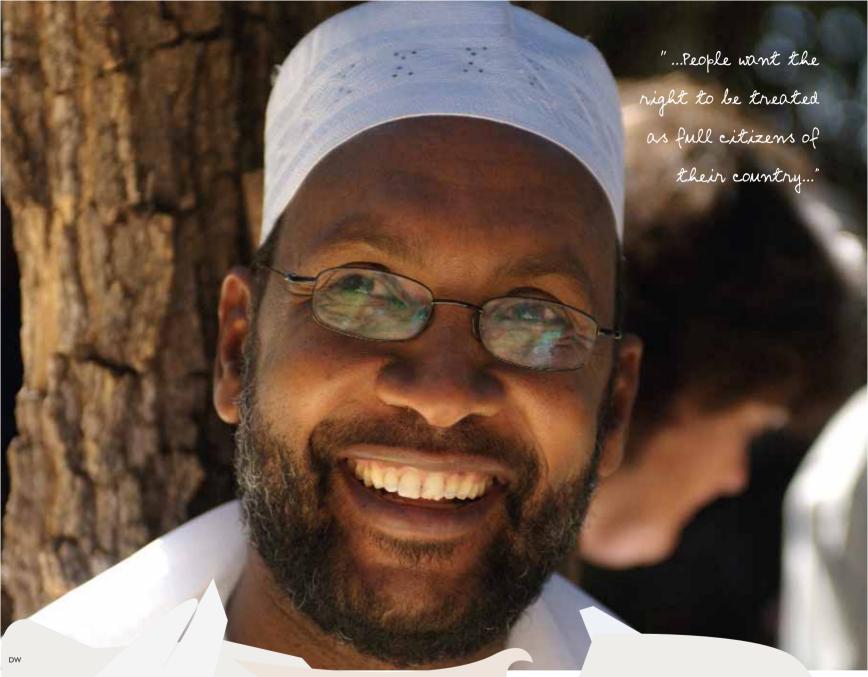
PERMANENT SECRETARY, MINISTRY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN KENYA AND OTHER ARID LANDS

I am Dr Hukka Wario, the Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands. Jarso Mokku, one of the organisers, involved me in this meeting from the beginning. We have written two letters to Ambassador Francis Muthaura, asking him to facilitate our visitors from Ethiopia to come here. I have decided to come and join my fellow elders. I would like to assist in doing the translation.

HON. MOHAMED ELMI, MP

MINISTER OF STATE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN KENYA AND OTHER ARID LANDS

I would have loved to give my speech in one of the pastoralist dialects, but today I shall speak in English so that it can be understood far and wide beyond our borders. I request the Permanent Secretary to translate it into Kiswahili. I shall return on Friday evening to spend the night with you here. I would like to tell the person who said some of the MPs are not here that many of them will come and will spend the night with you. On Saturday I shall come with some employees from my ministry and we shall spend the whole morning with you so that we can discuss everything on your agenda here.

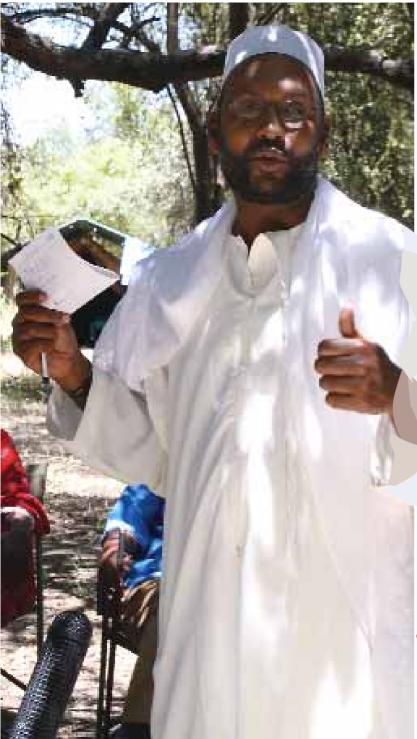


I am delighted to have been invited to join you at this gathering and to officiate at its opening. It is a great pleasure to be here with you in Koora today.

On behalf of the government of Kenya I would first like to welcome all delegates to this gathering, in particular those from our neighbouring sister state of Ethiopia. As pastoral peoples we share a rich heritage and culture. I offer them my hand of friendship and wish them a fruitful and peaceful stay in Kenya.

Our two nations have much in common. In today's world no country can achieve peace and prosperity in isolation. In my view, Kenya's future prosperity will be built on the strength of its ties with its neighbours. The country's untapped potential lies in the people and resources of its northern regions – areas that, until now, have been excluded from the gains made by the country

as a whole. My ministry was created to address this challenge, and to reverse the decades of marginalisation from which pastoralists in particular have suffered for too long. Over the past month we have held a series of consultations with people across the arid districts, inviting them to give us their priorities and to say how they would like this ministry to work. This process is still underway but some consensus is emerging.



People want:

- The right to a secure life, free from violence, poverty and hunger.
- The right to an education and not just any education, but one that is reconciled with the particular circumstances in which pastoralists live.
- The means to trade, travel and interact with those in the rest of the country on an equal basis through a properly functioning transport and communications infrastructure.
- And finally the right to be treated as full citizens of their country, subject to the same laws and obligations, but benefiting from the same rights and opportunities.

I would like to emphasise the last of these points. One of the reasons for the chronic marginalisation of northern Kenya has been the persistence of certain myths and misunderstandings about the area, its people and their production system. We need to fill this gap in knowledge and build bridges of understanding between peoples of different backgrounds and cultures. Events such as this are a wonderful illustration of how mutual respect and understanding can be enhanced.

I look forward to our discussions on Friday and Saturday when we will meet to talk about the role and mandate of my ministry. In preparation for that meeting I would like to invite you to think hard about the following two questions. First, how can we build these bridges of understanding between different peoples? Second, how can you, as elders, help us move forward?

In closing I would like to thank most warmly the pastoralist elders who took the initiative to organise this meeting and to make it happen. I wish you well with your deliberations and look forward to seeing you again on Friday evening. With these words I now declare this gathering officially open. Thank you.









"We own 80% of Kenyan land. Why are we fighting and killing each other? We should talk and discuss our issues because we are our own worst enemies. The solution lies in our hands. So let's speak with one voice." Ali Wario



Now we want to know about the national land policy of the country's constitution and what arrangements have been made so that the land will belong to the citizens. We want to talk about trust land, common land, and group ranches.

THE LAND

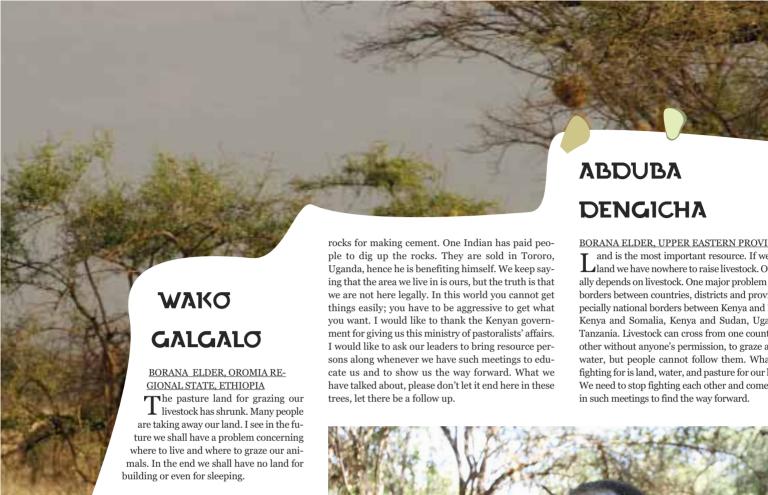
DEBATE

EJEMA GODANA

ORMA ELDER, COAST PROVINCE

Where I come from in the Tana Delta we have a land problem. There is an area in Tana that has been targeted by the government. The government wants to take thousands of acres of land to grow sugarcane. Pastoralists are protesting. If this land is taken, we shall lose our livestock and that will be the end of

pastoralism there. They have asked us to request the support of this gathering because we are very few. In 1974 the drought was severe and the Tana Delta saved the lives of livestock from an enormous area, from Mandera, Moyale and Wajir. This area is very important in Kenya and it should be documented as such.



EMMANUEL LOTIM

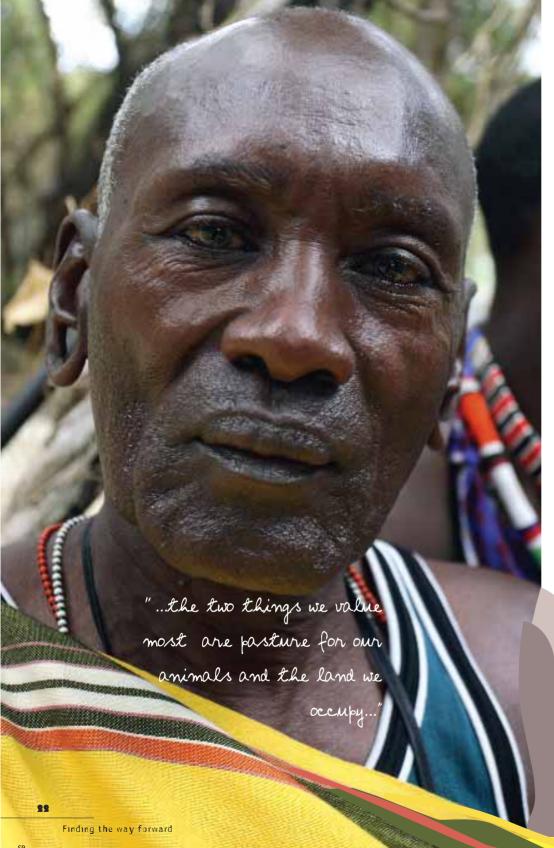
POKOT ELDER, FORMER MP FOR KAPENGURIA, RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE

am from West Pokot; our capital is Kapenguria. Land is a very big issue; even if we discuss it at length we cannot come to a conclusion. Pastoralists have problems among themselves. Colonialists brought us this land problem; they burnt our houses and drove us from Transzoia to West Pokot. We live on trust land. How can we change this so that each one of us owns his land? There is an abundance of minerals in my area. The miner comes with the people from the Land Office and is given a title deed for that land. Three thousand people, the true owners of that land, don't have title deeds, yet this one miner steals their land. For example, in our region there are

BORANA ELDER, UPPER EASTERN PROVINCE

and is the most important resource. If we have no Land we have nowhere to raise livestock. Our life really depends on livestock. One major problem is having borders between countries, districts and provinces, especially national borders between Kenya and Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, Kenya and Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania. Livestock can cross from one country to another without anyone's permission, to graze and drink water, but people cannot follow them. What we are fighting for is land, water, and pasture for our livestock. We need to stop fighting each other and come together





FRANCIS LENGES

SAMBURU ELDER, RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE

The land issue is the biggest problem for pastoralist communities because, as livestock rearers, the two things we value most are pasture for our animals and the land we occupy. Take, for example, the place where we are gathered here. It is a ranch owned by the Maasai Community. Look at it. It is fertile, surrounded by big trees providing good shade, with plenty of pasture for their livestock. This is because they own it. Where we come from is arid with no such trees or pasture. We are therefore asking the government to give us title deeds or group ranch status for the ownership of that land. Because this is the major cause of frequent fights among pastoralist communities.

ALI LOBEKER LOBUIN

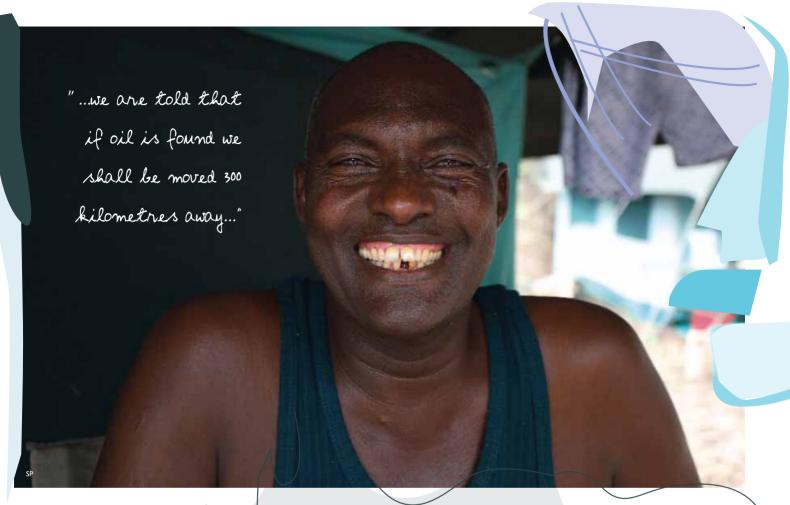
TURKANA ELDER, RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE

Thave learnt a lot from the Maasai community. I have witnessed that these people know how to conserve the land. I come from a Turkana community and I have seen that the people who will show us the way are the Maasai. Land issues are very common with pastoralists. We are denied our rights. There are people drilling for oil in our area but we, the locals, don't know what is going on. It is good for us to know our borders. We want the government to give every individual his land. We also want Kenya Wildlife Services to be allocated land because they are very helpful to us. I am very happy that the minister came to the gathering; now he knows our problems.

AHMED SALAT FANKEI

POLITICIAN, NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE

T come from the new Wajir West District. I was a L civil servant until last year when I left to join politics. Land is a very touchy issue. I want to say this. People were prospecting for oil, especially during the seventies and eighties, in the North Eastern Province. After they left there were a lot of problems. Many livestock died and human beings were afflicted with many



diseases, such as cancer of the oesophagus, but up to now the government has done nothing about it. I am a health specialist in this region and we don't know what is causing this cancer affliction. There is lots of speculation; some were saying poison was buried underground. I don't think any experts have ever gone to that area to tell us what the truth is. Right now companies are prospecting for oil in Wajir and Isiolo Districts. I was in their camp one month ago and I saw many abnormalities. Being leaders we shall be blamed in the future for not pointing out these abnormalities. There is an organisation or parastatal called the National Environmental Management Authority. Whenever there are national projects in this country, like housing projects, they make an environmental impact assessment. We are here now with Minister Elmi. I am requesting the National Environment Management Authority to visit the area to conduct an environment impact assessment in that area. After that is done we, being Kenyan citizens, need to know the outcome of that exercise.

MOGOLE HAIBOR

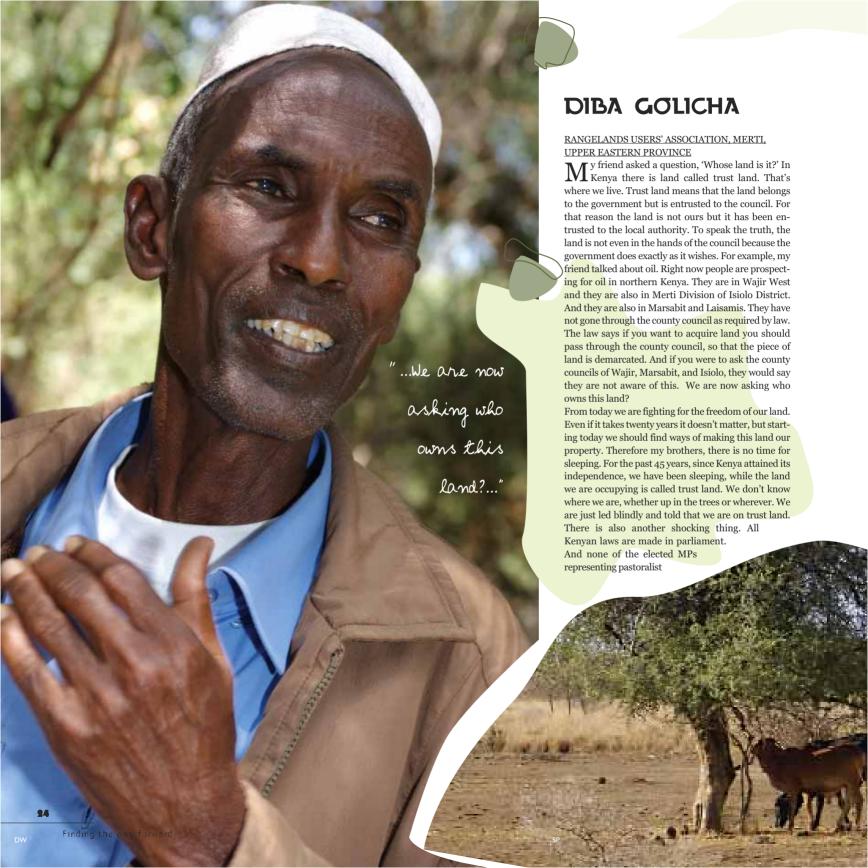
RENDILLE ELDER, UPPER EASTERN PROVINCE

Today's agenda is about land. It sometimes makes pastoralists' blood boil. Do pastoralists know about land? We own cows, goats and camels. But do we know who owns the land? The land is not ours; it belongs to the government. Why have we, the pastoralists, been called together to talk about land? The next item on the agenda will be war. The land is not ours so what are we talking about? It is like this; today in this Koora ranch, if the government finds a project and needs this land we shall be told to move. Where do we move? So where is the land we are talking about? Let the government talk about the land and tell us where to go and where not to go. Kenya has both fertile and arid land, but the land is not ours. The way pastoralist land issues are treated is like a

woman with two husbands. Sometimes we are told the land is ours, and then we are told the land belongs to the government. Let the land belong to one person. If it is Maasai land let it belong to the Maasai. I want good cows, good children, and good land. Whose land is it? We pastoralists don't own land, so let the government give us land, then we can sit and talk about it. There is a rumour that there is oil in Marsabit District and we are told that if oil is found we shall be moved 300 kilome-

tres away. Where shall we go after being chased out? Yet they say the land is ours.





communities are here with us, except Honourable Elmi alone, and we are grateful to him. Therefore we are asking our MPs to be in the front line in this fight so that we own the land and do away with this trust land thing to become community land. So that those who live here own the land.

JOSEPH KAYONI

MAASAI ELDER, RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE

ur land problem is brought about by our present • Kenyan constitution, because this trust land business falls under the Kenyan constitution. There is a problem with trust land and group ranches, because group ranches are part of trust land. Group ranches are not covered by the constitution of Kenya. They are just part of land policy. In Magadi we have four group ranches bordering the mining area of Magadi. The mining area of Magadi is benefiting Europeans and the government, but the group ranches in that area do not receive any benefit. The government issued a 100 year lease to the Magadi Company in 1911. They renewed the lease before it ended without informing the community. Therefore I support the people when they complain about trust land. One problem with the land policy is that trust land is administered by a land board, not by communities. The people who are in the land board are not pastoralists. If you have an individual ranch, you can sell it without involving the family. I have a suggestion that whenever we have a forum like this, let the Permanent Secretary and the Minister for Lands come and listen to our views. Because we shall never find a solution if these government representatives are not present. If they are here at least our voices will be heard.



Also the MPs for pastoralists should be in forums like these. We would like to tell them our problems, such as diseases, markets, water, and wildlife. We are being squeezed from all sides.

ISMAEL GEDI

DIRECTOR OF KENYA LIVESTOCK MARKETING

to do business and secure loans. It is not fair for the commission to give title deeds only to people with money. The Equity Bank says it can give loans to pastoralists of northern Kenya under the group arrangements for pastoralists that we launched in Garissa with the Hon. Mohamed Abdi Kuti, the Minister for Livestock Development. The land is ours but what is under it is not ours. If there is oil or copper we would like to talk with the company concerned so that we may share the profit.





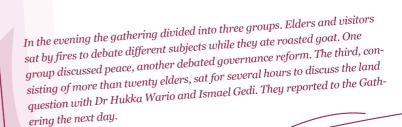
AMBASSADOR DR HUKKA WARIO

So many people come to our offices. Some want to invest, some are conservationists, others are prospecting for oil. Joseph Kayoni said that he wants the people from the Ministry of Lands to be in our meetings. To answer his question; I wrote a letter to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Lands, Madam Dorothy Angote. I received a reply through a land officer who is an expert. That officer will come tomorrow to talk to you. You can ask him about trust land, northern Kenya, title deeds and everything else. My job here is to listen to your views so that I can pass them on to the Minister of State for Northern Kenya and

Other Arid Lands. I thank Emmanuel for his views about cement in West Pokot. I know there are people prospecting for gold in Turkana.

I have worked for the government in various positions; I was an ambassador, but I've never had a job as challenging as this one of northern Kenya. We are very serious with this meeting, I won't say more.











THE LAND GROUP REPORT ISMAEL GEDI

We discussed the land problem last night at length. It is important for everyone to have access to land because land was there before the government. We want the government to look at the colonial map and determine boundaries. The biggest problem facing pastoralists is trust land. Trust land is given to the county council, under the ministry of local government, on behalf of the citizens. Trust land will become community land. It will be managed by the community land board, but there are many questions about how it will be managed.

THE REFORM GROUP REPORT

JOSEPH KAYONI

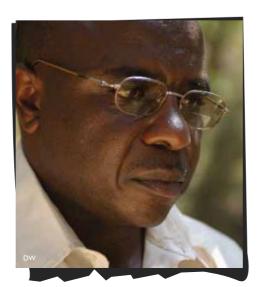
In the discussions to revise the constitution, the Bomas draft says that trust land should be changed to community land and there should be a national land commission appointed by the President. The pastoralist MPs should look very carefully into the clause concerning communal land. The national land commission should reconsider. There are resources that some Kenyans have but pastoralists do not. We want to share

the national cake equally. We would like to propose a group to see to it that our needs are met. The government should look into the issue of land and security because we pastoralists have suffered for so many years.

REUBEN MURUGU

COORDINATOR FOR LAND POLICY AND LAND REFORMATION, MINISTRY OF LANDS, KENYA

he first thing is to come up with a land policy. But ▲ since 1963 we in Kenya have never had a land policy. That's why the government now wants to make this policy, though admittedly it is late. The policy document was started in 2004 and now we have written the final draft. If the cabinet approves, it will go to parliament. The policy has considered the three categories of land we have: government land, trust land and private land. Two people have authority over government land: the President of Kenya and the Commissioner of Lands. The policy suggests that this authority is not good. Government land will be public land, trust land will be community land. But who will make decisions for public land? Commissioners will be appointed from every region. Their names will be taken to parliament, then to the president for approval. People will be appointed from the community. But the policy will only give direction. If it goes



through, there will be a law called the Land Act. There are two special land policy categories in Kenya. They will be treated individually. First the pastoralist lands and the coastal ten mile strip. I have those policy papers. I will give them to you to read. Pastoralism should be recognised in that Act, not just as a way of life, but as a means of production.

Questions

- Is this policy draft real and not something imaginary?
 Was this draft written by the Commissioner of Lands or the Ministry of Lands?
- 3. Were the coast title deeds genuine or were they political?

REUBEN MURUGU's

Answers

 \mathbf{F} irst question. We don't put these policies on our shelves so please believe we are serious. Second question. There are four elders here among you who helped draft this policy. I cannot give an answer to the coast question because the chief registrar is the one who gives title deeds, beside office.

Questions

- 1. How are national land commissioners elected? Is it at grass roots level, district level, provincial level or national level?
- 2. Trust land is under the jurisdiction of the county council. Why is it that people prospecting for oil are sent by the government? If the county council is in charge of trust land why do prospectors come without informing us?
- 3. Our land is trust land; why are we not given title deeds?
- 4. In Kenya we have a constitution problem. But this land policy is being treated like an emergency. Why?



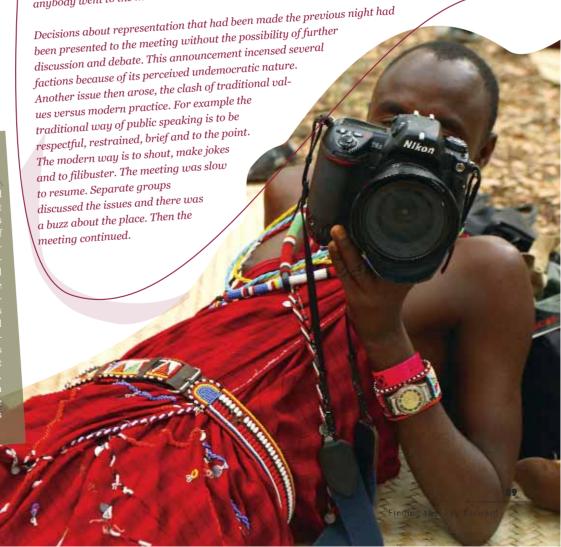
REUBEN MURUGU's Answers

 ${f F}$ irst question. The policy document only gives direction. It is the Land Act that will determine how the commissioners will be appointed. Second question. All minerals belong to the state, but if the government wants to drill for oil on your *shamba* [land] it must consult you, so there must be consultation between the county council and the government. Third question. The issue of adjudication has taken a long time; for example in Meru North an adjudication started in 1960 and up to now no title deeds have been issued. But the Minister of Lands is looking into this matter. Fourth question. It is policy that gives direction to the law and the constitution, so the policy is passed before the constitution.

MOGOLE HAIBOR

and is our greatest concern, and clarity of trust land downership is the most important issue. We know it has been a confused situation. The Koora Gathering has made a start on understanding the potential impact of the new National Land Policy. Yet, what powers the communities have over their land is still ambiguous. The situation is getting better and we prefer the ideas contained in the draft land policy to what we have had before. We especially prefer the change from trust land to community land. Elders have agreed to follow up their Members of Parliament to safeguard us against any new proposal that Reuben did not explain here. The process of following up with our MPs is now taking place. Discussion is also underway with other pastoralist elders, who did not come to Koora, to understand the new policy statement. We want Parliament to pass this draft policy soon. Then our role of agreeing with each other how to regulate use of pasture and water will be easy. Elders have always done it when we have known our power over land.

Just before the tea break things became heated. Ismael Gedi, the director of Kenya's Livestock Marketing Council, spoke from the perimeter ring of chairs to criticise a process of selecting elders to advise the new ministry on government policies. Voices were raised. Disputes broke out. Emotions dominated. An observer at some distance from the meeting said it sounded like a flock of guinea fowl being disturbed. The chairman of the meeting was accused of bias. He came close of guinea fowl being disturbed. After twenty minutes the meeting broke for tea but hardly to losing control of the assembly. After twenty minutes the meeting broke for tea but hardly anybody went to the mess tent as small groups continued to argue.







THE SEARCH PEACE FOR

JOSEPH OLE KISHAU

M any elders have given their opinion on the land issue and asked very good questions like 'who owns the land? Do we really have land?' We agreed that there should be a policy for pastoralists in Kenya. The Permanent Secretary agreed to join us in the discussions so as to speed up the process of this pastoralist policy. The minister has given us a chance to think for ourselves as elders. How can we build bridges of understanding between different people? The second issue is peace. Let's think about how the elders can bring peace.

LOPIDING LOKUWA

NYANGATOM ELDER, SOUTHERN NATIONS NATIONALITIES AND PEOPLES' REGIONAL STATE, ETHIOPIA

Tcome from very far. What brought me here is the Lopportunity to discuss peace. I selected eighteen people and we held a peace meeting. Now we are at peace. There is no more fighting between Turkana and Ethiopians the way they used to fight. When someone rapes your child he is fined. And when a child kills he is punished. We also have problems because of borders. This issue needs to be addressed. I suggest that the elders concerned with security matters be given vehicles so that when there is a problem they can go to the incident without wasting time.





EJEMA GODANA

I am chairman of the Tana Delta peace committee; peace is brought about by local people. We should be in charge of our own security. I would like those officials in charge of security to be giving us support.

UGAS HAMUD

SOMALI ELDER, NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE

There was a mother who had four children. Their ▲ father had died. People wanted to take their property. Their mother told them to unite so that the elders could not take their property. This is what we are doing today. Kenya has been independent for 45 years and we have been crying for 45 years because we have been badly neglected by the government. Yesterday we talked; now we know what our problems are and the Permanent Secretary has made arrangements to discuss the pastoralists' problems. There has been a problem from Jiara to Mandera. people killing each other and bringing more problems to the North Eastern Province. When Mohamed Sallah was brought to the province, peace was restored at once because he was a person from the area. I believe the District Commissioner for Isiolo should be a Borana, for Marsabit a Rendille, for North Eastern a Waria. If that is done I believe this problem will be over. Farmers don't care about us, they want us to be poor so that we can become their workers. The other thing that is also disturbing the pastoralists is the many tribes in the area; they rape girls and then deny it. Somalis say that if your saliva falls on your brother, run and clean him. This means that when you wrong your brother, run and ask forgiveness.

ALI WARIO

FORMER ASSISTANT MINISTER FOR SPECIAL PROGRAMMES, KENYA

I thank God, who brought Moses as a pastoralist, Adam as a pastoralist, Abraham and Jesus as pastoralists. Also we, as pastoralists, we say thanks be to God. I want to thank the people who created this Min-

istry. Pastoralists don't know the truth about security. We demand freedom of movement, but if freedom of movement is causing death then why do we need it? We should ask ourselves this question. We own 80% of Kenyan land. Why are we fighting and killing each other? We should discuss and debate our issues because we are our own worst enemies. The solution lies in our hands. So let's speak with one voice.



34

MOHAMED ABDINGOR GESSEY

SOMALI ELDER, NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE

When Mohamed Sallah was posted as Provincial Commissioner of North Eastern Province, the fighting ended. He was from the region and he knew the people. Even the eastern people became peaceful. If the Provincial Commissioner was a pastoralist like us, there could be peace because he would understand our problems. The one who knows your sickness is the one who can treat you. The government should give us pastoralists security.

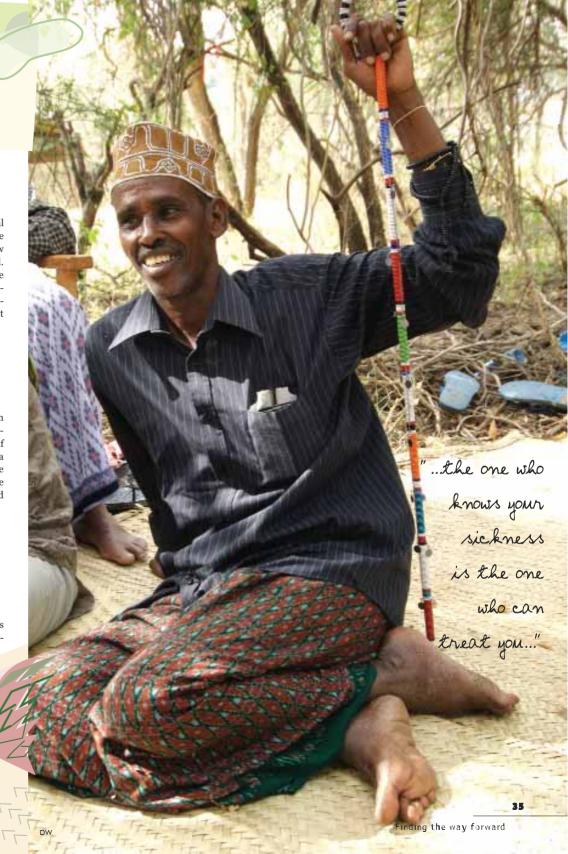
DIBA OKOTU

GABRA ELDER, UPPER EASTERN PROVINCE

It is the duty of the government to give protection to its people and their property. But the government does not care about pastoralists; for example if they hear that Diba is dead they don't care; it's as if a dog is dead. The second issue is about boundaries. The Kenyan government does not want to tell us where the boundaries are. The point is that pastoralists should be shown their borders so they can mark them.

TUMAINA OLE KILEU

There are two ways to find peace. First, we elders should stop our children from causing trouble, because peace must start at home before you can give it to others. Parents, please tell your children to return home if you know they are there in the bush planning to steal other people's cows. Second, people from the Lands Office must show us our boundaries. If they don't show us, people will continue to fight.





ABDUBA DENGICHA

I would like to talk about security. Who causes insecurity? Insecurity is started by one person, but security is brought by many. Today we shall talk the truth. We leaders should take responsibility for the actions of the youths, then there will be security. The war about land is due to the failure of the government to manage land properly. There are no borders, and government people are the beneficiaries of these wars. Let's write a policy to be used by the elders; let's also stop stealing.

FRANCIS LENGES

There are no people with problems like pastoralists, because for the last 44 years we have been dying. Schoolchildren play sports for cups and trophies. You who have fought for 44 years, have you ever won a cup for bravery in war? Your cup is death and problems. Our youth have problems. They don't go to school. They are also hungry. The government should help us and take our young people to school. It should also help orphans.

ALI LOBEKER LOBUIN

I would like the matters concerning security to be taken seriously. I would also like the Sudanese people to attend our meetings in future. Before I finish I would like to talk about guns. The government should help in disarmament. We don't want to see any more guns. At our place, for example, a murderer is fined 40 cows. It's good for each division to elect ten people to help in matters of security. All youths in possession of guns should be disarmed.

NURA DIDA

We have tried to find solutions for security in many ways. Many tribes have assembled together. We should include women and young people in the security meetings and there is no need to despise other tribes. We should also respect other views. If you kill someone you get no benefit because you cannot eat his flesh. It has been declared that there is a need for peace among pastoralists. Each tribe

should choose peacemakers to discuss with the opposing tribe. For example many tribes have a problem with each other. Each should select 30 men and all should sit together to find the way forward. If the problem they have is about resources then we shall invite the government to come and give a permanent solution. The best way to solve a problem is to own it and face it before we forgive and forget. These elders will make sure that no one will use their guns against each other again.

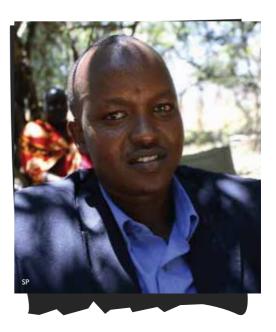
MOLU KULU

 ${f P}$ eace is good and our progress depends on peace. Let's continue grazing our livestock and stop fighting.

PETER PARIKEN

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MINISTER FOR INTERNAL SECURITY, KENYA

I am from the office of the MP for this area, the Honourable Professor George Saitoti. I am his constituency manager. First I would like to apologise for the minister failing to be here with you for the first session. This is because President Kibaki was going to the coast and he couldn't go without the Minister for Internal Security. He came back yesterday. I have come here first to talk to the elders and know their plans. But tomorrow he can come briefly and then go, because he has a harambee meeting at Kiserian. I shall be with you until tomorrow.

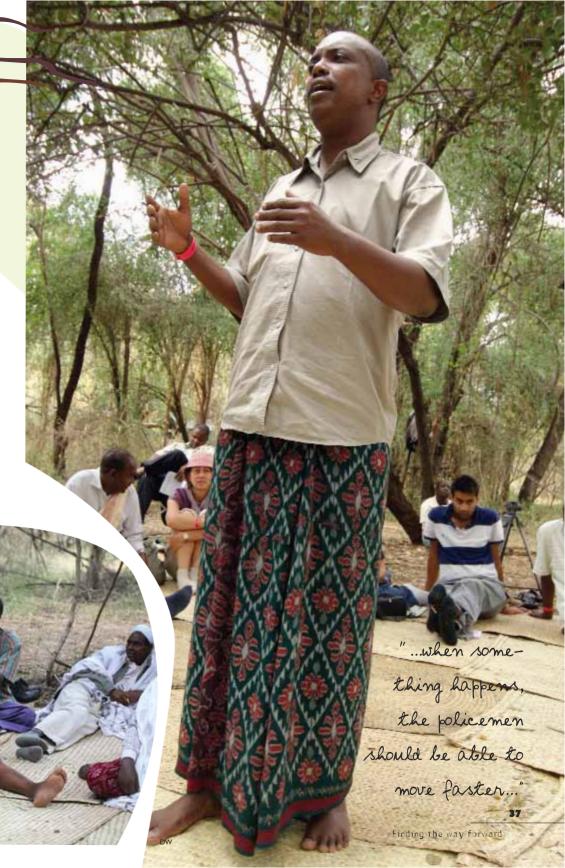




NASIR ABDULAI

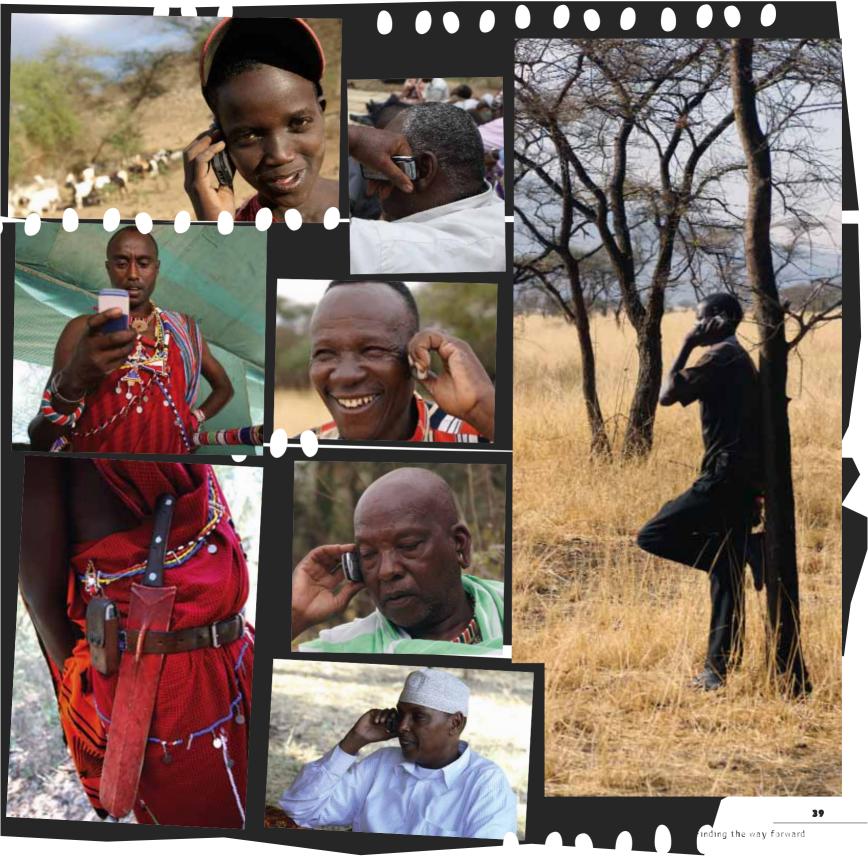
SOMALI ELDER, NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE

ast night a group sat and discussed peace at length. We passed a resolution to finish fighting completely. We should form a committee. The solution to bad governance is to have police stations with policemen, vehicles and radios. When something happens, the policemen should be able to move faster. In Kenya we have provincial and district peace and security commistees, so we suggest that either the District Commissioner or the Provincial Commissioner should be a local. Local people should also be members of the provincial security committee. Borders should be defined. The Permanent Secretary said that he will be in Mandera on the 20th September; let the work start! All this should be announced in the newspapers and on the radio.





Finding the way forward





HON FRANCIS OLE KAPARO

FORMER SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
OF THE NORTHERN RANGELANDS TRUST

I thank the government for creating the new ministry. For the last 12 years I have been asking myself if pastoralists don't change their way of life what will their future be? Anybody who wishes pastoralists well and all those who have been left behind in the rush for development should ask themselves 'what is the hope for these people'? Don't imagine that I am advising you to do away with your cows. Own cows; but keeping cows alone is not enough.

Instead of depending on one way of earning a living we should have two. On one hand herding, and on the other, learning how to look for money. We observe that the pastoralist areas are the only areas tourists like to visit, because you have preserved the environment, the trees and animals, together with your ordrives.

Last year we are told the tourism industry earned Kenya 60 billion Shillings (US \$925 million). Some of that money comes from the animals on our land, but how much goes to pastoralists? We decided that we pastoralists can do the same work. The Northern Kenya Rangelands Trust, of which I am the Chairman, has built lodges owned and run by Maasai, Somali and Samburu people. We are also in Ijara and Baringo East where our youths are getting education and employment, and above all security has improved



An elder then stood to speak. He was agitated. He suggested that the Northern Rangelands Trust had failed to understand who was traditionally responsible for land in their areas of operation. He said that the Trust had given over control of land to people who had come recently to the settlements, rather than discussing with pastoralists. He reported that deaths had occurred. The ordiscussing group of elders chaired a separate meeting to deal with the immediate question and plan for follow-up.

In the evening the Minister of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, the Hon. Mohammed Ibrahim Elmi, returned to the camp with a number of his staff. They sat with the large groups that had gathered round the fires and ate meat. The delegates presented the Minister with the outcomes of their discussions. They debated at length on the key issues of land, peace and the role of government. Elders wanted practical support for their peacemaking role. They also wanted more discussions on the implementation of the community land policy and the question of demarcation of community boundaries. They wanted to continue to have the ear of the Government of Kenya to keep the dialogue going.



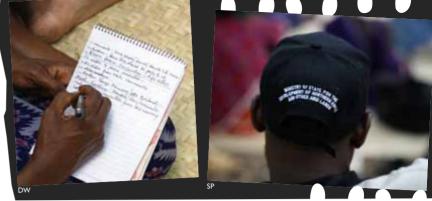






"The best way to solve a problem is to own it and face it before we forgive and forget."





THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

HON, MOHAMED ELMI, MP

When we met on Wednesday, I asked you to consider two questions: first, how can we build bridges of understanding between different peoples? As elders I believe that you have an important role to play in challenging the status quo. I invite you to imagine a time when 'marginalisation' is no longer heard, and to consider your own responsibility in bringing that about. Marginalisation is not just something that is done to us; it is something that we can all too easily accept and collude with, unless we consciously act otherwise.

Second, how can you, as elders, help us move forward? Let me mention conflict as an example. Two weeks ago the Minister for Internal Security, the Honourable George Saitoti, held a meeting with all members of parliament and administrators to discuss the worsening violence in several parts of northern Kenya. The Government of Kenya is absolutely determined that this conflict must end, both within our borders and across them. Traditionally, conflict in pastoral areas was managed by elders and prosecuted by warriors. Today we are in another age. We can no longer countenance the level of death and destruction being visited on our people. As elders I am appealing to you today to bring your ideas about how this violence can be stopped and how we can work together to build and sustain peace.

When I think back over the years, I believe the gains we have made as pastoralists have been because we never gave up trying to hold our governments to account. New opportunities for change constantly present themselves: one example in Kenya is the debate on the constitution. Another is the creation of this ministry – and I am told in Ethiopia there are similar openings, such as the Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee of your parliament. I urge you to seize these opportunities with a

positive and constructive spirit in order to use them for the benefit of your people. As an elected representative and a minister I am willing to be challenged and held to account by the people who have placed their trust in me and in whose best interests I serve. This ministry will exist only until 2030. By then Kenya



will have reached another, better stage of development. We have been marginalised; but by 2030 a child from Mandera and a child from Othaya will have the same opportunities. This is the vision we have. But for now what is important is peace, roads, infrastructure and education to university level so that we can make plans for human resource development. We need to start businesses on our land. We don't want investments that only provide jobs for people from outside the community. In two months we shall have a major plan for northern Kenya. I want us to make up our minds to end these tribal wars. I want pastoralists to be the first to fight for development and then to ask for assistance. Now let me hear your questions.

MINISTER'S QUES-

Q. Was this ministry created just for political purposes? **A**. Yes, the ministry was created for political reasons because the whole system of democratic government is based on politics. It's because of your need for representation that it became a political issue in the last election. But for whatever reason the ministry was created, we now have it, and it's up to all of us to make the best use of it by putting in place the right policies, structures and resources, as well as a system of accountability to the people.

What do you want my staff and I to do for you? We talked about meeting the Minister of Internal Security to discuss security issues. Last night we challenged elders to end conflicts within two to three years. The ministry is ready to help you develop livestock marketing, land, education, roads, telecommunications, and

rural electrification. I promise that I and my staff will work on these matters. But you know that these interventions will bear little fruit without peace, I am inviting you elders to promise that you will do all you can to end conflicts in the pastoral areas.

Q. This ministry was created for northern Kenya. What about pastoralists from other parts of Kenya?

A. The ministry is called the Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands. All pastoralists are found in arid lands. They are not found in the highlands.

Q. Why is the ministry not called the ministry of pastoralism?

A. Pastoralism is about production. The ministry is about the development of the whole region, not a specific production system. We are concerned with the economy, growth, democracy and development of the region and the well-being of the population in towns and rural areas.

 $\mathbf{Q}.$ Pastoralists are very far from the Kenya Meat Commission HQ in Nairobi.

A. A study is looking at future strategic sites for livestock export markets including proximity to airports. The result will be fed into the master plan for the ministry in two months time.

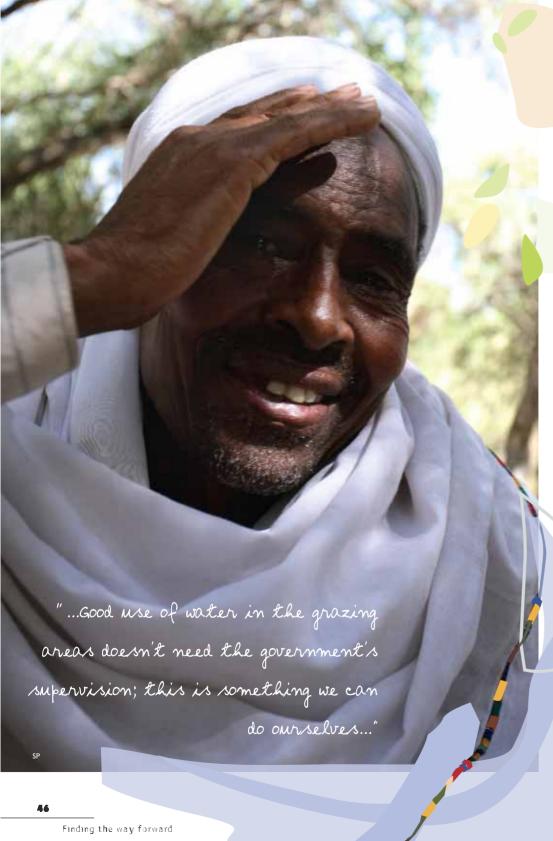
 $\mathbf{Q}.$ Why can't all your staff be recruited from the ranks of pastoralists?

A. If Kenyans from any part of Kenya are qualified they will not be excluded. This is a government ministry in the Office of the Prime Minister and part of a larger government institution.

Q. So far what has your ministry achieved?

A. The budget allocated for development of the ministry at the moment allows us to continue work on the Marsabit and Wajir water and sanitation projects. Next financial year we shall review our progress and ask government for more projects. We have already started to build the Garissa-Wajir road and the Great North Road (Isiolo–Moyale). We are developing a master plan in consultation with various stakeholders and this gathering is part of the consultation process to determine what projects government will support in the future. We have visited many districts and spoken to elders and MPs to learn about the issues.





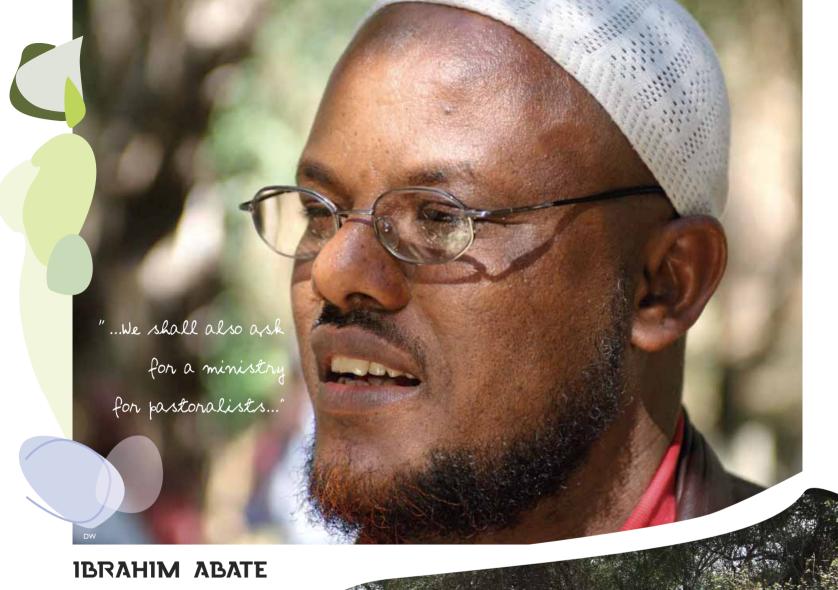
WAKO GALGALO

n Ethiopia we pastoralists don't have a ministry like Lyou people of Kenya. We are under the Ministry of Agriculture. We don't have a ministry to look into our affairs; we are like people crying for help in our place without anyone coming to help us. If we don't help ourselves, if we don't talk about our problems, there is nobody who will come to help us. We pastoralists must stand up and defend ourselves. There is a leadership problem among pastoralists. Some problems we can solve ourselves by coming together. The ones we can't solve we pass to the government. We can also use our surplus livestock, land and buildings to educate our children to bring about changes today and make our life better. Good use of water in the grazing areas doesn't need the government's supervision; this is something we can do ourselves.

ABDUBA DENGICHA

What we should ask ourselves is 'what is the value of our livestock in the market?' We have livestock but we don't have a system in place, or laws and a constitution to protect us. Those who grow coffee and tea are protected by certain laws. And we, as pastoralists, would also like to be protected by similar laws and regulations. There is one strange thing. When our livestock are attacked and eaten by lions, nobody cares. But when an elephant destroys one coffee tree the whole government is involved. We are lagging behind in development because of such problems. We want the same protection and government assistance as is given to farmers.





EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, OROMIA PASTORAL-ISTS' ASSOCIATION, ETHIOPIA

I am from Oromia in Ethiopia. I studied livestock production. Yesterday our group met with a government representative. Your [the Kenyan] government helps pastoralists. Dividing land into group ranches is very good; it brings a lot of benefits to people. Also the agenda of this meeting is very good. The government listens to your problems attentively but we have seen it takes more care of wild animals than pastoralists. When we go back home we shall tell what we have learnt here. We shall also ask for a ministry for pastoralists.









HON. HUSSEIN TARI SASURA, MP

ASSISTANT MINISTER OF STATE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN KENYA AND OTHER ARID LANDS

his meeting is very important; I believe it will bring ▲ development. Let's stop complaining about the past now that we have a new ministry. Let's continue to work and bring development. We have to talk at district level so that we know how to bring development to you. If you have a problem with any civil servant please report it immediately because they exist to serve you. Don't fear them. When you get funds for your district, please be bold enough to ask how that money has been used. and how pastoralists have benefited from that money. You are the ones who forced the government to give you this ministry, so please ask the government to give it money to work for you. You have seen people prospecting for oil, minerals and water while others are engaged in farming, but this is pastoral land. The ministry will make sure that development comes to this land. We shall try to reduce poverty and the youth of the area will be given jobs so that they too can own something.

Finding the way forward

DR HUKKA

WARIO

I want to let you know about policies that are being drafted at the moment. We intend to finalise the draft national policy for the sustainable development of Kenya's arid and semi-arid lands in the first half of 2009 and then take it to cabinet. The government also has draft policies on disaster management and on peace building and conflict management which will soon be finalised.

Thank you very much for inviting me. On many occasions I am a teacher but on this occasion I have been a student. I hope we shall hold such meetings from time to time in the future.



MOGOLE HAIBOR

When are all in agreement with the Minister's proposal to end pastoralist conflict. The issue is how and when. The Minister said two to three years; we believe it is possible to end conflict in less than two years if the process is left to elders who can agree with each other without interference by politicians. We need government to support elders for this to happen by allocating one vehicle to Peace Elders in every three districts to work together. For example Laisamis, Isiolo and Samburu, one vehicle, Marsabit, Moyale and North Horr, another, and so on. We can all sit down to agree the mechanism and system of use. We can share experience with each other and with District Commissioners periodically. I am confident pastoralist conflict will end within a short time.

We like the idea of having at least one Koora-type gathering each year. We have selected a few elders to provide leadership and coordination of this work. We are already working on cross-border gatherings in Turkana and Marsabit after Koora. Government statements at such gatherings require follow up; elders should continue to call on government offices to ensure implementation of government promises at elders' meetings. This process can lead to building trust and a good working relationship between government and pastoralists. We want the government to understand us and give us the services that we require, as we require them, in the way we require them. The government must feel comfortable to let us do what is good for us and allow us to enjoy freedom and democracy like other Kenyans. Elders love debate and will come willingly to debate important life matters with politicians and civil servants. We want them to come to our gatherings always.





ported. It prompted a meeting attended by three ministers, two Provincial Commissioners, local leaders, MPs and elders for the area. The Kenva Human Rights Commission visited the area in October to investigate the deaths.

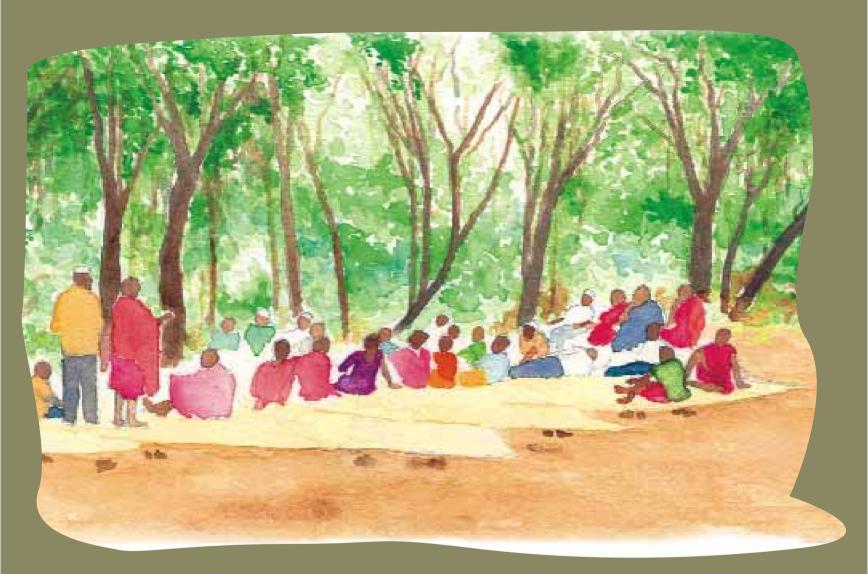
One week after the gathering, Dr Hukka Wario retired from his position as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry for the Development of Northen Kenya and Other Arid Lands.

At the time of the ending of the gathering 54 cattle were raided from Turbi, a town in Kenya, and 34 cattle crossed into Ethiopia. Molu Kulu, Gabra leader, alerted the Kenyan government and informed Nura Dida, Chair of the Oromia Pastoralists' Association in Ethiopia about the raid. Nura worked with the Ethiopian government and 33 animals were returned in two days and eleven raiders were arrested. New discussions are scheduled between the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments on border relations. Elders from Kenya and Ethiopia are expected to meet in November.

Another initiative from Koora led to a meeting of pastoralist elders from Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Rendille with the Minister of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands and his new acting Permanent Secretary. They discussed their plans for continued pastoralist dialogues and dialogues with government. They also met with a senior officer in the Office of the President, Mr Hassan S. Mohammed. They travelled to Lokitang on the Kenya-Ethiopia border and to Kangaten (Ethiopia) to meet elders and local officials and made plans for a peace process and gathering for pastoralists of south western Ethiopia, southern Sudan, north western Kenya and north eastern Uganda.

TUMAINA OLE KILEU

real ver since this meeting opened we have been peaceful. When elders come \mathbb{L} together to ask for peace, surely God will grant them whatever they ask



The Pastoralist Gathering in Koora, Kajiado District, Kenya was hosted by the Maasai of OI Donyo Onyoike Group Ranch. It was directed by Ethiopian and Kenyan pastoralist elders, organised by Mainyoito Pastoralist Integrated Development Organisation and supported by the UK DFID Democracy Growth and Peace for Pastoralists project (implemented by Pastoralist Consultants International).

The gathering organisers would like to thank the community and leaders of OI Donyo Onyoike Group Ranch, the Magadi Administration, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Ministry for the Development of Northern

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PHOTO CREDITS

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SYLWIA PECIO (SP) PAGES: 2, 6-7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24-25, 27, 28-29, 30-31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38-39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52

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