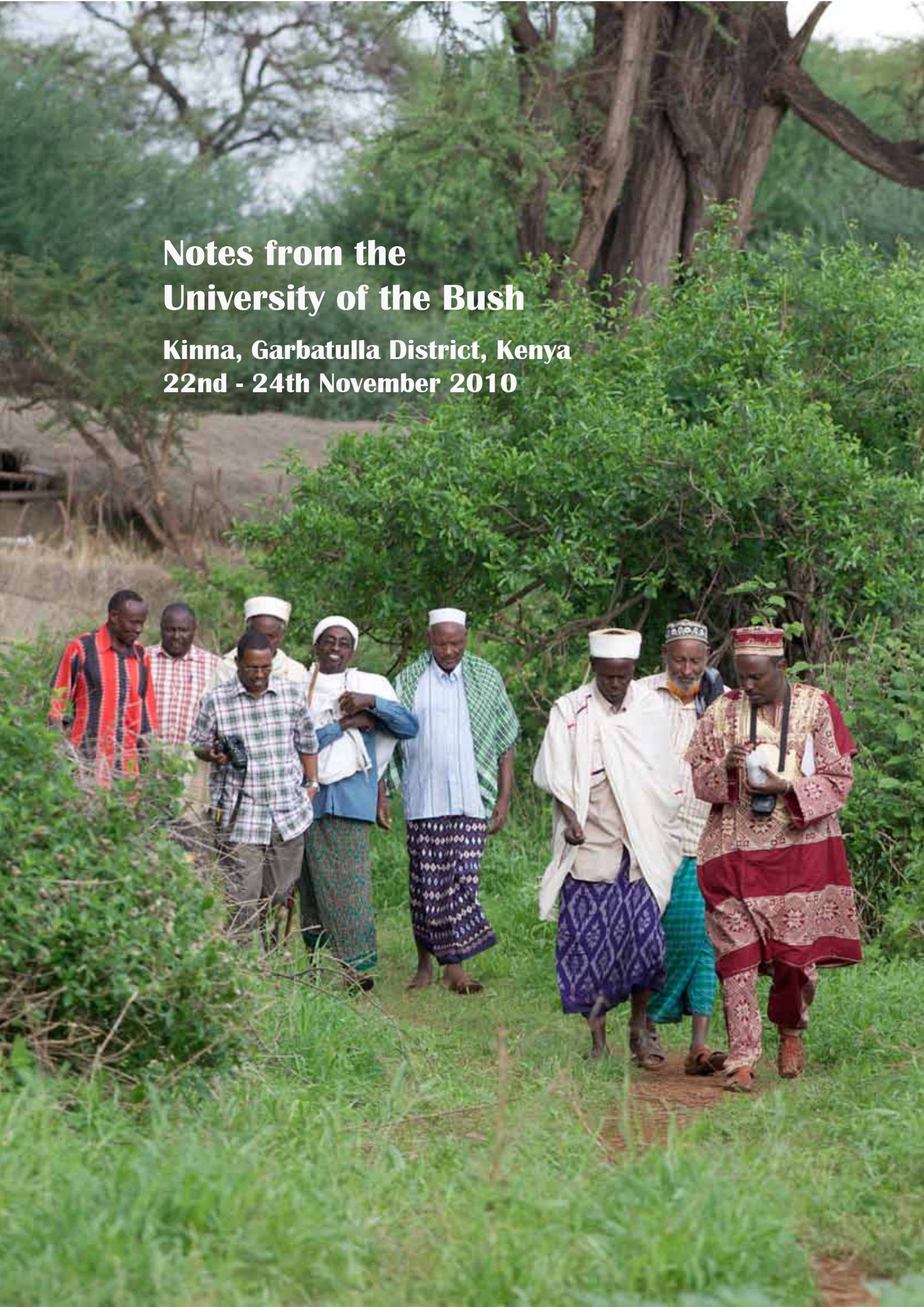


Notes from the University of the Bush

**Kinna, Garbatulla District, Kenya
22nd - 24th November 2010**





Notes from the University of the Bush Kinna, Garbatulla District, Kenya 22-24 November 2010

This report records the discussions that took place at the University of the Bush. The words have been edited for clarity and brevity only. The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect those of Pastoralist Shade Initiative, Pastoralist Consultants International, Future Agricultures Consortium or the Institute of Development Studies.

Please note: This report gives a very brief summary of each research presentation and focuses on the discussions that followed. For the full research summaries, please visit

www.pastoralists.org

or

www.future-agricultures.org/UoB

The University of the Bush in Kinna was the second event in the series. The first took place in Finchawa, Ethiopia in March 2009. This second event was organised by the Pastoralist Shade Initiative and Pastoralist Consultants International in collaboration with the Future Agricultures Consortium / Institute of Development Studies, UK.

The University of the Bush took place at the Malka Bisan Adi Cultural Village near Kinna in the Isiolo District of Kenya. Malka Bisan Adi is on the border of the Meru National Park and the organisers would like to thank Kenya Wildlife Services for their facilitation of travel to the site.

Photographs: Frederic Courbet and Sarah Wilson

Translation: Hussein Boru, Tumal Orto, Boku Tache, Abdulahi Dima and other participants

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WELCOME

Molu Kulu: Chairman Pastoralist Shade Initiative

Welcome. We are here to listen to and comment on six pieces of research on pastoralist innovation done during the past months. Each researcher will present their findings during the event for learning and for your input. I am chairing the meeting together with Nura Dida from our partner organisation in Ethiopia, the Oromia Pastoralists Association.

Dr Hussein Mahmoud

We are a group of scholars working on pastoralist innovation, looking at how pastoralists have been dealing with marginalisation. We are part of the Future Agricultures Consortium, which is based in the UK. Pastoralists have not always been victims; they have also been leaders and innovators. Our research looks at livestock marketing, livestock production, land management and peace building.

In the past 6 months we have been working on these issues, but we feel that our knowledge is incomplete. We are here;

- to share what we found out, what we heard, what we have seen
- to hear your experiences, comments, questions and views.

There are six issues to be presented:

On Land:

Jeremy Lind on tensions of land use in Laikipia.

Abdirizak Nunow on pastoralist innovation in the Tana River Delta.

Boku Tache on the *kalo* enclosure system in southern Ethiopia.

On Peace:

The Pastoralist Shade Initiative and the Oromia Pastoralists Association on new ways of managing peace, looking at the recent peace achieved between Gabra and Borana of Ethiopia and Kenya.

On Camels:

Abdi Abdulahi on camel milk marketing in peri-urban areas in Ethiopia.

Hussein Mahmoud on cross-border camel markets in Moyale.





SECTION 1: LAND

Presentation 1

Innovation and Distress: Managing Multiple Uncertainties in Laikipia, Kenya Jeremy Lind

Summary

In 2009, the worst drought in a generation gripped the drylands of northern Kenya. On the Laikipia Plateau stretching west of Mt. Kenya, Maa-speaking herders made new relationships with commercial ranchers as well as with Meru and Kikuyu small-holder farmers to allow them access to grazing on the ranches and in the Mt. Kenya forest. Although the crisis of 2009 gave rise to these important new social innovations, they did not prevent catastrophic livestock losses for Maa-speaking pastoralists, whose herds were weakened by drought and decimated by cold and disease encountered on Mt. Kenya. After the drought, the leaders of some group ranches have resuscitated certain customary grazing controls, such as blocking patches of the rangeland as drought reserve grazing. With reduced herd sizes and good rains in 2010, such controls are working well for now and helping those mainly better-off pastoralists with sizeable herds to prepare for the next crisis. For poorer pastoralists who have been left with a residual herd or nothing at all, such controls are unlikely to matter. Three important points are emphasised:

- Despite previous brittle social relations, agreements between ranchers and farmers permitted limited grazing of cattle and sheep inside commercial ranches on a controlled basis.
- Herders also cooperated with small-holder farmers living adjacent to the Mt. Kenya forest, whereby Maasai kept the animals on farms during the night and grazed inside the forest at night.
- Young people are showing preference for smaller and improved breeding stock and livelihood diversification. [See the full summary.](#)

Discussion

Wako Galgalo, Yabello, Ethiopia

You said that the land in that area is in the hands of 36 individuals. How did they get it? What is the history?

JL

The history of land in Laikipia is complex. To summarise, the land was given to settlers under the Lenana agreement, negotiated between Maasai leaders and the colonial administration. Most Maasai moved south to Kajiado and Narok. There was one Maasai section that stayed behind. The Maa speaking people in Laikipia are the descendants of this one section as well as Muko Godo people who were hunter-gatherers and became Maasai over time as they started herding livestock. Under the terms of the Lenana agreement, land was given out as 100 year leases, so in 2004, the Maasai claimed that the leases had expired and the land should be returned to them. This is a short history.

WG

Did the Maasai buy the hay during the drought or did the Government of Kenya distribute it as drought emergency relief?



JL

To my knowledge there was no government provision of hay to pastoralists, rather it was wealthy pastoralists who were purchasing it in town.

WG

You told us about the mutual benefits that the pastoralists and farmers got from each other. Did the pastoralists cause any problems to the farmers or vice versa?

JL

The Meru and Kikuyu we met described pastoralists as “expert livestock thieves”. Because of this, the Merus and Kikuyu have enlisted their help in tracking animals that have been lost or stolen.

Tuke, Elder from Kinna

How did the movement from Laikipia towards Mt Kenya take place? Normally we send scouts before we move. Did they sit down, discuss and send elders to the Merus, was there some kind of facilitation by the government or did they just go to the mountains? How did they move? Were the animals trekked on foot or taken by lorry?

JL

The government had a very light involvement – individual farmers and individual pastoralists made the agreements which resulted in the pastoralists moving. The area chiefs just supported the negotiations and agreements.

The livestock were brought to the mountain on foot along corridors, which are very narrow – only the width of a small road.

Paul Goldsmith

Before the British came with a policy of isolating people this symbiosis and cooperation was the norm. Kenyans used to assist each other before problems of political incitement started to get in the way and divide people.

The situation in Laikipia is complicated because of the skewed land ownership. I did a study in 2001 which found a dynamic between the ranchers, the state sector and the small farmers, where a lot of the innovation happening on the large farms was passing to the small farms – like horticultural production, tea production etc. This is the only way you can justify the land ownership in Laikipia, by looking at how the different people live in symbiosis together.

Many people in Laikipia are of Meru origin. Some have names like Ole Kenyatta etc. Kenyans always find common ground. For example, in 1984, people came who hadn't been seen in 3 generations. They asked for assistance and they were given it because there was a history of kinship. This process of building these bridges based on kinship is very important.

Councillor Ngichili, Turkana Community, Isiolo

This story of Laikipia is interesting for us living around Isiolo. There are game reserves near Isiolo, such as Buffalo Springs, to which we have no access during drought. We ask for access but we haven't been successful so far.





Presentation 2

Pastoral Innovations and Changing Political Economy of the Orma Pastoralists, Tana Delta, Kenya

Abdirizak Nunow

Summary

Huge tracts of land within the Tana Delta have been set aside for large industrial scale farming (for example, the establishment of TARDA project in Garsen). In addition, settlement schemes have taken up some of the most important dry season pastures within the Tana Delta. Communities from outside the pastoral areas were settled there to undertake crop farming. New social organization and marketing arrangements are emerging as pastoralists seek ways of accessing high value fodder and ensuring the survival of their herds and the continuity of their production systems. They are trying to secure grazing corridors as well as purchasing hay and farm residues for their weaker livestock. The political economy of the Orma pastoralists in the Delta is increasingly linked to the market economy, and this is giving rise to new social organisations and land tenure arrangements. In summary:

- Tracts of land in the Tana Delta are being set aside for large industrial scale farming for export crops, bio-fuels and minerals.
- More than 25,000 people living in 30 Delta villages stand to be evicted from their ancestral land in favour of corporations and foreign governments.
- In the 2009 drought, there were 3 million heads of cattle in the Delta, coming from as far as Wajir district in north-eastern province.
- The responses by the local Orma community and conservationists have been diverse – including seeking the intervention of the judicial courts, changing herding strategies and livestock preferences, seeking high value fodder to fatten animals; investing in communications and transport to deliver animals and livestock products to markets, creating more decentralised livestock sale yards to supply itinerant traders that are seeking animals for urban and regional markets, and cross-breeding and improving breeds.

[See the full summary.](#)



Discussion

Hassan Ijema, Tana River Delta

Nunow's presentation is true. In 2006 the Spanish government wanted to spend KES 24 billion on a sugar plantation. We demonstrated. We had strong pastoralist MPs, like Ali Wario, who took it up at the national level and got it stopped. Our community raised an objection and got a court injunction, but the case was thrown out on the grounds that it wasn't legally brought to court. The area MP didn't support us since he was in favour of the plantation.

Initially there were no title deeds, but now those multinationals have them. They are also more and more interested in horticulture. And those areas not put into sugar cane are being used for smaller horticultural schemes. When we raised this issue, we were told we would get a small area of land, which is also a research site for Trypanosomiasis. We refused it as it would be no

good for our animals. This problem of the Tana Delta is gaining momentum because the large and small-scale schemes have title deeds, but we pastoralists don't. And with the upcoming Lamu Port development, the area is becoming more and more important.

Tana Delta is an important grazing area for pastoralist communities, not only for the Orma, but for the whole of North-eastern Province, up to Mandera, Merti, Sololo, Wajir. In the drought years of 1974, 1984 and 2009, animals were trekked to the Tana Delta to survive. Even commercial livestock traders transported their animals by lorry to Tana Delta for fattening.

Emmanuel Lotim, Kipanguria

Has this massive sugar plantation and other projects by multinationals affected the wild plants and animals living on the wetlands?

AN

The feasibility study for the sugar project was concerned with the economic viability and the potential for growing sugar. The feasibility study was positive and they then had to do an environmental impact assessment, which goes into the detail of biodiversity conservation and the socio-economic effect of the people living in the area and whether they have to relocate. The environmental impact assessment requires involvement of the people whose lives will be affected by the project, both positively and negatively. But the people who did the environmental impact assessment didn't consult them, because they knew they were hostile. People contested it and the project was originally turned down. Then suddenly the environmental impact assessment got approval and the license for the project was granted. The issue of biodiversity and how it will be affected was considered a secondary issue. Huge negative impact on the biodiversity will result – and it is the only wetland of its kind in the entire region.

Abdia Mohamud, Isiolo

You talked about conflict between pastoralists and agro-pastoralists – What innovations have there been to address the conflict?

Hassan Ijema, Tana River Delta

The pastoralist communities in Tana Delta don't fight each other because their land has been confiscated and this means they don't fight amongst themselves.

The farmers and pastoralists formed a peace committee from each side. That has started the communities talking and stopped the conflict. Another solution we use is disarmament by the community, not the government. It is very important that it is done by the community.

AN

The Orma have started growing subsistence crops like maize and vegetables in small 1-2 acre plots. They use the farm residue to feed to the weak animals, and that enables them to avoid other people's farms as much as they can. But there are cases when the peace committee has intervened to avoid the conflict escalating.





Presentation 3

Range enclosures (*kalo*) in southern Oromia, Ethiopia: an innovative response or erosion in common property resource tenure?

Boku Tache Dida

Summary

In recent decades, pastoralists in the southern Ethiopian rangelands have lost big chunks of rangeland and dry season wells in the eastern and southeastern territories to competing groups. Rangeland productivity has also declined due to large-scale bush encroachment. Borana households have internalized the problem by enclosing land for themselves ostensibly for crop cultivation, but actually as a *de facto* pasture reserve.

The study made the following tentative findings:

- The multiplication of private pasture reserves in the Borana rangeland can be traced to the 1990s, with their roots in the expansion of crop cultivation and the introduction of water cisterns by development agents.
- Pasture reserves (*kalo*) exist in pastoralist tradition as communal areas reserved for calves and lactating animals.
- The purposes of the new enclosures are more diverse. Some are reserved by pastoralists and used in accordance with customary resource use, while others are *de facto* private holdings where the pasture is used by the 'land owner'. In some places the reserved grasses are sold in a clear digression from the conventional purpose of pastoralist pasture reserves.
- The implication of the *de facto* privatization of key resources is far reaching vis-à-vis resource tenure arrangements, internal peace and social structures. [See the full summary.](#)

Discussion

Nura Dida, Chairman, Oromia Pastoralists Association

This is an example of how the Borana, Gujji and Gabra pastoralists in Ethiopia manage their own enclosure system and grazing patterns, both for the young animals and as a coping mechanism for drought for the mature animals. The *kalo* is being expanded for individual benefit and commercial purposes.

Halake Sora, Kinna

You said that *kalo* is for grazing the weak animals and calves. Are bigger animals brought to graze it during drought?

BT

According to the *kalo* rules, it is normally for taking care of the young calves and kids, or old animals, or animals who can't go very far for grazing.

These *kalos* are not on a large scale in terms of land coverage, although there are some people who are trying use the system on farms. There are also people using it in the peri-urban areas for commercial business since they sell for animal fodder in the towns to livestock traders who bring the animals there.

Nura Dida

How sustainable is the *kalo* system? Will it continue to work during prolonged drought?



BT

Kalo is on a very small scale, so it isn't a solution to the problem of drought, though it must contribute. There hasn't been a serious drought since they started doing the *kalo* practice, so it is too early to say.

Kifle Tenno, Gujji, Ethiopia

In the Gujji community, *kalo* has its own traditional law. I am one of the *kalo* care-takers in my community. *Kalo* helps us survive drought. In Bale they have *kalo*, where they grow fodder for the fattening of oxen in one area of the farm. That means that you can fatten a bull during drought and sell it for a very high price.

Wako Galgalo, Yabello, Ethiopia

There is small *kalo* and large *kalo*. The small *kalo* is for baby animals. The big *kalo* is for both the calves and for the bigger cows. I believe the bigger *kalo* can help people withstand drought.

Kalo has made some animals survive – even animals from Sololo or Moyale. In Yabello we have a big *kalo* and we don't open it until the middle of the drought – or until most of the drought period has gone by. People from Sololo and Moyale transported their animals by lorry to our *kalo*. They got stronger in the *kalo* and were then trekked back in the rainy season.

For the *kalo* to survive there must be collective responsibility from the community on how to manage it and when to open it during the dry period, who are the elders to manage it etc. The *kalo* is a solution to long lasting dry periods for the survival of the animals.

Galma Dabaso, Sololo

The Ethiopian model of trying to use *kalo* on larger scale during the dry and wet season is such a good idea. In the 2009 drought, we were invited from Kenya to Ethiopia to use those spaces – it meant we survived well. Generally the grazing in our area is good. But it lacks management. We should adapt that system of *kalo*, and the system of resting some areas for use in the dry season.

General Comments on Land

Emmanuel Lotim, Kipanguria

There are many areas of Kenya facing land problems – The Orma in Tana River Delta face displacement. The next place is Isiolo because they are developing the infrastructure. The railway is coming that is linking the new Lamu Port with Juba and this will mean direct displacement. And it will effect pastoralists in Tana River and Ijara, as well as Isiolo. For pastoralists there are no IDP camps. We will just be displaced and go.

Hassan Ijema, Tana River Delta

We need to consider these projects that might displace people in Isiolo. There is need for research to be carried out to look for impacts of that project on pastoralist livelihoods in all those areas that it will touch – not only displacement but other socio-economic effects that are going to happen.

Adan Sora, Marsabit

This land [in Kinna] is our land. But we are not using it fully so we are likely to lose it. It is rare to see a river flowing in some of these





areas, so everyone is eyeing Kinna. The people around here know it has potential. It has good rains. Animals get very fat here. Even now people from Wajir, Marsabit etc use this Waso region to survive. Some of the places in the upper part of Waso Nero have a lot of fodder production and during the dry season people from Marsabit, Moyale, Wajir buy fodder from there. But we also need to make a plan to protect this area around Waso so it keeps benefitting us.

Cllr Ngichili, Turkana Community, Isiolo

Whatever has happened in other places, will still happen to every other pastoralist area – even here in Kinna. Pastoralists in Isiolo are likely to face problems because of the new infrastructure. We must plan how we will use our land. What will be set aside for grazing. Will we do some agriculture to enhance the livelihoods? We need to allocate some land too for industrialisation. We should set up land for conservation. If you plan your land and allocate its use, you can evade the incoming invasion.

SECTION 2: PEACE

Presentation 4

The Long Conversation

Pastoralist Shade Initiative and Oromia Pastoralists Association

Summary

The Borana and Gabra pastoralists of Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia fought a violent conflict that reached a peak in atrocities in 2005. Peace was finally restored in 2009 after a process led by local leaders and supported by entire communities. The peace was formally initiated by the customary councils of the Borana and Gabra – the *Gada* and *Yaa* – which sent out messages reminding the people of the customary laws relating to peace. Customary law (*aada seera*) encompasses religious, judicial and cultural aspects of Borana and Gabra life and is widely respected. The messages of peace travelled from the councils to spiritual leaders, judges and clan leaders, and on to men and women, herders, townsfolk, elders and youth. The messages moved from one person to another in the form of *daimtu* (information exchange). The governments of Kenya and Ethiopia were involved in the conversation and public meetings throughout the process and ratified the Maikona Declaration, which sets out specific laws on keeping peace. The study concludes that peace is not achieved in one-off meetings, but built and maintained through the daily process of sharing *daimtu* and the active application of law.

[See the full summary.](#)



Discussion

Nura Dida, Oromia Pastoralists Association

Does the success mean that the peace process is over? It is not. There are many communities still in conflict. We want this process to reach other areas, like moving camels, looking for greener pastures, we want to look for more pastures of peace.

Molu Kulu, Pastoralist Shade Initiative

Conflict is a big issue in many areas. The Dasanech community in Kenya and Ethiopia and other communities in Ethiopia like Konso,

Arbore, Wat Wondu etc make up one cluster. Another is along the shores of Lake Turkana – the Turkana, Dasanech, Samburu and Rendille. Here in Isiolo district there are problems between Borana and Samburu, Turkana or Meru. The problem of Isiolo directly affects the larger Marsabit area up to North Horr, up to and across the border, since the same communities live on both sides. Pastoralists living across this huge area have a symbiotic relationship and all are affected by conflict happening in one area.

Hon. Hussein Tari Sasura, Deputy Minister for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Conflict is brought by the people and peace is being brought by the people. My colleagues, like the MP Moyale and the MP North Horr, collaborated in the peace process and supported it. Our main agenda was for it to be known that the peace came during our time. People accepted us because they are exhausted from war, from the killing of people and animals. In the last serious drought, if there hadn't been peace, the Borana and Gabra would not have remained with any animals; they would have perished.

I don't think the Gabra and Borana can go back to conflict now. They have achieved peace. They are one people. Of course there will always be people after their own interests causing small problems, but overall there is peace.

Most of these problems come during the elections because we politicians are trying to market ourselves and benefit from conflict. The weak candidates look for electoral seats using conflict. The parliamentary candidates should use peace to ask for votes, not war.

Halake Sora, Kinna

You have been solving problems between communities in Ethiopia and Kenya. Keep solving our problems. Don't get disheartened. Don't get exhausted. Leaders can initiate peace, but support should come from everyone. Let our MPs mix without cheating each other. If they are not together, and they are holding separate and private meetings it can cause suspicion which leads to conflict.

Surule Lemarie, Samburu East

I come from Samburu East – that is where most of the Samburu thieves come from. We are fed up of people being killed, animals being taken. We are fighting Borana but Borana have stopped fighting us. At village level, as elders and councillors, we have told our people that others have stopped fighting so we should stop fighting. Our MP and the Hon Kuti have never brought us together. No child of an MP stays in a conflict area, he is educated in Nairobi or overseas. He gets hot water to wash in, chips to eat. Ours are the ones fighting in the bush.

Some time back some animals were taken from Biliko in Merti division. The area councillor and I followed. He slept in my village. We felt embarrassed that other people are doing development and we are doing retrogressive development.

Adi Godana, Balesa

Earlier this year, we Muslim communities from Kenya and Ethiopia had a meeting in Dubluk. We said this peace has been achieved through government, communities and NGOs. What is our role as a Muslim community? Our objective is not only Islamic, but to achieve peace through different means. We had a series of meetings in





Dukana, Balesa and other places. The recommendation is that our pastoralist communities, by coming together, can solve our own issues – whether they concern livestock marketing, peace etc.

Mogole Haibor, Kargi

As elders, let's go beyond the protection of our own clans and shift to seeing pastoralists as one tribe, one unit, so we can see where problems are and act collectively. If you just protect your clan, without seeing the truth, then there will be no peace.

The Samburu normally pass through Rendille on their way to attack people on Marsabit Mountain. We had a success when that happened recently and the animals that were raided were recovered. I, and other elders, went to the DC. We wouldn't have gone to the DC before the new constitution because they were too powerful. Now some of the powers are being reduced so we talked to him and gave him an ultimatum. He sent personnel to recover the animals. We elders should pressurize the government at all levels from the small administration units to the national level.

Galma Dabaso, Sololo

People should not have to live under the threat of insecurity from birth to death. We shall carry the Borana and Gabra initiative to the other areas where there is conflict. It is a good model. If we manage these areas within the next year, we can move to other issues.



Adan Sora, Marsabit

Cattle raiding happens because of bad practices. For some, their culture requires that boys bring cattle for the ladies. So they raid cattle and they can die. Today you should know that even if you are interested in a beautiful girl, you will get her by driving a car – not by dying in the bush!

Joseph Halkano, Marsabit

I am a youth leader in Saku. The elders and few women carrying the messages may not be able to strengthen the peace process. Those who are actually fighting are not here. Most of them are in the bush. Most of them are youth – they are either being used or causing these problems. We must strengthen the process by addressing a gathering of youth, including girls, since they are the ones people are dying for! The elders have done a good job initiating a lot of things, but we must incorporate the youth more.

Nuria Gollo, Marsabit

We women are the ones who have suffered the most though we don't even fight ourselves. Men don't usually even tell us when they go for war. But when the youth all disappear into the bush and we don't see them for a few days, we know there is war. We even see the signs of war through the children. At that time the children sing a lot of war songs, play war games together and use catapults more. People are tired and they really want peace now. Most people I talk to are saying they want the raided livestock to be returned and then peace will be restored. No one is talking about revenge. They are talking about returning raided livestock as a means of dialogue.



There is no community that doesn't have problematic people. The communities should meet and identify these culprits and deal with

them specifically, rather than holding the whole group responsible for one or two peoples' actions.

Godan Dida, Yabello

Usually when you do some work, you cannot evaluate yourself. I am telling you, you have done a very good thing. Don't despise your effort. We have been destroying and raiding one another for a long time. But this time, I have seen a big change; pastoralists from all these places have started talking about peace and innovations to end these conflicts. There is something very interesting ahead of us.

Jatani Boru, Yaa Odola

We have come here to discuss issues that affect the wider community. Historically all the black people in this region have fought one another. But we haven't heard of anyone fighting with Europeans; most come to intervene in these conflicts. For example, they supported the intervention in the Borana / Gabra conflict. The Gabra and Borana used traditional institutions to solve the conflict. Because of the peace between our communities, whenever I see people from Ethiopia and others who have joined the initiative, I see them as people who have opened the heart and are looking to peace. Now it is very clear to me that lasting peace is imminent if we continue as we have been. The whole process of making the peace and how it concluded is being documented. Those who have died have died and what has happened has happened and it's a loss, but we have really gained ground on conflict resolution and we have got a lot of benefits. War is always there but once people resolve the issue truthfully, peace will prevail.

Immediately the conflict was resolved, the people who had been fighting across the Kenya/Ethiopia border came back together. On the Ethiopia side there was plenty of food and rain, but we had drought on this side, so we went there immediately and recovered from the drought. We enjoyed their food and water. Now we are mostly relying on the Ethiopian side. The day we met, because we are the same community, everyone was crying about who had died. If we had been united before and stayed together and deliberated on threats to peace, then most of these losses, including our land being grabbed, would not have happened - If we had had unity.

We are the ones who backed that MP who was advocating for war. So he couldn't have stopped the war because he himself was backing it. It brought a lot of hatred during that time. The university students started hating one another, even the school students. The war brought disharmony.

Peace and unity has to come from one's household. I don't think any sensible person will go back to where we came from now. Let us advocate peace through showing peace. When there is peace among pastoralist communities, the customary institutions will be strengthened. There are five Gabra Yaas in Kenya, all of them except one perform their rituals in the interior of Ethiopia in the Borana area.

Next time we shall be able to talk about the traditional institutions and why they are necessary for the survival of our communities. We will also send a message across the different communities on why they are important so we are supported. Let everyone go in peace and think over these issues of unity.





SECTION 3: CAMELS

Presentation 5

Town Camels and Milk Villages: The growth of camel milk marketing in the Somali Region of Ethiopia **Abdi Abdulahi**

Summary

Somali pastoralists in the Horn of Africa used to believe that camel husbandry was only possible in remote areas far from modern technologies and urban settlements. But in recent years, due to many factors affecting the pastoralist way of life and livelihood, groups of pastoralists have begun to raise camels on the outskirts of Gode town in the Somali Regional state of Ethiopia. Camels are the most important signifier of wealth and determinant of status in the community and their milk is very popular in the towns. Today, this innovation is spreading widely and hundreds of camels are forming 'milk villages' around Gode town to meet increasing demand for camel products. [See the full summary.](#)

Discussion

Kifle Tenno

Are there any other towns in Ethiopia where camels are kept in this way?

AA

Camel rearing in peri-urban areas is not expanding much at present. However there are quite a few small towns developing, and milk demand is high, so it is possible that it will start in other towns. But in other places, milk suppliers come to sell at the roadside and do not live close to the town.

Adan Sora, Marsabit

Are the camel calves in town healthy like the ones in the bush?

Halake Sora, Kinna

Some people believe the milk is medicinal because camels feed on many different species of plant. But these camels that are bred in the town can't get many different plants, so does the milk still have medicinal properties?

AA

The calves reared in the bush are very healthy, strong and clean, but those brought up in the town are not so healthy and their colour is not so pleasing.

Adan Sora, Marsabit

You said that camels in the town take water daily, but according to the culture of the bush, they are not meant to. What effect does this have on the camels?

AA

The camels don't take a lot of water each day – just a small amount.

Halaku Birru, Marsabit

We learned how these camel owners give soup to their camels during times of stress. In the bush there are many mechanisms for saving camels in droughts. Have they adapted and applied these in the town?



Kifle Tenno, Gujji, Ethiopia

Do they give the soup to camels because they seem to be weak or is it given only once they become sick?

Wako Galgalo, Yabello

Normally animals don't want to take anything oily and when you give it soup with oil and fat in it – Do you force it to drink or does it drink it voluntarily?

AA

The soup is a form of treatment that improves immunity and supplies vitamins. Sometimes camels are given blood from slaughtered animals for the same reason.

Mumina Hussein, Kinna

You said that these urban camels are being milked by men. Why are women not milking them?

Tumal Orto, Maikona

It is believed that when women milk a camel, they may not leave enough for the calf, as they will be thinking of their own children.

AA

Camels are milked by men because of cleanliness. Their calves can become weak and sickly if they are not clean.

Halake Sora, Kinna

Normally people hide cattle or camels when they are giving birth because the udder is full of milk and people with evil eyes can affect the animal by looking at it. Is this a problem in the town?

AA

Occasionally people do worry about the evil eye and people being jealous of an animal, and they will move it away or keep it inside.

Fekadu Abate, Oromia Pastoralists Association

There are overhead costs to keeping camels in town, which have to be counted against the output gained from selling the milk. The Kereyu [in Ethiopia] keep camels in the bush. When they calve, they bring them near the town to sell the milk. When the milk dries, they take them back to the bush. Which has more benefit, this system or the one you looked at in Gode?

AA

Around Gode there isn't easy access to the bush, so they can't use the same system as the Kereyu. That's why they keep the camels in the vicinity and feed them in the evening.

Mariam Hukka, Garbatulla

What is the production of a camel? How many litres? My father is a camel keeper, but we don't manage them and we hire someone to herd them. We are given just a litre of milk – what is the real yield?

AA

The camels in the town are of three categories, *Hor*, *Galab* and *Shatar* – the one with a lot of milk, the medium and the low yielding one. The production varies depending on the season. During the rainy season, when there is plenty of feed, one camel can produce 4 – 5





litres at each milking. A camel with only a small amount of feed will only produce 2 litres. 1 litre of milk sells for 15 birr. So an average of 5 litres will yield 75 birr. In Gode, camel milk sales exceed sales of cow's milk. Camels provide a steady milk supply for a 12 month period, after which the level of the milk goes down.

Kenyan Pastoralist

Do these camels in the peri-urban areas get strange diseases that other camels don't get?

AA

There is a lot of rubbish in the towns and camels can eat the rubbish and get sick. You have to watch them, though there are cases where the camels have eaten the rubbish and not got sick.

Ola Tanda, Yaa Gaara

A man has a camel and he takes it to the town where it provides milk. Then he sends his many children to school. Once the camel owner dies, what will be the future of the camels? And the women are not managing the camels? Is it good that camels are taken to the town?

Nura Dida

We have heard a lot about keeping camels in town, and we have heard that there are costs of keeping them in town compared to keeping them in the bush. But we can conclude that we can keep camels in town for prosperity and for milk production.

Presentation 6

Camel Marketing in the Northern Kenya/Southern Ethiopia Borderlands

Hussein Mahmoud

Summary

Focusing on the Moyale market on the Ethiopia/Kenya border, this study seeks to understand fundamental changes in camel marketing processes in the area. A vibrant and lucrative camel market in Moyale is on the rise - herders, traders, brokers and other market actors are gaining from it. The market is oriented towards Adama (Nazaret) in Ethiopia, from where camels are exported to Sudan or through Djibouti. Meanwhile no camel movements are recorded through the major Garissa livestock markets headed for the towns of Nairobi, Mombasa, Thika and Mwingi. With the Ethiopian government investment in expanding the market, prices have responded well in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. If it doesn't wake up to this market, the Kenya government may miss out on billions of Shillings in potential market growth. [See the full summary.](#)

Discussion

Daoud Tari, Pastoralist Shade Initiative

This is the livestock century. We are seeing big livestock price rises in Kenya. Cows are fetching KES 50,000, camels KES 80,000, goats KES 10,000. Previously only Europeans ate meat, and a few people in Arabia. Now many people demand it. So the prices of livestock, meat and meat products are increasing. We have been told how the market operates at a regional level. What about government policies of Ethiopia and Kenya? How do they inhibit or facilitate the market?



HM

Government policies for camel don't really exist, nor is the issue of camel markets being addressed in Kenya because the government is not aware of the market opportunities. The camels are just passing through Kenya to Ethiopia.

Another unfortunate thing is that camels are not classified as a domestic animal in Kenya. And yet the Kenyan camel meat and milk is very sweet.

Fekadu Abate, Oromia Pastoralists Association

There is a demand for camels in Sudan. What factors generate more supply? Is it good policy? Is it because they have good fattening grounds? Sometimes the market demand goes up and down, but the Sudan demand is always increasing.

HM

The people who normally come to buy camels from Sudan have an agent who brings the camels together and treks them to Adama [In Ethiopia] and then other people take them from there. The market goes up and down. If there are less animals in Sudan, the market increases because that creates more demand there.

Tumal Orto, Maikona

In Maikona there are a lot of camels. The price is very low – KES 18-20,000. People buy in Maikona cheaply and then sell at a very high price in Moyale. The research should look at the supply chains of camels from places like Maikona.

Nuria Gollo, Marsabit

In Marsabit district, there are plenty of camels in Chalbi and Rendille. Why don't the pastoralists from our area form an organisation so they can sell their animals at good prices? If the government is not aware about camel markets, the MPs and civic leaders should address this. It is an important issue. How shall we open up our camel market? Who are the buyers of the Adama market? Is it just pastoralists or is it outsiders? Is it not going to be a threat to us if all our camels are sold and they become finished so people end up poorer?

HM

We haven't separated how many camels are coming from Chalbi and Rendille at the Moyale market, but we are told that most of the camels come from the Garre area.

The idea of forming cooperatives is good because people are having just one or two camels can put them together and take them to Moyale and get good prices for them.

For pastoralists in southern Ethiopia, their selling point ends in Moyale. Then the highlanders take it on.

Wako Galgalo, Yabello

Camels are fattened by eating shrubs. What are they going to fatten on in that area of Metahara and Adama, deep in Ethiopia?

HM

In fattening area, the camels are not being fed shrubs, they are just being held in one place and eating bad food.





Pauline Longofine, Archers Post

In our home area, there are those people who sell goats and cattle. Then there is cess collection by the county council; a part of this is for the community benefit for education etc. Is there any way that some of this profit from camel sales can be put aside to benefit the community?

HM

The money in Moyale goes in the pocket of the brokers, a big lump goes to the seller and very little goes to the government in revenue.

Nura Dida, Oromia Pastoralists Association

There are a lot of brokers and our profit is therefore reduced. We are not getting the best prices for their animals. Quite a number of pastoralist communities have heard the prices are high, but even if he tries to sell, the broker will give him less and the pastoralist doesn't have the right market information so he is always at the mercy of the broker.

Emmanuel Lotim, Kipanguria

Why don't Kenyan traders buy Kenyan camels and take them through a Kenyan port to export them, rather than taking them through Djibouti?

HM

5 years ago I researched Somali ranchers on the coast. Some of the same traders who are now exporting through Ethiopia came from the Kenyan markets. They were asked to supply camels to Egypt. A lot of traders and herders brought them to Mombasa, where they filled the ship and went. But from the point of purchase all the way to the point of shipping there were bribes and harassment from veterinary and other government officials and this put them off. They found the Ethiopian side easier and so used that market.

Journalist

What is the yearly turnover of camel sales in Garissa? Kenyans are getting a loss with camels being sold through to Moyale, while Ethiopia is getting benefit. Are there figures for how much is being lost?

HM

We don't have the figures of how Kenya is losing and how Ethiopia is gaining. The other way that Ethiopia gains is through the exchange rate. The traders from Sudan have to send the payment in US Dollars. When it comes into the Ethiopian National Bank it is changed into birr so the Federal government gains on the exchange rate. They don't tax any animals travelling from Moyale up to Djibouti, or Sudan.

Abdia Mohamud, Isiolo

Did you find out how the high prices of camels in Moyale affects Somali marriages and dowries there?

Molu Kulu, Pastoralist Shade Initiative

The Gabra customary culture is all through camels. For example we slaughter during dowry. Gabra used to buy one female camel to be paid for the dowry, but it is now much more than it used to be. However we still find a way of paying for it. Sometimes they convert it to buying small stock instead of buying and selling the camels.

Bonja Halake - Kinna

You have shown us the sweetness of the camel from different angles. It can feed many children. It can fetch KES 80,000. Let us be serious



with our animals. Let's take care of them properly and then people will just come to our homesteads to buy them direct from us.

Abdulahi Dima, Isiolo

The idea of why we should have research is to accumulate knowledge and influence policy. But research into pastoralism hasn't influenced any policy at all. The livestock marketing which GOK has supported has never managed to improve the lives of pastoralists in this country.

Because the camel is not classified as a food animal in Kenya, there is no hope of enhancing the market here. Other Kenyans don't consume camel milk or meat.

One of the value additions for the markets is the development of feedlots, where you take the animals, add some value by fattening and almost double the price and export from there. There is a window of opportunity arising here.

Ugass Hamud, Madogashe

If you have gold in your house and you don't tell people, no one knows. What we have discussed today is gold. One camel is KES 100,000 and when it goes to some places one kilogram of meat can be worth US\$100. That is gold. We say we are marginalised but we are not marketing our products.

Kenyan Pastoralist

We should not fear these good marketing opportunities for camels. We have rising problems of unemployment, especially for youth. Camel milk and marketing can be a good opportunity for addressing that. We should make good publicity for camel products so that Kenyans who shy away from it can understand its value and start to consume it.

Molu Kulu, Pastoralist Shade Initiative

Pastoralist communities have a unique knowledge that is not known to others. When we were young, our elders told that one day there would be high prices for camels, cattle and small stock. At that time the goat was only 1 shilling, a bull 25 shillings and a camel had no price – it was bartered for small stock or cattle. Now some are saying we are looking for the market, some are saying these prices will make us bankrupt as all our animals will be bought, leaving the homestead empty. But the answer is with us. We can come together and organise ourselves so that we have a steady supply of animals and we don't get a shortage.

Galma Dabaso, Sololo

Many people don't know a lot about camel production and there are few veterinary services. The camel is the most resistant animal and it is going to be relied on in the future, so we should give it a lot of attention. If we don't enhance the production, and the market increases very fast, there is a danger that the camel population may be drained.

The best production for camels should be in the rangelands and the outskirts, not necessarily in towns because there is much more disease in towns. We should encourage it outside the towns. The milk is also very plenty and good in the wet season and we need to find a way of preserving it.



SECTION 4: SUMMARY ISSUES

The New Constitution



Hon. Hussein Tari Sasura, Deputy Minister for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Now the government has put people together in counties. One county has 4-5 different communities living in it. Be careful of politicians who have matchsticks to set light to the situation. Conflict could come because of seats in the county, the senate etc. But it will be enough to organise ourselves and distribute the seats amongst the communities. If people understand each other, they can start working together.

Galma Dabaso, Sololo

Land is communal. During colonial times, the Laikipia area was divided between just a few of the settlers. The population expanded and with the land in the hands of a few people they are facing problems. After independence there was no law to protect land ownership. Those in government starting grabbing land all over. The problems have continued and no one has provided any solutions for those that have been excluded. In Kenya there are institutions like the Kenya Human Rights Commission which are addressing issues of historical injustice. There are advocacy groups. There are leaders like MPs who should have talked about this issue and tried to come up with solutions because it is a problem all over the pastoralist areas. It seems the best venue we have now for tackling the problem is through the new constitution. We should use the new constitution to empower communities and institutions to deal with the issue of land.

Kenyan Pastoralist

The new constitution has provision for everyone, but the pastoralist communities don't understand it. There are also a lot of political changes in terms of representation. We need massive civic education so that pastoralist communities can be empowered to make the best of this constitution. Otherwise the pastoralist communities could end up fighting over who gets the seats.



Abdulahi Dima, Isiolo

Under the new constitution, the county will have the opportunity to manage itself and develop its own policy, particularly on land management. The best we can do is influence through the county governments. But there is a big capacity gap in pastoralist communities articulating and formulating their own policy.

Daoud Tari, Pastoralist Shade Initiative

In Kenya there are fundamental reforms going on and that is going to affect how we handle our issues. Governance has changed dramatically. There are two governments in Kenya; national and county. So whatever work we do, whether it is peace work, governance work, land rights, it will be in that context. For example there will be national land commission that will be created by parliament very soon. And that will review all issues concerning land. We need to have input and see how to engage with it. We need to see how we are going to influence government when they are making rules and laws over natural resources and management at county level and at national level. The opportunity is now and we should jump into it with our agenda.

Final Words

Cllr Ngichili, Turkana Community, Isiolo

We have learnt a lot over the past few days. It is important this research continues to be done by people who understand pastoralists and pastoralists themselves.

Godan Dida, Yabello

I have one fear - it is known that pastoralists have understood their own problems, have left government aside and decided to sit together under one shade. If you don't fulfil your objective of uniting to solve your problems, that will be a big embarrassment for you. Because everyone has heard you – every government knows you are sitting together to come up with solutions. Make it work.

Nura Dida, Oromia Pastoralists Association

There are four things I would like to say to summarise

1. Peace. The peace will be sustained by continued talks, addressing hotspots and expanding the peace. Peace should be agenda no 1.
2. Once you achieve peace, then the issue of land will come up. We can work on it on a smaller scale, in parallel to peace. We need to pay particular attention to what is going on in the Tana River Delta and Isiolo.
3. The research – the issue of camel milk, markets, *kalo*. How will this be strengthened? Research is fundamental. Its feedback must go back to the community.
4. **Unless the initiative starts from the community, all this will be pointless. Make your foundation yourself and once you reach somewhere then cry for support. It doesn't matter if government is there or donors are there, the initiative must start with ourselves.**





Notes from the University of the Bush
Kinna, Garbatulla District, Kenya
22nd - 24th November 2010

