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I. ARTICLES

Reflections on the fabrication of musical folklore in Kenya from the early 1920s to the late 1970s

Cécile Feza Bushidi¹

Abbreviations used in archival references

KNA Kenya National Archives, Nairobi

IWM Imperial War Museum

Abstract: This short paper adopts a historical viewpoint to engage with the folklorization of indigenous musical performances in Kenya from the colonial era until the late 1970s. This text posits the idea that early independent Kenya's initial exercises of self-definition through the medium of indigenous performances must be examined in light of colonial and postcolonial politics, and against the backdrop of regional and international development in musical cultures.

In 1980, British artist and scholar Roger Wallis and Swedish musicologist Krister Malm explored how the 1970s technological and economic developments in the music industry impacted upon the ability of “small countries” to retain and develop cultural identity – they defined a small country as “a political entity with comparatively small population and/or resources” (Wallis and Malm, 1984: 18). Funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, this research project called Music Industry In Small Countries (MISC) involved the collection of data in Chile, Denmark, Finland, Jamaica, Kenya, Norway, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad, Tunisia, and Wales. Central to the report produced on the Kenyan popular music and phonogram industries lay an account of a crisis within the Voice of Kenya (VoK) in March 1980: a government directive asked producers to cut back foreign music to 25% of airtime, thus airing Kenyan music during the remaining 75 %. In 1965, under the control of the Ministry of Information, the VoK replaced the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation created by the British colonial administration and modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). This English language service that mostly catered for European and city dwellers of Nairobi purchased an international music repertoire distributed on records in Kenya. Following protests from listeners of the VoK, the order to curb the broadcasting of “non-Kenyan” music was revoked.² This event, which marked independent

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² KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, ‘A Short Presentation of MISC (The Music Industry in Small Countries)’.

Kenya's second effort to "kenyanize" the airways, reflected some of the ways in which early postcolonial Kenya engaged with nation building through musical performance. The use of written archival sources notwithstanding, this essay, therefore mostly impressionistic, provides some preliminary thoughts on this process.

I explore some ways in which the nation-building project, under Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, involved the folklorization of "traditional" musical performances taken from the rural hinterland construed as the bastion of "tradition". Yet I argue that the "cultural rebirth" of Kenya takes roots in colonial inventions of African musical "traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).³ Whilst it is now generally accepted that rural music, dance, and masquerade are not "traditional" in that they are not essentially unchanging, ideological currents, contexts, and expediency potently influence the use of the terms "tradition/modernity" (Barber, 1987: 40-1). During both the colonial and early postcolonial era, the role of cultural entrepreneurs – coming from within and beyond Kenya– in defining "traditional" musical folklore should not be neglected. A consequence of the production of "traditional" musical heritage during the second period was that popular music, often urban, found itself isolated from early reflections on Kenya's cultural image.

Musical performances, novelty, and the making of "tribes"

The early 1920s witnessed zealous recordings of "native" musical performances. The phonograph, introduced in 1877, greatly helped their collections, recordings, transcriptions, and translations.⁴ A vast body of cultural knowledge on the colonized peoples would be gathered well until the end of colonial rule. On 16 February 1921, eight months after the official establishment of Kenya as a colony, a circular on the "Native Tribes of Kenya" was sent to all rural administrators.⁵ On the form to fill in, officials turned "anthropologists" were required to write down the name of the "tribes" and clans, their emblematic totems, the localities of the groups, the languages spoken, and people's agricultural habits. Additional space was left to include specific remarks on the origin of the "tribes", people's "history", food habits, burial customs, shield emblems, and bodily practices such as teeth-filling and tribal cicatrisation.⁶ It was not unusual for missionaries, who lived in close proximity to indigenous populations, to provide detailed data on local customs, which included music and dance. Colonial "anthropologists" were given official platforms to present their findings on the "tribes" of Kenya. On 29 and 30 November 1934, for instance, arrangements were made

³ KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, "A Short Presentation of MISC (The Music Industry in Small Countries)".

⁴ See Anette Hoffman (ed.), *What we see: reconsidering an anthropometrical collection from Southern Africa: images, voices and versioning* (Basel, 2009). This book engages with the songs of Namibians recorded on wax cylinders and produced with an Edison phonograph by the German artist Hans Lichteneker in 1931.

⁵ KNA VQ1/28/10, Native Affairs 1920-1921, "Native Tribes".

⁶ KNA VQ1/28/10, Native Affairs 1920-1921, "Native Tribes".

to host the 4th Inter-Territorial Two-Days Scientific Meeting in Nairobi during which “any Administrative Officer [could] be prepared to contribute papers on Social Customs and Anthropology of Kenya”. Researchers had to submit their papers beforehand to the office of the acting colonial secretary of Nairobi, E.B. Beetham.⁷ Officials adopted relatively relaxed attitudes towards indigenous musical performances. The “wellbeing” of colonized “tribes” mattered. The signature of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 launched the League of Nations whose Permanent Mandates Commission would thus keep an eye on how colonial governments treated colonized peoples. A new condition of trusteeship in the Covenant of the League stipulated that “the wellbeing and development of people unable to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world” was a “sacred trust of civilisation”. The “happiness” of Africans, conditioned by “good” imperial conduct, formed the object of debates in several international conferences (Lewis, 2000: 21-25).

The “modern world” and the evolving colonial state concerned with Africans’ physical and mental health brought about transformations in some musical performance genres. *Dansi*, as Terence Ranger noted, was “an emulation of European ballroom music and dancing” performed on the accordion, mouth-organ, and guitar which emerged in the Mombasa hinterland in the late 1910s among the freed slaves (Ranger, 1975: 95-97). From the 1920s onwards, Pumwani Memorial Hall, built in 1924 by the municipality of Nairobi to improve Africans’ social lives in the African area of Nairobi Pumwani, hosted ballroom dances accompanied by dance-bands playing brass instruments, accordions, and triangles (Fredericksen, 2002: 226-229).⁸ The accordion and partner dancing, in particular, significantly influenced some indigenous musical and choreographic repertoires. By the 1940s, the dance genre *onanda* developed among the young Luo living in Nairobi and other towns of Western Kenya. The accordion central to the Gĩkũyũ *mwomboko* dance, mostly performed in Gĩkũyũ rural areas, created a happy atmosphere which had an “enthraling” effect on young men and women. Musical dialogues between the city and the countryside, most especially between Nairobi and the Gĩkũyũ districts, had an element of fluidity partly resulting from workers travelling between the capital and their rural homes. By the 1940s, rural populations voiced their interests in having social halls or formal spaces to host guest bands and musicians who often circulated through the informal dancing clubs of the districts.⁹ In the 1950s, the evenings and weekend concerts of the Nyanza Social Orchestra at the Kaloleni Hall in Nairobi and the craze for the Cow Boys Band of Kisumu drew large

⁷ KNA PC/NZA/2/1/68, Provincial Commissioner Nyanza, Native tribes and their customs, Dancing, Drinking and other excesses, Circular Letter from E.B. Beetham for Acting Colonial Secretary to all PCs and Officers in charge of the Northern Frontier, Turkana and Masai districts, 30 October 1934.

⁸ KNA PC/NZA/2/1/68, Provincial Commissioner Nyanza, Native tribes and their customs, Dancing, Drinking and other excesses, ‘Report on ‘Mwrandu Dances’ in Central Kavirondo’, 24 August 1932.

⁹ Something is Wrong, Vintage Records From East Africa, Honest Jon’s Records, 2010.

attendances.¹⁰

The radio, a powerful wartime medium for propaganda, played an important role in disseminating and popularizing dancing accordion music and dance-bands (Fredericksen, 1994: 25-28). Debates on music preferences of the weekly musical program of W.A Richardson, the Happy Hour Show, indicate that listeners often requested more accordion and “modern” music to be aired rather than the seemingly much less entertaining “native harp”. Hired and paid Africans were invited by the radio to play as part of orchestras composed of mandolins, violins, banjos, and guitars. The songs of American singer and Civil Rights activist Paul Robeson as well as South American tunes talking about love and hymns praising God “in different [vernacular] languages” gained the appreciation of the city and rural dwellers. Elders living in the countryside, however, often disapproved the so-called sexual content of some lyrics mentioning “kissing”. The imagined association between urban music, city life, ballroom dances, and even prostitution, elevated the rural hinterland as a place preserving moral standards, social decorum, and “traditions” (Fredericksen, 1994: 26-27). Some of these themes also fed the content of a number of Gĩkũyũ songs performed in 1940s Nairobi by men (Lonsdale, 2002: 221).

Developments in the recording industry allowed the diffusion of popular urban music. In 1931, EMI Music (Electric and Musical Industry Ltd), funded by the merger of the Columbia Gramophone Company and the Gramophone Company, with its “His Master's Voice” (HMV) record label, worked with a number of small and Nairobi-based recording companies such as the East African Music Stores, also known as Shankar Das and Sons. They were in charge of identifying the best musicians from different ethnic groups of Kenya and the distributing of sales. Luo tracks were recorded and became popular between 1938 and 1945. Record distribution was drawn from the HMV MA series 10” 78 rpm Native Records recorded in Kenya and Uganda between 1938 and 1957. EMI pressed them in Hayes, the United Kingdom, and sent them back for sale in East Africa.¹¹ The recording activities of Gallotone, HMV, Odeon, and other companies were keen to increase sales of records in East Africa and the gramophones needed to play them. The GV records of the imported styles of cha-cha-cha, bolero, samba, mambo and rumba, which came from South America, the Congo and Europe, proved popular. After the war, guitarists such as Fundi Konde, Ally Sykes, and Paul Mwachupa recorded several Swahili guitar songs (Okumu, 2000: 145-148). By the 1950s, the recording industry turned dance-band musicians into stars. Popular African urban musical styles eventually contained influences coming from the Americas and by the influx of Congolese musicians.

¹⁰ KNA DC/KSM/1/19/275, Law and Order, Letter from the Kisumu Urban Division to the Secretary, Nyanza Social Orchestra, 4 October 1951.

¹¹ Something is Wrong, Vintage Records From East Africa, Honest Jon's Records, 2010.

From the beginning of the Second World War, and especially post-1945, an increasingly interventionist colonial state evolving within an interconnected world sought to ensure that Africans also maintained their “tribal” identities through their “traditional” musical performances. Urban Africans, free from the control of elders, and “without the guidance and sanctions of local custom”, were viewed as detribalized and therefore “dangerous” (Fredericksen, 1994: 3). Fears that *askari* who had been exposed to new worlds and tastes during wartime returned home disconnected from their “tribal” self were very real. To cultivate the “tribal” identities of African soldiers and carrier corps, films often copied in South Africa and broadcasted through mobile units featured “scenes of native life”.¹² It is likely that *askari* had some evening occasions to engage in ‘their particular tribal dances’ and it seems that these were the only moments during which they “separated into their tribal groups”.¹³ But evidence also demonstrates that key important logistics were used to send some performance paraphernalia coming from the rural homes of *askari* to the theatres of war. When not provided for free by Africans strongly encouraged to support the war effort, the Welfare Fund purchased drums, shields, spears, bows, and arrows.¹⁴

The East African Army Education Corps educated many *askari*, and before shifting into government hands, the army initially ran the curriculum of Jeanes School.¹⁵ Over 600 *askari* were trained as Jeanes School teachers between 1941 and 1943. The Jeanes School program, one can argue, was an avenue through which to cultivate Africans’ “tribal” identities. Aspiring teachers were indeed taught “some instruction in language, music, drama, sports and games” destined primarily to instill “some pride in traditional forms of expression” in them and equip students with tools to “develop them into new idioms” (Mindoti and Agak, 2004: 156; Fredericksen, 1994: 11). Graham Hyslop, appointed in 1957 colony music and drama officer, designed a music and drama course for social workers and *maendeleo* assistants who included Jeanes School teachers.¹⁶ To “develop” indigenous musical performances and drama, the Department of Community Development organized indigenous music, dance and drama festivals and competitions throughout the 1950s – one being literally called in 1958 Maendeleo Colony Singing and Drama Festival. Competitions exhibiting each “tribe” through their music and dances were organized on district, provincial, and national levels. The resulting folklorization of indigenous musical and choreographic genres was intertwined with concerns for their preservation against aggressive “modernity”. Hyslop justified his role and state-funded initiatives as necessary to “develop or revive that zest and enjoyment for life

¹² KNA VQI/26/4, Native Officers of Loyalty, War Welfare Activities, 1939-1945, Seventh Progress Report Confidential, East Africa Command Welfare Activities-Report of Action as from December 1st to 31st May 1943.

¹³ IWM Sound Archives Oral History 19630, Eric Basil Burini (interviewee), Harry Moses (recorder).

¹⁴ KNA VQI/26/4, Native Officers of Loyalty, War Welfare Activities, 1939-1945, Letter from DC DL Morgan to the Directorate of Pioneers and Labour, HQ’s East Africa Command, ‘Native Weapons’, 31 August 1944.

¹⁵ American Quaker philanthropist Anna T. Jeanes funded the Jeanes Schools in 1908. Virginia Estelle Randolph designed the model program which trained, until 1968, Afro-Americans who then taught black pupils a vocational education they considered better than the one they had in the American South.

¹⁶ *Maendeleo* means ‘development’ in Kiswahili.

which was such a feature in the old Africa and which [was] unfortunately now tending to disappear". These cultural enterprises, it was hoped, would compensate for "the abandonment of many traditional forms of entertainment". "Reviving" and "developing" "traditional" performances was presented as an imperative for if "traditional Africa vanished", Hyslop believed, people would ultimately "suffer".¹⁷

Colonial fashioning of folklore must be contextualized within wider interests and developments in folk music and dance. Written documents, photographs, and films show the demands from 1950s Hollywood directors to use African "traditional" performers in cinematographic productions. The Akamba acrobatic dancers were the most sought-after "tribal" performers. Famously, Hugh Tracey, the founder of the African Music Society based in Johannesburg and director of African Music Research toured Kenyan rural districts in 1950 to record indigenous African musical performances for the purpose of creating "interest in the objectives of the African Music Society". Provincial Commissioners (PCs) collected information on "areas where noteworthy indigenous musical talent was to be found, and especially of local musicians, singers, story-tellers and poets considered worthy of recording". The tour was successful partly because "efficient arrangements had been made for the assembling of musicians and dancers at various stations". Moreover, "the hospitality afforded enabled the party to make a very large number of recordings".¹⁸ Evidence does not say if Hyslop was aware that there had been a vivid international interest for folk music and dance since 1947. Preserving the performed cultures of African "tribes" could be part of this development. The International Folk Music Council (IFMC), affiliated to UNESCO through the International Music Council, was founded in London in 1947. The then defunct International Folk Dance Council, created in 1935 in London under the aegis of the English Folk Dance and Song Society and the British National Committee of the Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires (CIAP), convened the event. Although a folk dance committee had been formed to deal with questions relative to terminology and notation, the term folk entailed song, dance, and instrumental music. One of the aims of the IFMC was to "assist in the preservation, dissemination and practice of the folk music of all countries [...] to promote understanding and friendship between nations through the common interest of folk music" (Karpeles, 1965: 308-311). These measures were perceived as vital because:

"Folk music [was] disappearing as a traditional art...Immediate steps [ought to] be taken to preserve our remaining heritage, not only for our own use, but for that of posterity...in any analysis we must always remember ...that the living organism of folk

¹⁷ KNA PC/EST/2/21/2, Traditional Dances and Choirs 1954-1973, Ministry of Community Development and Rehabilitation, Nairobi, to the PC of the Southern Province, Ngong, 'Circular concerning the Colony Music and Drama Officer Mr. Hyslop', 13 April 1957.

¹⁸ KNA DC/MUR/3/10/2, Personal Assistant to the Chief Native Commissioner, Nairobi, to all the PCs, 'Circular on African Music', 27 June 1950.

music is not to be found in the stereotyped notation or even in the mechanical recording, but only in the fleeting creation of the singer, dancer or instrumentalist” (Karpeles, 1965: 309).

Although Africa had no representative at the 1947 meeting, these rationales for the preservation of folk musical “traditions” strikingly echoed the ones Hyslop would articulate a decade later. The 18th conference of the IFMC eventually took place in Ghana in 1966. The following year, it was held in Oostend, Belgium. There participants had the opportunity to visit the collection of musical instruments of the Brussels Conservatory and the Royal Museum of Central Africa.¹⁹

“Traditional” musical cultures, nation building, and the marginalization of popular music

Upon independence in 1963, Kenya under Kenyatta built upon colonial-fashioned folklore to engage in cultural debates on nation building. The nation was to be built from the “traditional”, from the rural preserved vestiges of the most “authentic” cultures, from below. The rhetoric of the first president on nation building was rarely empty of terms denoting the virtues of the rural hinterland. The rural home was a place where life could restart. It was a place where one could find spiritual regeneration. Nation building entailed notions of spiritual awakening and hope for the future. Kenya’s “traditional” musical heritage, from the perspective of government officials, mostly entailed the songs heard in the rural hinterland and sounds produced by the stringed, wind, and percussion instruments. State-funded festivals promoting indigenous music celebrated musicians from various ethnic groups committed to cultivate the nation’s musical “traditions”. The Kenya Music Festival, for instance, was held annually through competitions during which artists – performing in groups or individually – were first selected at the district and provincial levels prior to eventually competing in the national contest finals in Nairobi. Out of these popular events came “the best of traditional tunes from all tribes”.²⁰

The cultural renaissance project dealt with questions about the preservation of cultural heritage and the transmission of interest and pride in “traditional” performances to future generations. Some administrators and Kenyan academics were provided with the logistics and institutional means to collect “traditional” musical performances in the rural hinterland. To facilitate the recording of “the dances and songs typical of African culture”, the government equipped the PCs and District Commissioners (DCs) with tape recorders and cameras so that

¹⁹ KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Institute for Development Studies, Cultural Division, University College of Nairobi to Hon. J. Nyagah, M.P, Minister for Education, ‘The 19th International Folk Music Council Conference at Ostend, Belgium, from 26th July to August 1967’, 12 June 1967.

²⁰ KNA AAT 4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Ministry of Education, Inspectorate, Kenya Music Festival, Nairobi, to all the Provincial Community Development Officers, circular letter on ‘Kenya Music Festival’, 20 April 1970.

the country would “have in store a great deal of [its] miserably vanishing culture”.²¹ The 1977 publication of P.N. Kavyu on Kamba music and the 1986 book by George Senoga-Zake on the folk music of Kenya were products of these fieldwork recordings.²² A musician himself, Senoga-Zake had been part of the entertainment unit of the King's African Rifles and would become a founding member of the original popular music ensemble the Rhino Band in the 1950s (Okumu, 2000: 145-148). Under the chairmanship of Hyslop, he joined the commission in charge of arranging the music and writing the text of the national anthem of Kenya in 1963. He was subsequently appointed as Director of Music at the Kenyatta University College. Senoga-Zake was involved in the design of the 1972 primary school syllabus for music given for teachers' training at the Kilimambogo Teachers' College, located in the district of Kiambu. Teachers, who were required to establish contacts with local musicians so as to encourage appreciation for “traditional” musical instruments, were instructed to “promote the respectability of genuine African folk music and ensure its continued practice” (Senoga-Zake, 1986: 11). Pupils listened sounds from Africa and Kenya to cultivate national pride.²³ It was hoped that they would become the next generation to champion the dignity and the identity of the African, for these “traditional” songs were deemed to “convey the true picture and personality of the African” (Senoga-Zake, 1986: 11). Experts in “traditional” music were also trained outside Kenya. J.N. Olum Oludhe, among others, was offered a scholarship by the Ministry of Education to study Luo linguistics in the United Kingdom. By 1968, he had completed his degree in the Luo language and African music at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London and envisaged to start a course on European Music at Trinity College.²⁴

The fabrication of musical performance folklore in the 1960s and 1970s Africa was by no means an exclusively Kenyan phenomenon. Some early postcolonial states such as Tanzania, Guinea, and Senegal have formed the subject of studies on the fabrication through dance and/or music of their respective “traditional identity” and national cultures (Castaldi, 2006; Askew, 2003; Edmondson, 2007; Andrieu, 2007; Straker, 2009). State-sponsored folk musical ensembles and ballets, whose instrumental composition and choreography tapped into all “traditions”, practices, and symbols of various ethnic groups of newly independent nations elevated rural cultures as symbols of an “authentic” pre-colonial past. National ballets, folk ensembles, and festivals endowed several postcolonial states with a political and cultural legitimacy abroad and at home. Kenya did engage with intra-continental debates on Africans'

²¹ KNA PC/EST/2/21/2, Office of the PC of Western Province, Kakamega, to the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, Nairobi, ‘Kenya Image’.

²² See George Senoga-Zake, *Folk Music of Kenya* (Nairobi, 1986); P.N. Kavyu, *An introduction to Kamba Music* (Nairobi, 1977).

²³ KNA AAT 4/13, Ministry of Education to Mr J.J. Karanja, Ministry of Community and Social Services, ‘Music Course-Kilimambogo Teachers College 17th-21st April 1972’, 11 April 1972.

²⁴ KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Letter from J.N. Olum Oludhe, London, to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Nairobi, ‘My Application for Scholarship to study Music 1969/70’, 29 November 1967.

cultural renaissance. Due to a lack of funds, no Kenyan artists attended the 1969 First All African Cultural Festival in Algiers. But the Kenyatta government sent “traditional” musicians to represent the country at the 1972 Second All Africa Cultural Festival held in Kinshasa and titled “Africa 1972: Highlights of Development in African Arts and Culture”.²⁵ Music and dance, as mediums to penetrate a world of embodied representations, were potent tools in shaping nationalist ideology and in the creation of national subjects at home. Amina Mama has argued that “the apparatus producing national identities has remained relatively underdeveloped” in Africa, possibly owing to the co-existence of various ethnic groups, languages, and religions (Mama, 2007: 16). Yet, one cannot disregard the active role of musical performances in early postcolonial debates on nationhood and national identity.

It is true that in the Kenyan context, research on embodied and aural expressions of nationalist thought, national identity, and state ideology have attracted scant attention. However, in 1966, officials did entertain the idea of creating “a truly National Troupe in the real sense of the word incorporating all forms of culture and its expression in a truly Kenyan or African context”. This cultural ensemble would include the “traditional” dances and musical genres of all the nation’s communities. Other expressive and artistic cultures classified as “indigenous” – such as story-telling, mock-wrestling, and warring – could be included in the company’s performances for local and overseas tourists. It was also envisaged that the troupe would entertain Kenyans during national celebrations. Yet, as the DC of Nairobi reported, no suggestions were made as to how “the interpretation of tribal or national feeling” would be expressed.²⁶ Much fieldwork remained to be done to examine, for example, the bleeding of nationalist discourse and state ideology into performance, and the eventual discrepancies between the message propagated onstage and the everyday experiences of the masses. The Bomas of Kenya (BoK) possibly tended towards the idea of representing the nation on stage. Started by the government in 1971 as a wholly owned subsidiary of the Kenya Tourist Development Cooperation (KTDC), the BoK was established “to Preserve, Maintain and Promote the Rich Diverse cultural values of various ethnic groups of Kenya [...] in their purest forms”.²⁷ By the early 1970s, the centre had a resident troupe of dancers known as the *Bomas Harambee Dancers*. Between 1971 and 1973, the Afro-American choreographer Leslie Butler was entrusted to choreograph the dance-piece *isukuti* for the company’s repertoire (Kiiru, 2014: 2-3). Since the BoK promised “to act as a tourist attraction centre”, it was expected that the production of folklore and cultural tourism would generate economic development.²⁸ The 1966 debates on a national performing arts group suggest that

²⁵ KNA PC/EST/2/21/2, Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services, Nairobi, to all Provincial Directors of Social Services, 3 August 1971.

²⁶ KNA PC/EST/2/21/2, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, Nairobi, to the PC of Eastern Province, Embu, ‘National Dancers’, 13 June 1966; Office of the PC, Nyanza Province, to the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, Nairobi, ‘Formation of a National Troupe’, 12 September 1966.

²⁷ <http://www.bomasof-kenya.co.ke/>

²⁸ *Ibid.*

economic potentials through tourism was a far larger driving force than its promise to stand as a symbol of national identity and as cultural tool of national integration.²⁹ Yet in projecting and representing Kenya through its embodied “traditions”, tourist performances became redolent of national heritage, conducive to engage in questions on national belonging and consciousness.

The international enthusiasm for African folk remained significant after independence. Some of the cultural entrepreneurs who undertook personal or government-led research projects in Kenya construed Africa as an “authentic” place uneroded by the advance of “modernity” because there, as many thought, the rural, the folk, the local, the “ethnic”, and the “traditional” still prevailed. John Lovell, Professor of English at Howard University in Washington and under contract with a New York publisher to write a book on Afro-American spirituals and folk music, stated in 1970 that he planned to come “to Africa to hear as much native folk music as he could (live or on tapes), to examine available exhibits relative to the subject and to talk with experts in the field of the folklore of given regions”.³⁰ The Ministry of Broadcasting and the Community Development staff sometimes provided cultural entrepreneurs with the logistic support to conduct their studies. Between 1966 and 1968, Isaiah D. Ruffin, an American music teacher in New York City coordinated a recording and transcription project of indigenous music at the request of the Kenyan government. But the language barrier, the unsuitability of equipment for outdoor recording, staff shortages, and the limited finances impinged upon the successful completion of the project. Frequent cabinet reshuffles meant that ministers initially involved in the venture lost interest in pursuing it for they were assigned new responsibilities. Since data archiving was difficult, the tapes, the music syllabi, and the reports Ruffin produced were eventually lost.³¹

This local and global focus on Kenya’s rural performances highlights the issues of their presentation and representation. The audience, whose position encompassed that of the researcher and the tourist, played an active role in the context and the nature of the delivery of performance. The presence of this public forced the artists to adjust the performance within new and therefore transformed temporal and spatial contexts to sustain the interest of their audience. Artists also gave their visitors the chance to see, to hear, and to feel what they expected a “traditional Kenyan dance and music” performance *was*. This signifies that both performers *and* the visitors had significant roles in shaping the meaning of “traditional” oral, aural, and choreographic cultures.

²⁹ KNA PC/EST/2/2172, District Commissioner (DC) Nairobi to the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, ‘Formation of National Troupe’, 19 September 1966.

³⁰ KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Letter from John Lovell Jr, Washington D.C to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Cooperatives and Social Services, Nairobi, 3 December 1969.

³¹ KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Letter from Isaiah D. Ruffin, New York, to Mr. T. W. Wanjala, Chief Cultural Officer, Department of Social Services, Nairobi, 8 March 1979.

As a consequence of state focus on “traditional” music from the countryside and international music enthusiasts eager to “find” folk music, popular and mostly urban music attracted less interest from the government. As Malm and Wallis stressed in their report for MISC, Nairobi had become, by the early 1970s, the main East African business hub for the music industry. Musicians, entertainment promoters, and consultants from Europe, Zaire, and Tanzania travelled frequently to, or established themselves in the capital to boost their businesses. GV records of cha-cha-cha, samba, and mambo remained popular. Congolese rumba, soukous, and the guitar technique associated with these dance-music styles, confirmed their acclaim from the mid-1960s (Okumu, 2000:147). The Tanzanian Kiswahili jazz band tradition of borrowing electric instruments would hit Nairobians a decade later.

But officials concerned with Kenya’s renaissance had a “problem” with urban popular music: “foreign” music played in the dancing clubs and the bars of Nairobi was believed to “kill Kenya’s traditional cultural image”.³² The correlation between the fast-growing capital, urban “Western” style music and dances kept on generating ideas on urban youth and women’s moral decadence among some men, officials, and elders. Certain songs performed by Gĩkũyũ men and heard in Nairobi of the 1950s still encapsulated these salient anxieties by promoting the virtues of rural life. These musical genres, authorities believed, could not “kenyanise” the nation. Some “Kenyan” urban musical styles thriving during the early postcolonial era were, nonetheless, rooted in “traditional” and indigenous musical forms. Recent popular genres were interdependent upon more ancient musical instruments, performance genres, and sometimes modes of socialisation (Watermann, 1990). The *benga* beat, for example, translated into meetings of past and present and highlights a more fluid dialogue between the city and the countryside. Tanzanian-born musician Daniel Owino Misiani, who moved to Kenya in the 1960s, is credited with popularising *benga*. Known as the “king” or “grandfather” of the *benga*, the electric bass guitars, a vocal solo and backup singers produce the *benga* groove. *Benga* is played with an elegance reminiscent of the *nyatiti*, an eight strings lyre mastered by the Luo in Western Kenya (Barz, 2001: 109-113). The style inspired other popular musicians. As Maina wa Mũtonya has examined in his study on Gĩkũyũ popular music, the artist singer Joseph Kamaru has famously borrowed *benga* as the base of a large number of his compositions (Mũtonya, 2013: 3).

The commercial “foreign” music impeded the production and distribution of popular music produced by “Kenyans”. In the 1970s, a dynamic production of Gĩkũyũ music found a niche in downtown Nairobi on River Road, also named “little Murang’a”. Joseph Kamaru and H. M Kariuki, among others, regrouped themselves in collectives meant to articulate their needs as musicians and producers. By this period, some collectives, such as the Kenya National Union of Musicians, included “non-Kenyan” artists – mostly Congolese and

³² KNA AAT/4/14, Kenya Society of Musicians, Letter from Kenya National Union of Musicians (KNUM) to the Minister for Co-operatives and Social Services, 14 August 1971.

Tanzanians who had been living in Nairobi for some time and obviously hugely influenced the creativity of the “Kenyan-born” musicians. Societies and composers lobbied to improve their conditions and fought for tighter controls in the diffusion of “foreign” music. They strove to increase their visibility both locally and internationally. When asking for government support in 1980, they were sent to banks for loans. Despite the dwindling state finances, early cultural-fighters in key ministerial positions did little to help local popular musicians in producing the country’s folklore.

Some conclusions

Understanding some aspects of the “cultural rebirth” of Kenya in the wake of independence involves an examination of the relationship between the colonial state, the construction of Kenya’s “tribes”, and wider political and cultural developments. One should accept that the creation of indigenous musical “traditions” perceived “authentic” and their early folklorization did not begin with independence in 1963. Postcolonial Kenya under Kenyatta built upon colonial foundations of musical folklore. Research remains to be done on the eventual links between the nation-building project, folklore, and the legitimization of ideological and political claims. The continued international interests in Kenya’s folk “traditions” demonstrate how both early postcolonial states and global observers still construed Africa, until the late 1970s, as essentially rural. These dynamics, combined with the central role Nairobi maintained in the development and diffusion of popular and international music throughout East Africa, complicated debates on nation building. Although the following point has not been addressed in this paper, a discourse on development as comprehended by the colonial state, early independent Kenya, and of course the international community, generated other incentives to use musical folklore as a means to “define” Kenya.

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Domestic Tourism in Kenya: Trends, Initiatives and Practices

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Abstract: In 1984, the Kenyan government came up with a domestic tourism policy encouraging Kenyan residents to travel locally especially during the low tourism season. Although domestic tourism is supported for a number of other reasons, the central objective was to even out the seasonality pattern thereby preserving jobs year round. However to date it seems this goal has not yet been realised. A key shortfall is the lack of information and implementation of strategies promoting domestic tourism in Kenya. This paper attempts to explore the nature and practice of domestic tourism and how it fits into the standardised international tourism model in Kenya.

For many African countries, Kenya included, international arrivals has been the lifeline of the tourism sector. Consequently, domestic tourism has either been ignored or underestimated largely due to the fact that international tourism is an invisible export generating much needed foreign exchange. In such countries, tourism performance is quoted mainly in terms of international arrivals and resultant revenue generated. For example, in Kenya there were 1.5 million international arrivals in 2013 generating Kshs. 96 billion (Government of Kenya, 2014). Such limited statistics highlighting only international arrivals add to the perception that countries such as Kenya are simply host destinations devoid of any vibrant or significant local tourism. This may be true to some extent given that Kenya suffers heavily in the face of travel advisories emanating from key source markets. However, evidence suggests there is potential for domestic tourism within African countries. In South Africa for example, 60% of the total frequentation to national parks is by residents while 20% come from other African countries. In the national parks of Mauritius and Nigeria, 40% and 80% of the visitors are residents respectively (Liliehholm & Romney, 2000).

In Kenya, evidence indicates significant growth in domestic tourism. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) shows that the number of hotel-bed nights by Kenyan residents has increased from 1.57 million in 2008 to 2.79 million in 2012 (Government of Kenya, 2014). However, such an increase in numbers may be partly attributed to better data recording. Thus, during this period Kenya had an average of 2.3 million overnight stays

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(about 5.9% of the population) by domestic tourists accounting for 37.59% of the total bed nights for the same period. This, compared to the 2001-2005 period which stood at an average of 757,400 overnight stays (about 2% of the population) by domestic tourists (Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis, 2009).

While this may suggest a significant role for domestic tourism within African countries, it is certainly a notable paradox that the East African tourism sector is functioning without necessary research support on domestic tourism. Although attempts have been made to describe this tourism segment, it has mainly been with regard to policy (Dieke, 1991; Sindiga, 1996) and isolated case studies (Kieti, Okello & Wishitemi, 2014). Thus data on Kenya's domestic tourism is still scanty (*Ibid.*). Consequently little has been documented on domestic tourism practices, trends, and initiatives geared toward understanding the domestic tourism market. Therefore the key research question is: how do the domestic tourism leisure practices fit into the existing standardized tourism model associated with international tourists? The aim is to establish whether Kenya's domestic tourism segment reproduces, appropriates, and modifies existing tourism practices, or if it experiments with totally new paths.

To answer this question, in June 2014 questionnaires were distributed to 30 randomly selected marketing managers of beach hotels and tour companies on Kenya's North and South coasts. Respondents were given 2 weeks to complete the research instrument, and at the time of collection 20 questionnaires had been completed. All of the questions were open ended to enable respondents to reply as they wish and provide extensive answers instead of complying with the researcher (Openheim, 1992 in Yuksel, 2003). A Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) official as well as the Executive officer of Kenya Association of Hotel Keepers and Caterers Mombasa office, were among those who participated in the study. The research therefore adopted a qualitative methodology which tends to capture reality in interaction, studies small number of respondents, tries to approach reality without preconceived ideas and pre-structured models and patterns, and aims to understand people and not to measure them (Sarantakos, 2013). The focus is on the *how* and *what* rather than *why* and *whether* (Finlay & Ballinger, 2006).

The (in) significant role of domestic tourism

Domestic tourism in Kenya is an under researched topic. Both undergraduate and graduate levels in Kenyan universities place more emphasis on international tourism or tourism in general. This is evident in the curriculum as well as the various research topics in graduate schools covering different facets of international tourism: consumption patterns, motivations, and service perceptions among others. Out of 100 topics under study by graduate students in the school of hospitality and tourism of Kenyatta University in 2014, only 3 were

related to domestic tourism. Thus, the potential for Kenya's tourism sector remains unseen and largely undeveloped (Kihima, 2014).

Both professional and policy orientations toward tourism in Kenya has mainly centered around what Kenya has to offer in terms of products and attractions, as well as its enormous untapped potential. For instance the Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (2009), World Bank Group (2010), and Kihima (2010, 2014) show that only a small number of destinations are highly visited (a few national parks and the coast line) while many others are *empty* or devoid of tourism activities altogether. Thus, in 2013, most visitors preferred to stay at the coastal region which accounted for 45.5% of the total bed-nights occupancy, while Nairobi region accounted for 24.7% (Government of Kenya, 2014).

To open up the less visited areas in Kenya, there has been a call for more marketing efforts and infrastructural developments (Kihima, 2014) as well as suggestions to expand the tourism product on offer beyond the "big five" which comprises the elephant, lion, rhino, cheetah, and buffalo (Okello *et al.*, 2008). With such calls, more emphasis has been placed on international rather than domestic tourism as exemplified by the term *alternative tourism* which rarely refers to domestic tourism. Erroneously, the assumption has always been that domestic tourism is similar to international tourism in most ways except for the participants.

Further to this, Kenya's tourism has typically been externally focused with a bias towards international visitors (Sinclair, 1990; Sindiga, 1996). Odunga (2005) for instance studied the choice of attractions, expenditure, and satisfaction of international tourists to Kenya however such a study has not been done with regard to the domestic tourism market. The official government statistics in Kenya, published yearly by the KNBS, lacks the necessary domestic tourism data. It captures only international arrivals and departures hence failing to show the magnitude of domestic tourism in Kenya outside of bed-nights spent by Kenyan residents in classified hotels.

Consequently, the role of domestic tourism in Kenya remains secondary to international travel, as evidenced by the limited writings on the subject by Kenyan tourism scholars. In the recent past, the Ministry of Tourism Strategic Plan for 2008-2012 identified domestic tourism as one of the ways in which tourism source markets can be diversified while providing a cushion against seasonality. This is not a new assertion given earlier observations by Dieke (1991, p.296): "the government hopes to boost hotel occupancies, and possibly discourage Kenyans not only from taking foreign travel but, perhaps more importantly, make them more appreciative of their country". As a result, the government created a coordinating and monitoring body, the Domestic Tourism Council, to give incentives to local people to travel. Interestingly, during the researchers' interaction with tourism stakeholders at the Kenyan coast, quite a number of them had not heard of such a body. There is therefore need to review performance of the tourism sector institutions in order to justify their very existence.

Moreover, Kieti, Okello, and Wishitemi (2014) observed that in 2009 the government created the Domestic Tourism Strategy Task force to develop domestic tourism in Kenya and that Kenya's Ministry of Tourism declared the year 2010 the *year of domestic tourism* with the aim of instilling a holiday culture among Kenyans. The focus on domestic tourism meant that the country should also focus on the domestic market. It brought to the forefront the fact that consumers of the tourism product can also come from within the Kenyan borders; hence the call to create more awareness which could help change the mindset that tourism is only foreign oriented. Despite such efforts it is difficult to measure the achievements since there is no benchmark against which progress can be measured. Indeed, Boniface (2001, p.39) decries the fact that "one perceived problem is the lack of adequate mechanisms in the industry to monitor outcomes of initiatives". The difficulty to judge performance of the industry beyond the year 2010 campaign is a case in point.

Still, much of the domestic tourism debate has limited itself to the *easier* part of highlighting challenges hindering or facing its development. This includes lack of resources (time and money), limited knowledge on various options available, inaccessible tourism product, and the existing cultural context and perceptual issues (table 1). Indeed, the national tourism policy of 2010 observes that most Kenyan nationals have not been able to participate in tourism due to financial constraints and lack of tourism knowledge, coupled with a paucity of programs and packages. While this may be the first step toward understanding the domestic tourism market, the debate seems to have stagnated at this point. This has done little to help gain insight on domestic tourists with regard to motivation, travel plans, patterns, and how the domestic market can be segmented.

Table 1: Challenges affecting the growth of domestic tourism in Kenya

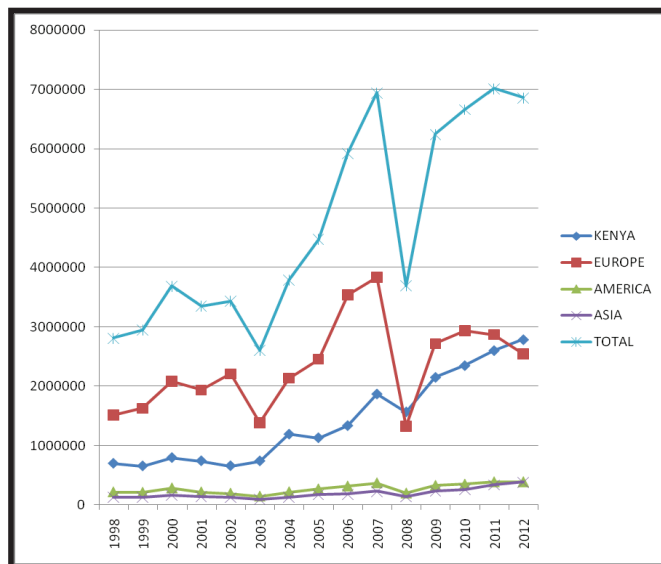
No prior planning for holidays	Lack of saving culture amongst Kenyans
Absence of longer holidays for workers	Economic hardship
High cost of services	Lack of disposable income
No extensive and well developed marketing strategy	Cultural factors, notably not being used to going on holiday
Perception that tourism is expensive	Inaccessible tourism product
Over focus on international markets by hotels and tour operators	Lack of information concerning attractions and accommodation

Source: field interviews, 2014 (the challenges are not arranged in any particular order)

Moreover, as argued by Sindiga (1996, p.25), "a system of statistical book-keeping which specifies country of citizenship and region and/or of permanent residence for Kenyans will capture data on the extent and magnitude of domestic tourism". This has never been the

case to date as shown in fig. 1 where Kenyan *citizens* are presumed to be in the same group as Kenyan *residents*. The latter refers to expatriates or members of the diplomatic community working in Kenya – a term that can be confused with Kenyan citizens. Thus data on hotel bed-nights does not purely distinguish Kenyan citizen from residents (Sindiga, 1996). Even the domestic tourism data for Kenyan parks lumps together East African citizens (Uganda and Tanzania and later incorporated Rwanda and Burundi). Due to the aforementioned, it remains therefore difficult to estimate, track, and even measure the extent and magnitude of *real* domestic tourism in Kenya.

Figure 1: Hotel bed-nights occupancy by country of residence (1998-2012)



Source: Government of Kenya, 2014

Domestic tourism trends

Domestic tourism refers to travelling within one’s own country for the purpose of leisure or pleasure. It is not a subset of international tourism and should not be conceptualized as an extension of the same. In essence one has the global-local nexus while the other has the local-local orientation. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that most domestic tourists frequent the same destinations as international tourists. For instance around 60% of the bed nights spent by Kenyan residents are in the coastal area and in Nairobi (table 2). In this regard, Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (2009, p.98) observes that “bed nights by domestic tourists in the country are also concentrated in the Coast and in Nairobi. This pattern, which is also similar to that of inbound tourists, is a cause of concern”. This shows that domestic tourism may actually be reproducing and appropriating the existing patterns of travel as exemplified by international tourism.

Table 2: Hotel bed-nights occupied by Kenyan residents – percentage of the total is shown in brackets

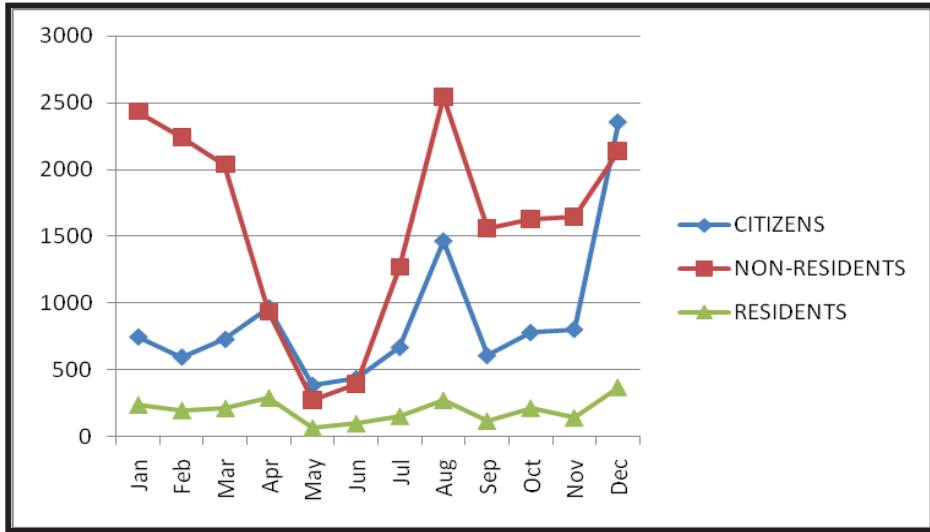
	Nairobi	Coast	Lodges	Others	Total
1994	124,300 (24.0%)	214,100 (41.3%)	30,100 (5.8%)	149,800 (28.9%)	518,300
2002	120,300 (18.3%)	325,800 (49.7%)	18,500 (2.8%)	191,500 (29.2%)	656,100
2012	532,800 (19.1%)	1,106,500 (39.7%)	95,100 (3.4%)	1,053,300 (37.8%)	2,787,700

Source: Government of Kenya, 2014

This therefore informs the assumption that domestic tourists share an interest in the same destinations as international clients. For instance, a World Bank Group report (2010, p.63) noted that “when international, long-haul visitors are less inclined to travel to Kenya, domestic and intra-Africa visitors *can fill hotels and safari vehicles*”. On its part, Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (2009, p.96) stated that, “Domestic tourists could greatly help *reduce seasonal fluctuations of overnight stays*, especially in periods of negative travel advisories”. One may therefore wonder if this is normally the case given the turbulent times the Kenyan tourism sector has faced. Essentially, the domestic market is seen as a stopgap measure when international arrivals are not forthcoming; as a panacea for the struggling industry rather than as a significant market segment.

The filling up of hotels and safari vehicles may not really be the case since the domestic tourism cycle takes place almost in the peak season of international tourism. The Kenyan cycle revolves around the school holiday calendar in April, August, and December when many would like to travel as families or school groups. This may be different from the traditional high season for international tourists that starts in June and ends in August as well as November to January. However, using the example of marine parks at the Kenyan coast, it can be shown that, with the exception of the month of April, the domestic high season overlaps with that of the international high season (fig. 2). The implication is that during the high season, services are normally constrained and may largely discourage the domestic traveller who may have the perception of being ignored and subordinated to the international tourist, or even discriminated against.

Figure 2: Average number of visitors in Kenyan marine parks per month 2006-2012



Source: Kenya Wildlife Service data office, 2014 (personal communication)

Except for the local corporate client or business traveller who visits such establishments during the low season, it can be concluded that these two *tourisms* (domestic and international) are actually in competition rather than complementing each other as evidenced by the closing down of some hotels at the Kenyan south coast during the low season for lack of visitors. Nevertheless, according to KTB (personal communication), domestic tourism in Kenya accounts for 43% of total tourism revenues. This substantial percentage may be attributed to the growth in MICE (meetings, incentives, conventions, and events) sector (table 3) that still has a great but unrealized potential attributed to the number of delegate days available.

Table 3: Number of conferences 2010-2012

	2010		2011		2012	
	Local	International	Local	International	Local	International
Number	2,529	254	2,995	309	3,338	328
Delegates	383,441	30,554	408,596	33,566	413,637	35,663
Delegate days	467,781	153,081	497,523	197,562	554,443	209,910
No of delegate days available	5,368,174	5,368,174	5,520,344	5,520,344	5,652,611	5,652,611
% occupancy	8.7	2.9	9.0	3.6	9.8	3.7

Source: Government of Kenya, 2014

Compared to developed nations, domestic tourism seems to be of a greater magnitude because of a *tourism culture* in which residents travel at least once a year beginning with their countries. Such are referred to as *experienced* tourists who largely pre-plan their travel (Odunga, 2005). This is due to many obvious factors that enhance tourism including ability (time and money), mobility, motivation, and even government initiatives aimed at *social tourism*. According to Pierret (2011), United Nations World Tourism Organisation's (UNWTO) economists estimate that at the global level domestic tourism represents 73% of total overnights: 74% of arrivals and 69% of overnights at hotels; 89% of arrivals and 75% of overnights in other (non-hotel) accommodations.

Kenyan domestic tourist

In 2012, Europe was the largest source market for Kenyan tourism accounting for 57.9% of total international tourist arrivals, followed by Africa with 16.9%, North America 11.8%, and Asia 10% (Government of Kenya, 2012). Statistics indicate that Kenya's tourism sector is currently largely hinged on international tourist arrivals which account for 70% of the country's total tourism, while domestic tourism accounts for the remaining 30% (Kenya Tourism Federation, 2010).

The contrast between international and local tourism is evident. For the potential local tourist, there are many competing interests in life: the need to go to school, servicing of mortgages etc leaving little or no savings for travel purposes. In many African countries exists, instead, a *culture of survival* whereby the idea of travel is considered a luxury that many people cannot afford or they take such activities for granted. For instance Boniface (2001, p.11) observed that “One common element in all tourism is that it is engaged in only a discretionary basis, to serve higher needs, such as self-fulfilment and spiritual enrichment. Tourism is not a basic survival necessity”. In Kenya for instance, a paltry 2.2 million people in modern wage employment, out of a total population of 39.5, earn an annual wage of about Ksh. 432,802. This translates into Ksh. 36,066 per month (Government of Kenya, 2012).

More recently however, though survival is still a factor, several factors are beginning to change the existing scenario and the interest in domestic tourism is growing. This has been attributed to the appreciation of domestic tourism as an effective means to enhance stabilized revenue flows in low seasons, of enhancing inter-ethnic dialogue, a means of transferring wealth and investment from the developed regions to the less developed areas, and a means to keep the hotels open throughout the low season (something that it has failed to accomplish) among others.

To understand the domestic traveller in Kenya, an open-ended question was posed to tourism stakeholders to describe the Kenyan domestic tourist. The varied answers to this question are shown below (table 4).

Table 4: Description given to the Kenyan domestic tourist

Vibrant and has a lot of potential	Travels during festive seasons
Prefers short stays	Prefers to stay in hotels other than camps when visiting national parks
Has not valued tourism yet	Has the potential but is uninformed
Needs encouragement	He is a major income earner in tourism today
Seeks experiences that rejuvenate and teach	Does not explore touristic destinations expansively

Source: field survey, 2014

In essence, domestic tourists are rather last minute oriented and more spontaneous in the kind of activities they choose, hence more difficult to plan for. Nevertheless, it is easier to predict this market’s travel schedule (peak season), unlike the volatile nature of international tourism due to other external factors. The domestic client is socially oriented rather than activity based, desiring experiences in a group. However, many lean more towards psycho-

centrism as evidenced by their search for symbols of home like food and drinks rather than being adventuresome. For instance, those who travel from Nairobi to the Kenyan coast for *hedonism* end up doing the same activities they would have otherwise done in Nairobi. In other words they change the usual environment momentarily without much change in the activities: shopping, alcohol, roasted meat, and clubbing. While an international tourist may feel safe and secure within the *tourist ghettos* and enclaves, his Kenyan counterpart will find such an environment to be boring, encouraging them to venture out to find *freedom* and mingle with other Kenyans in night clubs, shopping malls, restaurants, pubs, and other entertainment spots.

Moreover, the domestic tourist spends less on other services associated with what they have already purchased – massage, buying of souvenirs, tour guiding services etc. Being cost conscious, little or no money is spent on other services deemed unnecessary apart from key services e.g. transfers back to the airport/hotel. However, more is spent on food and beverages than on excursions suggesting that such a client actually arrives lacking the motivation to explore the destination extensively. Instead, the domestic client makes shorter stays and usually visits a particular place for a particular reason. A case in point is the domestic conference tourist who stayed on average of 0.9 days between 2010 and 2012 while the international delegate stayed for 5.6 days on average (table 3).

Having less purchasing power, the domestic tourism practices are therefore defined to a large extent by price and accessibility. For instance a study done in Mtwapa area, North Coast, established that non-classified hotels in Mtwapa town received most of their guests (81.7%) from within Kenya (Kivuva, Kihima and Nzioka, 2014). This could be attributed to the fact that the hotels are of lower standards, and are price friendly to the domestic market. Thus, Pierret (2011) noted that the domestic traveller seeks the best price-quality ratio, or often the lowest possible price, in all segments of the tourism value chain: accommodation, food services, tourism activities, shopping, etc. This means that the domestic traveller is likely to use local services and products: home stays, local guesthouses, lodgings, local foods, and local photographers, with the exception of buying souvenirs. This may be one way of diffusing tourism activity among local entrepreneurs albeit to a smaller level.

In essence, destination organization is largely informed by the international tourism demand. Thus, the international tourist has compelled the investor to offer what they want (infrastructure, food, language, marketing messages...). Being an invisible client due to their travel behaviour such as the use of own transport, the domestic traveller remains an overlooked client having distinct attributes as shown below (table 6).

Table 6: attributes of the domestic leisure/family holiday maker

Spends more on drinks	Prefers full board package
Less savvy and easy going on food and service expectation	Drinks and eats a lot hence very expensive to keep if on all inclusive and full board
Prefers local cuisine	Less adventuresome
Prefers hotels with strong animation activities	Purchase for holiday driven by celebration and family fun time
Spends more time in the restaurant and are not sensitive to time	Prefers attention and personal recognition

Source: field survey, 2014

Domestic Tourist in a Leisure Setting

Tourism is about the freedom to explore beyond one’s usual area of residence. It is about going somewhere away from home. However, the majority of Kenyans exercise this freedom in their own backyards by engaging in passive leisure activities and home based tourism actions which includes visiting friends and relatives, roots tourism, or practicing tourism related activities in one’s own home environment. Such include participating in leisure activities within driving distance while sleeping in one’s own bed at night. Pierret (2011) rightfully observed that domestic tourism is practiced more in a sedentary (staying in the same place) than a nomadic manner. This is where the majority of Kenyan *domestic tourists’* recreational sites such as beaches, Nairobi safari walk, urban parks, and museums fall. This may be the starting point in developing domestic tourism with the need to inculcate outdoor recreation in the Kenyans’ mind. Once one has explored their own backyard extensively, then they are able to move elsewhere in search of new experiences.

Assuming that the leisure pursuits of the local population are a reflection of domestic tourism practices, it can be concluded that, in the absence of the tourist culture, the domestic tourist is likely to contend with basic tourist infrastructure due to lack of prior experience and exposure. With this, it is therefore possible to extend the tourism offer beyond the traditional tourism destinations since they have a greater tolerance for basic services. This is not to say that quality is not a factor for the domestic clients but it shows that with a minimum service requirement, it may be easier to satisfy and handle the domestic tourist. For instance, in areas such as the beaches, *day time domestic tourists* are not so distracted by lack of essential amenities like toilets, shower tabs, and appropriate changing rooms among other services. They may not really see anything wrong with recreating alongside litter.

In addition, there seems to be a clear dichotomy between the domestic traveller and the international tourist. Along the sea front, African populations mostly congregate above the high water mark clearly shunning the beach (sun and sand) while a few will be in the water (sea). Many adult Kenyans frequent these places preferring to be inactive rather than participate in recreational activities such as water sports, which confirm our assertion that they have not yet embraced the tourism culture. They prefer to shelter themselves away from the hot sun while gazing into the horizon. Those of Arabic and Asian descent often travel with their own vehicles to the beach (e.g. Nyali and Mama Ngina) in groups of three or four but hardly leave the vehicles and may be spotted listening to music, eating their own packed food, while some spend their time chewing *miraa*. One notable absence on the beach for the Kenyan population is the lack of sunbathing activity. Few people, especially adult women, can be spotted wearing beach attire as the majority prefer to be fully dressed. Moreover, while it may be easier to identify a foreign tourist: by skin colour, clothing, carrying of brochures, maps and cameras, walking in groups, and having a tour guide by their side, the same may not be easily said of a local tourist who blends into the environment; the domestic tourist does not easily stand out from the crowd.

Setting the pace for the tourism sector?

It can be argued that adoption of the Western tourism model (photographic safari, and coastal vacations) has reduced domestic tourism to a subset of the larger conventional tourism system supported by the international market. Many local tourists also visit the same places frequented by foreign tourists – terrestrial and marine parks etc. Sindiga (1996, p.26) rightfully observed that “perhaps one of the weaknesses of Kenya’s domestic tourism is the tacit policy to have Kenyans go to the same facilities and places visited by overseas tourists”. Thus, geographically speaking, the domestic tourism model fits into the international model mainly due to the infrastructural setup of the sector. This has greatly contributed to crowding in touristic destinations and constrained the tourism offer. Therefore, the question to ask is: who actually is setting the pace for tourism practices in the country – domestic or international tourist?

To answer this question, it is important to look at the Kenyan tourism sector organization. Indeed, traditionally travel intermediaries have played a pivotal role in destination management. With 80% of the tourists to Kenya buying packaged tours (Odunga, 2005), the tour operators play a key role in determining tourism practices and destinations. But with domestic tourists travelling independently, it is possible that they can introduce and sustain new tourism practices in the country, albeit to a lesser level. What is evident, however, is that it tends to trail the international tourism trends and practices. For instance, many Kenyan University and College students’ travel activities tend to follow international tourism

patterns: Nairobi, Nakuru, Maasai Mara, Amboseli, Tsavo, and the coastal part of the country. Still, just like international tourism, there is also minimal frequentation to museums and other cultural sites by Kenyan adults as evidenced in table 7.

Table 7: Tourist Flow to Kaya Kinondo: an ecotourism site owned by the local community in south coast, Kenya (2009-2011)

Year	Students	Kenyan citizens	International tourists	Total per year
2009	359	67	454	880
2010	628	128	610	1,366
2011	344	71	850	1,265

Source: Kihima and Kimaru (2013)

It must be recognized that domestic tourism in Kenya is still at inception stages. Greater geographical dispersion of tourists can be aided by the impact of car ownership, allowing people beyond the parameters of fixed modes of transport. Most Kenyan parks are remotely located requiring one to have a self driven vehicle or to rely on a tour van to access them. In Kenya, this may still be a challenge. For instance in 2011, the number of motor cars (personal vehicles) in Kenya is estimated to be 598,622 with approximately 40,000 new vehicles being added to the roads yearly (Government of Kenya, 2010). This may not be a substantial number to warrant mass domestic tourism in the country. According to World Bank, there were 14 passenger cars in Kenya per 1000 people compared to 482 in France in 2011. This includes road motor vehicles, other than two-wheelers, intended for the carriage of passengers and designed to seat no more than nine people including the driver (World Bank, 2010).

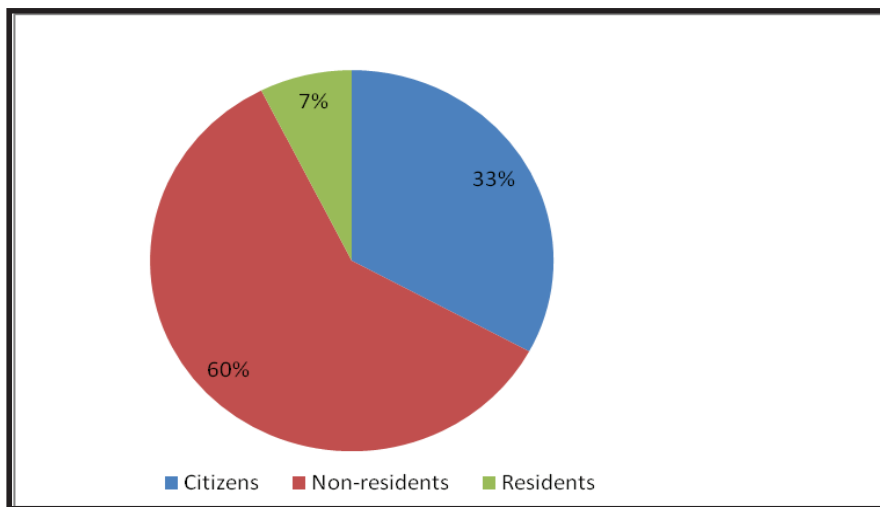
In the commercial sector, Sindiga (1996) noted that there are no prescribed buses to cater for domestic tourists who would wish to visit National Parks or Reserves. Some Tour operators sampled for this research indicated that they do not target domestic tourists at all so could not participate in the study. In addition, many of the domestic tourism safaris advertised beginning and ending their journey in Nairobi (Kieti *et al.*, 2014) which may easily exclude many local tourists wanting to participate in different forms of tours.

Initiatives to promote domestic tourism

Through the *twende tujivinjari* (lets go have fun), the *Tembea Kenya* (explore Kenya) initiatives, domestic tourism is being promoted as the next frontier to boost the much needed tourism revenues in Kenya. Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) has also maintained low conservation (park entry) fees for Kenyan citizens. For instance, to access the premium parks

of Lake Nakuru and Amboseli, a citizen pays Kshs. 1000 (US \$11) while a non-resident pays US \$80. The KWS has also encouraged domestic travel through the provision of a bus and guided visits to the Nairobi and Lake Nakuru National Parks every weekend including public holidays to encourage Kenyans to take part in tourism. Moreover, the members of WCK (Wildlife Clubs of Kenya), especially those who are in Kenyan educational establishments, can visit premium national parks at very subsidized rates for Kshs. 200 (US \$2). In the case of Kenyan marine parks, it can be shown that a third of total visitations between 2006 and 2012 were by Kenyan citizens, and 60% by non-residents (fig. 3). In general, domestic tourism flow to KWS protected areas accounted for 44% of the total visitation in 2008 (Kihima, 2010).

Figure 3: Average marine park visitation 2006-2012



Source: Kenya Wildlife Service data office, 2014 (personal communication)

For the National Park frequentation, the only downside lies in the fact that the national market does not generate enough income for the protected areas. The direct economic impact generated by domestic tourism is indeed insignificant in terms of the conservation fee. Thus, in spite of the fact that 50% of the tourists to Lake Nakuru National Park were Kenyans between 2000 and 2004, they only contributed 5% of the total income for the same period for KWS. In Amboseli and Aberdare National Parks, Kenyans constituted 25% and 19% respectively of the total visitation. However, in terms of revenue this market segment contributed only 1% in for each one of these parks (World Resource Institute et al., 2007). This is not to diminish the significance of domestic tourism, but to illustrate the importance of international tourism in financially supporting protected areas of the country. Despite these facts, Akama (1997) and World Tourism Organization (2012) observed that domestic tourism may have a greater impact on local economies and local development whereby they are more likely to buy from local vendors than foreign tourists. Future research should be done on the

contribution of domestic tourism to the accommodation sector. Pierret (2011) noted that knowledge and proximity of the destination, and lower cost of transport for domestic tourists, brings about an entirely new series of consequences. This includes but is not limited to involvement of all social strata, from the wealthiest to more modest (but stable) incomes; giving rise to a large diversity in demand in terms of accommodation and tourism products as well as activities and destinations. However, the unit expenditure is markedly lower than in international tourism, especially interregional tourism, but the overall volume of expenditure remains higher.

Bringing Attractions Closer to the People

It should be acknowledged that what fuels tourism activity is not uniformity, but differences, contrasts, otherness, novelty, and fresh experiences (Boniface, 2001). The branding of Kenyan parks has exposed the diversity of Kenya's tourism industry and the various opportunities that local people as well as international tourists may enjoy while visiting the country (Kihima, 2014). Through this the KWS has shown that indeed attractions are not just *over there* but they are *here* as well – in our backyards. The various tourism practices and experiences are explicitly announced through various taglines proposed for the national parks (Kihima, 2014). A case in point is the Kisumu Impala which announces the fact that visitors can take “A Lake Shore Walk with the Impalas”; Mt. Kenya asks the visitors to “come touch the sky”; while in Ndere Island visitors are promised the “Island of Serenity and Beauty”.

With such diversity as exemplified by the branding messages, hope for the Kenyan tourism industry may come via inexperienced domestic tourists fascinated by the *zebra fish* of Malindi, the *Sitatunga* of Saiwa, and the *Roan Antelope* of Ruma. This inexperienced tourist may still be a stranger to various landscapes, flora, and fauna, and may easily find them fascinating. Indeed, domestic tourism can serve to launch a destination (Pierret, 2011). This may form a good starting point to popularize the undeveloped sites. Thus, while “Europeans want to see the Africans and the African landscape in the same way as they were taught to see them during their formative years of image-moulding” (Wels, 2000, p.64); the local tourist has no such background information. For the international traveller, the images of *safari*, *big five*, *savanna*, and *Maasai* are still persistent (Kihima, 2014). Europeans, according to Wels (2000, p.64), “long for pristine African Landscapes with picturesque thatched roofs dotted and blended into it and expect to hear drums the minute they arrive in Africa.”

While the micro-fauna may not really be appealing to the international tourist who may have been promised spectacular attractions like the wildebeest migration, the absence of such a promise to the domestic tourist can make his visit fulfilling irrespective of the destination. Boniface (2001, p.127) noted that: “Old products may have a current life in exactly their old

role. After suffering a downturn and falling out of tune with tourism market, they can re-emerge as suitable with their original features... In essence, dynamic tourism expects a future that calls for constant re-evaluation with attention paid to keeping existing items in the arena as tourism products". These new branded messages make clients explore new items otherwise ignored especially when they are within the easy reach of domestic tourists.

Conclusion

This paper brings to the fore the fact that the Kenyan tourism sector is operating below its potential largely as a result of the absence of tourism offices and information centers. This has hindered the gaining of important insights into the domestic market. Many other sectors of the economy have invested much in research while the Kenyan tourism industry is largely concentrated on regulating and licensing the industry players. Two years after the devolution of the local tourism function to the county governments, the script is still the same: lack of data on domestic tourism within the counties, and therefore no clear road map with regard to the development of domestic tourism. This, according to Boniface (2001, p.1), can be attributed to industry wide stagnation and immaturity as a result of "a blind eye turned by the industry to its own shortcomings; a lack of appreciation for the need and reasons for development; *a failure of ideas and imaginations*". Nevertheless, the domestic tourist needs to be understood and to be encouraged to travel. Such may include offering discounts and attractive packages to walk-in clients, developing clearly defined market segments, being aggressive in providing market information to the masses, making transport easily available, and encouraging a saving culture for holidays. Such policies would target different market segments, notably: corporate clientele, MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conventions and Events) clientele, and family/holiday clientele.

There is also a need to undertake household surveys at a national scale, or with selected counties, to determine the real magnitude of domestic tourism in Kenya, distinguishing between excursionist and overnight stays.

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“Green grabbing”, pastoralism and environmental dynamics in Northern Kenya. An assessment of conservation models and practices in Marsabit County.

Hazard Benoit¹, Adongo Christine²

Abstract: In Northern Kenya, the history of protected areas reflects the debates that have shaped the world of conservation and environmental concerns. For a long time colonial assumptions about pastoralist uses of natural resources have been part of environmental policies and legitimized appropriation of nature. How does the implementation of natural resources management projects interact with pastoralists' natural heritage and their future economies in the context of socio-ecological transition? This paper questions the relations between conservation practices and the regional environmental dynamics of five protected areas in the broader Chalbi desert. It describes models ranging from conservationist models used for large areas to more recent experiments and socio-technical choices implemented on smaller scale-fenced parcels. Through two central water places located in North Horr and Kalacha, we also describe the impacts of natural protected areas on pastoralist livelihood in the Chalbi desert. This situation, therefore, prompts for suggestions to discuss the split between environmental conservation and development and to better integrate research on socio-ecological dynamics in environmental policies.

In many Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), environmental policies often correlate with natural resources on which the livelihoods of the inhabitants depend. The creation of protected areas is thought to be one of the most cost-effective ways of conserving biodiversity (Ervin, 2003). Over the last 20 years, Northern Kenya has seen implementation of various models for the protection of natural resources for biodiversity conservation. Northern Kenya comprises various natural protected areas endowed with immense biological diversity and water, which provide vital ecosystem services. The existing social and political organizations also depend upon the dynamics of both these natural resources as well as implications of the existing protected areas.

At the same time, these conservation practices tend to inhibit some of the vital functionality of those areas, for the pastoralists' livelihood in particular. In Marsabit County, many fenced areas have been used as dry season grazing and watering areas for generations in order to sustain pastoral activities. Today, these bio-cultural heritages are prompting questions

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about involvement of the inhabitants in enhancing the sustainability of their environment and livelihoods. Why is this the case, and how can conservation goals and pastoralists activities be better integrated for their mutual benefit?

Through analysis of the interactions between protected areas and the dynamics of pastoral economies in Northern Kenya, our research questions the past and present socio-ecological functions of the greater Marsabit ecosystem. It queries issues around natural resource governance in a continuum of protected areas (including forests, water and pasture), occurring on different scales (local, national, international) in the context of environmental change. After presentation of the study area, we first argue that protected areas can be seen as a socio-technical tool for conservation, which has emerged along the colonial assumption of the inability of pastoralists to manage their resources. Consequently, we underline the tools for conservation, such as protected areas that reflect past and present hegemonic views on nature. We then discuss existing models that reflect the major orientations of conservation since the nineteenth century. Ultimately, through the case of two protected areas—two springs in North Horr and Kalacha, which have been central in pastoral mobility in the Chalbi desert, we underline the impact of global environmental concerns on pastoralist activities today. As such, the interaction between protected areas and the dynamics of pastoralists' economies is part of the debate on environment. It refers to a benchmark of global and national public policies, in a context where the relevance of 'protected natural areas' is related to their ability to become either a 'tool for development' or just the conservation of remarkable natural heritage (Aubertin *et al.*, 2008).

Broadly, our work is based on a mixed methodological approach, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Key informant interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation enabled us to gather invaluable information from both the local inhabitants and implementers of protected areas. For instance, we were able to discuss pastoral mobility, livelihood options, protected areas at different scales, boundaries, management structures, access regulations, grazing and water areas, resource use, and conflicts. We also found it useful to map significant sites such as the protected areas at different scales, water and grazing areas.

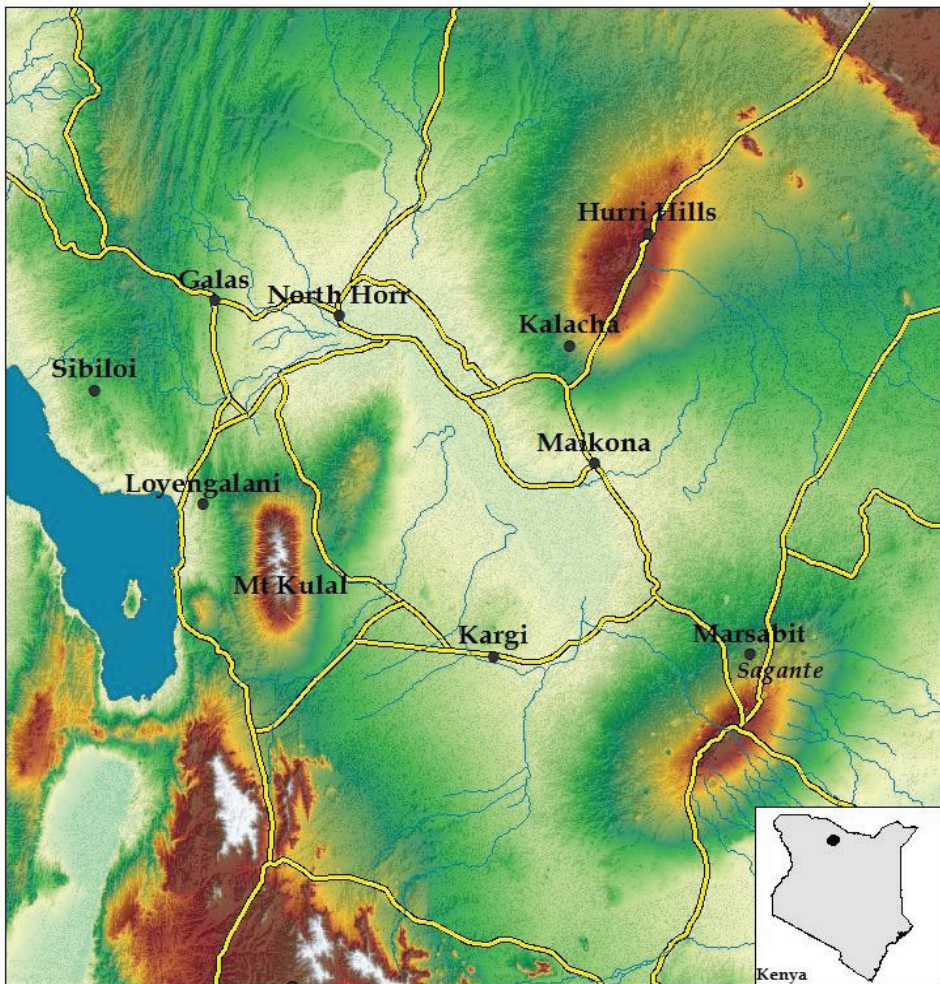
The study area: an ecosystem facing environmental stress

The Marsabit greater ecosystem comprises Inselbergs of volcanic origin of up to 1700M ASL compared to the surrounding semi-desert (400M ASL), and covers the endorheic basin of Chalbi desert (an old lake bed). Categorized as one of the driest regions in Kenya (Marsabit District Development Plan, 2010), this ecosystem faces severe challenges related to natural resource access and availability, particularly water and pasture. Dire consequences of a highly variable climate further exacerbate the resource scarcity problem. Generally, the Marsabit

County has a semi-arid climate with poor soils, except for some high altitude areas. Rainfall is erratic (800-1000 mm in the highlands and 200 - 250mm in the lowlands), unreliable and highly variable both spatially and temporally. There are no permanent rivers in the entire county and vegetation is sparse due to low rainfall and high-rate salinity soils.

Map 1: The endoreic basin of the Chalbi desert (Marsabit County)

**Situation map
The endoreic basin of the Chalbi desert (Marsabit County)**



Legend

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Value | |
| High : 3507 | Lac Turkana |
| -Low : 141 | Water lines |
| | Roades |

Source: DIVA GIS
Open street map
Datum projet : GCS_WGS_1984
Mapping : Benoit HAZARD
Chafia IRZOUNI , Septembre 2015



Marsabit is amongst the most sparsely populated counties in Kenya (1.98 inhabitants/km²). These low densities reinforce a widely held assumption that pastoralists from rural areas form the bulk of rural migration to urban centres such as Marsabit town where the urban population has increased 10 times (5000 inhabitants in 1963 to 50,000 in 2011) within the last four decades. Although the highlands have attracted pastoralists since the colonial era, the pastoralists have never been allowed to settle. In fact, these areas were the refuge for victims of war and drought after independence, when mass movement to the mountain area started in 1970s as a result of the Somali secessionist war (1970s), large losses of livestock from droughts (1973/74) and the Ethiopian war (Witsenburg & Adano, 2007). Broadly, many towns of the county (Maikona, Kalacha, North Horr, Hurri Hills) have developed as a result of a similar process.

Inhabitants of Marsabit County are dependent upon the available natural resources. An interview with the chief National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) officer of Marsabit County revealed that, approximately 1000 tons of dry firewood is extracted from Marsabit forest annually. Environmental conditions enable inhabitants to practice nomadic pastoralism and make use of communally shared natural resources (water, pasture). In a 'water scarce' country (the natural endowment of renewable fresh water of Kenya is 647m³ per capita/annum), Marsabit County is characterized by inadequate water availability and poor water quality as a result of salinity, pollution, poor water supply services by the county government, and a complex water management system. Pasture is essential for the herds' survival, and thus flexibility in search for pasture especially during drought is a strategic activity to bolster livelihood options. Since 2000, increased incidences of severe drought have increased the vulnerability of natural resources. Pressure on the highlands 'mist forest-protected areas' is accentuated by land grabbing and seasonal concentration of livestock from the lowlands, which utilize the highlands as a dry season grazing area. The encroachment not only signifies the genesis of resource degradation (soil erosion, over-harvesting, biodiversity loss) but also contributes to the escalating resource use and human-wildlife conflicts (Witsenburg & Adano, 2007). At the same time, the growing numbers of protected areas in an ecosystem where resources are scarce tend to reduce rangelands that are available to pastoralists. This situation can not only culminate in violent resource use conflicts between different ethnic groups (mainly Rendille, Gabra and Borana), but also drives the formulation of new conservation models that are more inclusive, such as conservancies.

Implementation of public policies in Northern Kenya seems plausible because of the socio-economic inclusion of Marsabit in a new geopolitical scenario with the creation of South Sudan state (North East), the South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET) initiative and their related developments (roads, railway, pipeline, power lines, wind farms, resorts). This positions northern Kenya at a crossroads of a new geopolitical situation. Inadequacy of the state governance has given a de facto power to non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) on which a growing number of inhabitants depend. Furthermore, a debate is emerging about the place and role of communities in conservation and resource management. All these factors question the governance scales of various natural resources in the pastoral landscape of Northern Kenya.

Natural resource policies in arid areas

For a long time, the implementation of protected areas in Northern Kenya has been the key to the relation between pastoral societies and environmental dynamics. It reflects that the role of pastoralism in rangeland management and ecosystem dynamics has been and is still widely misunderstood (Anderson & Grove, 1987; Homewood & Rodgers, 1991; McCabe, 2004); it is also due to the fact that protected areas were formulated as a heritage of conservationist approaches at the expense of the local societies. As such we argue that protected areas are not a pure idealistic model for conservation but embody hegemonic representations of nature related to social and power relation to control natural resources. As such, protected areas are socio-technical tools reflecting one specific form of appropriation of nature, which cannot be disconnected from a specific understanding of ownership.

Conservation policies cannot be separated from the control of natural resources during the colonial time. They have shaped the understanding of pastoral societies as a backward irrational system that involved inefficient use of the resources (Warren, 1995), building the dogma of their responsibility for the rapid environmental decline. Both researchers and African bureaucrats share this view (Rossi, 1998; Schlee & Shongolo, 2012) and such assumptions have excluded pastoralists from environmental projects (Rossi, 1998). One source of this exclusion is expressed in the functionalist controversy between partisans of equilibrium and non-equilibrium models that were promoted by followers of range ecologists. The former believed in Clement's 1916 model of succession and ecological stability, which uses carrying capacity and stocking rate parameters (Warren, 1995). However, these models do not consider the complex relationship between rangeland and livestock, the varied climatic conditions within the range, and different animals' feeding habits (Toutain, 2008). The non-equilibrium model holds that, climate drives the system and that pastoralists adapt by controlling the herds so that at any time the balance necessary for the preservation of the environment is not disrupted. However, critics argue that in arid zones, oases are often present, and therefore primary production in such areas is not entirely rainfall dependent. These areas may have enough forage to prevent the die-off of livestock during drought, thus reducing the effect of climate variability on livestock (Joly, 2008). In addition, this model does not consider that livestock surviving on wetlands could have detrimental effects on neighbouring arid rangelands. Broadly, the lack of a rationality of pastoral systems led to the exclusion of indigenous conservation mechanisms in natural resource policies (Rossi, 1998).

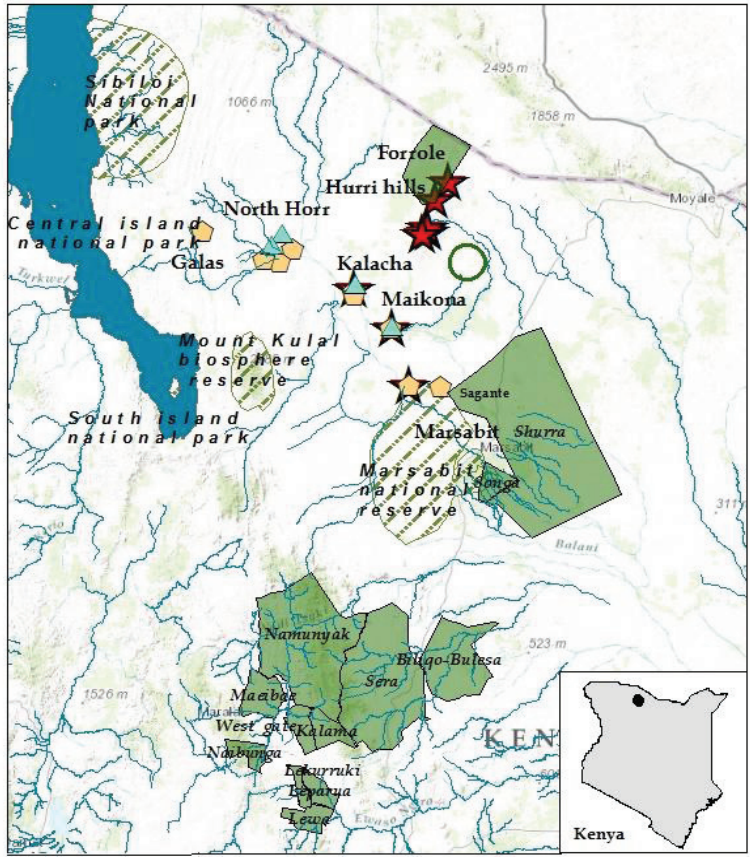
This antagonistic view of pastoral use of natural resources and conservation policies explains why protected areas have been adopted as a socio-technical tool for conservation instead of local conservation practices.

Another motive for this antagonism is linked with the lack of recognition of pastoralists' land rights. After independence, the implementation of many protected areas was possible because pastoral land uses were not recognized as a form of ownership or collective rights. In Kenya, pastoral lands have been perceived as a waste of space, and successive administrations have considered them 'free' lands (Rossi, 1998). The land uses of territories then, were based on the hegemony of a Western conception of livestock production. The allegedly environmentally harmful practices and economically inefficient pastoralism was used as a scientific and political argument to exclude pastoralists from the regional market (Schlee, 2012). The relationship between overgrazing and soil erosion was the main motive used by colonial administration to introduce "tribal grazing areas" and a "belt quarantine" to disrupt pastoral mobility (Homewood and Rodgers, 1987; Anderson, 2002). Again, regulation of nomadism was used to structure a dual livestock economy (*ibid*). This desire to prevent further environmental degradation by pastoralists, encouraged sedentarization policies in the 1980s. By settling people and livestock on small parcels and increasing carrying capacity on permanent and restricted pieces of land, land degradation has been encouraged leading to widespread desertification (Hogg, 1987; Fratkin and Roth, 2006). In this process, the establishment of protected areas and the appropriation of land for environmental reasons are the two components for the destitution of pastoralists, that Fratkin and Roth (2006) attribute to a cycle bonding together with recurring droughts and diminishing rangelands, expands arable agriculture into former pastoral areas. To some extent, political and scientific discourses have legitimized the conversion of pastoral lands to ranch lands belonging first to colonial farmers and later to the new Kenyan elites. In ASAL areas, the inability to develop viable agriculture resulted in an increasing number of game reserves and protected areas around attractive natural sites.

Management of natural resources and socio-technic of conservation

Marsabit County has at least a dozen protected natural areas, different models for natural resource management, and legal statuses. These protected areas reflect three major orientations on the conservation timeline since the nineteenth century: the colonial model 'sanctuary of nature', the inclusion of social dynamics, and the 'return to the barriers' in a global environmental discourse. These orientations are used as a benchmark to describe the various protected area models in a simple typology.

Map 2: Protected areas



Légende

- Lac Turkana
- Lignes d'eau

Aires protégées conventionnelles

- Parcs naturels

Aires protégées non conventionnelles

- Conservancies
- Sites mis en défens par une ONG
- Projet de conservancy

Pratiques de conservation

- Sites culturellement protégés
- Lieux d'eau culturellement protégés



Source: DIVA GIS
 Open street map
 Datum projet : GCS_WGS_1984
 Mapping : Benoit HAZARD
 Chafia IRZOUNI , Septembre 2015



The first group is represented by national parks and reserves such as Marsabit and Silboi. These are sites that date back to colonial times. The second group comprises large biosphere reserves (Mount Kulal) created in the 1980s. Parastatal institutions, whose regulations conform to international conventions, manage these two groups. The third group

is represented by recent models promoted by new stakeholders such as NGOs, which attempt to involve local communities in the management of natural resources. Due to their multifunctionality, protected areas lack a unifying theoretical structure (Ervin, 2003; Cormier-Salem and Bassett, 2007). They can thus be characterized as an experimental framework at the intersection of conservation/protection of biodiversity and development (DeFries and Hansen, 2007; Defries et al., 2007), between users and resources of conservation, science and public policies (Granjou and Mauz, 2011). In other words, the model of a protected area depends on the priority given to social or ecological aspects, the management scheme adopted and the existing technological possibilities. They reflect at least the inclusion/exclusion of social or technological solutions to manage the natural resources.

Marsabit National Park and Reserve (MNPR)

The Northern Kenya wildlife conservation project undertaken by the Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife, has formed the core of the conservation and management of MNPR on policies linked to a situation of “ecological apartheid”. MNPR is a heritage of the “game reserves” and showcases how promoting the protection of nature was undertaken by the conservationists’ movements in the early twentieth century to impose their ideas of conservation and experiments in colonial parks (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Selmi, 2009). The total land area of 6450 km² was approved in 1900 and became the Northern Game Reserve in 1902.

MNPR illustrates how the view of pastoralists’ rangeland as free land allowed colonial resource alienation in the name of conservation of an Eden (Grove, 1995). It can be seen as a historical example of “green grabbing”, i.e “the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends” (Fairhead *et al.*, 2013: 238-239) which over time has led to novel valuations and commodifications of aspects of nature (*ibid*). Indeed the green agenda linked to the creation of Marsabit National Park is related to the debate on the creation of game reserves that occurred during the 1920s between the local white farmers and the British elites

In this context, Marsabit forest MNPR was publicized in the 1920s through the myth of a lost lake in Northern Kenya narrated by Martin and Osa Johnson, who were two American adventurers. Martin and Johnson discovered a Crater Lake hidden in Mount Marsabit forest, and later renamed it Lake Paradise. They were supported by Arthur Blayney Percival, a professional film director and a naturalist, who was appointed as a game ranger by the High Commissioner Sir Charles Elliot (Imperato, 1999). The image of the lost lake in a pristine forest later contributed to the representation of this natural area as an Eden (*ibid*), a “climax”, or an image of the virgin nature exclusive of all human actions and related to the wilderness model (Larrère, 1993). More broadly, the Johnson Safari in Marsabit shows how hunters, foresters and the British elite promoted the protection of nature and contributed to the ultimate

national conservation policy (Berdoulay & Soubeyrans, 2000). As a first result, the actual boundary of Marsabit National Park was designed according to the gazetted Crown Forest reserve (1932), which covered the forest area. According to the model of nature as a sanctuary, distinction between the park and the reserve, which comprised the protected area, was later designed around a hard core. A central zone isolated from human activities when Marsabit National Reserve was gazetted and placed under the management of the Royal National Park of Kenya (1948). As a result, Marsabit protected area comprises a National Park and a National Reserve, which have an unclear legal status. In 1985, the first legislation (Forest Act Cap 385) defined the status of Marsabit National reserve in order to mandate the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (Kenyan Wildlife Service) to manage the reserve.

This legislation was completed in 1990 by a demarcation survey to realign the boundary between Marsabit town and the National Reserve. The main goal was not to clarify the status of the protected areas but to adjust the boundary of the protected area with respect to the sprawling town. Settlement schemes on Marsabit Mountain were established between 1970 and 1980 as consequences of the above-mentioned conflict and climatic conditions. Witsenburg and Roba (2004) report that these settlement schemes were implemented following the colonial model of “tribal areas”. Since the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK) in collaboration with the missionary, Anderson started a settlement scheme in the mountain for impoverished Rendille pastoralists from Laisamis in Songa, Nasikakwe (Karrare) and Kituruni in 1973. The government and the Catholic Mission designed Manyatta Jillo and Sagante for the mainly impoverished pastoralists who lived in urban slums of Marsabit township (*ibid*).

Just like the implementation of new settlement schemes, the unclear legislation on protected areas underline the policy gap on land allocation, rights and uses, such as the need to integrate settlement schemes in the protected areas’ management plan. First, the situation has increased land and resource use, resulting for example in the encroachment into the forest created by the previous settlement scheme, which is used for agro-pastoralist activities by the Rendille and claimed by the Boranas in Badasa as a dry season grazing area. By confining societies to “tribal grazing areas”, the authorities have emphasized ethnic identities, increasing the need for self-reliance. Second, it has prompted the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) to manage the area as a *de facto* National Park and to some extent allow access to natural resources by opposing pastoralists’ activities to conservation as explained by a warden of the park:

“During the dry season, we have a lot of problems because most pastoralists rely on water located inside the protected natural area. *But* these pastoralists cannot have access to water without destroying vegetation and cutting the trees that block access to the water. During the dry season, we allow them to go into the forest, we

allow them to come up with livestock and to water, *and then we're* out of the woods ... But sometimes *some come* for watering livestock and they remain there, *cut* vegetation and have illegal activities inside the protected area.”

This opposition in natural resource management has compelled the park manager to develop a new strategy for land use. In 2002, KWS attempted to purchase land in order to secure its management through an extension of control over space and the implementation of new wildlife corridors. This green grabbing project sparked a violent conflict between the managers and inhabitants of Marsabit, who argued that such projects do not benefit the inhabitants who in the past had traditionally managed the resources communally and were dispossessed of their pastures. A realignment of the boundaries was undertaken in 2003 to include some of the forests and dry season grazing areas omitted by the previous National Park (AFD, 2011). In accordance with the regional context, a new management plan, as part of the Northern Kenya Wildlife conservation project, has emerged proposing to ensure effective management through a network of protected areas and community conservancies. Based on the adaptability of communities to change and on the ability of protected areas to provide ecosystem services over the long term; the split between environmental conservation and development was highlighted as the current goal for natural resource governance. This framework has enabled the development of activities to reduce environmental degradation, to solve the problem of water scarcity, to enhance water supply and irrigation scheme of the lowland, and to fund a dam with a private operator. Several conservancies have generated an economic model to facilitate community development through initiatives of environmental conservation (AFD-Northern Rangeland Trust project). Meanwhile, this switch to community management as part of the flexible legal framework of common locus has facilitated the practice of ‘land grabbing’. The unclear legal framework defining lands rights, parks and community areas may limit the ability of the authorities to implement conservancies and community-based projects. Originally proposed to respond to the challenges related to the type of compensation received by the people for their lost land, conservancies have in fact copied the colonial tribal grazing areas. They raise the question of how to define community areas and appropriate political structures in a context where the conflicts between communities who depend on these resources remain the main management challenge of natural resources. This redefinition of conservation projects is also accompanied by a back to the gate, i.e. a return to the isolationist principles (Aubertin *et al.*, 2008). The fact that inhabitants cross the electric fences around the perimeter of the forest to have access to resources, is symptomatic of current difficulties in managing colonial legacies, through the previous model.

Sibiloi National Park

Lake Turkana National Park (161,485 ha), located on the Northeastern side of the lake, is a conservationist project to ensure the long-term protection of fossil sites and conserve endemic biodiversity. The creation of Sibiloi National Park by the Kenyan government in 1973 was due to archaeological and paleo-anthropological research in the 1960s. From the discussion with an archaeologist who has worked in northern Kenya since the early 1970s, the discovery of a variety of fossils including hominid fossils in Koobi Fora had great influence in the design of the park as the cradle of Mankind, a museum and a research base. Similar to the tradition of game reserves, Sibiloi National Park was first designed for researchers, naturalists and tourism as a place mixing fossils and wildlife. Although pastoralists (Gabbra and Dassanetch) are allowed to bring their livestock during dry seasons, they cannot reside in the park in accordance with an agreement with the local authorities. In particular, these are access rights for the local pastoralists to graze and to water livestock in case of difficulties, and access rights for the County Council to undertake « any sort of activity which may benefit the Council. Inaccessibility of the area and lack of arable land have permitted the survival of species and have contributed to the myth of an isolated area. In this context, the picture of “the origin of mankind” has played a key role in the design of the regional environmental conservation and to some extent to experiment a model of National Park on a regional scale.

The park was enlarged and renamed Lake Turkana with the inclusion of two important offshore zones (Central Island National Park in 1983; South Island National Park, in 2001), which offers, “*a panoramic view of scenic landscapes set in expansive areas of wilderness*” (<http://www.sibiloi.com/>). The two sites are extinct volcanoes rising out of the middle of Lake Turkana and are important breeding grounds for crocodiles, hippopotamuses and a range of venomous snakes (Debonnet and Gugic, 2012). Moreover, South Island is defined as one of Kenya’s Important Bird Areas (IBA) and a key stopover point for Palaearctic migrant water birds (*ibid*). This combination between geological landscape, wildlife and archaeological sites was used as the main argument to list the site as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997.

Despite conservation attempts, the park faces ecological decline, particularly with respect to the availability of water for plants and wildlife because of the major changes that have occurred over the last thirty years. A recent assessment (UNESCO, 2012) states that data on wildlife is not available and that some species (such as giraffes, gray zebras) have been exterminated from the park. On the Island, the population of crocodiles has declined due to the involvement of pastoralist communities in fishing activities to adapt to drought and famine. First, the long-term stability of this fragile dry-land ecosystem appears to be overstressed by drought, demographic pressure and pastoralists’ uses. One of the reasons for this stress is the massive change in many grazing areas, especially from the North of the Ileret River to the North of the park. Although the lake levels of Turkana have fluctuated over the

last 10,000 years, change in grazing areas and the anthropogenic pressure on the park have increased:

“While at the time of creation of Sibiloi National Park, grazing and watering rights were given to the local people in case of difficulties and while a certain corridor was agreed, today grazing seems widespread across almost the entire national park and throughout the year” (Debonnet & Gusic 2012: 33).

According to the aforementioned archaeologist, the structure of the biological communities is determined by a lack of water and the species present reflect the adaptation to both moisture availability and the high alkaline levels close to the lake. Today, stability of this dry-land ecosystem depends on the hydrological dynamics of the Ethiopian Highlands and drainage into the Lake Turkana through the Omo River. Sean (2014) suggests that change in human subsistence strategy, such as conversion of grazing land into farmland using more water along the Omo Rivers, impacts the lake levels, grazing areas and vegetation. In that sense, this isolationist model would be irrelevant to take into account the complex interconnectedness of vegetation, wildlife and domestic stock. It ignores the connectivity between protected areas and the regional environmental change.

Second, natural resource dynamics questions the efficiency of this model. On the one hand, the construction of the Gibbe III dam on the Omo river upstream of Lake Turkana threatens not only the fragility of this ecosystem, but also valuable rangelands in the Omo delta. This increases the competition over grazing areas in Sibiloi National park. Debonnet and Gusic (2012) note that the Omo delta plays a key role for the park by providing grazing opportunities during the dry season and reducing pressure on the park. On the other hand, the recent oil exploration blocks covering Sibiloi and South Island National parks contradict the initial goal of the conservation project. It also poses a management conflict between the KWS, a government parastatal established by the Wildlife Conservation and Management Amendment Act of 1989, and the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) in charge of the management of the fossil sites (*ibid*). Although KWS officially manages the park, until recently there was no permanent presence of the warden in Sibiloi and South Lake National Park.

The Marsabit and Sibiloi model reflects how conservation schemes elaborated in Europe in the early nineteenth century have been implemented through local experimentation in Africa. These two examples show the difficulty of these conservation models to adapt to change and take into account the conservation practices of pastoralists in their management plans.

Mount Kulal biosphere reserve

Mount Kulal (2,416 m) is situated on the Eastern side of Lake Turkana. It is an eroded volcanic peak with a deep crater, capped by rain and covered by a mist forest. It is organized in a core zone of 11km² and a buffer of 7000 km². In the 1970s, the primary conservation model allowed the connection of “environmental concerns” to the “development ideology”, which influenced the global guidelines of conservation movements. Mount Kulal became a place for experimentation of a second model of protected area with its designation as a Man and Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO in 1979. Mount Kulal reserve comprises a volcanic landscape with an extensive lava desert, the Kajarta gorge, hot springs, the occasionally flooded Chalbi desert, sand dunes and seasonal watercourses. These natural features indicate that landscape has played an important role in the choice of sites, and how this protected area was created in the wake of the making a spectacle of nature (Selmi, 2009).

Unlike the previous model, Mount Kulal conservation project mobilized an ecosystem approach. The project to save the remarkable forest was designed from the understanding of biotic systems supported by the mountain in the midst of an arid land. As described by Watkins and Imbumi (2007:33): “*The Mountain ecosystem captures moisture in the forms of mist and rain and provides important hydrological services for the entire region*”. By underlying the function of the forest in a broader ecosystem (forest-desert) this MAB project shifted the locus of conservation from a single locus (the forest) to the understanding of regional environmental dynamics, such as the central role of mist forests (Kulal, Marsabit and Hurri Hills) in the hydrological cycle of the Chalbi. More importantly, this approach highlighted the interactions between protected areas, livelihood and the maintenance of ecosystem services in the forest conservation project. This partly explains why the site was designated UNEP-MAB Integrated Project on Arid Lands (IPAL) amidst intense socio-economic and natural science research from 1976 to 1980.

Although the Kulal forest is a MAB reserve, its legal status remains unclear. Until recently, the Kenya Forestry Research Institute was in charge of the programme management, but the forest has no legal status. As noted by (Watkins & Imbumi, 2007: 34): “*Landownership has not yet been put to the test legally at Mount Kulal nor elsewhere in northern Kenya. But the uncertain land tenure situation represents a challenge for conservation management planning.*”

Unlike the isolationist models, this unclear legal status did not culminate in the total exclusion of human activities. The MAB reserve falls in Loiyangalani division, and comprises six villages with approximately 1200 Samburu and 1200 Rendille households. The main village, Gatab (1700 m) was created by A.I.C Missionaries in 1967 to bring medical and educational services closer to Samburu pastoralists, who use the place as a dry season grazing area. Paradoxically, the environment generated by conservation actions raised new questions.

On the one hand, the infrastructures (woodland fenced previously for research and livestock station, shallow well) implemented during the UNESCO / IPAL project have created new activities but are also pockets of poverty. For example, the sub-location of Olturot, which is favourable to pastoralists because of their richness in salt licks, pasture and water, illustrates a new pressure on the forest: “*Due to its strategic position and enough pasture, water and easy access the town became a business centre especially for livestock marketing and Merchandise guards for Arapal and Gatab centres*” (Marsabit district report, 2007). As in other areas, this new situation is also reflected by diversification of traditional Samburu pastoralist livelihoods by increasing reliance on agriculture for subsistence.

Socio-environmental assessments have not been conducted since the establishment of the biosphere reserve. Kulal represents a tipping point for "emergence of a new model of protected areas to integrate experiences of participatory management in conservation" (Aubertin *et al.*, 2008). Changes resulting from the project have prompted the Community Development Committee (CDC) to implement environmental education to enable the inhabitants to analyze development activities and their environmental consequences. Moreover, the lack of legal status has led local communities to manage through various group and committees (youth club environmental committee, water committee). For instance, the previous IPAL guard project to limit grazing inside the forest was replaced by a community surveillance team and elders who allow livestock to graze in the forest in case of severe drought (*ibid*). The water committee, a part of the local village council, is responsible for the management of the water system and any possible extension of it in the villages. Beyond management, the involvement of communities mobilize traditional pastoral knowledge and practices on conservation, such as plants and trees that are protected, and are associated with Samburu rituals (*Ficus thonningii*, Ochre). These socio-fences seem to be a more effective means of protection compared to physical fences. They enhance conservation and participation of the local community and encourage environmental education.

Beyond the conventional definition of protected areas, the question of conservation knowledge and practices has been central in the implementation of Kulal MAB, showing the need to improve conservation knowledge over different times scale to assess the role of protected areas in human/nature evolution and adaptation. As a result, a new trend of research and conservation has led to the involvement of local communities and their conservation practices in the management of the park. More broadly, the implementation of Kulal MAB reserve raises the concern of integrating protected areas in local territories and the management of resources by local actors.

Protected areas of North Horr and Kalacha (Chalbi desert): Between barriers and transition of pastoralists economies

In Northern Kenya, the emergence of a new model of conservation is partly due to the increasing involvement of NGOs in addressing increasing vulnerability of natural resources. For NGOs working to prevent drought and food crisis, protected areas represent an important component in risk management of natural resources. In Marsabit County, various trustees who are either specialized in conservation such as the Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT) or, are involved in environmental project such as many NGOs promote these approaches. These heterogeneous organizations implement various conservation projects going from conservancy model to areas that are fenced for vegetation rejuvenation. They reformulate the debate on protected areas between return to barriers and community management. On one side, conservancies, a model combining conservation and livelihood, was based initially on an idealistic philosophy, which refers to the community as the only group able to establish and maintain a harmonious relationship with nature. In that sense they promote a community-based management model of natural resources. But on the other side, the areas for conservation demarcated from the rangelands with incentives from the NGOs, shows that the exclusion of pastoralists' practices in conservation persists.

Since the mid-nineties, these approaches have been developed in relation to successive severe droughts (1997, 2009) and their impacts on natural resource rejuvenation. They are part of changes that occurred in the global environmental system although they remain an unwell identified object in environmental concerns (Chartier & Ollitrault 2005). In light of this context, Kalacha Dida, a historical spring in the Chalbi desert and Horr Goda, a fresh water spring in North Horr, have been rehabilitated and fenced by these humanitarian NGOs in collaboration with the local communities and government representatives. These watered places both have ecological and socio-cultural significance and as natural sites have been strategic in the genesis of the towns of Kalacha and North Horr.

Horr Gudha spring, North Horr

North Horr is one of the few towns within the county that is a historically watered place and that has benefited from a tap water system. It was created in close proximity to three springs. The first, Horr Gudha, is the most commonly used spring both for domestic and livestock meanwhile, Horr Dika and Renderi Gudo, are preserved for livestock. Despite the existing tap water system, the inhabitants still preferred Horr Gudha spring, which is a historical water source for local inhabitants not only because of its freshness but also because of the socio-cultural significance it holds (Hazard *et al.*, 2012).

Horr Gudha spring has been used for generations as the major watering point for livestock, wildlife and for human consumption. It is thus one of the most important sources

marking the livestock routes to watering grounds within this area. Besides the socio-cultural importance, this source provides a green space that breaks the monotony of dry shrubs and sandy landscape marring most of the region. An observation of several watering points within North Horr town indicates that some inhabitants use these water sources for socialization (*ibid*). This spring supports several fauna and flora species, which use it either as habitat, feeding, breeding and/or watering ground. It marks an important migratory route for the avifauna. Not only is Horr Gudha a water point like many others springs in the area, it was also a water place.

As is remembered by the inhabitants, Horr Gudha is protected today, and accessibility is regulated unlike in the past, when its management was entirely vested on the community, for example through the Council of Elders. During this past period, water access was regulated for livestock but not for domestic uses. But since the spring was fenced for conservation and sustainability by some humanitarian NGOs, water use has been regulated. In-depth interviews with informants reveal that Horr Gudha's protection was initiated partly due to overutilization and apathy of local inhabitants toward its conservation.

“Before its conservation, livestock and people used this water anytime and no one cared to clean up after their livestock, for this reason, the spring became filthy as livestock dung and other filth piled up, blocking the spring, the water started drying up,” explained one elder from Malabot.

Initiatives of humanitarian organizations promoting resilience in pastoral communities through disaster risk reduction (DRR), involves the clean up and fencing of the spring. Thereafter, water channels were constructed to deliver water to livestock outside the spring. The idea was to limit access to water from the point source and create a buffer zone to enhance vegetation regeneration. The motivation for conserving Horr Gudha seems to have been implemented as a DRR/humanitarian strategy rather than ecological/natural resource conservation strategy or for socio-cultural consideration. Indeed, one of the DRR strategies is to enhance resilience and adaptive capacity to environmental disasters (De Jode and Tilstone, 2011). With a sustainable water source like Horr Gudha, access to water supports livelihoods and could enhance food security.

Although Horr Gudha conservation has ensured water resource availability and sustainability; its implementation overlooks the socio-cultural significance of the spring and its social representations to the local inhabitants. Moreover, water is now available at a cost? Inhabitants pay a monthly fee to access erratic tap water and can only fetch water from the spring at stipulated hours, lamented one woman who had just crossed the fence of Horr Gudha: *“The gate is usually locked it means to access water we have to jump over the fence, and this is risky because it is against the regulations, but we prefer this water so we do it”*

Whereas this historical watered place was felt (was embodied within the pastoralist socio-political system and regulate by the Algana clan³) to belong to the pastoralist system, today it is regulated by the NGOs that rehabilitated it, since they control water access through a padlock at the gate and a guard employed to keep out trespassers (Hazard *et al.*, 2012). With limited access to the spring, many pastoralists' activities such as trade in livestock and other forms of sociability are no longer important. Fences have changed not only the sense of ownership of the spring but also the social nature of the place, since in the past water was embedded in local, social and political relations and territory. In that sense, this protected area exemplifies how water as a substance entirely devoid of social content appears for pastoralists. It also reflects how the implementation of new models for the management of natural resources contribute to what J. Linton (2010) described as "the invention of water as a modern abstraction". The conservation project of Horr Gudha thus changes the value of water as a resource to water as an economic good, which is uni-dimensional, quantitative, monetarized, scarce and which therefore allows for the creation of a local water market.

New stakeholders have been introduced in natural resource management that challenges the pastoralist system in a context where natural resources are scarce. But these watered places were strategic for pastoralists in their seasonal movement patterns for generations, which emanated from adaptation to an endoreic basin organized around an aquifer system linking the highland to the lowland. Horr Gudha, for example, is a significant dry season watering ground. It thus exemplifies the need to seek a balance between environmental policies, governance of resources and their social constructions. Sustainable resource management begins with an enhanced sense of ownership by local inhabitants, without which conservation efforts are often doomed due to community apathy. Again, the fencing of this spring has to some extent provided the population with an alternative, the piped water system. Despite the challenges this system is facing, it can be looked at as an attempt to balance conservation and development.

Kalacha Goda and Kalacha Dida Springs in Kalacha

Within the Chalbi lowlands, Kalacha is the only place where water is plentiful. Endowed with numerous wells and two historical springs, Kalacha Goda and Kalacha Dida are located at the nexus between the highlands and the lowlands. Kalacha town has successfully diversified pure pastoralism with agro-pastoralism with help from NGOs (Solidarités and Pastoralists Initiative Support Program) and state agencies such as Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI).

Both springs have been important watered places that defined livestock routes in the dry season, and water availability has played a significant role in the genesis, growth and

³ Algana is one of the four clan of the Gabbra who are inhabited the Chalbi desert.

development of this town. Its inhabitants say that the waters of Kalacha Dida have flowed freely like a fountain ever since they can remember. This meant that the other surrounding areas, as far as Hurri hills highlands depend on this watered place both for domestic and livestock use. During the severe drought of 2011, it was observed that Hurri hills survived on water tinkering services from Kalacha Goda and that it was the source of water, which NGOs and government utilized to supply water deficient areas (Hazard et al, 2012). The importance of this bio-cultural heritage is also emphasized by Kalacha elders who remember the socio-cultural value of these areas, which are now fenced for ecological purpose:

“Kalacha Dida and Kalacha Goda existed before inhabitants of Kalacha. The oldest well, Elema Karchowa, was established by the so-called man, when he settled here as a trader around 1975. Before digging his own well, he used water from Kalacha Goda. The name Kalacha Goda means water of kalacha in the palm bush. ‘Dida’ means plain and therefore Kalacha Dida means the water of kalacha in Chalbi plain. Both Gabra and Rendille used the water of Goda and Dida in the past. There were plenty of wild animals: Gravy Zebra, Elephant, Antelope, Ostrich and Gazelle.

The water of Kalacha Dida is so good for camels and therefore it is praised during the birth of new moon through a song called ‘Ebb’. Contained in this song, is a verse: ‘Idhiriti guba, yarsimo gall olle, oll balela gall kalacha rabo.’ Meaning camels drinking the water from Kalacha Dida run playfully as a sign of happiness and enjoyment. It is good water for camels”.

Kalacha Dida is described through the socio-cultural values of pastoralists even if these today include the place in a sedentarized vision. To the elders, the importance of Kalacha Dida does not refer to the function of the spring within the wider ecosystem as they said: *“there’s no link between Kalacha Dida and Chalbi desert because they found them existing separately”*. But in their views, the spring is associated with the importance of livestock and water is seen as a bio-cultural heritage. If we consider that this resource was managed by its users in the past, Kalacha Dida is described as a common good. According to the elders, these watered places do not have any owners:

“Kalacha Dida is mainly used by camels only whereas Kalacha Goda was used by people, Cattle, goats and sheep. Rendille and Gabra were its main users in the past. They used these water sources harmoniously without conflict. Therefore it has no history of conflict.”

Through this account, the Kalacha springs also have the reputation of having fostered peace in the past, uniting two warring ethnic groups of Rendille and Gabra in sharing the same resource, which happens seldom today.

From the account above in which the elders say: “*The management of these waters is just by the owners of the animals who remove mud in the water channels*”, it can be inferred that the responsibility for managing, conserving and ensuring sustainability of this spring lay with the local users. It is therefore anticipated that these users would conserve this source knowing the immense value it represented to both the Rendille and Gabra communities, although this was not the case. Inhabitants account that users failed to clean up after their animals causing accumulation of solid waste and consequently a diminishing yet vital resource. The positive impacts of conservation initiatives are that the spring and biodiversity have been restored. For instance, the spring was a habitat for many bird species before its degradation. Kalacha Dida now supports a variety of fauna and flora. This source thus forms an important yet fragile ecological unit.

Kalacha Goda signifies an attempt to create a balance between conservation and development. The management and the utilization of this source has enabled equitable apportionment of water and has derived economic benefits from it. This is seen by the establishment of an agro-pastoral initiative to diversify pastoral livelihoods, as a fallback strategy in time of drought. Initially dedicated to food security preservation through crop production (cabbages, potatoes, water melon), the irrigated farmlands have been implemented in an oasis used for pastoral activities and tourism. With the emergence of new users, water is now shared between irrigation and for watering camels. As such, the farmlands have contributed to define new water regulatory and conservation practices. Crops produced are hay, fodder trees (*Lucaena lucocephala*), multipurpose trees (*Moringa oleifera*) and alien invasive species (*Prosopis juliflora*), used as fodder, building poles for the traditional Mandase huts and for medicinal purposes (Moringa seeds and roots). This irrigation scheme has diversified the livelihoods and reduced the over-dependence on rangelands for grazing. Fodder from the farms is sold to pastoralists who save over 40-70km walks to pasture. Hay is an important source of income for the farmers; between 20-25kg wet weight is sold at an average of KES 400. In a day, a farmer obtains at least 300-400 KES from fodder or pole sales in addition to livestock benefits.

The Kalacha farms illustrate the conversion of a place first dedicated to food crop production into agricultural practices that are in accordance with pastoralists' values. In that sense, the farmlands of Kalacha represent a protected area where pastoralist conservation practices have been enhanced through socio-fences.

Conclusion

An overview of the protected areas of Marsabit County shows that there is no predominant form of conservation but a continuum of protected areas created in a specific context that ultimately create an ecological network (Bonnin, 2008). Each protected area

represents socio-technical choices, guidelines for conservation and political choices that respond equally to pragmatic findings and evolving representations by conservation actors. They are also options at the crossroad of public policies and experimentations. Although the history of protected areas in Marsabit County has allowed the creation of an ecological network, the relations and connectivity between scattered protected areas in order to maintain the wider ecosystem remains a question. The various roles and functions of protected areas, their heterogeneous legal status as well as their management, increase the complexity of understanding of their relation to environmental dynamics at the regional scale. In the same way, the timescale of conservation projects raises the question of their contribution to a sustainable management of natural resources. While the previous conservation models have been implemented as model for conservation and colonial legacy that local inhabitants have to contend with, the current models are implemented for the short term, often fitting with the duration of a project's funding. In most cases, these areas have been implemented for ecological purposes, introducing new stakeholders in natural resource management, and challenging pastoral systems, in a context of natural resource scarcity. Most of these protected areas were strategic grazing areas and were particularly important in seasonal movement patterns. Natural resource management, conservation and protected areas in Kenya have evolved over the last ten years, with gradual inclusion of pastoralists views of Community law regarding natural resources as a form of environmental justice. In Kenya, this has led to the recognition of community land and the right for communities to claim natural resources as in the new constitution. More widely, the western conservationist model of natural heritage focusing on biodiversity is contested by the rehabilitation of communities' rights and community justice system in natural resources management.

Compared to pastoralists' conservation practices, these areas question the role of pastoralist ecology in the management of their rangelands and their contribution to the rangeland health. Similar to the the two important springs of North Horr and Kalacha illustrated, the organizations involved in conservation are not typical environmental conservation NGOs but rather humanitarian groups attempting to enhance livelihoods and bolster adaptability of pastoralist societies to disasters through the implementation of DRR programs. Conservation is thus seen to be complementary to DRR, and essential in enhancing coping capacities. The communities within which natural resources occur are most often mandated with their protection, however, these two cases show conservation initiatives stem from NGOs rather than the local users, who would normally ensure their sustainability. As a result, it is seen that water gained an economic value as opposed to the past when it was a common good. Perhaps this is due to infrastructure maintenance prompting a price tag on water.

The strained relationship between resource users, wildlife and biodiversity conservation today, and the increasing conflict between natural protected areas and the inhabitants, raises

the question of how conservation goals and pastoralists' ways of life can better be integrated and effectively mainstreamed in management practices and public policies for their mutual benefit.

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Catalysts in the Development Terrain: Social Entrepreneurship and Change in Nyamira County, Kenya

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Development in Third World countries is generally considered to be a product of external intervention. Local people in rural sub-Saharan Africa are thought to be driven to change by extension services, public health promotion, business development, community development and other such programs. It is commonly assumed that local people have no capacity to originate new ideas and initiatives to change their circumstances. When local actors are given the benefit of doubt, it is believed that their initiatives are short-term, haphazard and largely unsustainable.

It is for the aforementioned reason among others that it has been argued that since the Second World War, development in rural areas has been driven by agriculture and allied activities in what may be referred to as an agricultural modernization programs everywhere (Ontita, 2012a:1). Essentially, the gist of the argument being that rural development has been agriculture-led, and in most part and that it was driven by technology transfer from research stations and academies. This for instance explains why the national extension services spread tea growing to smallholders in all suitable districts (cf. Nyangito, 2000: 14) in Kenya after the colonial government opened up tea growing for Africans. This is supported by Leonard's (1991) study of four public servants in Kenya whom he argued had an unusually great impact in Kenyan rural development. These and similar arguments are common in the literature,

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putting the state, officialdom and state resources at the centre of social transformation in Africa.

The major challenge to relying on the foregoing explanations of African rural development is that they attribute African development drama to the state and state corporations, placing local people as spectators and consumers of that development. This is too simplistic. In taking a largely structuralist theoretical perspective, these explanations dehumanize local people and deny them both voice and record in development history. The result is that their contribution to development is largely unrecorded and unaccounted for. Their intellectual property rights in creating and sustaining local organizations that often drive local development are appropriated by officialdom. Their innovations are reported as outcomes of public education and extension work. Their locally constructed infrastructures are reported as public works. Their culture is in theory becomes devoid of development discourse and initiative. All these however, depend on how development is defined and measured, by whom and for what. This paper has the overarching objective of letting ordinary rural people name their World; describe what development is, and who in their opinion brings it about and how.

The main proposition of this paper is that the concept of social entrepreneurship can help explain the process of social change and development more accurately. Goodwin has defined social change as “any substantial shift in a political, economic, or social system. This may be identified through economic or political indicators, population movements, changes in legal statuses, or the widespread and rapid adoption of a new technology that significantly impacts on the everyday lives of large proportions of a population” (2009: 3). Nonetheless, this definition focuses on largescale change that is largely driven by outside forces. This paper on the contrary focuses on change in modes of action and practice, relationships, mind set and behaviour thereto that are largely driven from within the society or community. The foregoing definition of social change ties in well with the one of development that this paper adopts, namely: “A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment” (Rodney, 1972:4). The concept of environment is understood as complex and multiple, including the social, physical, economic, cultural and political. To this extent the environment is fluid and uncertain; hence cooperation and/or collaboration between endogenous and exogenous efforts in development are critical. A further proposition is that rural Kenya is characterized by many social entrepreneurs busy transforming society, but often informally, slowly and using local resources, institutions and with networks extending well beyond local areas. The gist of this proposition is to use a critical theory perspective to question certain assumptions about rural development that have already been alluded to, and to seek to understand the influence of culture, history and social context on processes and actors in local development processes (cf. Mueller *et. al.*, 2011: 113-114). A critical theory perspective will also enable us to question taken for-granted

assumptions such as, that it is formal interventions with written budgets and funding contracts that drive rural development.

But what is social entrepreneurship? Bornstein and Davis (2010: 1) argue that social entrepreneurs create public value, pursue new opportunities, innovate and adapt, act boldly, leverage resources they do not control, and exhibit a strong sense of accountability. These attributes and functions imply order, discipline and leading edge leadership skills. However, this paper analyses and documents the work of the leading local social entrepreneurs who traversed the areas of education, tea and coffee farming, cooperative movement and housing improvement. The significance of the study rests on the fact that all the contributions of such spontaneous, untrained and modestly educated or uneducated social entrepreneurs are enormous, but taken for granted by research undertakings in rural development as well as by development practitioners and policy makers. Therefore this paper brings to life men² whom as Charles Van Onselen would argue, 'if one went by the official record alone; never were' (Onselen, 1996: 3). And yet these men's work is written all over the Nyamira Landscape. The study took the cue from Bornstein and Davis' argument that a careful reader of history could identify the hidden hand of social entrepreneurs in the creation of many institutions and movements that we take for granted (2010: 3).

Methodology

Study Area

This study was carried out in Manga and Magombo Wards, Nyamira County, Kenya. The county is overwhelmingly inhabited by the Abagusii people as the main population group. Although people from other Kenyan communities live in the urban areas such as Tombe, Manga, Nyamira and Keroka, doing business or servicing the local bureaucracy, the emigrants were few and had not influenced local culture and social institutions in any significant way. Therefore, the Gusii culture was dominant in the study areas.

According to Were and Nyamwaya (1986: 31), Abagusii oral history indicate their reverence of a god, *Engoro* – omniscient with the sun, moon and stars as his agents. However, the religion centred on *Engoro* has generally disappeared. Were and Nyamwaya (1986) add that when the Christian missionaries arrived in Gusiiland, they challenged the indigenous religious beliefs. By 1912, the Catholic Mill Hill Mission and the Seventh-day Adventists (SDA) had established a presence in Gusiiland. The Pentecostal Assemblies of God, Swedish Lutheran Mission, Church of God Mission and the Friends African Mission

² This study focused on men social entrepreneurs by design as a starting point because it was a small-scale and exploratory study centred on the period just before and after Kenya's independence in 1963 and seeking to bring out major contributions of ordinary rural people to development. Detailed studies in the area will certainly bring out women's contributions to the same projects from different perspectives or to other projects. Therefore, women social entrepreneurs can and should be studied in their own right.

arrived in 1940. In the study areas of Magombo and Manga Wards, the SDA and Catholic churches were most dominant. While many of the social entrepreneurs discussed in this paper may have been Christians, it would be inaccurate to subsume their work under missionary work as it was not organized around any particular church program or known teaching.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The study was conducted from September 2014 to February 2015, using qualitative methods. In the first instance, the researcher organized two focus group discussions – one in Manga Ward and the other in Magombo Ward to map out the main strands of social entrepreneurship and the key actors involved. The focus group in Manga had nine participants and the Magombo one had eight. The participants were identified through a reconnaissance study in early September 2014 in which informal discussions were carried out in market centres and by phone with local contacts to locate knowledgeable and forthcoming people willing to take time and discuss local development and change, and the actors involved. The focus groups discussions were held in-doors at recently completed Constituency Development Fund (CDF) buildings and the Manga one lasted five hours while the Magombo one lasted four and half hours. The participants mapped out the most outstanding contributions to developments by local grassroots informal leaders. Following this mapping and deep discussions of each, the study moved to key informants around the initiatives and named initiators or social entrepreneurs in order to capture details and validate focus group discussion data. In total four key informants were interviewed in each of the two wards. The key informant interviews were framed in ethnographic interviewing to develop project biographies and locate the social entrepreneurs in them. It turned out that the focus group discussion data were accurate when compared with key informant data.

Data from the study were mainly qualitative and were analysed manually by identifying emerging themes, patterns and concepts that explained the multiple and drivers of grassroots development and change, as well as the social entrepreneurs implicated therein. In this paper, vignettes from the qualitative data are reproduced and presented to amplify and explain emerging themes and concepts, and to identify social entrepreneurship work in the study areas.

The rest of the paper brings out the contributions of identified social entrepreneurs in the following social innovations: setting up Nyamachemange Primary School; introducing coffee growing and setting up Kemera and Gesonso coffee factories; introducing pyrethrum and dairy cattle and setting up Tombe Farmers' Cooperative Society; initiating tea growing and setting up Nyaikuro, Nyamemiso and Irianyi (Omogwa) Tea buying centres and housing improvement initiatives through *Nyagesio Kiya* Self-help Group. The thrust of the discussion is on the major attributes of the social entrepreneurs, which helped them succeed in their work of realising their accomplishments in their communities. These attributes include:

leadership, networking and influence; consolidation of ideas and coordination; traveling, deployment of own resources and personal drive; tough negotiations and gifting; and trust and track record. The paper then turns to the workings of grassroots social entrepreneurs and ends with some concluding remarks.

Leadership, Networking and Influence in Social Entrepreneurship

Education remains one of the most important avenues out of poverty in rural Kenya. Indeed, Ontita (2013: 2) has argued that 'success in education is the surest ladder out of poverty'. Once a person has been educated and gained employment the ensuing benefits are two-pronged, including both private and community benefits. Private benefits accrue to the educated person through the salaries and benefits shared with the nuclear and extended family. Oftentimes this includes paying for school fees and offering advice to younger siblings, cousins, nephews and nieces on education and life-course problems. In some instances, they may further contribute by buying food for extended family during lean times or paying hospital bills. Community benefits flow when the educated and employed person becomes a resource person in the local community, helping to mobilising resources to build churches, schools and other such facilities.

The impact of education on community benefits illustrates why children's education is critical to community development. It is perhaps for this reason that in 1968 one man Mr Nehemiah Makori Mariga conceived the idea of starting a school in his village near Tombe Market. Participants of Manga Ward focus group discussion explained as follows:

Let's take the example of schools; the truth is that if we wanted to establish new schools now, there would be no space; land is scarce due to population pressure. In the past, people respected each other and understood the facilities they needed and how to realise them. For example, Nyamachemange Primary School was started by an ordinary person, Mr Nehemiah Makori Mariga (Sogota) and assisted by Ateka, Zachariah Achira, Kibagendi, Nyamasege and Samson Ragira. These were selfless people who had very little but shared that with their neighbours. With regard to the school, Sogota called people to a meeting in the village and explained to them that their children did not have to walk long distances to school in Riogoro, Tombe and Irianyi, arguing that there was need to start a primary school in the village. He approached Ateka and Mokaya and persuaded them to give land for the school. They did and that is the land on which the school stands to date. He then approached Assistant Chief Hezekiah Nyakiara for formal arrangements for the registration of the school. Sogota was not literate at all. But he had foresight, was transparent, selfless and forthright. Villagers loved him because whatever he sought to achieve, he followed it through without

excuses and back-tracking. In those days community members loved each other, shared whatever they had and were united. The colonial government had taught people to be united and had promoted community centres as 'places of unity'. People tended to respect ideas without regard to the status of the proposers; they shared drinks, advised each other about families and were socially connected.

Sogota identified a problem of children walking long distances to school, and convinced fellow villagers that it was a problem worth their effort to resolve. At this point he demonstrated 'personal leadership', namely; by identifying his passion for the community and the gap between the social conditions he desired for the children, and the reality of obtaining them (cf. Crosby, 1999: 41). In this sense, he understood the call to leadership in his community and the work this entailed. As Hudson (1995: 284) argues, "leadership is required to clarify the mission, to motivate people, to seek new opportunities, to give organizations a sense of purpose and to focus people on the task". Sogota knew that he needed people and material resources to accomplish the task.

Sogota then mobilized local and external resources to realize his dream. The local resources included reaching out to two other villagers to offer their land for the project. Upon their acceptance, and recognizing that he had put together the critical requisite local resources to start a school, he reached out to an administrator, assistant chief to have the school registered. Thus he understood his limitations, that as a social entrepreneur he could not move the government to act on registration, but importantly, he knew who could provide the necessary influence to achieve his objective. Therefore, he used his influence to scale the policy arena enlisting the support and services of the local assistant chief. At this point the need was already clarified, identified and stated; and the social entrepreneur communicated it to the chief as a community undertaking requiring his intervention. Although, Sogota was skilful in communication and a bold person, his passion for the education of children from the community and his commitment to the school project energized him to enlist the assistant chief. In this case, networking is a necessary trait of successful social entrepreneurship, by allowing the opportunity to bridge resource gaps in order to deliver on their dreams. These findings are in line with Bornstein's (2004: 11) argument that every change begins with a vision and a decision to take action. The context in which Sogota operated was remembered with nostalgia by focus group discussion participants as one in which unity and sharing of resources was central. The ability to unite stakeholders and coordinate collective action is necessary in successful social entrepreneurship at the grassroots level, where resources are scarce and the power of numbers is critical.

A school teacher who was a key informant in this study said, 'villagers talk fondly of Sogota as the founder of this school, he was smooth in his dealings with other villagers and he focused on what needed to be done, often ignoring any resistance from a few people who in 1968 could not see a school as a major need. The school is presently an important facility

in the community. Some of the children who have gone through the school in the past have helped their families out of poverty after gaining employment'. Therefore, Sogota started the fight against poverty in his village during that village meeting in 1968 when he laid out his vision of a school in the village. His leadership to start Nyamachemange Primary School was not just for that moment, it was perpetual because almost fifty years later and still counting, the school continues to contribute to social change and development.

Furthermore, the Magombo Ward focus group discussion participants said, 'in hindsight Sogota in starting the school helped shield children from Nyamachemange and neighbouring villages from passing through Tombe market every day to and from school. As the market grows, the children will not be exposed to negative urban influence of noise, attraction child labour opportunities in the market and petty crime. Other schools are congested due to population growth and without Nyamachemange School, children would be suffering'. It is unlikely that Sogota had in mind the impending learning disruptions, if children passed through the busy Tombe Market to and from school every day, as he dreamt in 1968; but his dream was gaining multiple meanings and significance years later.

Consolidation of Ideas and Coordination in Social Entrepreneurship

Coffee was introduced as a crop exclusively for white settler farmers. According to Kenyanjui (1992: 119), Arabica Coffee was first grown by the Roman Holy Ghost Priests at Kikuyu near Nairobi in 1899. It was taken up in subsequent years as a plantation crop in the White Highlands, and remained exclusively for white farmers. Heyer and Waweru (1976: 193) argue that:

The grounds for resistance were that the introduction of African coffee growing would spread disease, damage the good name of Kenya coffee, make difficult the prevention of theft from European estates, and reduce the supply of labour to European farms. Despite strong representations by African farmers, there was an effective prohibition on African coffee growing until 1933 when it was allowed on a very limited experimental scale in three districts that were isolated, badly in need of cash crops, and relatively far removed from European coffee growing. The three districts were Embu, Meru and Kisii³..... It was only until 1949 that the general go-ahead was given for coffee growing in all suitable small farm areas in Kenya.

Even after this go-ahead was given, support for coffee growing by African was lacklustre. Inputs were not forthcoming, and technical support through extension was weak

³ In 1933 there was no district known as Kisii, the whole area that presently includes Nyamira, Kisii, Homa Bay and Migori Counties constituted one district known as South Nyanza. This was the case until 1961 when Kisii District was carved out of South Nyanza. It is possible that the lower Kisii areas were allowed to experiment with coffee growing in 1933.

and discriminatory in African areas. Europeans had never trusted Africans as capable of doing any orderly farming. It was upon this backdrop that coffee growing slowly spread to Nyamira County. It should be noted that even if Kisii included what is now Nyamira County in 1933 and even in 1949, Nyamira had a higher altitude and it was not cleared for coffee growing. In fact the first coffee factory in Kisii known as Mobamba was built just outside Kisii Town behind Kereri Girls' High School⁴. These data reinforces the view that Nyamira areas were not in the 1933 coffee experiments in Kisii.

Nonetheless, the push for coffee growing in Nyamira areas began to gain momentum in the early 1950s. The Manga focus group discussion participants shed more light on the development:

Mobamba (located behind Kereri Girls' High School in Kisii Town) was the first coffee factory in Gusuiland. In this area, Keberenge Bosire and Otworu Atambo were the first to grow coffee. They had collected seedlings from friends and relatives in Kisii areas. These two led other villagers in growing coffee, and the crop spread quickly as the earnings were good. When the crop was ready, it became difficult to transport produce to Mobamba Factory. Keberenge Bosire initiated the idea of Kemera coffee factory. This was supported by Otworu Atambo who convinced Keberenge to offer suitable land next to Kemera River to locate the factory. Patrice Omweri, another early coffee grower led in mobilising people and resources to build the factory and it started operating in 1955. Keberenge was an initiator but could not concentrate on an idea to rally people around it. Omweri on the other hand was visionary and a good organiser who always consolidated ideas and drove action.

Keberenge was the first to notice that transporting coffee produce to Mobamba was difficult, and that there was need for a factory near-by. He saw the possibility of having a factory and was committed to it, but did not know how it could be carried into fruition. Omweri on the other hand, was not on hand to identify the problem, but once a solution had been created, he ran away with it. He provided a vision, strategy, leadership and the action to put everything together into a factory. This case illustrates the importance of understanding social entrepreneurship at the point of where it begins. The instigator or trouble shooter appears critical in stirring thought, raising ideas and corresponding with leaders. Even as the consolidation of the idea and its presentation to the wider community was in this case done by somebody else who put his mind to it and brought his passion to bear on the idea, the role of the instigator remains important. This role was complimented by the coordination and execution of the emerging project done by yet another person, taking a longer-term view to assemble all the necessary resources, plan and get the work done. This case shows that

⁴Data from focus group discussions in Manga and Magombo Wards in 2014 and key informant interviews in January and February 2015.

cooperation and collaboration were essential characteristics that supported the successful flourishing of social entrepreneurship. Respect for ideas was additionally another a major benefit in this scenario. While Keberenge was not a consistent leader, his idea was not brushed aside. Rather it was embraced, and because of that community support, he remained at the centre the planning and execution process, and was at hand to provide land for the factory at an opportune time.

As coffee growing spread to Tombe, Kiogutwa and Sengera-Manga, it became necessary to set up another factory. Key informants and focus group discussion participants described the following concerning the second coffee factory – Gesonso:

By 1962 many people had planted coffee and Kemera Factory was experiencing congestion and delays to weigh farmers' produce. Benson Akuma identified a piece of land for a second factory at Gesonso, upstream of Kemera factory and on the banks of the same Kemera River. He was supported by other farmers including Abner Ondieki Akuma, Erasto Abuga and James Nyarango. They approached Assistant Chief Hezekiah Nyakiara to help them build a foot bridge across the river to link the new factory site to farmers on the East Bank of the river. Once the bridge was completed, the factory was built and started operations in 1962. Benson Akuma was the chairman of the factory committee for many years and increased the catchment of the factory significantly.

Benson comes across in this scenario as a leader who not only relied on his local networks and influences to push his idea, but also on external links with the assistant chief. He brought forth strong coordination and foresight skills to realizing the project. In a nutshell, Benson was able to support his big idea with resources beyond his control to realise the vision of a new factory. His leadership comes across as collegial, as he apparently connected smoothly with fellow farmers and moved them to help achieve the goal.

Traveling, Deployment of own Resources and Personal Drive

The struggle by Africans to grow pyrethrum and rear dairy cattle during the colonial period was tough, especially in marginalized areas like the Kisii Highlands. The settler farmers who owned the dairy cattle and controlled the agriculture and livestock extension as well as the veterinary services believed that Africans were incapable of learning to take the required care for dairy cattle and the pyrethrum fields. In 1954, the Swynnerton Plan finally brought a shift in policy, allowing African smallholder farmers to grow cash crops and rear dairy cattle (Heyer and Waweru, 1976: 195). Heyer and Waweru (1976: 194) further argue that exotic dairy cattle were officially supported in African areas only after 1955. Focus group discussion participants and several key informants paint the following picture:

Zablon Onsare Omwenga was the first to grow pyrethrum in this area. Zablon was born in 1901, at Kiong'anyo near Geturi below Manga Ridge. He was his father and mother's first born child. His father Omwenga Minaro was an only child and had learnt many skills to be self-reliant and survive, including making baskets, thatching houses and weaving the traditional Kisii granaries. Being an only child Omwenga married three wives. Zablon was a son of the first wife. His brothers include Israel Nyang'ate, Thomas Makori, Pius Nyaosa and Crispo Sagero. Zablon had other siblings by his father's second and third wife. By the second wife his siblings were Norah Mokiami Orang'i, Clement Nyandiko, Osebe Omwenga, Perpetua Nyanchera Mogaka, Nelson Ontita, Mokaya Omwenga and Milka Nyaboke Nyangoka. By his father's third wife the siblings are Anasi Omwenga, Kebaga Moraa Ogowora, Nyaboke Nyangweso Manwa and Nyang'au Omwenga. In early 1920s Zablon used to go to Nyanchwa Seventh-day Adventist Mission Centre to follow church teachings. It is at the mission centre that he took literacy classes and followed a carpentry and roofing course.

Zablon travelled to Molo in 1956 and brought pyrethrum planting material which he planted on his farm near Tombe Market. Other people who planted pyrethrum immediately after Onsare were Zachariah Achira Atandi, Clement Aboki, Ishmael Mokaya, Makori Mariga (Sogota), Patroba Oseko, Ishmael Sang'anyi and Azael Momanyi. Others like Joana Oenga and Patroba Obeto later planted pyrethrum. When harvests started Onsare knew that the produce had to be marketed only through a cooperative society. He used his own money to purchase a small plot near the present Tombe Dispensary, built a society house and the cooperative started marketing pyrethrum. However, soon after that the land became too small for the many pyrethrum adopters and a bigger piece of land was purchased at the market where the present cooperative society buildings are located to date. Zablon was the first chairman of Tombe Cooperative Society and he served in that capacity into the 1960s.

In 1960, Zablon Onsare bought dairy cattle from Ishmael Mokaya and started producing milk. Dairy farming also spread quickly among the people who were already growing pyrethrum. So the first batch of dairy farmers included Zachariah Achira Atandi, Samuel Ombwori, Bethuel Nyatwang'a, Ishmael Sang'anyi and Hurun Nyamwaya Ondieki. By 1963 milk produce was good and with government advice, milk was marketed through Tombe Cooperative Society under Zablon Onsare as chairman. In 1969/70 dairy farming spread to neighbouring villages and the cooperative grew tremendously. Those who joined dairy farming in that year included Johnson Orina Momanyi, Nelson Ontita,

Johnson Mareri, Agostino Samani, Ibrahim Ondieki, Momanyi Omas, Peterson Matara, Ndege Omaita and Charles Omas.

The foregoing vignette brings out the passion with which the first pyrethrum plantings were sought through traveling long distances to acquire them. In setting up the cooperative society, it emerges that Zablon took the initiative in mobilising his own resources as seed capital. In the process of doing so, he was able to attract considerable resources from fellow farmers to contribute to the initiative. As a result of this success, he was able to position the cooperative to naturally sustain dairy farming, milk marketing and sales. The extent and speed of adoption of both pyrethrum production and dairy farming in the study areas shows that the social entrepreneur behind the work had great influence in the community. A key informant said, “Omsare was like Omwansa in Nyambaria, they both did not take opposition to heart, they just picked lessons from criticisms and moved on with ideas ignoring and never engaging with people opposed to them”. These entrepreneurs therefore focused their eyes and attention on their preferred outcome, and were never distracted. By maintaining their steady commitment to their vision, they stayed above the fray and were able to realize their goals.

Tough Negotiations and Gifting in Social Entrepreneurship

The diffusion of tea growing flowed naturally from the White Highlands of Kericho mainly, west of Sotik, to North Mugirango and parts of West Mugirango (cf. Ontita, 2007; 2012b). Due to what may come across as sibling rivalry, the people of Mugirango resisted all attempts by the people of Kitutu to grow tea. They convinced the colonial extension officer based in Nyamira Town to forbid tea growing in the Kitutu areas. The people of Kitutu responded to this challenge in a shrewd manner as described in the following synthesis of focus group discussion notes and key informant interviews responses:

In early 1957 Zablon Omsare mobilized farmers to collect together eggs and they sent Chanai Mariita to use the eggs as gifts to the colonial extension officer at Nyamira. Chanai was brave and literate, having served as a teacher at Nyanhwa Seventh-day Mission School in the 1940s and early 1950s. He met the extension officer repeatedly and towards the end of 1957, the Kitutu people were allowed to grow tea. This however, did not include the larger Kitutu Chache because it was lower and considered a coffee growing area. By the time the people of Kitutu were being allowed to grow tea, some of them had flourishing tea gardens having stolen tea seedlings from Kericho areas. However, they needed the official consent of the extension officer in order to market their tea. After the consent was given the first tea farmers included Zablon Omsare, Zachariah Achira, Ishmael Mokaya, Momanyi Siteki, Isaac Migiro Oteri, Areba Omariba, Machogu Kerama, Penuel Mototo, Chanai Mariita, Washington Nyamamba Omoro, Bitange

Nyang'au, Ntabo Magare, Peter Omwansa and Dishon Ondari. All these people and others had planted tea in the lead up to 1957 and were harvesting in 1958/59. They delivered their tea to Kipkebe Factory west of Sotik Town, about 25 kilometres away. This became a challenge as more people grew and started harvesting tea leaves. The farmers agitated and with Washington Nyamamba Omoro as the anchor they built the first Tea Buying Centre in Kitutu at Nyaikuro (KIT 01) in 1961. So the farmers started carrying tea leaf in baskets on their heads and transporting it to Nyaikuro. Late in 1961 under the leadership of Ishmael Mokaya the second Tea Buying Centre (KIT 02) was built at Nyamemiso. This made the work easier for the farmers as they delivered tea leaf not too far from their farms. By that year, more farmers had planted tea including Johnson Orina, Wilson Ichwara, Momanyi Omao, Silas Birike, Augustino Samani, Ibrahim Ondieki, Benson Kimoni, Johnson Mareri, Barongo Nyamiaka, Ombiro Orina and Zemuel Nyakundi. These farmers had grown tea with the assistance of an extension officer known as Mr. Oroko Bosire, described as kind, supportive and knowledgeable. With this increasing number of farmers negotiation for a third tea buying centre started. With the leadership of Nelson Ontita and the support of Jeremiah Ondieki at the Ministry of Agriculture in Nairobi, Irianyi Tea Buying Centre (KIT 03) was authorized in 1962. The centre was supposed to be built at Irianyi, however the access road was poor and although the name was retained the buying centre was built at Omogwa Junction and started operating in 1962.

The journey to tea growing in Kitutu was a difficult one. It was characterized by bribery and tough negotiations with the colonial bureaucrats at Nyamira. All these revolved around Zablon Onsare to bring together the required resources, including the gift of eggs and Chanai Mariita to deliver the eggs to smooth the negotiations. Eventually consent was given, although by that time some impatient farmers had stolen and planted tea seedlings from the White Highlands. Together, social entrepreneurs helped overcome the recurrent problem of delivering their tea leaves far from the farms. Seeking a solution, they negotiated for tea buying centres, offered land on which they were located and mobilized people to build them. Integrity on the part of the African extension officer helped spur diffusion of tea growing in the Kitutu areas during the early years from 1957 to 1964.

Housing Improvement: Trust and Track Record

The rise of cash crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum in the Kitutu areas in the 1960s and 1970s, helped to increase prosperity and eventually raise living standards. Despite these advances, not even the combination of these crops with dairy farming could give the local farmers a significantly higher standard of living in the short-term. Nonetheless, the

introduction of these new agricultural technologies formed a firm foundation for fighting poverty in the long term. In the meantime, housing units remained mainly grass thatched. At the time, a majority of farm earnings went into paying school fees for children who were going to secondary school in large numbers by the early 1970s. Only people with formal jobs or technical skills such as carpentry and masonry could manage to put up houses with corrugated iron sheet roofs.

In 1977, Nelson Ontita a tea, pyrethrum and dairy farmer came to realization that it was not possible to build a house with a corrugated iron sheet roof on his own. He had many children in school, and a significant proportion of his income went to paying their school fees. Upon this realization, he mobilized people in Omogwa – Irianyi and neighbouring villages to start *Nyagesio Kiya* Self-help Group. The group was registered as a women's group by matter of political convenience. At the time, social groupings of men were not encouraged as president Jomo Kenyatta was ailing and succession tensions ran high. Nelson Ontita became the founding chairman with teachers Fred Magasi Obara and John Mariita as Secretary and Treasurer respectively. The secretary and treasurer were younger, the chairman was older and a tested leader – having served as chairman of Irianyi Tea Buying Centre (KIT 03) from its inception in 1962, Irianyi Primary School in the 1960s and lately Omogwa Primary School from 1974 to 1982. People trusted him as a dependable leader who would deliver on his promises, by virtue of his long track record leading a number of social ventures in the local community. His strong networks with teachers, farmers and other people in his village and neighbouring ones helped to contribute towards mobilising the initial committed participants to set up the group.

Ontita brought together sixty (60) people – farmers, teachers and business people with the main objective of contributing fifty (50) shillings every month and giving the lump sum to one member to use in changing the roof of their house to corrugated iron sheets. The member to receive the lump sum was chosen randomly through a 'lottery' where small equal pieces of paper were labelled numbers 1 to 60 then each was folded in the same way and all of them put in a big tin. Then members came one by one with the eyes off the tin and picked one. Once every member had picked they were told to unwrap the papers, the one with number one was the winner of the first 'lottery' and was given the lump sum of 3000 shillings. Members insisted that the winner used the money to build a house with a corrugated iron sheet roof. The number of members participating in the 'lottery' reduced every month as those who had won before did not participate but paid their monthly contributions so that subsequent beneficiaries consistently received the constant figure of 3000 shillings from 60 members.

At the end of 1981, the last member successfully received their lump sum. By this time, the self-help group had changed the landscape of the affected and neighbouring villages forever. The self-help group model was subsequently replicated in many villages. As

ordinary peasants began to have houses with corrugated iron sheet roofs, it helped to create a new impetus towards greater village housing improvement. Hence, the social entrepreneur, Nelson Ontita had found a new solution to the old, intractable problem of poor quality housing. This novelty at the grassroots level served to motivate all people to start thinking differently about their housing units. People with means subsequently built similar houses for themselves and their children. As one key informant said, “the main motivation for building houses with corrugated iron sheet roofs was clean rain-water harvesting and prestige. Grass for thatching houses was also disappearing as more land was brought under cultivation”. As a result, people defined themselves socially according to the type of their main houses. Therefore, social entrepreneurs can spur change and development not only by pushing projects over time and space, but by creating ideas and solutions that travel, diffuse and influence people to push those ideas in different directions over time. The Nyagesio Kiya idea was unique in two ways; first, it contributed to clean rain-water harvesting, good housing and prestige all at the same time. Second, the process was simple – pool little money from each member together give it to a randomly selected member and thus exercise fairness and put social pressure on the member to improve their housing unit. It is the simplicity of the idea as well as its multiple benefits that drove its replication across the Kitutu areas and beyond.

The Workings of Grassroots Social Entrepreneurship

This paper has reviewed beginnings and growth of a school, coffee, tea and pyrethrum production and marketing. It has also looked at dairy farming and milk production and marketing as well as housing improvement. Each of these projects had a significant impact on the local community. The study has revealed that each project was started by a leader who had a big idea and a vision. Leadership is understood in this paper as “the will to control events, the understanding to chart a course, and the power to get a job done, cooperatively using the skills and abilities of other people” (Krause, 1997: 3). Thus, leadership power is grounded in mutual consent, expectations and commitment. The various leaders sold their ideas to community members, mobilized resources within and without local areas and produced desired social benefits and change for their communities and people. This scenario is summarized in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Schematic Presentation of Grassroots Social Entrepreneurship Work

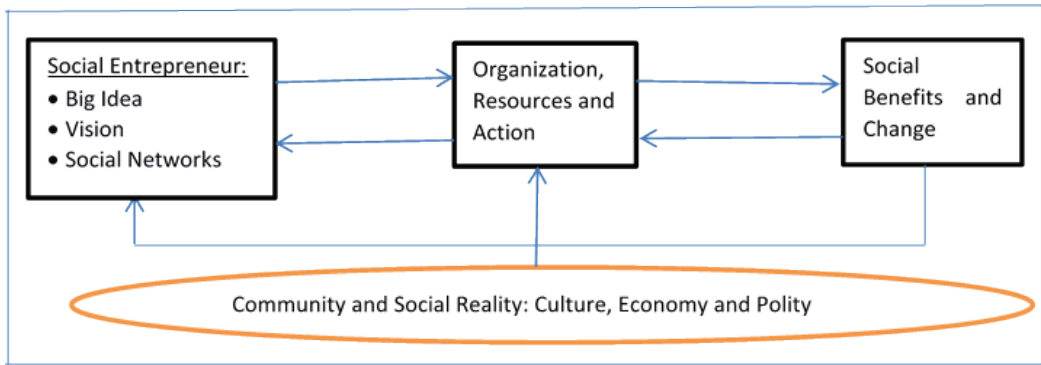


Figure 1 shows that the social entrepreneur (SE) becomes one when they have an idea, a vision and social networks. And where did the SEs get the ‘big ideas’ that they pursued? As has been argued, the social entrepreneurs discussed in this paper were ordinary people with modest education and resources, and by no means at the top of their cohorts and communities. But these people situated themselves uniquely at the frontlines of the search for solutions to pressing social problems and challenges. Nonetheless, they were not the poorest and had personal resources and significant social networks, most of them belonging to large families. The SE thus uses their social networks to clarify their idea and sharpen their vision. Then, they draw on further relationships to create organizations (formal or otherwise), which they use to mobilize resources and take action to create social benefit and change for their communities. However, this process is not straightforward. It takes place in the context of complex social realities. For example, in the case of commencing tea growing in the Kitutu areas, the SE ran into policy land mines in the form of a colonial extension officer unwilling to allow tea growing in their areas. The SE responded to this by organizing inducements for the extension officer and dispatching an astute negotiator from the village to speak for the prospective tea farmers. This strategy paid off and immediately neutralized the social problem of neighbouring clans unfriendly to their vision of growing tea. Some of the prospective farmers had also dealt with the challenge of unavailability of tea seedlings by initially stealing them from the settler farms in the white highlands. Soon the SEs were up against the problem of long distances to tea factories and hence transport costs. They summoned their social networks in some instances all the way to the Ministry of Agriculture Headquarters, to start tea buying centres near their farms. Therefore in dealing with complexity and uncertainty in their contexts SEs turned to improvisation – including bribing colonial bureaucrats, putting up tea buying centres using local resources and convincing fellow villagers to offer resources such as land and building materials for free. As Holland, et al (1998: 18) point out such improvisations are the openings by which change comes about from generation to generation. Thus social entrepreneurs are usually not detained by challenges and contextual issues. They free themselves quickly through improvisations and set the stage for change. For instance, it would have been difficult for men who culturally

were responsible for building houses to register a self-help group given the political context at the time. Yet in no time they overcame a huge political problem by creatively registering as a women's group, and proceeding to do what they had to do to improve housing conditions in large scale. By side-stepping a prevailing national policy these ordinary men in the village show that leadership for change and development did not belong with state bureaucrats and politicians as has been consistently assumed. Political control and state policy do not therefore dim the visions of grassroots social entrepreneurs, because the self-help group members in the case under review creatively disguised themselves under a women's group to short-circuit policy. The implication is that the complementarities of men and women's roles in society are critical in driving social entrepreneurship in the grassroots. The prevailing assumption at the time that women's groups did not pose any political challenge to the status quo was thus side-stepped.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has discussed the work of leading grassroots social entrepreneurs and shown the leadership and organizational skills that they displayed in order to realise their dreams and create social benefits and change for their communities. The central argument in this paper was that ordinary people are capable of bringing about positive change in their communities when they combine big ideas, vision and leadership skills to mobilise resources beyond their control, take action and create value for their communities. Leadership skills including networking constitute a common character of all social entrepreneurs studied for this paper.

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Socio – cultural and family change in Africa: Implications for adolescent socialization in Kisii County, South Western, Kenya

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the individual and institutional responses to the changing cultural landscape in rural south western Kenya. These changes result not only from new conditions in worldwide economic, political and cultural relations, but also human interactions within national and local contexts. By concentrating solely on the family, the findings indicate that the local people have responded by: firstly, abandoning some of their traditional norms and replacing them with modern values, giving rise to problems as these new values are either partially or totally incompatible with present local circumstances. Secondly, blending previously accepted social values with emerging ones is fraught with great difficulties. As is observed, whereas a solution lies in abandoning the 'moribund' values and continuing with those that are necessary for modern living, the common practice in the study area has been to discard the more important component of the values. This is illustrated by, for example, "shedding off" the educational component and concentrating on the role of boys' and girls' genitals in rites of passage with far reaching implications on the socialization of the young people in the community. In the same vein, the spontaneous elimination of the "institutional defense mechanisms", which traditionally served to provide individuals with the ability to adapt normally to psychological, social and physical environments and protect the society from disruption, has led to the disintegration of traditional family and marriage systems. This has led to a social crisis with all indications pointing to the emergence of a generation of young people totally unprepared to fit into contemporary society.

In Kenya, as in the other regions of the world, the combined impact of the local and complex phenomenon of globalization has been shaping the socio – economic and cultural environment, leading to the transformations of major social institutions, with that of the family becoming the most affected and the cultural norms, socialization processes and values also being affected. This article discusses the impact of social change on the institution of the family in

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south-western Kenya. It outlines the major changes experienced in terms of social organization and how these have worked in altering the “cultural terrain” which served to provide the prerequisites for adolescent socialization inherent within the traditional family system. This system is comprised of kin with mutual obligations and responsibilities whose inherent traditions served to maintain family life. It is hypothesized that the instability experienced due to the abrupt cultural changes is likely to have adverse implications for child and youth development (Sandstrom & Huerta, 2013). As a result, the role of configurations and trajectories towards functional adulthood are severely impaired, leading to negative outcomes in the important process of acquiring roles and values across the social, emotional, cognitive and personal domains.

Data for this article was obtained in a field study conducted in Masaba South Sub County during the period of May to August in 2013 and March and July, 2014. As one of the nine Sub - Counties that form the larger Kisii county, it covers an area of 161.9 Km² with a total population of 122,087 people, comprised of 57,653 males and 64,417 females (KNBS, 2013). The choice of the study area was informed by the paradox that whereas kisii county is considered to be among the most highly productive regions in the country, whose land is classified as high potential, the area continues to record high levels of negative socialization outcomes as demonstrated by the high school drop-out, unemployment and HIV infection rates among young people (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The study involved a total of 24 focus group discussions and key informant interviews among men, women and adolescents.

Background

At the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century when the British colonialists began to establish their authority over Gusii - land around 1907 the social institutions were not as differentiated as they are today, but the community's social life was based solely on kinship and patriarchal authority (Mayer, 1974; Silberschmidt, 1999). Since then, the institution of the family has continued to experience strains and shortages with the home, hitherto regarded as being responsible for maintaining basic social order and a refuge of harmony, serenity and understanding, now becoming the site of confrontation between people of different ages and genders having diverse personal ideologies and social affiliations (Ocholla-Ayayo, 2000). The contemporary transformations have largely been attributed to industrialization, urbanization, educational expansion, demographic change and monetization, all of which have altered the structure of the family relationships in important ways (Dyson, 1987).

Popnoe (1998) has observed that, it is at the family level that the society feels more acutely the pain of change. In the 1970's, Shorter (1975) described the emerging postmodern family as characterized by, among other qualities, the youth's indifference to the family's identity. Similarly, Gergen (1991) has described the emerging family as the "saturated family", whose members feel their lives scattering in intensified "busyness". In addition to absorbing exposure to myriad values, attitudes, opinions, lifestyles, and personalities, family members have become embedded in a multiplicity of relationships. The technologies of "social saturation" have created turmoil, a sense of fragmentation, chaos and discontinuities. In Kenya, the family is the basic unit in which norms and values, beliefs, and practical skills are first imparted to the young members of the society for their future survival as functional adults. However, as Furlong and Cartmel (2007: 8-9) put it:

"Young people today are growing up in different circumstances to those experienced by previous generations; Changes which are significant enough to merit a reconceptualization of youth transitions and processes of social reproduction."

The role of the family is crucial in the development of young people as it provides the initial arena within which the needs of the individual and the requisites of the social structure are confronted. For instance, parents' influence over their children is highest when they are younger, with the influence reducing as they grow older and it is replaced by other agents such as the mass media and peers. Whereas today, television, radio and internet are the most prominent sources of information on sexual and reproductive health, 26.7 % of the country's young people have no source of reproductive health information (Omweno *et, al*, 2015).

Among the critical health problems young people face are those associated with sexuality and reproductive health. According to fertility data in Kenya, the total fertility rate increases from age 15 and peaks at 24 before it starts declining. Adolescents are up to three times more likely to experience pregnancy related complications than older women. Overall, the HIV prevalence rate among the youth aged 15-24 is high, and by age 24 women are 5.2 times more likely to be infected by HIV/AIDS. In Kenya, the age of first sexual intercourse has been rising consistently, while STI infection rates have been rising dramatically for men and women aged 15-24 years (KNHRC, 2012).

The family institution

As is explained above, families play a key role and a primary influence on the development of children. Thus, supporting parents to improve early childhood development has been identified

as a crucial step in improving adolescent health as health and healthy behaviours correspond strongly from childhood to adolescence and into adulthood (Brockman, 2003). Although it is during adolescence that young people transition from dependent children to young adults, who function autonomously, studies show that the primacy of the family continues to play a key role as a predictor of positive outcomes across cultures (Russel, 2002; Steinberg, 2001; Zarrett *et al*, 2006). In a study investigating the importance of the early years in establishing positive future trajectories among young people and the link between social capital and health related outcomes, McPherson *et al* (2013) found out that nearly half of all the investigated associations in relation to the family were positive. Specifically, it was indicated that children and the youth living in a two-parent household reported a better outcome. Moreover, children and adolescents benefit from having a positive relationship with their parents and being raised in a family where good communications are present and the young person feels supported and nurtured (Wang *et al*, 2011; Atkins, 2002).

However, with the onset of several dramatic structural changes unfolding in African family life over the past five decades, various scenarios have been witnessed. Chief among these include: single-parent families, higher divorce rates and female-headed households. An important question to ask is how these changes have influenced the adolescent-parent relations and wellbeing. Larson *et al*, (2002) observe that although public discussions worldwide take the form of “discourse on the disintegration of the family”, evidence indicates multiple trends that have both positive and negative implications alike. For instance, with regard to parent–adolescent relationships and exchange, there has been more economic investment in children, greater investment of time and emotional support in children, parents have become less authoritarian, and there is more equitable treatment of the boy and girl child, while reduced parental authority and control and family violence against children have persisted.

Be that as it may, popular literature and the media frequently attribute the high rates of teenage sexual activity, teenage pregnancy, alcohol, drug and substance abuse to “the inabilities of the family”, often citing low levels of parent-adolescent interaction and high levels of family conflict. Other studies show that marital dissolution and reconstitution disrupts the primary bonds between parents and children, thus causing severe physical, cognitive and behavioural problems for children (Harkonen, 2013). Similarly, marital disruption affects the academic progress and leads to behavioral and emotional problems among young people.

In developing countries, the responsibilities of taking care of the household are still commonly placed in the hands of women. Hence, the family circumstances of women as homemakers will definitely affect the wellbeing of the other co-residents, especially young people. With the exposure to western family norms, the traditional extended family systems that

supported unmarried mothers, such as those who never married, are divorced, or widowed, have virtually disappeared. This has led to the emergence of female-headed households and consequently put women in a more difficult financial situation and has caused more trouble in socializing children (Kayongo – Male, Onyango, 1984).

Some aspects and consequences of contemporary transformations of the family and Social change in Masaba region, Kenya

Prior to experiencing structural and organizational changes that not only radically altered the structures of society but also enlarged the scale of relationships, the rural communities had well-structured institutions with “each member of society’s position defined by formal rules of conduct with regard to each family member”. According to the well documented works of early anthropologists², the traditional family was essentially self-sufficient and effectively facilitated the process of socialization, specifically through initiation from childhood to adulthood by equipping the young members of society with necessary knowledge and life skills (Nyairo and Kamaara, 2010). However, due to the impacts associated with modern economic conditions, increased educational opportunities and the impact of mass media, the institution of the family has come under considerable pressure leading to changes in its fundamental cultural values (Shakeela *et al*, 2014).

According to Kalu (1981), the aforementioned has largely triggered the occurrence of competition between those who ascribe to the traditional and modern family patterns respectively, with the majority of the older members of society defending the former, leading to a dichotomy. On one hand, there has been a race towards the abandonment of the traditional practices for modern ones, while at the same time tending towards merging them with modern norms and values (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). Whichever the case, the data obtained from the study’s respondents indicated difficulties with both. According to the local county director for culture, by abandoning the societies’ cultural values, the young members of society are at a disadvantage: He says: “*Modern educational institutions that have replaced the traditional methods for inculcating cultural values into the young members of society place a lot of emphasis*

² Among the ethnographical works that portray the indigenous and effectively functioning societies are those by: Wagner Gunter *The Bantu of western Kenya with specific reference to the vugusu and logoli*. Oxford, Oxford University press, 1949. Iona Mayer “The Gusii of Western Kenya” in Molnos, Angela. *The cultural Source material for population planning in East Africa*. Nairobi. East African publishing House, 1973. and Levine, Robert and Levine, Sarah. *Nyansongo: A gusii community*. New York, Willey publishers, 1966. and. Kenyatta, Jomo *Facing Mount Kenya*. New York, Random House. 1965.

on wealth acquisition and upward mobility in today's society at the expense of imparting morals and values”

On the other hand, blending the application of modern values is fraught with danger and has been found to be responsible for the many problems prevalent in society as far as adolescent socialization is concerned. For instance, among the Abagusii³, the initiation ceremonies that were conducted in society were accompanied by initiation ceremonies and rituals. For both sexes, the ceremonies were organized on the basis of “*risaga*”⁴ and, while it involved genital operations⁵, it consisted of a myriad of ritual teachings whose sole purpose was to introduce the young initiates into adult life. The initiation ceremonies emphasized education for self - reliance in boys and detailed sex education in preparation for marriage for girls. Additionally, as Monyenye (1977) puts it, “the rites were of great educational significance since they opened the door into the mysteries of life and enable the youth to learn co-operation, endurance, courage, communal living, tolerance and the secrets and mysteries of man – woman sexual relationships”.

Today, while the aforementioned practice is universally practiced in the study area, it can hardly be said to have any slight semblance of its previous version. Thus, its utility has been considered ineffective. This was observed as follows: “*Today's children are secretly taken to hospital for the operation and left to go home like any other patient, without being taught important matters of life that previously used to go hand in hand with initiation. The initiates who are products of today's initiation cannot differentiate their mother and sister nor father and brother...⁶*”

Despite the existence of Kenyan laws prohibiting its practice, according to the KDHS (2008/9) data, Female Genital Cutting (FGC) has remained consistently high in the study area and recorded at 97%, 95.9% and 96.1 % in the periods 1998, 2003 and 2008/9 respectively (Republic of Kenya, 2011). However, the circumcision of boys, which is culturally and legally accepted, is universally practiced and when boys reach the age of eight, they undergo circumcision. In both cases, in spite of its near universal prevalence, the rites in the form of male circumcision and Female Genital Cutting is performed without any rituals nor serious social

³ This is the name of the ethnic affiliation of the Bantu speaking people inhabiting the study area. They are variously referred to as the Kisii tribe.

⁴ Literally translated to mean a “party” or involving everybody in the community and as Meyer (1952) observes in such a ceremony “nobody remained altogether unconcerned”.

⁵ The boys underwent the act of circumcision involving the removal of the foreskin, while the girl child was subjected to the act of clitoridectomy. In his discussion of the reasons for the application of the initiatory pain, Monyenye (1977) justifies the necessity for the initiatory change into manhood but questions the fact that the rites of passage were to be such a terrible ordeal which in the modern world can be likened to “torture”. Conversely, the subjecting of girls to the act of Female Genital Cutting has been found to cause unacceptable harm and has health, ethical and legal consequences.

⁶ Interview with a key informant at Suguta market on 8/ 7/2014.

training, with the majority of the young initiates being operated on at the hospital (Njue and Askew, 2004). According to a key informant, the operation of the genitals that is devoid of any form of teaching is a fatal flaw. He asserts: *“The physical operation (traditionally) was just but a stamp or certificate to ascertain that the young person has received the education necessary for adult living. In the skipping of the training while the initiates undergo the cut does not therefore serve any meaningful purpose but just an exercise in futility. The children are, therefore, made to grow “masomberera.”*⁷

As for FGM, the major reason for the non-inclusion of the educational activities is because the practice has “gone underground” and is now performed in secrecy (Okemwa *et al*, 2014). During the field study, while the female respondents freely and proudly indicated that the practice of FGC was of utmost importance to their community due to its socio-cultural value⁸, nobody was willing to disclose that it was presently being undertaken in the society. This is mainly due to fear of apprehension by the authorities as the practice is criminalized under Kenyan law. However, once the respondents gained confidence in me due to my prolonged stay in the field site, they all confided in me that the rite was going on normally in the villages, but without the fanfare and the prolonged seclusion that was characteristic of the ritual in the past.

In their detailed account of the social organization of the Gusii community, Levine and Levine (1959) portray a situation of male domination and female subordination as a cultural rule governing husband–wife relations in the community. They write: *“Ideally a wife should obey her husband at all times and be deferential to him.... She should consult him before she takes any important decision.”*

However, in her recent analysis of male–female relations generally and specifically on how gender identities are formulated, Silberschmidt (1999) discovered that socio-economic and cultural change has had an immense impact on gender relations in modern Gusii households. Disputing the commonly held contention among social scientists that rural women have suffered more severely from the negative impacts of modernization compared to men (Karani, 1987; Gray & Kervane, 1999), in Kisii, the “changes have affected men more deeply than women with their roles and identities challenged and undermined with those of women strengthened in some ways”. The dismantling of the “male hegemony” is as a result of the breakdown of the traditional cultural base and social institutions that supported it.⁹ At the family level, the men are unable to

⁷ Interview with Mzee James Matundura Araka at Kiamokama Village on 29/07-/2014. “Masomberera” literally implies “not well-formed or standing on a shaky ground”.

⁸Culturally, it served in forming social and sexual identity and is assumed to destroy the sexual excitability and prevent loose behavior.

⁹According to Silberschmidt (2001) the patriarchal system resides in the fact that male authority requires a material base and that male responsibility is culturally and normatively constituted.

pay the much prized bride wealth and cohabitation is now the norm rather than the exception. Partly due to the lack of guaranteed right to inherit ancestral land, chronic unemployment and the inability for men to automatically assume the role of the breadwinner, men have been reduced to just “figure heads”. This has resulted in: *“women (being) the sole providers of the material needs of the household (and) the men’s identity coming under threat as their social value, identity and sense of self-esteem comes under threat. Antagonism between men and women is rife.”*

Among others, the negative consequences of male disempowerment have been the failure by local men (fathers) to provide for basic needs of their families. In the words of a female respondent: *“most of our husbands (men) do not bother to provide for our daily needs (food, soap etc). It is we (women) who are left to struggle on our own to fend for the needs of the entire family, including those of our husbands(men).”*¹⁰

Overall, the changes have been brought about by the expansion of the small holder production, with the agricultural tasks left solely in the hands of women, thus displacing men from the livelihood structural framework, whilst holding the title of the acknowledged household head. These findings resonate well with those obtained earlier by Silberschmidt (2001) in her study in the locality in which women respondents aired their concerns that *“a woman is better off without a husband ...a husband is like an extra baby in the house Our sons have nobody to take as a model”*

On their part, the male (men) respondents complained bitterly that their wives (women) had become difficult to govern and hence, ruined their homesteads. In my interviews with the male respondents (fathers), there were recurrent assertions to the effect that: *“The women of today have lost respect for their husbands, women of today are always trying to usurp the powers of the head”*, *“women forget that since the time of our forefathers, the man is the head while the woman should be satisfied with her position as the neck”*. The above state of affairs was blamed on the younger men, whom the older men accused of having let their wives dominate their homes. Our informants (both men and women) told us that such individuals did not voluntarily give in to assisting their wives, but were doing so as a result of the influence of a local concoction (secretly administered on them by their wives), locally known by the name *“Kababa”*. It was specifically of great concern to their mothers and such men were the subject of ridicule and were, in most cases, excluded from the company of their peers in the region. This is interesting as it shows how individuals can go to great lengths to interpret social change within the prism of superstition, which as Geschiere (2000) and Green (2005) argue are a reaction to modernization and discourses emerging mainly from contemporary inequalities.

¹⁰Focus group discussion participant for women at Giensembe village on 16/07/2014

Generally, most men are upset with the prevailing situation and this has given rise to the heightened scale of domestic oppugnancy characterized by men's loss of control over their households. In retaliation, the men have often resorted to aggression, and domestic violence is the norm rather than the exception. In addition, to make up for the supposed humiliation suffered in the hands of their wives, our respondents informed us that the men have resorted to extra marital affairs and excessive drinking of local liquor. This trend has also been reported in central province of Kenya, where high levels of alcohol consumption have been linked to mental disorders among household male heads (Nacada, 2010; Basangwa *et al*, 2006). In situations of perpetual disharmony within the household as shown by our data, the emotional climate of the family remains unfavorable for child and adolescent upbringing, thereby exposing young people to adjustment difficulties. According to Cummings and Davies (1994), the family is an important context in which young people learn to manage emotions. Frequent and aggressive parental conflict is detrimental to the smooth acquisition of problem solving strategies in young people and conflict within a marriage often leads to aggressive behavior among young people. All in all, the outcome of the socialization experiences of infants, children and adolescents will depend on whether a harmonious or conflictual marital relationship exists at the household level (McHale *et al*, 2002).

Moreover, the spontaneous elimination of the "institutional defense mechanisms"¹¹ due to the rapid socio-economic, cultural and demographic processes has led to the disintegration of the traditional family and marriage systems. This has resulted in further vulnerability of women and children as new forms of family organization have arisen. In rural Kenya, this clearly manifests itself in the form of increased elopements and informal unions. Opposing Silberschmidt's theory, Hakkansson (1994) sees the "detachability" of female gender from their natal lineage of birth and their consequent attachment to the husband's lineage as only serving to accord her an ambiguous identity. This situation is most critical in the Gusii society in which "proper marriage"¹² is imperative to women's gender identity as the payment of bride; wealth accords the woman's status as a wife and sister. In the present circumstances, therefore, majority of the women (mothers) cannot exercise their rights in their natal family. More so, in the absence of the accomplishment of the aforementioned, the women(s) social network for managing family crises are completely absent and they can, therefore, not effectively provide for the wellbeing of the

¹¹For a detailed discussion of this concept see, Akonga, J. "Psychosocial and institutional defense mechanisms in times of social change". In *African families and the crisis of social change*. T. Weisner, C. Bradley & P. Kilbride, PP 11- 17. London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997.

¹² Here I mean for a marriage to be sanctioned, customarily, the payment of dowry in the form of livestock or money from the husband's family to that of the wife socially defines the "woman" and "man" as "mother" and "father" respectively. My respondents confirmed that, although many of the social relationships that were traditionally regulated by customary law and norms have been discarded, this particular one has been quite resilient.

members of their households, especially the young offspring. This is attributed to the fact that when masculinity is undermined, the status of women is made more fragile. Kaplan (1992), a feminist theorist, attributes this to the “see-saw effect”, which in its nature allows women to succeed in one arena but suffer backlash in others. Thus, while the current socio-economic transformations have worked to the advantage of women, the community’s patriarchal culture, which recognizes men as the owners of land and monopolizes cash crops, makes their position in society precarious.

The impact of social transformation of the family on adolescent socialization in Masaba

So far, we have seen that the rapid socio-economic and cultural changes taking place globally have been felt locally and hence their impacts on the major social institutions have had far reaching consequences. In the subsequent section, we examine the effects that these changes have brought about and the impact that they have had on raising young people in the Gusii community.

Parent-adolescent interaction

According to Daniel Bell (1968), sociologically and intellectually, no individual is able to live in the same kind of world as that inhabited by their parents and their grandparents. However, in the past, the traditions and cultural values of the communities were handed down from one generation to the other through initiation and established ritualized routines. In most societies, there existed a common body of knowledge and morality that was passed down from one generation to the other. With rapid modernization and social change, the present generation of young people have experienced a radical rupture with the past. Furthermore, the task of preparing the young members of society for life in the future is laden with challenges. The parents believe that today’s norms are not worthy passing on to the young members of society. These sentiments were echoed in the words of a respondent: “*Today’s culture is foreign and what is not yours will destroy you as it is not appropriate to serve your needs. The problem is that in most cases the child finds himself exposed to a mix of cultures leading to confusion.*”¹³

Hence, the challenge lies in an older generation preparing a younger generation for an “unknown future”. As Tallman *et al* (1983: 3) argues, the current generations of parents are not well placed to prepare today’s young people the future life.

Earlier, Kingsley Davis (1940) observed that among other sociological factors, the rate of social change was the single most important variable related to the extra-ordinary amount of

¹³ Interview with Mzee James Matundura Araka on 29/07/2014 at Kiamokama Village.

parent–adolescent conflict. He pointed out that “parents in a relatively static society would have less difficulty than those in one in which social change is rapid and deep and that in such a society parents could be closer to their children, since the generation gap could be minimized”. Moreover, parents could only need to produce children like themselves as the models do not change so often and in such a drastic manner as they do (in contemporary society). Surprisingly, it emerged that the current crop of parents are not equipped at all to provide guidance to their children. According to one of the respondents: *“The current generation of the parents (of these children) have also grown up without information. They have nothing much to offer to their children and it’s like a blind person given the task of leading another blind person”*¹⁴

Similarly, in a rapidly changing and pluralistic society, young people often question the parents’ prescription of what ideally constitutes “morally acceptable” and “good” behavior due to “parent–adolescent (dis)similarity” (Cashmore *et al*, 1985). In their study among 547 Israeli adolescents aged 16-18 years, Schwartz *et al* (2003) set out to empirically test factors that determine acceptance of parents’ values as they are imparted to the young people. The findings of the study indicated that the inaccuracy of the perception of parents’ values correlated positively with value conflict and the parents’ autocratic and indifferent parenting. The value conflict is attributed to the differences in the “social content”, which leads to “loss of mutual identification” and the parent is unable to “catch up” with the child’s point of view. The parents of adolescents expressed their sentiments thus: *“as the children of today do not lend an ear to the advice from us (their parents) we have given up and left them on their own because they do not heed the advice of the elders (parents).”*¹⁵

Additionally, the prevailing standards within the generations become confusing. Kingsley (2011) observes that in the end *“faced with conflicting goals, parents become inconsistent and confused in their own minds in rearing their children and the acceptance of parental attitudes is less complete than (previously)”*. This loss of the parents’ niche” is mainly attributed to the rise of the mass media (Walker *et al*, 2012).

Traditionally, socialization and child upbringing were the preserve of the larger kin group as well as parents. Today, the function is increasingly being taken over by the educational institutions (schools and teachers). As already pointed out, another important change being experienced today is the proliferation of single-parent families. In the modern context, the single parent family is becoming a common phenomenon and as Usdansky (2009) notes, the transformation of the single-parent family from a marginalized rarity to an established family form was one of the most important transformations of the twentieth century. Young adults raised

¹⁴ Focus Group Discussion participant at Sosera dispensary grounds on 15/07/2014.

¹⁵ Focus Group Discussion with parents at Geteri primary school on 11/7/2014.

by single parents tend to have lower educational, occupational and economic attainment, and have an increased likelihood that their marriages will fail (Olson, 2011). Furthermore, the absence of a parent results in inadequate parental guidance and lack of attention and places a double burden on the single parent who has to cope both as a mother and a father.

Multiple socialization agents and dissonance

The family institution, which was traditionally considered as playing the dominant role as well as the sole agent in an individual's interpersonal life, has undergone tremendous changes in terms of size, composition and connections to other social institutions (Caldwell, 1982; Dolan, 1995; Taki, 2001). In modern society, the competing authorities of the family, educational institutions (schools), the peer group and the media all tell the youth "what and how he or she should think and behave". Worse still; fathers and mothers are always in competition among themselves in seeking to influence their children (LeMasters and Defrain, 1989) providing contradictory information to the young people. According to a male focus group participant at Ichuni area: "*The mother(s) are always struggling to win the children to their side, especially the boys and when this happens (as it always does), the boys look down upon the fathers' advice and engage in bad behaviours of all types in the community.*"¹⁶

An important trend among adolescents is that they spend increasing large amounts of time using electronic media (Chaves and Anderson, 2008: 279). The mainstream media (television, music, magazines, movies and the internet) rarely depict sexually responsible models. On their part, schools have been found to contribute to the ineffectiveness of sexuality education by concentrating on the provision of information about the dangers of sexual activities. Monk (2001) argues that such messages reinforce the notion that sexuality is risky and is something that should not be freely enjoyed, and "positions young people as lacking in agency and is unlikely to appeal to their sense of exercising power". This denies the young people a sense of empowerment and a positioning as autonomous sexual subjects capable of negotiation of safer sex practices (Allen, 2007). Noting that the media brings forth a multitude of good with it in such areas as education and research, a key informant asserted that "the major problem in Kenya has been the failure on the part of the parents to take up their role in guiding their children on how to harness the benefits of the media".¹⁷ However, as explained by participants in a study examining the use and impact of digital and social media among adolescents in Kenya, the parents were reported to have done so by "instilling fear" instead of informative conversations without providing explanations for their restrictions. Thus, "the more the parents try to control the young people, the more the adolescents get attracted to what is prohibited, as they do not provide them education on their

¹⁶ Focus group discussion participant at Ichuni parish grounds on 9/07/2014

¹⁷ Interview with Dr. Selvam Sahaya at Tangaza College, Karen on 04/12/2014.

“digital safety”. Moreover, partly due to the digital knowledge divide between the young people and their parents, the parents become fearful (especially those of girls aged 12 to 14); consequently, the young people feel a greater need to rebel and entrench their digital use.

Adolescents' self-socialization

As explained above, an important development in the socialization of young people in society is the emergence of the internet, which has stepped in to partially replace the usual traditional “adult socialization” agents, effectively resulting in a “self-socialization process” and identity development. Studies have shown that the self-socialization on the co-constructed world of adolescents' social space is fraught with “risky behaviours” (McCabe *et al*, 2012). Among the harmful effects are those touching on: violent behaviors; alcohol, drug and substance use (Slatter *et al*, 2010); sexual activities (Jochen *et al*, 2008) and child obesity (Beaudoin, 2014). What is more, as adolescents have greater control over their media choices, they end up choosing from a diverse range of media materials. Consequently, as they often lack integration in their socialization, they end up receiving different socialization messages from the media and peers than they do from the adult socializers in their environment (Arnett, 1995).

Research has shown that the media provides young people with material that has contents which conflicts with the basic values of society, at least as is believed by parents, and an unrealistic portrait of the world. For instance, violent acts are rampant in television commercial advertisements with majority of those camouflaged by the simultaneous presence of humour (Gulas *et al*, 2010). Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of this is that the youths draw inspiration from these and attempt to replay such in real life, with some instances, involving murder (Dogra, 1994). The “profit motive” has been the main reason for its commercial nature with the ultimate test for their effectiveness being how “much money they make and not what they do to people” (Ganesh *et al*, 2005). The result has been the proliferation of media and its accompanying consequences on the life of the young members of society. Hence, left on their own, and relying mainly on the media and the peer group, the young people are forced to design their own world and a separate system which, according to Clark (2004), has created the most serious and yet unstudied social crisis in the contemporary world.

Conclusions and recommendations

In conclusion, it has emerged that the ongoing cultural and social changes negatively impact on the socialization of young people in South - Western Kenya. The society has been shown to respond to the said transformation by either attempting to abandon the prevailing traditional norms and customs, replacing them with modern ones or, in some cases, adopting part

of the norms and values, while simultaneously abandoning some aspects of the age-old practices. Nonetheless, the adopted alternatives have served to negatively affect the normal functioning of the institution of the family in its socializing role, effectively leading to a situation in which children and young people are growing up without benefitting from the necessary guidance and information as they move towards adulthood. Moreover, the impacts of the said unprecedented socio-economic and cultural changes have worked to undermine and erode the society's institutions' capacity to enhance resilience and continuity. It is recommended that any strategies geared towards improving youth empowerment must take into account how socio-economic changes have affected the traditional socialization pathways.

Five decades since the country attained its independence Kenya has not had a single explicit family policy, save for the development and adoption of a population policy and numerous other sectoral policies which seek to integrate population concerns into development, a feat that has remained far from being accomplished, especially at the grassroots and regional levels (Rombo *et al*, 2014). The devolution of relevant portfolios, such as those of culture and social services accords the respective regional governments an opportunity to prioritize and actualize the initiatives necessary for engaging the key institution of the family in empowering the young people so as to enhance their contribution to development.

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Community Policing and Vigilantism in Kisii: Towards Non-violent and Inclusive Non-State Policing

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Abstract: The paper studies the changing nature of local policing and argues that there has been a shift from vigilantism, where the vigilante has been the dominant non-state actor, to community policing in Taraacha location situated in Kisii County. The changes are characterized by a move towards non-violent forms of policing. Notwithstanding a number of changes, the transition is not seamless as the discourses on inclusion are nuanced by asymmetries in administration and community cooperation, inadequate support for community policing and existing cultural constructs on governance. The state's continued reliance⁺ on the constitutive force of law as the main intervention in the regulation of public order has had minimal success thus far. Rather, local democratization processes appear to have had better success in regulating and facilitating non-state policing activities. The case of Kisii County exemplifies the place of local conceptions and applications of democratic ideals including wider representation, accountability, equitable relations with the police and positive impact on the policing environment generally, hence contributing to the emergence of an inclusive and non-violent community policing structure.

African nations have had chequered experiences with regard to the efficacy of non-state policing. It has been no different in Kenya where non-state policing has brought a sharp focus into the relations between the state and society in the regulation of order and in the implementation of law. Over the years, the maintenance of order by non-state groups in Kisii County has been associated with violence and crime. In 2010, a new constitutional order was adopted laying a framework for new governance structures and the consolidation of democracy. Later that year, the Prohibition of Organized Crime Act (POCA) was enacted, banning the activities of armed groups implicated in crime and violence. Establishment of new governance structures and attempts at consolidation of democracy and enforcement have resulted in different trajectories in the mode of non-state policing. The study analyzes trends in policing public order by non-state groups in Kisii County and the interaction with changes brought about by law reform and democratization processes.

The study was conducted in Nyaribari Chache sub-county in Kisii County. It involved several phases of data collection in the different sites of study: January-March 2013; February-May 2014; and August-September 2015. Informal interviews were mainly used in collecting data from former vigilante members and community police. Information was

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mainly sourced from Taraacha, Irondi and Nyabiosi sub-locations in Taraacha district. Information was also collected from former vigilante members and district leaders in other parts of the County like Kisii Central, Bobaracho and Bomorenda wards and Nyanchwa and Nyamage locations. In all the areas studied semi-structured interviews were also used to collect citizens' perceptions on the impact of community policing on security.

Understanding Non-State Policing

Much of the early academic attention on studying non-state policing focused on analysing society self-help groups as competing against the state for the monopoly of the use of force, other scholars viewing groups like vigilantes as inflicting violence against the state. With the realization of non-state policing as a “labile” phenomenon, the focus has changed. (Abrahams, 2010: 1, 2) The study of non-state policing has moved away from prescribing a central theory of non-state policing to the causality of global factors shaping vigilantism in different jurisdictions to studying the dynamism of vigilantes catalyzed by attendant local level social structures. Further, academic attention is now starting to change focus to examine vigilantism and community policing as “two sides of the same coin”². They should not be viewed through rigid binaries as: legal/illegal; violent/non-violent; illegitimate/legitimate; rather there should be recognition that although they are different types of non-state policing, they may have similar features and challenges. For instance, generalizations that vigilante groups are violent and community policing is non-violent, and vice versa, may not necessarily be valid in the light of emerging practices.

The study reviews new forms of non-state policing in Kisii suggesting that there are both differences and similarities in approaches to policing between vigilante groups and community policing groups. Data reveals nuances in the study of non-state policing groups which calls for a rethinking of the place of non-violence in non-state policing, moving away from preoccupation with the study of violence in vigilante and community policing groups. Indeed, it is important to extend scholarship to non-violent state policing by examining non-violence, not only how society has brought about non-violence but also how non-violence has changed the community. (Ahluwalia et al, 2006: 2, 3) Similarly, it is useful to understand the use of violence in some circumstances and not in others, and hence why selective violence occurs. (Kalyvas, 2006)

Baker conceptualizes policing as “any organized activity whether by the State or non-state groups that seeks to ensure the maintenance of communal order, security through the elements of prevention, deterrence, investigation of breaches and punishment” (Baker, 2008:1) The activities of non-state groups that are primarily involved in regulating order meet

²This term is used in describing the blurred line between community policing and vigilante groups. See Fourchard, 2011: 607

the characteristics of policing in Baker's definition. In many instances these groups operate with the objective of protecting societal order and the preservation of security and this objective is pursued by investigation of breaches of communal norms, dispute resolution and enforcement of punishment. As a result non-state groups' enforcement of communal order serves as a deterrent to the rest of the community³. The activities of private security firms could be interpreted as falling within the description of policing as investigation and punishment for the preservation of communal order. However, in the context applied in the paper, the concept of policing is limited to initiatives by the community to preserve public order and does not extend to protection of private commercial interests, which forms the core business of private security firms.

Non-state Policing in Kisii

Since 1991, a number of non-state groups have existed in Kisii, but they were scarcely involved in the aspects of policing understood as investigation and punishment of breaches in order to maintain communal order. For instance, the *chinkororo* group was established to protect the territorial security of the community, while others like the *amachuma* claimed to protect communal order yet their activities were largely associated with the protection of the personal interests of political 'big men' (Masese & Mwenzwa, 2012: 6487). Neither group applied investigative mechanisms in their operations nor did they punish offenders for breaches of community norms. Instead threats and actual violence were meted out against political opponents in the case of *amachuma*, while *chinkororo* arose to protect the community's territorial borders in response to cattle rustling from neighbouring communities and inter-community border clashes. *Chinkororo* was formed as a defence group where state security machinery was slow to respond to cross-border insecurity and police were in many instances complicit in aggression. (Republic of Kenya, 1999) However, in the past two decades, non-state policing for the maintenance of communal order was dominated by *sungusungu* for about 15 years, while in the last four years the community policing initiative has begun to take root culminating in the introduction of the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative in 2013.

The study reveals that there is a changing pattern in non-state policing where to a certain extent participatory processes are practised resulting in inclusive forms of punishing crime. There appears to be a reclaiming of stakes in security as evidenced by increased state interest in community-led initiatives. (Otiso & Kaguta, 2015) It is not conclusive that embracing ideals of participation and accountability amounts to a complete transition to democratic policing. As currently practised, they are indicative of the different directions that non-state policing groups are taking. Non-state policing groups like the Community Policing

³However, this objective is not always implemented because there have been many instances where non-state police contribute to breaches of societal order. See Otiso, 2014: 179

Group (CPG) have endeavoured to act within legal structures by working in partnership with local administration and police. Independent of state resources and facilitation, they have organised themselves into representative groupings that practise inclusive participation through non-violent means. However, the gain in legal consciousness and application of democratic practices by informal policing groups is more a product of local application of legal and democratic opportunities.

Vigilantism in Kisii

Although, the exact time of year remains debatable, there is general consensus that *sungusungu* started among the Sukuma and Nyamwezi living in rural areas of North Western Tanzania. (Bukurura, 1996: 257-258; Mkutu, 2010: 184) The Sukuma and Nyamwezi mobilized communities to protect property and provided a dispute resolution mechanism for disputes among community members. *Sungusungu* was adopted by the Kuria in Northern Tanzania who were neighbouring communities to the Sukuma and the Nyamwezi. The system then spread to the Kuria in Kenya (Heald, 2007:1-2) and subsequently to Kisii in the 1990s.

The operation of *sungusungu* from its inception to the banning of the group in 2010 reveals a history of the use of violence in the tackling of crime. The group resorted to disproportionate responses to crime in which suspected murderers were killed. (Otiso, 2014:179) Persons believed to be witches were rounded up and burnt in public while their homesteads were torched. In many instances *sungusungu* itself was implicated in crime and contributing to the prevailing problem of insecurity. Further, according to the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence, the vigilante group was guilty of the perpetration of post-election violence.(Republic of Kenya, 2008) However, since the promulgation of the constitution in 2010 and proscription of vigilantes later that year through the Prevention of Crime Act (POCA), there appears to be an emergence of a different trajectory to vigilantism and non-state policing in general. Notable changes include a change of name, a resort to direct political participation and ostensible espousal of non-violent order and dispute resolution.

Change of Name

The name of the group changed from *sungusungu* to the Community Policing Group (CPG). It is a strategic means of operating within the law, in the light of the new law (POCA). Beyond the practical measure of changing name to overcome the ban, *sungusungu* used the same law that prohibits it to create an opportunity by clothing itself with the legal status of a state policing institution (“community policing”) initiated in 2011 in Kisii by the

chiefs and the police. “We are community policing” was the response of a former member to describe the new structure of *sungusungu*. As a result of the ban, there has also been a change of character and operations of the group. The group previously undertook overt operations including policing public order in the transport sector and collection of garbage in cooperation with the former municipal council. It has now changed to partly covert operations with the group now concentrating on surveillance at night and cooption of intelligence units amongst informal sector hawkers. The change from overt to covert operations is by no means an indication of the neutralization of the group. Neither does it amount to the success of the constitutive force of the law. The group continues to exist albeit with less extensive and overt operations but with a more specific focus and organisation. While before *sungusungu* operated in daytime by assisting local government in law enforcement, after the ban they resorted to night-time surveillance. In Nyanchwa area, any movement is monitored by members of the group. New vehicles that are driven in the neighbourhood are flagged down and inspected before being allowed to proceed⁴.

Direct Participation

The political strategies of former *sungusungu* changed from indirect to direct participation. This shift manifested itself in the leaders’ direct participation in election politics in 2013⁵. The CPG chairman contested the Kisii Central county ward representative elections rather than supporting incumbent political patrons. The shift in participation changed from traditional forms of accessing decision making through patron-client networks which had provided an indirect and often unreliable access to power. The decision to participate was influenced by a number of factors including disconnection from unreliable patronage, economic opportunities and a perceived new political system. This, it is argued is a nuanced form of engagement in political processes by vigilantes in Kisii. It marks a change in the role of vigilante groups influencing local political processes through non-violent forms by using peaceful electoral processes, rather than resorting to the use of violence to influence outcomes of elections by intimidating opponents of their former political patrons. It marks an ostensible, if puzzling, shift that former users of violence in 2007-2008, have turned to preaching peace and security as a platform to participate in political life and access decision-making. Put differently, former users of violence in the 2007 elections advocated non-violent participation in the 2013 elections. This scenario, to an extent, is attributable to a number of factors that created the wider peaceful atmosphere within which the elections were conducted⁶. Other local factors included disconnection from unreliable patronage networks

⁴Observation in Nyanchwa area in Kisii Central Ward

⁵Otiso, 2014: 179-180, 182

⁶Thibon, 2014: 14-15

and increased local governance and economic opportunities under the new constitutional dispensation.

There appears to be no significant link between the new political role of the CPG leader participating in elections and vigilantism. Heightened political activity of the vigilante group was centred on the electioneering period. In the aftermath of the elections, there has been minimal political activity by the CPG chairman. Firstly, the CPG chairman did not contest the results in 2013 and soon after the election, he fell sick. It was also widely expected by CPG members that after recovering from illness the chairman would chart alternative political leadership in opposition to the incumbent but none has been forthcoming. At the moment it is uncertain whether the CPG will run again for the elections in 2 years time, but one cannot completely rule out such a possibility.⁷

Institutionalization of community policing in Kisii

It is not clear when exactly the community policing initiative was introduced in different locations in Kisii County save for one location⁸ that kept records of the first training and elections of area community policing officers. In Taraacha location, official community policing⁹ (OCP) began taking root a year after the promulgation of the Constitution and the banning of organized crime groups like *sungusungu* in 2010. Community members were concerned that the problem of levels of crime and insecurity that bedevilled the community prior to the advent of *sungusungu* persisted in the area after the banning of the group. In 2011, a meeting was convened by the area chief and the Officer Commanding Police Station to launch community policing in the area. Community members were briefed about the importance of partnership with police in curbing crime and sensitized on their role in the maintenance of order, after which elections of officials followed.

During the recruitment exercise, it was made clear that to be eligible for election as an OCP member, one must be a person of integrity and not have a criminal record. These criteria were adhered to by Taraacha citizens to ensure that the new organization entrusted with maintaining security was composed of law-abiding citizens. Anyone suspected to have been a member of the banned *sungusungu* group (including CPG members) was considered to be of questionable character and therefore could not be elected to serve as a member of OCP.

⁷Interview with G, CPG leader, Nyamage, 15 September 2015

⁸Minutes of Inaugural meeting titled "Kisii Central Community Policing, Keumbu Division, Taraacha Sub-Location Seminars" dated 31, March, 2011, in file with the author.

⁹The distinction and emphasis is made between 'official' and non-official community policing because *sungusungu* have in the recent past changed their name to the Community Policing Group

Representation and Participation

Community policing in Taraacha location embraces ideals of representative membership of the basic administrative unit (sub-location), observing equity in the number of representatives elected. This model of community policing as practised in Taraacha strives to ensure that with wider participation of members of the community, there is increased participation in crime control and decision making on security and governance. Taraacha location consists of 3 sub-locations namely; Taraacha¹⁰, Irondi, and Nyabiosi. At location level the group consists of 60 members, with 20 members from each of the sub-locations. They have officials who include the chairperson, vice-chairperson and secretary. The chief acts as the overall leader of this group but the day-to-day activities of the group are carried out by the chairs from the sub-locations with assistance from the secretary and vice-chairperson. OCP is formally open to members of the community above 18 years with no upper age limit¹¹. In practice, for a person to become a member of this group, one must be 30 years and above but not above 60 years¹². The OCP membership is balanced between the youth¹³ and older members of society¹⁴. Apart from chiefs and sub-chiefs, who retire at the age of 65 years, the mandatory retirement age set by the state, there is a significant number of members of the group that are above the age of 35. In particular the executive positions in the OCP are occupied by older citizens. The chairperson, secretary and vice-chairperson are all above 35 years of age. The rationale for the decision to elect older officials is that the community deems the youth not to be “ready” for leadership positions preferring the older members as more capable and experienced to be entrusted with leadership. While cultural constructs still prevail in delimiting the place of youth in governance, interestingly there is a deliberate creation of opportunities for increased participation by women in Taraacha OCP.

The Place of Women and Youth in Community Policing

Unlike other non-state groups that have existed in Kisii like *sungusungu* and *amachuma*, the OCP in Taraacha is not a preserve of male youth. There is a conscious effort to ensure that at least 1 out of 3 members at the village level is a woman. The OCP member stated that this ratio was in line with the constitutional stipulation on gender parity¹⁵. “We

¹⁰This is one of the sub-locations which shares the same name as the (Taraacha) location where the Chief's headquarters is situated

¹¹Other attributes include: no criminal record, person of high integrity and honesty; must be influential, “warm character” and a role model

¹²Interview with C, OCP member, Taraacha sub-location, June 10, 2014

¹³Adopting the constitutional concept of youth as persons between the age of 18 and 35 years. Article 260 of the Constitution defines youth to mean the collectivity of all individuals who have attained the age of 18 years but have not attained the age of 35 years.

¹⁴Interview with K, Irondi sub-location, May 29 2014

¹⁵Article 27 (8) of the Constitution states that the State shall take legislative and non-legislative measures to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender

have gender!” the member responded to our question as to the relative increased involvement of women, unlike other non-state policing groups. Out of the 60 members, there are 15 women, with one village having two representatives out of the three members. Boruma Getare provides an interesting scenario as it comprises 2 women and 1 man. However, despite the exceptional case of Boruma Getare and despite concerted efforts, it must be noted that female members are still very few compared to men.

A community policing official noted that female members are few since they cannot participate in the many activities of the group which at most times require the use of force, for instance, in arresting suspects. In his view, women are not involved in patrols because these are largely conducted at night, which is quite dangerous. Further, the social and cultural norms of the community prohibit the involvement of women. As the respondent stated, “...it is against cultural convention for women to protect the community while the husbands are in the house sleeping”. He also stated subsequently that it would also avoid any allegations of adultery or affairs with fellow community policing members. However, even though their participation in community policing is limited to daytime operations, female members play a vital role in community policing. These female members act as intelligence officers which the respondent notes is a significant component in the investigative function of the group. Alongside other, male members, the intelligence officers’ unit provides information crucial to preventing incidents of crime and insecurity. The membership of the group may be expanded depending on the state of security: where there is an increase of crime rates, more members may be recruited.

OCP is formally open to members of the community over 18 years with no upper age limit¹⁶. However, the age of members ranges from 28 to 70 years. The rationale behind the age set is that by the age of 28 one is assumed to have married, and therefore be ready for the demands of governance. OCP membership is balanced between the youth¹⁷ and older members of society¹⁸. Apart from the chief and sub-chiefs, who retire at the age of 65 years, the mandatory retirement age set by the State, there is a significant number of members of the group that are above the age of 35. However, the executive positions in the OCP are largely occupied by older citizens. The chairman, secretary and treasurer in Taraacha sub-location are all above 35 years.

Cultural dictates continue to exist in favour of elders especially in leadership positions. The decision to elect older officials is based on the community’s view that the youth are not “ready” for leadership positions. Conversely, the elderly are thought to be more capable and

¹⁶Other attributes include: no criminal record, a person of high integrity and honesty who must be influential, a “warm character” and a role model

¹⁷Adopting the constitutional concept of youth as persons between the age of 18 and 35 years. Article 260 of the Constitution defines youth to mean the collectivity of all individuals who have attained the age of 18 years but have not attained the age of 35 years.

¹⁸Interview with K, Irondi sub-location, May 29 2014

experienced, hence they are entrusted with leadership. Though there is no written rule on how the officials should be chosen it seems to be an accepted tradition that seniority, in terms of age, takes precedence. For example, the current locational chairman at Taraacha is 60 years old.

As Akama (2006) explains, political organisation amongst the Abagusii was based on the “lineage system, *ebisaku*, starting from the smallest socio-political unit, the homestead, *enyomba* or *omochie*, to the sub-clan or clan level”. The Gusii lineage system followed patrilineal principles that entailed tracing one’s descent on the male side. The basic social organization was the homestead headed by a family patriarch, *omogaka bwo omochie*¹⁹. (Akama & Maxon 2006: 82) Based on the lineage system, Gusii culture vested leadership in elders and did not envisage youth leadership. At the clan level, elders of the homestead would exercise political decisions on behalf of the clan. Dispute resolution, sanctions and decision making on important issues including protection of the community from external aggression would be made by the elders. These cultural norms have been applied over the years to the exclusion of youth from active participation in governance of the community.

On the other hand, the youth are expected by the community to be independent, to marry and to provide for their family. Requirements for independence have been modified and are now pegged on completion of one’s studies. The youth are expected to achieve all this, yet they have no means of livelihood with the reality of high unemployment rates and limited accessibility to family resources like land. It is only in the neighbouring Irondi sub-location where the average age of officials is about 35 years and below. Irondi sub-location is actually led by the chairman who is 34 years old. The election of the youthful chairmen at the branches of the organisation signals a gradual but slow ceding of space for youth leadership by community members. Cultural constructs still prevail in delimiting the place of male and female youth in governance.

Accountability and Non-violence

OCP is answerable to the assistant chief. The group draws its members from all corners of the sub-location. Officials of the group are delegated with the responsibility of executing the orders made by the chief. They hold regular and emergency meetings whenever called upon in dispensing their duties. Much as they are accountable to the administration, it appears that they are not subservient to state structure as they enjoy a strong working relationship with the assistant chief. Frequently they act autonomously, where circumstances dictate²⁰. However, unlike vigilantes, they are cognizant that they do not have the mandate to punish

¹⁹It means the (old) man of the household or the head of the household

²⁰Interview with A, Location OCP official, June 3, 2014, Kisii; Interview with B, OCP member, 4 July 2014, Kisii

suspects. Understanding the role of the local administration and police, the OCP have little opportunity to resort to violent means of punishing crime. In response to questions about the guiding principles, a group official responded that they highly regard discipline, justice and the law amongst themselves and in their operations²¹. As one OCP official stated “the law does not allow...” them to mete out any punishment against the suspect. There is recognition that the local Birongo police post has the jurisdiction to handle all the criminal matters arising within Taraacha location and the role of community policing entails providing intelligence, investigation and arrest.

The relations between the community, assistant chief and the police is suggestive of a budding working relationship between state officials and community policing officials, unlike previous community policing initiatives, and early cooperation between the former provincial administration and vigilantes, which was fraught with conflict and competition. The chief and the police are cognizant that they owe reciprocal accountability to members of the community and even as they direct the crime control process, unpopular decisions not in consonance with aspirations of members of the community will erode the budding partnership and goodwill. There is constant sharing of information between the police at Birongo and the OCP in Taracha effected through phone calls and courtesy visits. The relationship between the two is well-coordinated: the police assist the group by detaining extreme criminals, while the group assists them by providing intelligence, investigation, arresting suspects and handing them over to the police²². There is also inter-locational cooperation as the group maintains a very strong partnership network with other OCP groups in the larger Keumbu Division in ensuring safety.

While these relations appear to be cordial, asymmetries still exist²³. The location OCP leader complained that the police are not transparent in their partnership with the community policing. He noted that after OCP officials handed over arrested suspects to them, there was minimal transparency as to the procedure for further investigation and terms of release. The OCP members feel that while they work hard to provide intelligence and arrest suspects, the police are compromised through acceptance of bribes. Hence over time it has eroded the partnership between the community and the police, as the latter remain as the dominant organ that primarily directs and controls the process of crime control. Further, the release of suspects in unclear circumstances is frustrating to OCP members because they have no mechanism for holding the police accountable.

Challenges

²¹Interview with E, OCP official June 3, 2014, Boruma I

²²Interview with police officer, Birongo police post, 4 July 2014

²³Interview with A, Location OCP official on September, 23, 2015 (repeat interview) revealed instances of disharmony between police and OCP leader

“We know that the guiding principle is that Community policing is a voluntary exercise and requires personal sacrifice but we do not receive any financial support from the government”, a community policing member laments when asked what are the major challenges to community policing²⁴. The main financial support that the group receives is drawn from contributions made by members of the community. For instance, members of the community make contributions during public *barazas* to enable the group to purchase torch batteries for use in their night patrols. They do not draw a salary or wages from the government, nor do they gain any from the police or the chief.

Due to lack of financial support, the group has developed its own financial streams for self-sustenance and upkeep akin to the fundraising mechanisms of vigilante groups. OCP members stated that victims of theft, creditors, give a token as a form of appreciation for the good job done by the group in investigation and arresting of the suspect. For example, a person whose money has been recovered through the help of OCP usually offers a token to the community policing members involved in the debt recovery or recovery of stolen goods. However, one member was quick to qualify that these tokens are not what sustains members but rather their desire to tackle crime. He stated that the group draws its motivation from the moral support and good will from community members as the community appreciates the work they do. They also rely on the support of “good Samaritans” in society, mostly well-to-do civilians who give them rewards of their own volition. Such “good Samaritans” are community members including former policemen, retired court clerks, civil servants and other professionals, who not only donate some funds to OCP but also provide advice on legal requirements that relate to arrest and enforcement.

In contrast with CPG, the OCP is an apolitical organization. It does not actively participate in any political activities or elections as a group; hence its members do not get any favours or funding from politicians. The group faces several other challenges. Firstly, they lack appropriate clothing useful in the execution of tough roles associated with their activities, such as boots and warm clothing as they undertake night patrols. Further, they lack equipment necessary for carrying out their job. Lastly, most of newly recruited OCP members lack the experience that older members possess. The long-serving members have learnt policing skills on the job over time. The fresh recruits lack adequate training, save for an inaugural seminar which provided tips on how to arrest and handle suspects. This may reduce their capacity to deal with tactical issues like reduction of crime by preventive means without resorting to punishment.

Conclusion

²⁴Interview with I, OCP member, Irondi, May, 29, 2014

The study makes a number of broad observations; there exist plural policing mechanisms in Kisii comprising state and non-state policing; increased domination over policing using the law as currently designed has had limited success in tackling crime; and local level mobilization of legal and institutional reforms has created new opportunities in governance. Local conceptions and informal civil awareness that such reforms facilitate new democratic opportunities for increased citizen participation and empowerment have been more successful in the production of inclusive and non-violent regulation of order. Consolidation of democratic policing and governance will face challenges in the absence of active citizen involvement, acceptance and reflection of people's aspirations at the local level. Entrenchment of inclusive community policing and avoidance of relapses into violence will also much depend on the furtherance of collaborative citizen and state engagement. To harness already existing local conceptions on new democratic governance, formal civic awareness programmes are needed to sensitize communities on opportunities for new democratic governance and advocacy for non-violent dispute resolution.

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II. SOURCE

Pêcher pour survivre dans le Rufiji, Sources orales et interprétations

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En 2011, nous avons publié un article (Paul *et al.*, 2011) qui traitait des pratiques de braconnage halieutique dans la plaine inondable du fleuve Rufiji (Tanzanie). Les habitants de cette plaine vivent d'une économie paysanne où se combinent la production d'autoconsommation et la production marchande. La production d'autoconsommation est essentiellement agricole (riz, maïs...) tandis que la nature de la production marchande est diversifiée. Elle varie notamment en fonction de la localisation géographique (degré d'éloignement des zones urbaines, isohyète, distance au fleuve...). Dans le tiers occidental de la plaine inondable, la pêche est la seule activité marchande accessible à tous les foyers. C'est en général une pêche au filet qui se pratique à partir de pirogues monoxyles dans les lacs qui ourlent le fleuve et à proximité desquels sont installés les villages. Les revenus qu'on en tire sont modestes, en moyenne 1,20 € par jour de pêche en 2009. Ils permettent, bon an mal an, de couvrir les besoins monétaire basiques des foyers. Mais, dès qu'un besoin plus important apparaît, le précaire équilibre des finances domestiques est rompu. L'article cité évoque les études secondaires d'un adolescent dont le financement entraîne le doublement des besoins monétaires de sa famille. Pour les couvrir, le père du collégien n'aura d'autre choix que d'abandonner la pêche de proximité et de se rendre dans les lacs poissonneux de la réserve du Selous. Il rentre ainsi, contraint et forcé, dans l'illégalité et s'expose à plusieurs dangers mortels : attaques d'hippopotames ou de crocodiles, tirs des gardes-chasse... L'article démontre qu'il n'existe pas d'alternative à cette stratégie. Cette démonstration mobilise un corpus de données de plusieurs natures. Il s'agit de données quantitatives issues du suivi quotidien, durant trois ans, d'un échantillon de pêcheurs, d'observations directes et, enfin, de témoignages de villageois. Si l'article propose des extraits de ces témoignages, traduits en français, son format ne se prête pas à la restitution *in extenso* du corpus discursif non plus qu'à la simple présentation de l'original swahili des extraits utilisés.

La présente publication, à l'image d'une précédente publication (Paul, 2014), livre ce corpus dans la langue originale de recueil et son interprétation française. Son volume rend cependant difficile sa publication intégrale et seule une large sélection est ici présentée². Après un chapeau introductif décrivant les conditions de recueil des témoignages et les caractéristiques générales de la pêche dans le Selous, les témoignages sont présentés. Quand

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² Soit environ un tiers du corpus total des enquêtes portant spécifiquement sur le braconnage halieutique.

elle mobilise une connaissance approfondie de spécificités locales, l'interprétation est enrichie de notes de bas de page. Enfin, dans le texte en swahili, les mots en italiques appartiennent à l'idiome du Rufiji.

Les conditions de recueil des récits

J'ai vécu deux ans, d'octobre 2006 à octobre 2008, dans le village de Kipo, sur le bord du fleuve Rufiji. J'estime ma présence physique dans le village à six mois la première année et neuf mois la seconde. J'ai ensuite effectué des séjours d'un mois en 2009, 2010, 2012 et 2013. Je vivais chez l'habitant. J'ai lié de solides relations de camaraderie et d'amitié et la confiance acquise m'a permis d'aborder avec mes interlocuteurs les sujets les plus délicats. Le projet employait un technicien, Kassim Kindinda, villageois de Kipo ayant étudié jusqu'en form 4, soit l'équivalent de la seconde. Agriculteur et pêcheur comme pratiquement tous les villageois, il m'a aidé à identifier les meilleurs informateurs. Nous avons conduit les entretiens en commun, directement en swahili et donc sans traducteur. Ils se déroulaient à proximité de l'habitation du narrateur. Nous étions la plupart du temps entourés de quelques amis ou curieux. Les entretiens ont été enregistrés puis nous les avons saisis sur un logiciel de traitement de texte, à nouveau conjointement. J'ai ensuite assuré seul l'interprétation française. Kassim Kindinda ne parle pas français et son anglais est limité. L'interprétation française a été soumise pour vérification à des collègues maîtrisant le swahili et le français³.

Les caractéristiques générales de la pêche dans le Selous

La demande en poisson fumé des classes populaires citadines est importante. L'approvisionnement est assuré par des intermédiaires qui achètent le poisson aux pêcheurs de diverses zones rurales de Tanzanie et l'acheminent, fumés, vers les villes, Dar-es-Salaam principalement. Ces intermédiaires possèdent un capital limité, ils ne disposent pas de véhicules et empruntent les bus assurant les liaisons régulières entre la ville et les villages pour transporter leur marchandise. Leur capital limité explique, d'une part, la nécessité d'un turn-over rapide afin de dégager des revenus décents et, d'autre part, le fait qu'une zone de pêche donnée est toujours livrée à la concurrence de plusieurs intermédiaires. L'offre de poisson excédant rarement la demande, les pêcheurs disposent d'une certaine marge de négociation.

Les pêcheurs, quant à eux, disposent d'une faible trésorerie. En général, le revenu de la pêche quotidienne dans les lacs de proximité est utilisé immédiatement. Cette pêche légale est en effet peu productive. La pêche dans les lacs distants de la réserve du Selous permet un

³ Je remercie Ida Hadjivayanis de la SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies) et Salha Hamdani de leur relecture attentive du texte.

triplement du revenu mais elle entraîne l'éloignement du pêcheur durant une huitaine de jours en moyenne. Durant cette période, il est dans l'incapacité de fournir à sa famille la somme quotidienne nécessaire à sa survie. L'intermédiaire, intéressé par un approvisionnement conséquent de poissons de qualité, se transforme alors, en quelque sorte, en armateur et préfinance l'expédition. Il avance la somme nécessaire à l'équipement du pêcheur et au fonctionnement de son foyer durant son absence.

Tableau de préfinancement d'une expédition de pêche au Selous en 2009

Item	Filet	Location de pirogue	Bâche plastique	Farine et sel	Divers	Total avance monétaire aux 2 familles	Total
Coût (euros)	6	6	1,8	4,95	2,28	12	33,03

Le braconnage dans les lacs du Selous est très contraint. Le plus souvent plusieurs pirogues, chacune d'entre elles accueillant deux pêcheurs, s'associent en une même expédition à fin d'entraide. Pour échapper aux gardes, elles remontent nuitamment le fleuve jusqu'à l'un des lacs du delta intérieur. La pêche et le fumage eux aussi seront nocturnes. Pêchant dans la pénombre, les pêcheurs s'exposent à l'irascibilité des hippopotames et à la voracité des crocodiles avides des poissons pris dans les filets. Durant la journée, leur repos est perturbé par les visites des hyènes attirées par l'odeur du poisson ou par le passage des patrouilles terrestres, fluviales ou plus rarement aériennes des gardes.

Le déroulement d'une expédition de pêche pour le Selous à partir du village de Kipo est le suivant :

- Jour 1 : se rendre en bus à Mloka, le village frontalier de la réserve, y rencontrer l'intermédiaire, effectuer les achats nécessaires à l'expédition (filet, provision), louer une pirogue et confier à une personne de confiance l'argent à remettre à la famille.

- Nuit 1 : remonter le fleuve jusqu'au lac choisi et installer un bivouac à couvert⁴.

- Nuits 2 à 6 : pêcher (et fumer progressivement le poisson)⁵.

- Nuit 7 : Descendre le fleuve jusqu'à Mloka.

- Jour 8 : Vendre le poisson à l'intermédiaire. Le retour à Kipo se fait en général le lendemain matin.

Témoignage 1

⁴ Pour un lac très éloigné comme Suwanda, il faut compter deux nuits de voyage.

⁵ Le nombre de jours de pêche est fixé par la capacité de transport de la pirogue.

La richesse et les difficultés de la collecte de témoignages sont bien illustrées par le récit de Maurice⁶. Mo, comme nous l'appelons au village, décrit précisément les étapes d'une expédition de pêche particulière qui se déroule sans encombre jusqu'à la rencontre avec un hippopotame irascible, sur le chemin du retour. Le swahili de Mo est souvent grammaticalement fautif. Sa manière de raconter est confuse et hésitante. Au village, Mo est mon voisin c'est ici sa manière de parler à laquelle je me suis accoutumé. Déjà laborieuse en swahili, la lecture du récit en français, s'il était traduit « au plus près », deviendrait rébarbative. Le texte français est donc ici une interprétation qui contourne en partie les piètres qualités de conteur de Mo.

Témoignages 2 à 4

Le swahili des trois témoignages suivants est plus fluide. Ils racontent des expéditions surprises par des gardes-chasse. Ils abordent les relations entre les pêcheurs, les relations entre pêcheurs et armateurs et dressent une sorte de typologie des lacs du Selous en fonction de la productivité de la pêche, de la dangerosité et de l'accessibilité.

Témoignage 1, le 21 décembre 2007

A vrai dire, je serais incapable de me souvenir du moment où ça s'est passé. Nous sommes partis d'ici, moi et Eugène, mon cadet. Nous avons pris notre pirogue et nous sommes montés à Mloka. Une fois arrivés à Mloka, nous avons organisé notre travail avec notre armateur. Il s'appelait Ignace. Il nous a donné de l'argent. Nous sommes allés dans la réserve du Selous, moi et Eugène. Il y avait aussi Serge et Thomas, Roger et Jacques. Nous étions six personnes pour trois pirogues. Nous sommes sortis de là jusque dans la brousse, par là-bas, dans le Selous. En pénétrant dans le Selous, nous nous sommes rendus tout d'abord au lac Manze, tout à fait au bout du lac. Georges nous a dit :

- Par ici nous n'attrapons pas beaucoup de poissons, retournons en arrière, allons près de l'entrée du lac⁷.

On est parti pour l'entrée du lac. On a pêché. Chacune des trois pirogues a pêché beaucoup de poissons. On a redescendu le fleuve. Même le jour où nous avons descendu le fleuve, j'ai oublié quel jour c'était. Alors que nous descendions au sortir de la brousse, là-bas... on descendait, descendait le fleuve. On a dépassé Vinangu, on a dépassé Mtemele. C'est-à-dire que nous étions tout près d'atteindre le village de Mloka, nous avons franchi tous les obstacles et tout allait bien.

⁶ Tous les noms ont été changés pour interdire l'identification des pêcheurs.

⁷ Là où le chenal de connexion avec le fleuve débouche.

Kwa kweli ile siku sitaweza kuikumbuka ilikuwa siku gani. Tuliitoka hapa, mimi na bwana mdogo wangu anaitwa Eugène. Tukachukua ngalawa yetu hapa sisi. Tukapandisha mpaka Mloka. Tulivyofika Mloka, tukapanga kazi kwa tajiri. Tajiri wetu alikuwa anaitwa mzee Ignace. Akatugea hela. Tukaenda Selous. Tulikuwa mimi na Eugène. Akawa Serge na Thomas. Akawa Roger na Jacques. Tukawa watu sita kwa ngalawa tatu. Tukatoka hapa sisi mpaka porini. Huko Selous tukaenda. Tulivyoingia kwanza tulienda Manze yenyewe, tukaingia ndani kabisa. Georges akatuambia :

- Huku samaki wenyewe hatuwezi kupata kwa wingi, turudi. Twendeni kule nje.

Tukatoka tukaja karibu ya nje. Tukawa tunavua. Tukavua samakiiiiiii... Tukapata samaki wengi katika ngalawa zetu zote tatu. Tukawa tunashuka. Mpaka ile siku ya kushuka nayo nimesahau ile siku. Sasa tulivyoshuka kutoka na huku porini... Tukashuka sisiii, yaani Vinangu kote tukapita, Mtemele tukapita. Yaani karibu kabisa ya kutokea huku kijijini. Yaani mipaka yote tumeshaiwuka, bado tupo.

Avant d'arriver au village, il y a un bras du fleuve qu'on appelle Vumbi. Ce bras ce jette dans le fleuve au niveau du poste de garde. Comme nous arrivions là, avant de pénétrer dans le fleuve, les trois pirogues se suivaient. La pirogue de tête, c'était celle de Georges. Je suivais et ensuite venait Roger. Roger a coupé, il est passé sur le côté, sur l'autre rive. Ensuite, je suis passé devant Serge et je suivais Georges, là-bas devant, où il était. Comme je coupais pour aller sur l'autre rive, un hippopotame a surgi. Au moment où l'hippopotame est sorti, la manière dont il venait, je n'avais plus la force de pagayer. Je l'écoutais en me demandant ce qu'il allait faire. Il arrivait la gueule grande ouverte. Il a frappé l'avant de la pirogue où se trouvait mon cadet Eugène. Eugène est tombé à l'eau et moi je suis resté dans la pirogue. Comme j'étais encore à bord de la pirogue, l'hippopotame est revenu. J'avais saisi ma pagaie et j'ai pagayé pour conduire ma pirogue sur le côté. L'hippopotame s'est dit :

- Tiens ! Il y a encore quelqu'un à bord !

Il revenait, il revenait la gueule grande ouverte. A cette période la lune brillait beaucoup. D'une rive à l'autre du fleuve tu voyais clairement. Et moi est-ce que je n'étais pas en train de pagayer alors que l'hippopotame revenait ?

Sasa kabla hatujafika kijijini kuna mto mmoja, unaitwa mto wa Vumbi. Huo mto ndiyo unaungana na mto mkubwa kabisa, kuja kutokea forodhani. Tulivyotoka kule sisi, kabla hatujaupata mto mkubwa, ndiyo tukawa sasa hapo tunafukuzana ngalawa tatu. Ngalawa ya kwanza ilitangulia ngalawa ya Georges. Nikafuata mimi akaja Roger. Roger yeye akakata, akapita pembeni, akapita ng'ambo ya pili. Serge akawa nyuma yangu mimi. Mimi nikawa mbele. Sasa mimi nikawa 'namfuata Georges kule mbele alipokuwepo. Nilipokata kutoka pembeni ya ng'ambo, kwenda pembeni ya ng'ambo nyingine ndiyo akatoka 'boko. Alipotoka 'boko, alivyokuja yule 'boko, mimi pale nikawa sina nguvu ya kuvusha. Nilikuwa namsikiliza atafanya nini ?! Alipokuja yule 'boko, akawa anakuja mdomo wazi. Akaja akapiga mbele kule kwa bwana mdogo yule Eugène. Eugène ikabidi akatumbukia kwenye maji. Alipotumbukia kwenye maji, nikabakia mimi kwenye ngalawa. Kubakia kwenye ngalawa, yule 'boko anarudi, mimi 'nashika 'bao navusha ile ngalawa kusudi 'naenda pembeni. Yule 'boko akaona :

- Halaaa ! Kumbe mle kuna mtu mwengine nimemwacha.

Akawa anakuja. Anakuja mdomo wazi kabisa. Kipindi hicho lakini mwezi sasa ndiyo unawaka sana. Unaweza kuona mpaka ng'ambo kabisa kuwa kile kitu gani na kile kitu gani. Sasa si mimi ninavyovusha na 'boko anapokuja ?

Finalemment il a fendu la pirogue par-dessous et moi je suis tombé à l'eau. Mais par chance, quand je suis tombé à l'eau, la pirogue est restée en place bien qu'elle ait été endommagée. Comme elle était fendue, l'eau rentrait par-dessous. Moi je suis tombé à l'eau et j'avais de l'eau jusqu'au cou. Qu'est-ce que je devais faire ? J'ai pataugé en allant là où l'eau était moins profonde. Mais il me suivait. Comme il me suivait, la première chose que j'ai faite c'est de plonger et d'avancer sous l'eau. J'ai émergé plus loin. Comme j'émergeais, Serge venait derrière moi. Il avait vu toute la scène. Serge et Thomas n'avaient pas d'autre chose à faire que de payer pour aller sur le côté. Serge a dit à Thomas :

- Eh ! Pour l'instant ne pagaie pas. Si tu pagaies il va nous suivre nous.

Serge et Thomas se sont tenus tranquilles. L'hippopotame était après nous. Serge a dit :

- Maintenant déplaçons-nous.

Serge et lui se sont déplacés du côté de la berge d'où nous venions. Ils sont retournés. Moi et Eugène on fuyait vers l'autre berge.

Ikabidi aipasue chini, chini kukawa kumepasuka. Ikabidi mimi nitumbukie kwenye maji. Lakini ile ngalawa kwa bahati nzuri haikupinduka tangu ilipokaa vile vile, lakini ilipatwa na msukosuko. Tangu ilipoingia maji na chini ilipotoboka kule ikawa inaingia maji. Mimi nilipotumbukia kwenye maji, maji mimi yakawa ya shingo. Ikawa mimi sasa 'nafanya nini? Nikawa 'nakubuga, 'nafuata maji madogo. Yule 'boko akaona :

- Halaa ! Kumbe kuna mtu mwengine anakubuga.

Sasa ananifuata mimi. Aliponifuata mimi, mimi cha msingi nikafanya pole nikazama fumbo, yaani nikazama katika maji. Nilipozama katika maji, nikawa 'natembea chini kwa chini. Kufika mbele nikaibuka. Kuibuka ndiyo nyuma akawa Serge anakuja. Yaani huyu Serge hili tukio lote yeye analiona bayana kabisa. Serge akawa hana tena jinsi yakufanya, ikabidi yule Thomas naye ikawa anavusha kusudi aende pembeni. Serge akamwambia :

- Wee ! Usivushe kwanza. Kwa sababu ukivusha huyo anaweza kutufuata sisi.

Serge, huyu Thomas ikabidi atulie. Yule 'boko akawa anatumfuata sisi. Serge akasema :

- Sasa hapa sasa na sisi tusogee.

Serge naye ikabidi asogee pembeni ya kule ng'ambo tulipotoka. Akarudi Serge. Mimi na Eugène tukawa tunakimbia upande wa pili, tulipokuwa tunakwenda sisi.

L'hippopotame est revenu en arrière. Moi j'ai atteint la terre ferme. J'ai atteint la terre ferme et Eugène aussi. On est restés sur le côté. On avait perdu nos pagaies, nos vêtements étaient trempés et tout était perdu. Ce qui nous restait à faire, dire à Serge et les autres qui étaient sur l'autre berge :

- Les amis, cherchez notre pirogue par-là !

Serge et Thomas ont vu la pirogue et l'ont saisie. Ensuite ils ont traversé depuis la berge où ils s'étaient réfugiés jusqu'à l'autre bord où nous nous trouvions. Ils menèrent notre pirogue jusqu'à l'endroit où nous nous trouvions. Arrivés là, il n'y avait pas le choix. Ils nous ont dit de vider l'eau de la pirogue. On a pris une casserole pour écoper. La pirogue ne s'était pas renversée, elle était restée d'aplomb. Moi j'écopais et je voyais que ça n'en finissait pas. Chaque fois que j'écopais, il y avait encore de l'eau. Je leur ai dit :

- Vous savez, cette pirogue elle est fendue parce que j'ai beau écoper, il y a toujours de l'eau.

Ils m'ont dit que ce n'était pas possible. Je leur ai dit :

- Attendez que j'inspecte la pirogue.

Sasa tulichofanya pale, yule 'boko aliyegonga ule mtumbwi na aliyekuwa ananifuata mimi, mimi ikabidi pale nizame fumbona kuondoka. 'boko ikabidi akawa anarudi nyuma. Sasa akawa anarudi nyuma. Mimi pale nikageuka gongoni. Nikageuka gongoni mimi na Eugène. Tukakaa pembeni. Tukakaa pale tena 'bao zetu zote zimeshapotea, nguo zetu zote zimeshalowa kila kitu kikawa kimeshapotea. Pale cha kufanya tukawaambia kina Serge wakiwa ng'ambo ya pili :

- Jamani angalieni ngalawa yetu huko !

Serge na Thomas ikabidi wakaiona ile ngalawa wakaikamata ile ngalawa. Na wakavusha kutoka kule ng'ambo walipokimbia kutufuata huku ng'ambo tulipo sisi. Wakaleta ngalawa yetu mpaka kule pembeni tulipofika. Kufika kule tukawa hatuna jinsi. Wakasema sasa kupeni ngalawa hiyo. Tukawa tumechukua sufuria tukawa tunakupa maji katika ngalawa. Ile ngalawa lakini ilikuwa haikupinduka ilikuwa imekaa vilevile. Sasa mimi kila nikitoa maji 'naona maji hayaishi. Kila nikitoa maji, maji hayaishi. Nikawaambia :

- Ujue hii ngalawa hii imeshapasuka kwa sababu gani ? Mimi kila nikitoa maji, maji hayatoki.

Wakaniambia :

- Hapana. Hivyo ngalawa haijapasuka.

Nikawaambia :

- Hapana ngojeni kwanza mimi niangalie hii ngalawa.

Ma torche électrique, je l'avais laissée dans la pirogue, contre le poisson, et elle n'était pas perdue. Je me suis souvenu que j'avais laissé ma torche sur le côté, dans la pirogue. J'ai tâtonné et je l'ai prise. Quand j'ai voulu l'allumer, elle n'avait pas de puissance parce qu'elle avait pris l'eau. Je ne sais pas quel était le problème mais elle ne produisait pas de lumière forte. Et j'étais le seul de l'expédition à avoir une torche qui avait un fort éclairage. Alors j'ai passé mon bras dessous la pirogue et j'ai tâtonné. En tâtonnant, j'ai rencontré l'endroit où la dent de l'hippopotame était entrée. Mon pouce pénétrait dans le trou. Je leur ai dit que la pirogue était percée par-dessous. Georges est venu, il a inspecté et il a dit que c'était vrai, la pirogue était percée. Que devons-nous faire ? Rien d'autre que de renverser la pirogue sur la terre ferme et décider de ce qu'il y avait à faire. Tous ensemble, on a retourné la pirogue sur

la rive. On a sorti tout le poisson, il avait pris l'eau et il était en pièces, il n'y avait plus rien à en tirer. On a sorti le poisson et on l'a mis sur le côté. Ensuite on a renversé la pirogue pour voir comment c'était dessous. Comme les torches n'avaient pas de puissance, on a éclairé tant bien que mal. Georges a dit :

- Eh bien ! Il va falloir chercher du bois pour y mettre le feu, sans ça vous ne pourrez jamais partir.

Tochi yangu ikawa nimeiweka mle mle pembeni mwa samaki, ikawa sasa haijapotea. Nikakumbuka kuwa tochi yangu niliweka pembeni mwa ngalawa. Nikapapasiasia, nikachukuwa tochi yangu. Ile tochi nilivyowasha ikawa sasa haina nguvu kwa sababu ilishaingia maji. Sijui ilikuwa ina hasara gani tena ikawa haina uwezo wa kutoa mwanga mkali. Na wote kwenye safari yetu mwenye tochi yenye kutoa mwanga mkali nilikuwa mimi peke yangu ilikuwa na mwanga mkali. Sasa nikiatia mkono kwa chini, nikawa 'napapasa, kupapasa nikakuta sehemu kuna jino la boko limeingia. Nilipotia kidole ikawa dole langu gumba hili likawa limezama pale sehemu, nikawaambia :

- Hii ngalawa chini imeshatoboka.

Akaja Georges akaiangalia akasema :

- Kweli ngalawa imeshatoboka. Sasa tufanye nini ? Hamna cha kufanya, tugeuze ngalawa gongoni. Tuangalie jinsi ya kufanya wote pale tukashirikiana kwa pamoja.

Tukatoa wale samaki, halafu tukaigeuza ile ngalawa kwa kuiangalia kule chini kupoje ? Kwa kuwa tochi zenyewe zilikuwa hazina mwanga mkali tukamulika hivyo hivyo. Georges akasema :

- Halaa ! Mpaka sasa hivi inabidi tutafute manjengo ili tuchomee. Bila hivyo nyie mkisema kuondoka mtashindwa.

Et c'est vrai que les pirogues de nos comparses étaient déjà pleines. Le poisson ne laissait pas la place à quelqu'un pour s'asseoir, à moins d'en ôter une partie. Alors j'ai retiré mon pantalon et j'ai déchiré l'une de ses jambes. Je l'ai découpé en lambeaux. Une jambe de pantalon déchirée. Ensuite j'ai commencé à l'insérer là où c'était percé. On a calfeutré et calfeutré encore et ça ne suffisait pas. J'ai déchiré la seconde jambe et on a continué à calfeutrer. Et comme ça jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y en ait plus, il n'y avait plus de tissu. Je portais

une chemise à manches longues. J'ai déchiré une manche pour calfeutrer la pirogue encore jusqu'à ce que ça soit à peu près satisfaisant. On l'a remise à l'eau. Elle prenait encore l'eau, mais pas beaucoup. Elle prenait encore l'eau mais lentement. On s'est dit que c'était suffisant. On a pris le poisson et on l'a mis dans la pirogue. En fait ce n'était plus du poisson, c'était de la chiquetaille ! On l'a mise dans la pirogue. On avait perdu nos deux pagaies. Ils nous ont donné une pagaie. Georges nous a donné une pagaie. Chaque pirogue avait deux pagaies. Eux, ils nous ont donné une pagaie et Georges est resté avec une pagaie.

Ile ngalawa tukaigeusha gongoni. Tukatoa samaki wote, walioloaloa, wote wakavunjikavunjika samaki, ikawa hamna tena hamu ya samaki, tukawatoa tukaweka pembeni.

Na kweli, ngalawa za wenzetu zote zilikuwa zimeshajaa. Samaki zikawa tena hamna tena nafasi nyingine ya kukaa labda wapunguze samaki apate kukaa mtu. Sasa pale tulichokifanya pale mimi nilivaa suruali. Nikakata suruali yangu mguu mmoja. Nikaukata kama vile pensi. Mguu mmoja pale chaaa ! Nilivyokata ule, nikawa sasa nikaanza kuchomea kulipopasuka. Tukachomeachomea... Nikawa bado naendelea. Nikakata mguu wa pili. Tukachomea hivyo hivyo. Hivyo hivyo mpaka ikaisha yote, ikawa sasa pale hamna matambaa mengine, nilivaa shati la mikono mirefu, nikakata mikono mirefu nikachomea ile ngalawa mpaka ikawa imesimama kidogo. Tukaitia kwenye maji. Ikawa inatoa maji lakini siyo mengi. Ilikuwa inatoa maji siyo ya nguvu kweli. Tukasema hapa inatosha. Tukachukua samaki. Tukawaweka katika ngalawa. Wale samaki walikuwa siyo samaki tena, ilikuwa makasamala. Tukawatia kwenye ngalawa yetu mle. 'bao zote sisi zimeshapotea. Wakatupa 'bao moja. Akatupa Georges. Katoa moja, akasema :

- Chukueni kafu.

Yeye alikuwa na kafi mbili. Ila kila ngalawa ilikuwa na kafi mbili mbili. Sasa wao wakatupa kafi moja. Georges akabakiwa na kafi moja.

Il n'y avait plus qu'une personne qui pagayait. Moi je pagayais et Eugène lui écopait l'eau qui rentrait doucement. On a pagayé depuis l'endroit où avait eu lieu l'incident jusqu'au fleuve. Arrivé au fleuve, ils nous ont dit :

- Maintenant on traverse mais vous pendant votre traversée il faut que Eugène s'applique à écopier. Surtout, pendant qu'il écope, qu'il fasse attention à ne pas écopier près du

calfeutrage pour ne pas le sortir. N'arrache pas le calfeutrage pour ensuite sombrer. Quand tu écopes, il faut que tu ailles vers l'arrière.

Il a donc fallu que moi je m'asseye tout à l'arrière, sur le rebord de la poupe de la pirogue. J'étais donc perché et Eugène a reculé pratiquement à la place où j'aurais dû être assis. Et comme la proue de la pirogue était un peu en l'air, l'eau, dès qu'elle entrait, venait là, à l'arrière. Ainsi il écopait rapidement. On a écopé, écopé... jusqu'à notre arrivée au lieu-dit Mkalayeka l'Ancien, au village de Mloka.

Kina Serge na mwenzake Thomas wakabakiwa na kafi mbili nao. Wakawa wanavusha na wale anavusha mtu mmoja. Mimi sasa nilikuwa 'navusha, Eugène akawa anatoa maji yanayoingia kidogo kidogo. Akawa anatoa, yaani tukavusha kutoka hapa tulipopata tukio mpaka kupata mto mkubwa, yaani inaweza kuwa kama meta hamsini. Umeona, tukavusha mpaka tukapata mto mkubwa. Tulipopata mto mkubwa pale tukaambiwa :

- Sasa hapa tunakata lakini sasa nyinyi ukataji wenu uvushaji wenu lazima sasa Eugène ujitahidi sana kutoa maji. Na maji yako unatoa angalia usije kutoa karibu na hayo matambaa ukaja kutoa matambaa yenyewe wakati unakupamaji. Usije ukatoa matambaa yenyewe mkazama. Kuwa maana hiyo ukitaka kutoa maji lazima urudi nyuma.

Sasa kule nyuma kidogo kulikuwepo hakujapasuka mpaka nyuma. Ikabidi mimi nikakaa nyuma ya ngalawa kabisa juu kabisa ya magudi tuseme. Nikakaa juu, yule Eugène akasogea karibu na pale anapokaaga dereva, akawa sasa maji yote yanapoingia yanakimbilia kule kule nyuma. Kwa sababu mbele ngalawa iliinuka. Sasa akawa anatoa maji kwa wepesi. Toatoa maji sisiiii... mpaka tukafika kwa mzee Mkalayeka, hapo Mloka panaitwa hapo.

On a abordé. Après avoir abordé, il n'y avait qu'une chose à faire. On s'est dit que notre pirogue était hors d'usage. Il fallait d'abord qu'on la hâle sur la terre ferme. Si on l'avait laissé à l'eau, elle aurait sombré. Ils nous ont aidés à sortir la pirogue et à débarquer le poisson, mais en fait c'était de la chiquetaille. On l'a sortie de l'eau et mise à sec. Que fallait-il faire ? Il n'y avait rien d'autre à faire que nos comparses aillent chercher notre armateur. Le groupe de Thomas, leur armateur c'était l'épouse du nôtre, elle s'appelait Mama Victor. Le groupe de Roger avait autofinancé son expédition. Ils avaient réuni l'argent, lui et Jacques, et ils s'étaient autofinancés. Leur poisson, ils le vendirent à Ignace, celui à qui nous voulions vendre nous-mêmes. Quand Ignace est arrivé on lui a dit :

- Comme tu le vois on a eu des problèmes. Tu vas nous aider comment ?

Il a répondu :

- Ah ! Par chance vous êtes revenus sains et saufs et la pirogue on pourra la réparer. Tout ça c'est une bénédiction. On organisera une autre expédition, vous irez pêcher et vous reviendrez ici, on négociera le poisson à un prix bon marché afin que je récupère la perte du crédit que je vous ai accordé.

Tukapaki pale. Tulipopaki ikawa hakuna jinsi. Tukasema hapa mpaka sasa hivi ngalawa yetu sisi imeshakuwa mbovu. Yaani sisi ngalawa yetu ndiyo iwe ya kwanza kuitoa hapa kuipeleka juu. Kwa sababu tukisema tuiache hapa itazama tena. Wakatusaidia ile ngalawa kuitoa pale na samaki vile vile na makasamala wale, samaki wenyewe makasamala !!! Tukaitoa kwenye maji tukaiweka gongoni. Cha kufanya nini ? Hakuna cha kufanya.

- Mfuateni tajiri !

Wakamfuata tajiri wale wenzetu, wale kina Thomas Ngwale. Tajiri yao alikuwa ni yeye huyo lakini alikuwa mkewe anaitwa Mama Saidi. Ndiyo alikuwa tajiri yao Majuta tajiri yao, yaani wao walijisafirisha wenyewe. Walichangachanga hela yeye na Jacques wakajisafirisha. Samaki waliowapata wakamwuzia Mzee Ignace tuliyetaka kumwuzia sisi, wakamwuzia wao. Mzee Ignace kufika pale tukamwambia :

- Sisi bwana tumeshapata msukosuko kama huu. Sasa itakuwaje ?

Akasema :

- Aaah ! Bahati nyinyi wenyewe mmerudi salama na chombo tunaweza kukifanyia ukarabati kikawa kizima. Yote ni heri. Tutapanga kazi tena tripu nyingine. Mtaenda kuvua mtarudi hapa, ila tutauziana kwa bei nafuu ili mradi mimi nifidie pale deni langu liliyopotea.

On lui a :

- D'accord, mais nous, on fait comment maintenant ? Comment on est, on n'a même pas de quoi payer notre retour à la maison et à la maison on ne sait même pas ce que nos enfants vont manger !

Qu'est qu'Ignace a fait ?

- D'abord, votre chiquetaille de poisson je vais l'acheter, mais pour un bas prix.

On a dit d'accord. Les poissons qu'on a vendus et qui étaient en morceaux, il y en avait 700. Après l'avoir vendu, on a obtenu 30 000 shillings (15 euros)...

- De ces 30 000 shillings, je ne prélèverai rien pour rembourser l'avance que je vous ai faite, même pas 10 shillings ! Je vous laisse ces 30 000 shillings que vous vous les partagez tous les deux.

J'ai pris 15 000 shillings et mon comparse a pris 15 000 shillings. A Mloka, chez ma sœur où je restais, j'ai donné à peu près 7 000 shillings. C'était comme une sorte d'épargne parce que lorsqu'on pêche dans le Selous, ce n'est pas permis, c'est du braconnage. Il se peut que les gardes vous poursuivent et quand vous rentrez à Mloka, l'armateur peut vous dire qu'il n'a pas d'argent.

Tukamwambia :

- Sawa ! Sasa itakuwaje ? Hapa tulipo hatuna hata nauli ya kurudi nyumbani, na nyumbani hatutambui watoto zetu mpaka sasa hivi watakula nini.

Mzee Ignace akafanyaje ?

- Basi cha msingi mimi haya makasamala yenu nitayanunua mimi. Lakini kwa bei iliyo nafuu.

Tukasema sawa. Samaki tulipouza wale makasamala walifika makasamala kama mia saba, kwa maana hiyo baada ya kuuzauza samaki tukapata shilingi elfu thelathini umeona. Kupata shilingi elfu thelathini akasema :

- Shilingi elfu thelathini hii hapa sitakata deni hata shilingi kumi, 'nakupeni yote elfu thelathini nyie wawili mgawane.

Mimi nikachukua shilingi elfu kumi na tano na mwenzangu nikampa shilingi elfu kumi na tano. Mimi nyumbani pale pale Mloka kwa dada yangu nilimwachia kama shilingi elfu saba. Yaani ilikuwa kama vile balanzi maana kwa sababu tunaenda kule, hatuendi kwa kibali tunaenda kwa kuiba. Maana unaenda kule wenda magemu wanaweza kukutumua. Ukirudi pale tajiri mwenyewe anaweza kukuambia :

- Mimi sasa hivi hela yenyewe sina na nini.

Alors ces 7 000 shillings, ils servent à quoi ? A te payer ton retour à la maison. Par chance, nous n'avons pas été poursuivis par les gardes mais nous avons eu un problème avec l'hippopotame. Donc, une fois de retour à Mloka et après que l'armateur eût acheté le poisson, nous n'y avons plus rien à faire. Il nous a dit :

- Rentrez chez vous mais ne traînez pas ! Revenez pour réparer la pirogue et pour repartir pêcher. Dieu prendra soin de vous.

Quand on est partis de là-bas, nos compagnons nous ont donné un peu d'argent parce que nous formions une sorte de coopérative. Ça signifie que si l'un d'entre vous a dû s'enfuir, alors tous ceux qui ont participé à l'expédition, une fois de retour, comme untel a été poursuivi par les gardes, celui qui a de l'argent lui donne 1 000 ou 2 000 shillings. Ou encore quelqu'un a été éperonné par une souche la nuit, celui qui revient avec du poisson, en arrivant à la maison, il lui donne même 3 000 ou 5 000 shillings. Nos compères, ils nous ont donné chacun 1 000 shillings. On avait donc 4 000 shillings (chacun). Avec ces 4 000 shillings et l'argent que nous avons, on avait de quoi retourner à la maison et nourrir nos enfants. Nous avons traîné un peu et Roger est arrivé à Kipo avant nous.

Ikabidi elfu saba yangu itakuwa nini ? Nauli ya kurudi nyumbani. Bahati nzuri lakini magemu hawajatutumia ndiyo tumepata msukosuko wa 'boko. Tulipofika mpaka pale tajiri ndiyo amenunua samaki, tayari, sisi tukawa tumebaki pale hatuna la kufanya. Akasema :

- Nyie nendeni kwanza nyumbani lakini msichelewe, njooni tena, tuikarabati ngalawa, nendeni tena. Mungu anaweza kujaalia.

Sawa sasa mimi tulivyotoka pale wenzetu vilevile wakatupa kidogo hela kwa sababu imekuwa kama vile chama. Ina maana inaweza mtu akawa amekurupushwa basi nyie wote mlioenda kule mkirudi pale, jamani fulani hapa amefukuzwa na magemu basi mtu mwenye shilingi elfu moja, elfu mbili 'nampa. Mtu pengine kaliingia gogo usiku anarudi na samaki wake kwa hiyo tukifika nyumbani mtu anampa hata elfu tatu, tano. Sasa sisi wenzetu walitupa elfu, elfu. Kwa hiyo sisi tulipata shilingi elfu nne. Mimi nikapata shilingi elfu mbili na mwenzangu elfu mbili. Kwa maana tulikuwa na shilingi elfu nne. Elfu nne tukichukua na hela zetu kidogo zile, tukawa tumeshapata nauli ya kurudi nyumbani, kuja kuwapa watoto zetu nyumbani huku chakula. Tukarudi nyumbani, tulivyorudi nyumbani huku siku, siku ile tulivyorudi ile sisi hatukuwahi kurudi. Roger akawahi kurudi nyumbani.

Il les a informés que nous étions bien rentrés mais que Maurice et Eugène avaient été attaqués par un hippopotame mais qu'ils s'en étaient bien sortis.

- Je les ai laissés à Mloka mais je pense qu'ils arriveront demain !

Effectivement, nous sommes arrivés le lendemain. On est resté un peu au village et ensuite il a fallu retourner à Mloka, moi et mon cadet. Arrivés chez notre armateur, il nous a dit qu'il n'avait pas d'argent.

- Peut-être que j'aurais une rentrée d'argent dans quatre jours et je vous donnerais alors du travail, vous pourrez repartir.

C'est alors qu'un type appelé Le Chauve est intervenu. C'est le cadet de Bernard, il est de ma belle-famille. Il m'a dit :

- Beau-frère, je vais financer votre expédition, qu'est-ce que tu en dis ?

Je lui ai dit :

- D'accord, mais as-tu une pirogue ?

Je lui ai dit que ma pirogue était endommagée, qu'il fallait la réparer.

- Quel genre de réparation ?

Je lui ai dit qu'on avait besoin de clous et de tôle ou de plaques de plastiques

Akaja kuwapa taarifa kuwa :

Sisi tumerudi salama ila kina Mudi na mwenzake Eugène wamepigwa na 'boko lakini wote ni salama. Mimi nimewaacha Mloka labda watu hawa kufika hapa kesho ndiyo watafika hapa. Sisi ndiyo kesho yake tukafika hapa. Kukaa hapa tukabidi tena tuondoke mimi na bwana mdogo. Mimi na bwana mdogo tukaondoka hapa mpaka tukafika Mloka tena, kwenda kwa tajiri yetu, akatuambia :

- Mimi sasa hivi hela sina. Labda msubiri kama siku nne mbele, ndiyo inaweza kuagiziwa hela, nikakupangieni tena kazi, ndiyo mkaenda.

Akatokea jamaa mmoja anaitwa Le Chauve. Yaani mdogo wake Bernard yule. Kwa mimi yule shemeji yangu, akaniambia :

- Shemeji sasa mimi itabidi nikusafirishe, unasemaje ?

Unaona ? Nikamwambia :

- Sawa unisafirishe !

- Ngalawa unayo ?

Nikamwambia :

- Mie ngalawa yangu ninayo lakini mbovu. Ngalawa inahitaji matengenezo.
- Matengenezo yenyewe vipi ?

Nikamwambia :

- Tupate misumari na bati au maplastiki tukaigongee.

- Combien de clous pour que la pirogue ne prenne plus l'eau que vous puissiez repartir ?
- Ah ! Pas de problème.

Il a mis la main à la poche et il en a sorti 1 000 shillings pour acheter des clous d'un quart de pouce. On a acheté les clous, on a réparé la pirogue, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit bien et qu'elle ne prenne plus l'eau. La pirogue était en bon état. Il est venu.

- Ça y est, la pirogue est réparée !

Il nous a donné du travail. Il nous a acheté des filets, il nous a donné une avance pour partir en brousse et une avance pour la famille. En tout Le Chauve nous avait avancé 38 000 shillings pour l'expédition. Comme l'avance faisait 38 000 shillings, il nous a dit :

- Qu'est-ce que tu dis de cette somme-là, beau-frère !

On lui a dit :

- C'est bon, il n'y a pas de problème.

On est restés là-bas un moment. Il nous a donné l'argent tel jour et on est restés trois ou quatre jours avant de partir en brousse. Il y avait Eugène et moi et Duchemin accompagné d'Aurélien. Il y avait aussi un autre type appelé Jumeau-Terrible. Il était accompagné de Jean L'Habitant et de beaucoup d'autres... Nous étions pratiquement à 10 pirogues le jour du départ.

- Misumari mingapi ili ngalawa isitowe maji, tupate kuendea. Aaah ! Hilo siyo tatizo.

Ikabidi akaingiza mfukoni akatoa shilingi elfu moja kwanza kuenda kununua misumari ya robo inchi. Tukanunua misumari, tukaenda kule tukaigongee ngalawa yetu ile, mpaka ngalawa ikawa safi, haitoi maji wala nini. Ngalawa ikawepo nzima. Akaja pale, haya tayari ngalawa ishakuwa nzima. Akatupangia kazi. Akatununulia nyavu, akatupa posho ya

kuondokea porini, akatupa na posho ya kuacha majumbani kwetu. Safari yetu kwa jumla tuliyopanga ilikuwa shilingi elfu thelathini na nane kwa Le Chauve. Ilipofika elfu thelathini na nane akatuambia hela hiyo unasemaje shemeji, tukamwambia aaha, hapa mie nipo shwari hamna tatizo. Tukakaa paleeee, alitupa hela leo tukakaa kama siku tatu ya nne tukaondoka porini, tulipoondoka porini, ndiyo nikawa mimi na Eugène, na Duchemin alikuwa na Aurelien. Halafu alikuwa mwengine anaitwa Jumeau-Terrible. Alikuwa na Jean L'Habitant na watu wengine wengi tulikuwa karibu ngalawa kumi tulipokuwa pale, siku hiyo tulipotoka pale tukaondoka.

Nous ne sommes pas passés par le fleuve mais par l'un de ses chenaux. En saison des pluies, il y a de nombreux chenaux qu'on peut emprunter et donc nous sommes partis aux environs de 5 heures du matin et nous sommes passés en plein jour tout simplement. On est arrivé à un endroit appelé Mvumo Mmoja, très en amont, et on a dormi là jusqu'à un peu avant 16 heures. Il a fallu ensuite traverser le fleuve. Ce n'est pas facile de traverser le fleuve en plein jour parce qu'on braconne et qu'on peut rencontrer les gardes en bateau à moteur. Nous on est en pirogue et eux sont en bateau à moteur, ça fait une différence ! On a traversé un peu avant 17 heures jusqu'à atteindre le lac Manze. On a pêché, on est resté six jours durant. On était dans la brousse, on a pêché, on a attrapé du poisson, on est repartis. On est revenu à Mloka et cette fois-ci on n'a pas eu d'ennui, ni avec un hippopotame ni avec quoi que ce soit. Une fois arrivés là-bas, on a vendu notre poisson à Le Chauve et il nous a donné notre argent. Après qu'il nous a donné notre argent, on est retourné à la maison. Depuis que je suis revenu à la maison, je n'ai pas encore eu l'occasion d'y retourner. Mon enfant était malade et je m'occupais de lui. Ensuite est venue la saison des semis.

Siku lakini tulivyoondoka hatujapita mto wa ndani tukapita mto wa nje. Kwa sababu kipindi cha masika inakuwa mito mingi ya kupita, kwa maana hiyo pale tukatoka kama majira ya saa kumi na moja asubuhi, tukawa tunapita mchana, tukapita mchana tuu. Mpaka tukafika sehemu moja inaitwa Mvumo Mmoja. Juu kabisa huko tukafika kule, tukulala kule. Mpaka majira ya saa kumi kasoro ya usiku. Ikabidi sasa tukakata bahari, mto mkubwa, yaani mto huo mkubwa kukata mchana si rahisi kwa sababu tunatumia kuibaiba kwa maana hiyo mchana inawezekana ukaonana na wenyewe wanapita na boti tu. Sasa sisi tunatumia ngalawa na wao wanatumia boti inakuwa tofauti. Tukakata majira ya saa kumi kasoro mpaka tukafika bwawani kwetu Manze kule. Tunavuavua, tukakaa kule kama siku sita. Tukakaa porini,

tukavua tukapata samaki, tukarudi. Tulivyorudi mpaka niniye (?) tukafika Mloka sisi, tripu hii tukarudi salama hatujakutana na 'boko wala na kitu gani. Tulivyorudi mpaka pale, tukamuuzia Le Chauve samaki wale akatupa hela yetu. Alipotupa hela yetu pale mimi ikabidi nirudi mpaka nyumbani. Nilivyorudi nyumbani mimi tena sijapata bahati ya kwenda tena, mwanangu akawa anaumwa, sasa nikawa nipo kwa kumhudumia mwanangu. Nikamhudumia mwanangu tena, ikawa tayari kipindi cha mlao kupandapanda.

Il a fallu que je sème le maïs. Le maïs semé, je n'avais plus rien à faire. Où fallait-il que j'aïlle encore ? Il fallait que j'aïlle pêcher dans le Selous. Quand je suis revenu, je suis resté à la maison pour prendre soin de mes cultures. L'argent que j'avais obtenu là-bas (lors de la première expédition), je l'avais dépensé pour soigner mon enfant et quand je suis revenu (de la seconde expédition) j'ai eu de l'argent et alors j'ai pu rester à la maison. De juin jusqu'à septembre⁸, je n'y suis pas retourné. Ensuite j'y suis retourné quatre fois. Mais cette fois-ci, c'était la saison sèche, ce n'était plus la saison des pluies. Il n'y avait plus qu'un seul passage, le fleuve lui-même. Mais Dieu a pris soin de nous. On y allait et on revenait, on y allait et on revenait... Et à présent je m'occupe aux travaux des champs, je cultive. Une fois terminés les travaux des champs, je me suis dit qu'il fallait que je me prépare à repartir. Mais il a plu et je n'ai pas pu partir. Je ne pouvais pas laisser mon épouse semer seule⁹, il fallait que je l'aide. Une fois les semis terminés, je n'avais plus de pirogue ! Je l'avais prêtée à Kassim Katanga et à Thomas Ngwale. Quand j'ai été les voir pour la récupérer, elle avait été volée !

Ikabidi sasa nianze kupanda mahindi ndiyo nikapandapanda mahindi, nilipomaliza kupanda ikawa sasa sina kazi ya kufanya. Ikabidi tena nitaenda tena wapi ? Selous kwenda kuvua nikavua, nilivyorudi nikabaki nyumbani tena kwa kuendelea kulima vizuri, kwa sababu ile hela yenyewe niliyopata kule yote nikawa nimemhudumia mwanangu, alipoona tena nikaenda tena niliporudi nikapata hela ndiyo nikakaa hapa nyumbani. Ndiyo sijaenda tangu mwezi wa sita sikuenda kule mpaka mwezi wa tisa. Ndiyo nikaanza tena kwenda tena kwa maana ndiyo kwenda tena mwezi wa tisa kule nikaenda kama tripu nne nilivyokwenda. Lakini kipindi hicho tena kilivyokwenda ilikuwa kiangazi sio masika ikawa kiangazi kwa maana hiyo mto unakuwa mmoja tu. Lakini Mungu akawa ametujaalia. Tukawa tunakwenda kule, tunarudi, tunakwenda, tunarudi. Mpaka sasa hivi mimi nipo hapa nikawa 'nashugulika na

⁸ Pour la saison de culture de décrue.

⁹ Semis de la petite saison des pluies.

mambo ya kilimo nilivyolimalima. Nilipomaliza kulima nikaona sasa nipange kuondoka. Mvua ikanyesha, kunyesha nikashindwa tena kuondoka, kwa sababu siwezi kumwacha mke wangu kupanda, itabidi nimsaidie kupanda. Nilipomsaidia kupanda kumaliza kupanda, kule nako ngalawa yangu ikawa haipo tena, nilimpa Kasim Katanga na Thomas Ngwale. Kwa maana hiyo ile ngalawa walivyoenda kule wao, wakaibiwa.

Maintenant je n'ai plus de pirogue et je devrais en louer une pour aller pêcher. Je ne supporte pas le désagrément de louer une pirogue. Je suis donc resté ici pour fouiller une nouvelle pirogue mais jusqu'à présent je ne l'ai pas encore fait. J'ai prévu de le faire, fouiller une pirogue, avoir ma pirogue à moi pour aller pêcher dans le Selous.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Tu la fouilles toi-même ?

Non, je n'en suis pas capable. Je cherche un artisan. Je le paierai et je lui donnerai un coup de main.

Kwa maana hiyo mimi tena nikawa sina tena ngalawa. Nikienda kule mimi 'nakodi ngalawa 'nakwenda kuvua. Sasa usumbufu wa kukodi ngalawa mpaka sasa hivi nikaona mimi haunitoshi, nikabaki hapa kwa kuhangaika kwa kuchonga ngalawa yangu, yaani mpaka sasa hivi bado sijaanza kuchonga ngalawa lakini nipo katika hatihati ya kuchonga ngalawa : kupata ngalawa na kwenda Selous.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Utachonga mwenyewe ?

Hapana mimi mwenyewe siwezi kuchonga ila nitamtafuta fundi. Fundi nitamlipa hela tutakuwa tunashrikiana katika kuchonga.

Témoignage 2, le 7 janvier 2008

Avec Henri, on a voyagé au mois de décembre 2002. On s'est dirigé vers le lac Manze, dans la réserve du Selous. On s'est rendu là-bas et on a pêché beaucoup de poissons. La pêche terminée, nous étions au camp et nous avons déjà cuisiné. On s'est couché. Nous avons déjà

fumé le poisson, on s'est allongé. Après s'être allongé, un avion est passé au-dessus du camp aux environs de 13 heures. Or, à ce moment-là, il y avait certains d'entre nous qui fumaient encore leur poisson. Malheureusement l'avion l'a vu et il a lancé un appel radio pour contacter ceux qui étaient en bateau sur le lac afin qu'ils nous poursuivent. L'avion tournait au-dessus de nous pour indiquer l'endroit. Les autres sont venus jusqu'au camp. Heureusement, ceux qui fumaient encore leur poisson alors que nous étions allongés, quand ils virent venir les gardes, ils nous ont réveillés. Ils venaient de nous réveiller quand les gardes commencèrent à tirer en l'air. Alors nous nous sommes rapidement dispersés. Eux, ils avaient repéré le camp et ils l'atteignirent et nous autres nous nous sommes enfuis. On s'est cachés pour les espionner. Ils sont arrivés au camp et ont détruit les fumoirs, ils ont pris les poissons et les ont chargés sur leur bateau. Ils sont montés à bord et puis ils sont partis.

Tulisafiri na Henri mwezi wa kumi na mbili mwaka elfu mbili na mbili. Tulisafiri kwa kuelekea bwawa la Manze, Selous. Tulikwenda kule tukavua samaki wetu wengi sana. Baada ya kumaliza kuvua tukawa kambini tumeshapika ugali tayari. Tumelala sasa. Tumeshamaliza kupiga moto samaki, tumelala. Baada ya kulala, majira ya saa saba mchana ikabidi ndege ipite eneo la kambi ile. Baada ya kupita kuna baadhi ya wenzetu wengine wakawa wanapigapiga moto samaki wao kwa muda huo. Bahati mbaya ile ndege ikaona. Baada ya kuona, ikapiga redio call wakawasiliana na wenye boti baharini. Ikabidi sisi tuanze kufuatiliwa. Ile ndege ikawa inazunguka juu kwa kuwaonyesha. Wale wakaja mpaka pale kambini. Walivyofika kambini bahati nzuri wenzetu wengine waliokuwa wanapigapiga moto samaki wao, sisi tulivyolala, bado walivyoona magemu wanakuja wakaanza kutuamsha hadi sisi wengine tulivyolala. Kutuamsha tayari magemu wakaanza kupigapiga risasi hewani. Kupiga piga risasi, sisi pale ikabidi tutawanyike wote kwa ghafla tu. Wale wakavizia mpaka kambini, wakafika, sisi wengine tukakimbia. Baada ya kukimbia, tukajificha kwa kuwachunguza. Wakafika mpaka pale wakavunjavunja uani zile, wakachukua samaki, wakapakia kwenye boti lao, wakawa wamepakia samaki tayari na wenyewe wamepakia, wamerudi.

Nous sommes revenus au camp. Eux, en venant, ils avaient sabordés les pirogues. Cela signifiait qu'on était coincé sur l'îlot, sans moyen de rejoindre le « continent ». On a attendu que tout le monde soit revenu pour se réunir et réfléchir ensemble à la manière d'atteindre l'autre bord. Une fois arrivés, les autres nous ayant rejoints, on s'est mis à réfléchir ensemble sur ce qu'il y avait lieu de faire. Comme il y avait des palmiers doum, on en a coupé

beaucoup. On les a liés avec des cordes. Pour chaque équipage d'une pirogue, deux personnes, il y avait un tronc de palmier. On a mis (le radeau) à l'eau et on s'est assis dessus. Mais les palmiers ne se manœuvrent pas bien, ils vont accoster là-où ils le veulent bien. On s'est assis et on a traversé jusqu'à l'autre bord et Dieu nous a bénis. On s'est enfui ainsi et le radeau a été accoster sur le sable. Là où il avait bien voulu s'échouer, il y avait de l'eau jusqu'à la poitrine parce que c'est un très grand lac. Il nous a fallu tous descendre là. On a nagé, aux environs il y avait un petit chenal, on a nagé et Dieu nous a bénis. On a atteint la terre ferme et on a commencé le voyage de retour au village. Quand les gardes sont venus, c'était notre quatrième jour de pêche. On s'approchait du retour parce que cette fois-là on avait prévu de pêcher 5 jours. On a arrêté le quatrième jour, on a été chassés et on est repartis.

Baada ya kurudi na sisi tukafika hadi pale. Wale walivyofika pale ngalawa walizivunja. Ina maana tukawa kisiwani. Hatuna jinsi ya kutoka pale kwa kuelekea gongo lililokuwa moja, siyo la kisiwa. Tukangojana pale na wenzetu wote, wakatimia, akili tupange ushauri jinsi gani tutavuka kuelekea gongo moja. Tulivyofika pale, wenzetu walivyotimia tayari, tukashauriniana :

- Jamani tufanye vipi ?

Kwa kuwa kule kuna mivumo, ikabidi tukate mivumo, kwa wingi. Tukaifunga kamba. Kwa kila tundu moja la mivumo tumejaza kwa ngalawa tumepanda watu wawili wawili. Bahati nzuri tukatumbukiza baharini. Tukakaa tu mle mle. Kwa kweli mivumo haina uvushaji, ukae tu, inapotaka yeye kwenda kupaki ndiyo hapo hapo. Ikabidi tukae sisi, tumevuka mpaka ng'ambo, Mungu katuletea heri. Tumeporomoka hivyo hivyo, ikaenda kupaki mchangani tu ! Sehemu mpaka lilipotaka yeye limepaki maji ya kifua, kwa sababu ziwa kubwa sana. Wote ikabidi tushuke pale, tukaogelea kwa baadhi nyingine kulikuwa na kijito kidogodogo, tunaogelea, Mungu kaleta heri. Tumegeuka. Kugeuka na wenzetu wote wamegeuka, tukaanza safari ya kurudi kijijini. Tulikuwa na vuo la nne. Tunakaribia kurudi. Bado vuo letu moja tu, tuwahi kurudi. Kwa kuwa siku hiyo tulipanga tuvuo mitano. Tumeishia la nne tu, tunafukuzwa, tukarudi.

Il y avait 9 pirogues de Kipo et de Nyaminywili, soit 18 pêcheurs. Les gardes ont détruit toutes les pirogues ! Il y avait aussi 2 gardiens du camp pour éviter que les poissons ne soient mangés par les hyènes. Il y a beaucoup de hyènes. Si tu laisses le camp sans surveillance, elles viennent. Il fallait deux gardiens. Au total, nous étions donc 20. Chaque équipage avait

son propre armateur. Par exemple moi, j'avais autofinancé mon expédition. J'ai donc subi une grande perte et c'est pourquoi jusqu'aujourd'hui je n'embarquerai pas pour aller là-bas.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Et pour ceux qui avaient un armateur ?

Si la cargaison de poissons d'un pêcheur est saisie, l'armateur qui le finance ne lui réclame rien, même pas un centime. Ce serait même un million, il ne réclamerait rien. Plus ! Quand le pêcheur rentre au village, son armateur doit lui donner ne serait-ce que 2 ou 3 000 shillings pour qu'il puisse se nourrir. Il est doublement perdant car il doit prendre soin de son pêcheur.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Pourquoi pêcher à Manze qui est si loin ?

Il y a beaucoup de poissons et puis les interventions des gardes sont peu... Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'aller et venues de gardes, dans le temps en tous les cas. Mais maintenant, les gens n'y vont plus beaucoup parce que les gardes ont compris que les pêcheurs s'y rendaient nombreux.

Tulikuwa ngalawa tisa kutoka Kipo na Nyaminywili, yaani wavuvi kumi na nane. Wote wameivunja magemu. Tulikuwa na walinzi wawili vile vile, ili fisi wasile samaki. Kwa sababu kuna fisi wengi sana. Ukiacha kambi huru (bila kuilinda), wao wanakuja kula pale. Ikabidi tuwachukue walinzi wawili. Jumla tulikuwa 20...Kila mtu alikuwa na tajiri yake. Kwa mfano mimi mwenyewe nilijisafirisha mwenyewe. Kwa hiyo nimeingia short kubwa sana. Ina maana mpaka sasa hivi sitapanda tena ngalawa kwenda kule.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Na wale waliokuwa na tajiri ?

Kama mvuvi akitaifishwa, mzigo wake wa samaki, tajiri yake hatam dai hata senti moja. Ina maana hata kama milioni, hadaiwi. Na akirudi hapo hapo kijijini inabidi tajiri ampe angalau hela ya kula elfu mbili au tatu. Aingie short kwa mara ya pili, kumlinda yule mvuvi wake.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Sababu gani mnaenda mbali sana mpaka Manze kuliko mabwabwa ya karibuni ?

Kuna samaki wengi, halafu purukushaniza za magemu... kidogo... zinakuwa... siyo pirikapirika nyingi za magemu, kama siku za nyuma... Lakini kwa sasa hivi, watu hawaelekei sana kwa sababu wameshagundua kwamba kule wavuvi wanakwenda sana.

J'y ai pêché avec différentes personnes : Henri, Marcel, beaucoup de monde... Pascal...

Un fois rentré au village, les poissons que nous avons pêchés, mon compère me vend sa part et moi je vais vendre à un revendeur.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Pourquoi ton compère ne participe-t-il pas à l'autofinancement de l'expédition plutôt que de te vendre son poisson ?

Ça dépend des objectifs de chacun. Certains, une fois qu'ils ont leur argent, ils n'ont pas l'intention de l'investir pour repartir pêcher. Ils ont peur de perdre leur argent, parce que c'est risqué. Ils préfèrent le dépenser. On arrive à s'entendre parce que le commerce c'est un contrat. Lui me vend à moi et moi je vends ailleurs à un autre prix. En revendant ainsi, j'obtiens un petit plus mais lui ne le voit pas parce qu'il n'est pas là quand je marchande avec le revendeur. Lui, il s'entend avec moi et moi je m'entends avec mon acheteur. A ce moment il n'est plus là. Par exemple, les poissons que Mgumba m'a vendu 350 shillings/pièce, je les ai revendus 380 shillings. Je n'ai jamais vendu mon poisson ailleurs qu'à Mloka. D'abord, je n'ai pas de licence pour transporter le poisson sur un autre marché. Et puis, autre chose, les gros marchands comme ceux à qui nous vendons ces jours-ci...

Nimevua na watu wa hali mbalimbali. Henri, Musa Sule, na watu wengi tu. Jumanne Mchawi...Wale samaki ninaopata kule, nikisharudi, yule mwenzangu ananiuzia mimi halafu mimi ninawauza hapa kwa mtajiri mwengine.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Kwa nini mwenzako anapendelea kukuuzia samaki kuliko kujisafirisha ?

Inategemea mtu malengo yake, mfano kama yeye hela akishaipata, basi hii hela hataipanga malengo ya kusafirisha tena. Anaogopa, kwa sababu sehemu yenyewe hatari, ile hela yake isije ikapotea. Bora atumie. Mwafaka unapita tu, kwa sababu biashara yote kuelewana. Yeye ananiuzia mimi, na mimi nauza sehemu nyingine kwa bei nyingine. Kwa maana hio ninavyouza kule mapato kidogo ninayaona, na yeye hashuhudii kwa sababu mimi naongea na tajiri mwengine na yeye hayupo. Yeye anapatana na mimi halafu mimi napatana na tajiri mwengine. Kipindi kile pale hayupo. Kwa mfano wale samaki nilionunua shilingi mia tatu na hamsini kwa Mgumbe nikawauza mia tatu na themanini. Sijawahi kuuza eneo lingine mbali lingine eneo ambalo ninauziaga. Ina maana kwa usafirishaji kwanza sijakata liseni ya usafirishaji kupeleka soko lingine. Na historia nyingine ina maana matajiri wakubwa wakubwa kwa mfano kama hao tunawauzia siku hizi...

Je veux dire que eux, les gros, une fois qu'on leur a vendu le poisson, quand on leur pose des questions sur le transport du poisson sur un autre marché, ils sont très prompts à te parler de sommes astronomiques. Ça nous décourage et on a jamais transporté, on ne comprend pas la procédure à suivre pour transporter le poisson sur un autre marché.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Est-ce que tu pêches partout ou bien y-a-t-il des endroits que tu préfères ?

Pêcher au Selous c'est braconner. On va braconner avec la crainte des gardes. S'il y avait la possibilité de payer un permis de pêche comme ça se fait au lac Utunge wa Ngwenda, de mon point de vue, nous irions toujours pêcher dans le Selous. S'il y avait un permis de pêche pour le Selous, nous irions y pêcher. A cause des poursuites des gardes qu'on subit là-bas, on est un peu craintifs. Parce que si tu finances une expédition un paquet d'argent, il se peut qu'on saisisse ta cargaison. Si on pouvait acheter un permis, il y a de l'argent à se faire là-bas, beaucoup d'argent... Si tu reviens sauf, tu as du poisson... Les poissons qui ont le meilleur débouché sont ceux du lac Suwanda. Ils sont très gros. A Nzelekela aussi ils sont très gros. A Manze, ils sont petits et nous y allons contraints, parce que le lac, jusqu'à récemment, n'était pas très surveillé. C'est pour ça qu'on y va pêcher.

Ina maana wale mabwana wakishatununulia samaki hapo hapo tukiwauliza mfano maswala ya usafirishaji kupeleka soko lingine wanakuwa watu wa mbio kweli kuhusu maswala ya usafirishaji, wanasema kiasi kikubwa sana. Sisi tunaganda hatujawahi kupeleka, hatuelewi utaratibu wa kupeleka kule samaki soko lingine.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Unavua popote au unapendelea sehemu zingine ?

Kwa shuguli za kiuvuvi kule Selous tunakwenda kwa wizi. Tunaenda kwa kuiba, kwa kuogopa magemu. Right ingekuwa tunakata kibali kule Selous, kama kibali wanachokatia kule Utunge (wa Ngwenda), kwa mimi nafsi yangu, tungeenda kuvua Selous. Ingekuwa ingepatikana kibali cha Selous, tungeenda kuvua Selous. Kutokana na purukushani zinazopatikana kule, tunakuwa waoga kidogo. Sababu mtu anapanga safari nyingine hela chungu nzima, unaenda kule unataifishwa. Ingekuwa unakata kibali, kule mapato yapo, mapato mengi. Ukirudi salama unapata samaki... Samaki wanavutia kibiashara bwawa la kwanza Suwanda. Wakubwa wakubwa samaki wake. Nzelekela, samaki wake wakubwa wakubwa. Manze samaki wake wadogo wadogo kibiashara, tunafanya hivo kwa tatizo. Kwa sababu lile bwawa kwa kipindi cha nyuma kilikuwa halina ulinzi mkali sana. Tumeenda kuvua hivo hivo.

Mais les lacs les plus attrayants du point de vue de la qualité commerciale des poissons, c'est Suwanda, Nzelekela, Tagalala et Utunge wa Selous. Là, les poissons sont très gros. Si tu

y vas avec des mailles de 4 pouces, tu attrapes uniquement de gros poissons. Tu peux les vendre jusqu'à 700 shillings/pièce. Cependant ce lac est mal situé à cause des gardes qui ne s'en éloignent jamais. Ils restent là, près du lac... On craint donc ce lac parce qu'il a beaucoup de gardes. Les poissons sont gros et te remplissent de satisfaction. Le lac Utunge se tient au centre, il n'est pas loin du camp des gardes. Ils en font souvent le tour car ils sont proches. Ils viennent même à pied. Leur camp est à Kidahi. C'est le camp des gardes de Morogoro. Normalement, les gardes de ce camp patrouillent régulièrement à Utunge et à Tagalala ainsi qu'à Manze. Ils y viennent régulièrement. Les autres lacs, Suwanda, Nzelekela et aussi Manze, c'est un autre camp, celui de Temele. Ils ont la charge de 3 lacs. C'est seulement à Manze que viennent à la fois les gardes de Temele et ceux de Kidahi. Leurs patrouilles s'y rencontrent. Donc tu peux t'y faire poursuivre aussi bien par les gardes de Temele que par ceux de Kidahi. C'est souvent dans la journée qu'ils viennent patrouiller. Il y a des pêcheurs qui pêchent avec témérité, ils allument leur feu n'importe quand.

Lakini mabwawa yanayovutia kwa samaki wa biashara, Suwanda, Nzelekela pamoja na Tagalala, na Utunge. Samaki wake wakubwa wakubwa. Ukienda na numba 4 unavua samaki wakubwa tu. Unaweza ukauza mpaka shilingi mia saba. Samaki yake hasa Utunge wakubwa unauza shilingi mia saba. Isipokuwa bwawa lenyewe nalo limekaa vibaya sana kuhusu magemu, hawaendi mbali. Wapo pale pale bwawani. Kwa hio Utunge watu tunauogopa kwa sababu magemu wengi sana. Samaki wake wakubwa, wanaridhisha. Bwawa la Utunge limekaa center. Halipo mbali na kambi yao magemu. Wanazungukiazungukia mara kwa mara kwa sababu hawapo mbali. Wanatembea mpaka na miguu. Kambi yao ipo Kidahi. Ni kambi ya magemu wa Morogoro. Mfano magemu wa kule mara nyingi sana wanakuja Utunge na Tagalala, pamoja na Manze, wanakujaga siku moja moja. Mabwawa mengine ya Suwanda, Nzelekela pamoja na Manze kuna kambi nyingine ipo Temele. Hawa wanamiliki mabwawa matatu. Magemu wa Temele wanaenda mpaka Manze, na magemu wa Kidahi wanakuja mpaka Manze, wanakutana pale kwa patrol zao. Kwa hiyo unaweza ukakimbizwa na magemu wa Temele, unaweza ukakimbizwa na magemu wa Kidahi ! Kwa mara nyingi sana mabwawani mchana. Mchana mara nyingi sana wanakuja, wanachunguzachunguza. Wavuvi wengine wanavua na udharau, wanapiga moto wakati wowote.

Les gardes, dès qu'ils voient du feu durant leur patrouille, ils te pourchassent. Ou bien encore, un avion survole le camp et voit de la fumée, il fait un appel radio et les gardes

viennent à ta poursuite. La nuit, les gardes se tiennent sur le lac. S'ils entendent que sur tel lac, par exemple le lac Suwanda, il y a beaucoup de pêcheurs et que chaque fois qu'ils s'y rendent en plein jour ils les manquent, alors ils organisent une patrouille de nuit et poursuivent les gens pareillement.

Des coups de feu, ils en tirent toujours. Certains tirent seulement pour t'effrayer mais à d'autres moments ils te visent carrément pour te tuer ! J'étais avec mon ami Henri, j'avais déjà fait souvent affaire avec lui et on s'entendait bien en affaires. On a été au lac Suwanda. On a pêché le premier jour, puis le deuxième jour. Le troisième jour, on s'est rendu sur le lac. Notre camp était sur un îlot. On avait relevé notre filet une première fois et on avait attrapé du poisson. On a été sur la berge pour démailler le poisson. On triait le poisson, on le démaillait. Malheureusement, les gardes étaient déjà là à nous observer pour voir où nous allions aborder. Dieu nous a protégés et nous avons abordé là où ils n'étaient pas. Ils nous auraient capturés. Mais Dieu nous a protégés, comme des saints. Arrivés sur la berge, là où ils n'étaient pas, ils ont démarré le moteur pour nous rejoindre. Ils venaient là où nous nous tenions et nous, nous sommes enfuis.

Wale wakishaona moto kwenye patrol zao, wanafuata. Aidha ndege imepita juu imeona Eugène, inapiga redio call, wanakuja magemu wanafuatilia. Usiku magemu na hawa wanakuwa mabwawani. Wakishasikia bwawa fulani, mfano bwawa la Suwanda, wavuvi wengi sana wanavua, kwa kila mchana wakienda wanawakosa, basi wanaamua kuweka doria yao usiku. Wanawakimbiza watu vile vile. Lisasi lazima wapige. Wengine wanapiga kwa kutisha tu, muda mwingine wanapiga kwa kukusudia kabisa ili wakuue ! Nilikwepo na rafiki yangu Henri, kwa sababu nimeshafanya biashara naye sana, tulikuwa tunaelewana kibiashara. Tulikwenda bwawa la Suwanda. Kufika Suwanda kwenye uvuvi tumevua siku ya kwanza, tukaja kukavua tena siku ya pili. Siku ya tatu tunakwenda bwawani, kambi letu lilikuwa kisiwani. Tumepiga bigo (pigo) la kwanza la samaki. Tumepata, tukaenda pembeni, tunatoa wale samaki, tunachambua. Nyavu tunachambua, tunawatoa wale samaki. Bahati mbaya, wale magemu walishakuja mle, walikuwa wanatuangalia sisi, tutakwenda kuparki wapi ? Mungu analeta heri, sehemu ambapo tulienda kuparki tofauti na waliokuwa wao. Wangetukamata. Lakini Mungu akaleta heri, kama malaika tu ! Kufika pembeni ambayo sehemu wasiokuwa wao basi wale mabwana wakawasha boti lao kwa kutufuata pale tulipokuwa. Wakaja mpaka tulipokuwa, sisi ilibidi tukimbie.

Comme nous nous étions enfuis, ils ont détruit notre pirogue. Si tu avais vu la manière dont nous étions vêtus, tu aurais eu de la peine. Je ne peux pas l'oublier. C'était des loques et nous étions déjà sur la terre ferme qui nous conduisait au village. Finalement, on n'avait tiré aucun profit et nos affaires étaient sur l'îlot. Nous n'avions pas le moyen d'y retourner pour aller chercher nos affaires. Après avoir été chassés, on est retournés au village par la terre ferme. On n'était pas encore arrivés, on rentrait tous les deux, moi et mon ami Henri, quand par malchance on a croisé les éléphants. Ils descendaient vers le lac pour s'abreuver et nous nous remontions vers Vikosi. On s'est mis à courir mais nous courrions vers d'autres éléphants ! Ils cassaient tout sur le passage et on les entendait venir. Il nous a fallu tous les deux monter sur un arbre. On est resté perchés 3 ou 4 heures, c'est une estimation, je ne sais pas exactement parce que nous n'avions pas de montre. On a laissé passer les éléphants jusqu'à ce qu'ils atteignent l'endroit dont nous venions (sur le bord du lac). Ils avaient tout piétiné sur leur passage, ils avaient beaucoup mangé et finalement ils ont été dans l'eau. Pendant qu'ils étaient dans l'eau, nous sommes descendus de l'arbre pour retourner au village. Heureusement, Dieu nous a protégé, on est arrivé jusqu'au village. On a demandé qu'on nous dépanne pour les vêtements. Des amis nous en ont donné et nous nous sommes habillés.

Baada ya kukimbia, ngalawa ile wakavunja. Sasa ukiangalia kwa nguo ambazo tulikuwa tulizivaa, inasikitisha sana. Siwezi nikasahau. Zipo ovyo ovyo halafu tupo gongo moja, ina maana la kutokea kijijini. Isipokuwa hatujaambulia kitu chochote kutokana na kambi yetu ipo kisiwani. Hatuna nyenzo nyingine ya kwenda pale, kufuatilia vitu vyetu. Sisi baada ya kukimbizwa tunapita gongoni tunarudi nyumbani. Kabla hatujafika nyumbani, tupo porini, tunarudi watu wawili tu, mimi na yeye rafiki yangu Henri. Bahati mbaya naye njiani tukakutana na tembo... Wanashuka. Wanakuja kunywa maji bwawani, sisi tunaelekea kule juu Vikosi. Pale cha kufanya tukaanza kukimbia, kule tunapokimbia na tembo wako kule kule. Wanavunja mbele yetu, tunawasikia. Ikabidi sisi tupande juu ya mti, wote wawili. Baada ya kupanda juu tumekaa karibuni masaa matatu au manne, inafika, kwa sababu tulikuwa hatuna saa. Tunatumia kukisia. Wale tembo tumewaacha mpaka wamefika lile eneo tulipokuwa sisi. Wanavunjavunja sana pale, wamekulakula sana, wakaenda mpaka kwenye maji. Wao wanakwenda kwenye maji na sisi tunashuka juu ya mti, tunarudi kijijini. Bahati nzuri, Mungu kaleta heri tumefika mpaka kijijini, tukaomba msaada wa nguo, sehemu zingine. Tukapata kwa marafiki zetu wengine, nguo tukavaa.

Nous sommes rentrés à la maison. On avait rien pu sauver, nos affaires étaient restées sur l'îlot et il n'y avait pas d'autre pirogue pour aller les chercher. On a décidé de les y laisser. C'était en 2002, pendant la saison sèche.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Quelle est la période la plus dangereuse par rapport aux gardes ?

En saison sèche car les touristes sont nombreux, on croit que c'est un bateau de tourisme qui vient et finalement c'est le bateau des gardes. On a même peur d'aller voir quel bateau c'est, on suppose que c'est un bateau de tourisme et puis c'est bateau de gardes. On a peur d'aller voir car ils tirent des coups de feu. En saison des pluies, si tu entends un bateau, c'est nécessairement les gardes.

Désormais il ne va plus pêcher au Selous, il estime que c'est trop dangereux. On se fait poursuivre et tirer dessus par les gardes. Son expédition est autofinancée et il a tout perdu. Maintenant il cultive seulement et il a abandonné les autres activités. Avant, il ne voulait pas entendre parler de l'agriculture. Il continue à collecter du miel sauvage. A Utunge de Ngwenda, il irait bien pêcher si un armateur lui payait le permis.

Tunarudi nyumbani. Hakuna tulichoambulia, vitu vyetu vyote viko kisiwani na hakuna ngalawa nyingine ya kwenda kuvichukua vile vitu. Tukaamua kviacha. Ilikuwa 2002, kilikuwa kiangazi.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Tukiangalia hatari za magemu, msimu gani umekuwa na hatari zaidi ?

Kiangazi kwa sababu watalii wanakuwa wengi. Unafikiri boti la watalii inakuja kumbe ni boti la magemu. Hata kwenda kuangalia ni boti gani tunaogopa. Unafikiri boti la watalii lakini ni la magemu. Tunaogopa kwenda kuangalia kwa sababu wanapiga lisasi. Lakini wakati wa masika, ukisikia boti lazima itakuwa boti la magemu.

Témoignage 3, janvier 2008

J'ai voyagé jusqu'au Selous avec Homer. Je suis allé au lac Suwanda. Le voyage a duré 2 jours. Une fois arrivés là-bas, nous sommes restés 4 jours (...)

Jean-Luc PAUL : Pourquoi avoir été en septembre au lac Suwanda et en décembre au lac Manze ?

A cause de l'agressivité des crocodiles, on ne pêche qu'un seul type de poisson (pele : *Citharinus congicus*). Les nuits sans lune, tu ne peux pas pêcher à Suwanda où les crocodiles sont très agressifs. Ils peuvent mettre en pièces ton filet en une seule nuit. Une nuit sans lune les crocodiles sont très agressifs et déchirent beaucoup plus les filets que par une nuit au clair de lune. Par clair de lune, on les voit venir, on peut anticiper en les frappant avec la pagaie ou la perche. Ils laissent rapidement le filet. Mais dans l'obscurité c'est très difficile de s'en défaire, ils sont têtus. A Manze, il y a aussi beaucoup de crocodiles mais ils sont plus jeunes tandis qu'à Suwanda les crocodiles sont très gros et sont capables de te causer beaucoup de dégâts. Les crocodiles de Suwanda sont trop dangereux, c'est pourquoi par nuit sombre on préfère aller pêcher à Manze où les crocodiles sont moins féroces, ils ne sont pas très grands. Il y a beaucoup plus de pêcheurs qui vont à Manze qu'à Suwanda. A Suwanda, tu n'y vas que par clair de lune. A Manze, que la nuit soit sans lune ou par clair de lune, tu t'y rends, tu travailles et il n'y a pas de problème.

Nilisafiri kwenda Selous na Homer (septembre 2007). Nilikwenda bwawa la Suwanda. Nilisafiri muda wa siku 2. Tulipofika kule tulikaa muda wa siku 4 (...)

Jean-Luc PAUL : Kwa nini mwezi wa tisa ulienda Suwanda halafu mwezi wa kumi na mbili ukaenda Manze ?

Tunavua aina moja tu ya samaki kutokana na ukali wa mamba. Mwezi ukiwa gizani huwezi kuvua Suwanda. Suwanda kuna mamba wakali sana. Wanaweza kumaliza nyavu hata kwa siku moja. Mwezi ukiwa gizani mamba wanakuwa wakali zaidi na kula nyavu kwa sana kuliko kwenye mwezi. Kwenye mwezi wale wanaonekana jinsi wanavyokuja kule. Kwa maana hii unaweza kumuwahi kama unampiga pondo au 'bao. Wanaachia nyavu kwa haraka, lakini katika kiza inakuwa vigumu sana kuachia na wanakuwa wabishi. Manze kuna mamba wengi pia lakini wadogo kwa umri. Kwa sababu Suwanda ina mamba wakubwa sana, wenye uwezo wa kufanya hitilafu ya aina yote. Wale Suwanda mamba wamezidi, ndiyo maana huwezi ukiwa gizani sisi tunaenda kule Manze kwa sababu kule Manze mamba wanakuwa siyo wakali sana kama wale, kule hawajakomaa. Wavuvi wanaokwenda Manze ni wengi sana kuliko Suwanda. Suwanda unaweza kuenda na mwezi tu ! Lakini Manze mwezi ukiwepo unakwenda na giza ikiwepo tunafika, tunafanya kazi, haina tatizo.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Y a-t-il une différence de revenu entre les deux lacs ?

Il y a une différence de revenu car à Manze il y a beaucoup de poissons mais leur valeur marchande est faible. Le problème qui fait la différence c'est que les poissons de Manze sont légers, à Suwanda ils sont lourds. Et de même leur taille est différente. A Suwanda ils sont très gros. Un poisson fait 4 pouces¹⁰, mais 4 bons pouces ! Suwanda est proche. En trois heures tu sors du village (de Mloka) et tu es arrivé. Manze, il te faut la journée, 12 heures pour y arriver. Mais les gens s'accommodent de cet inconvénient parce que là-bas c'est un peu... même le bivouac est bon parce que... tu pêches comme braconnier... le bivouac est meilleur pour se cacher. A Suwanda, tu sais, s'il t'arrive quoi que ce soit, avec l'obscurité tu peux rencontrer du monde et tu n'as aucun moyen de t'échapper. A Suwanda, il n'y a pas de camp de gardes-chasse mais il y a des camps touristiques. Le lac est sévèrement surveillé, d'abord parce qu'il est proche et aussi parce qu'il est réputé pour ses gros poissons et qu'on peut s'y faire de l'argent. Avec 300 poissons, tu peux entendre dire qu'un type s'est fait 100 ou 200 000 shillings tandis qu'à Manze je peux attraper même 500 poissons, jamais je n'aurais 100 000 shillings !

Jean-Luc PAUL : Kimapato, kuna tofauti gani kati hayo mabwawa mawili?

Mapato yanakuwa tofauti kwa sababu Manze wanakuwa samaki wengi lakini si kibiashara (changement de cassette). Tatizo uzito umetofautiana. Wa Manze wepesi, Suwanda wazito sana. Halafu wana ukubwa tofauti vile vile. Suwanda wakubwa sana. Mmoja wa inchi nne lakini inakuwa nne kubwa !

Suwanda ni karibu sana. Unaweza kutoka pale kijijini (Mloka) kwenda kule na kutumia kama masaa matatu tu, umefika. Manze unatumia kucha, masaa 12 unafika kule. Lakini watu wanakubali usumbufu huu kutokana na kule kidogo... hata makazi yanakuwa mazuri kwa sababu... uvuvi unafanyika kule kama kiwizi... makazi yanakuwa mazuri kama ufichoni, Suwanda, kwa maana pale hamwezi hata kama inakutokea lolote, unaona, lakini na giza, unaweza kukutana na watu, ukashindwa kujitetea.

Suwanda kempu ya magemu hakuna ila kuna kempu ya wazungu. Ina ulinzi mkali kwa sababu ni bwawa la karibu kwanza halafu ni bwawa lenye sifa kutoa samaki wakubwa na mtu anaweza kupata hela. Samaki mia tatu unaweza kusikia mtu amepata laki moja au mbili, lakini Manze ninaweza kupata samaki hata mia tano, laki moja sipati !

¹⁰Ici, Thomas évoque maladroitement la taille de la maille du filet et non celle du poisson qui est bien supérieure à 4 pouces.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Combien fait-il de voyages par an ?

J'y vais deux fois par mois parce que si tu y vas cette fois-ci, il faut... D'abord parce que le voyage dure deux jours, puis tu pêches 5 jours, le huitième jour tu retournes. Ça signifie qu'une fois rendu à la maison, il faut que tu règles tes autres problèmes avant de retourner travailler là-bas. Et une fois de retour, tu dois te reposer. Tu t'appliques à bien dormir parce que tu as très sommeil. Là-bas le travail ne permet pas de bien dormir.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Est-ce que tu utilises ton filet une seule fois ou plusieurs expéditions ?

Quelque fois, tu as de la chance et les crocodiles ne s'attaquent pas à ton filet. Il peut servir à nouveau. Mais il sera endommagé et il te faudra le réparer. Si beaucoup de crocodiles se manifestent, tu ne peux pas rentrer avec ton filet. Tu l'immerges sur place. A Manze, si tu es chanceux, tu rentres avec ton filet et tu peux le réutiliser deux fois. Mais même comme ça, c'est difficile de rentrer avec son filet parce que nous les pêcheurs quand on arrive là-bas on doit faire face au problème que les crocodiles déchirent ton filet. Donc, quand tu pars, tu laisses ton filet (à celui qui reste) pour qu'il continue à pêcher ce qu'il pourra avant qu'il ne se décide à partir. Ça m'est arrivé un paquet de fois !

Jean-Luc PAUL : Kwa mwaka unasafiri mara ngapi ?

Kwa mwezi ninakwenda mara mbili kwa sababu lazima ukienda mara hii... kwa sababu kwanza usafiri wake siku mbili unatembea, siku tano unaenda kufanya mavuvi, siku ya nane unarudi. Kwa maana ukisharudi nyumbani ushugulikie tena laana zingine za kuenda kufanya kazi kule. Na ukisharudi mpaka kufika hapa lazima upumzike tena. Unahitaji kulala kwa sababu una usingizi sana. Kwa sababu kazi za kule hazihitaji mlale wewe mara kwa mara..

Jean-Luc PAUL : Vipi, nyavu zinatumika safari moja tu au zaidi ?

Wakati mwingine unapata bahati, mamba hajakufikia kwenye nyavu ina uwezo wa kufanya kazi tena. Lakini zitakuwa zimepungua sana. Itabidi uiongeze kidogo. Kama wakitokea mamba wengi basi huwezi kurudi na nyavu, utaizamisha hapo hapo. Manze unarudi na nyavu unaweza kuitumia tena, bahati yako hata mara mbili unaweza kuzitumia. Lakini kunakuwa na ugumu sana kurudi na nyavu kwa sababu kawaida sisi wavuvi tunapofika kule tunaweza kupata hitilafu kwa mamba kula nyavu zako. Basi itabidi wewe nyavu zako umwachie wakati unapoondoka ili aendelee kuvua yeye kinachopatikana ndiyo ataamua kurudi. Ilishawahi kunitokea karibuni kibao.

Cette expédition de Suwanda (dont je parlais), j'ai laissé mon filet à un collègue parce que le sien n'avait duré que deux jours après son arrivée. Après, il ne lui restait qu'un morceau d'environ 10 pieds sur 12... Huit flotteurs seulement ! Il est venu à notre bivouac et on a décidé de lui laisser notre filet. On le lui a laissé pour qu'il puisse au moins rembourser l'avance (de son armateur). Nous, on l'a aidé par solidarité entre pêcheurs. Un jour c'est lui et demain ça t'arrive à toi ! Lui, il pourra nous aider une prochaine fois. C'est comme une épargne que tu mets de côté.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Et si vous faites partie de la même expédition ?

Si on s'accompagne lors d'une même expédition, il n'est plus seulement question de filet ! On coopère, lui et moi ne faisons qu'un. On pêche le poisson et quand il est fumé, on le partage, chacun charge le poisson dans sa propre pirogue et le rapporte à son armateur. Ce n'est pas seulement une question de filet ! S'il arrive que par malchance la pirogue soit heurtée par un hippopotame, qu'elle soit fendue, alors on s'entraide pour pêcher. On met le poisson dans une pirogue et le reste, ils le porteront sur la tête. Une fois rentrés, ils viennent prendre leur part de poisson dans notre pirogue et ils l'apportent à leur armateur. Ce qui compte, c'est qu'il rentre (sain et sauf) ! Qu'il fasse ses comptes là-bas et d'habitude tu l'aides pour qu'il ait assez d'argent pour manger.

Hata hii tripu ya Suwanda, nilimwachia nyavu mwenzangu kwa sababu alipofika pale nyavu zake alivua siku mbili tu ! Kisha ikawa nyavu imebaki kidogo tu, kama urefu wa futi 10 tu kwa 12. Maboya manne. Ikabidi aje kwenye kambi letu tukaamua kumwachia nyavu sisi. Tumwachie yeye akajikomboe na lile deni lake alilokuwa nalo. Sisi tunamsaidia kama mvuvi mwenzetu kwa sababu leo imetokea kwake kesho inaweza kutokea kwetu. Yeye anaweza kutusaidia siku za mbele. Ni kama akiba... Unaweka kiakiba kiubavuni.

Jean-Luc PAUL : Kama mpo katika safari moja ?

Kama tumefuatana naye kwa safari moja, yaani siyo nyavu tu... Yeye tumeshirikiana naye kimavuvi, mvuvi mwenziye mmoja na mimi nitatoka na huyu mmoja. Huwa tutavua samaki, tutakuja kugawa na wakati wakishakauka, kila mtu anapanga katika ngalawa yake anapeleka kwa tajiri wake. Na siyo nyavu tu, ikitokea na ngalawa bahati mbaya ukapigwa na 'boko, imechanika, tunasaidiana. Samaki tutatia kwenye ngalawa moja. Wanaobaki watapelekwa kichwani, wanapofika wanakuja kuchua samaki kwenye ngalawa yetu, atapeleka kwa tajiri yake. Lakini mradi naye arudi ! Akajue hesabu kule, na kawaida unamsaidia apate hela ya kula.

Parce que quand tu es attaqué par un hippopotame, l'armateur ne peut pas dire qu'il a encore une créance. Il n'y a plus de dette parce que c'est quelque chose qui arrive couramment, on peut dire un mauvais coup du sort. Si l'armateur en a les moyens, il annule la dette. Même s'il s'agit de 10 pirogues dont la cargaison aurait été saisie par les gardes, même s'il s'agit de 20 cargaisons, il endosse la perte. Tous (les pêcheurs) n'ont plus de dette. Une fois que je pêchais dans le lac Utunge du Selous, j'ai été attaqué par un hippopotame. A Utunge, il y a beaucoup de crocodiles et ils sont gros. Je n'avais aucun secours, seulement Dieu. On a nagé jusqu'à la berge. La pirogue était fendue et il nous avait chavirés. On a été voir nos collègues, on leur a expliqué et il a fallu aller chercher la pirogue. Malheureusement le filet... on était sans... presque plus de filet, juste les ralingues. Les crocodiles avaient achevé le filet. Il a fallu que nos collègues nous aident à pêcher. On pêche ensemble et on partage comme ça. J'étais avec Aurélien, c'était en juin 2003.

Kwa sababu anapopigwa na 'boko tajiri hawezi kusema tena kwamba kuna deni. Inakuwa deni hakuna kwa sababu imeshatokea mwao, yaani bahati mbaya tuseme. Kama tajiri uwezo mwingine anao, anasamehe, yaani hata ikiwa ngalawa 10, anasamehe, kupigwa na 'boko, kutaifishwa mzigo wakichukua maaskari, hata mizigo ikiwa 20, za kwake (la perte). Wote hawana deni.

Niliwahi kupigwa na 'boko Utunge (du Selous) wakati nilikuwa 'navua. Utunge kuna mamba wengi na wakubwa. Nikawa sina msaada kunisaidia (ila) Mungu mwenyewe. Tukawa tumeogelea tumefika pembeni, lakini ngalawa alikuwa hakupasua, alitupindua tu. Tukaja pembeni, tukachukua wenzetu tukawezeza, ikabidi tukaenda kufuata ngalawa yetu kati lakini bahati mbaya ile nyavu... tulikuwa hatuna nyavu (hata) kidogo, tulibakia na milezi tu. Nyavu yote alimaliza mamba. Ilibidi wenzetu watusaidie tuvue pamoja, tukagawana vile vile. Nilikuwa na Hamisi Diunde. Ilikuwa mwezi wa sita mwaka elfu mbili na tatu.

Témoignage 4, janvier 2008

Cette histoire d'aller pêcher au Zaïre¹¹, moi j'adorais aller y pêcher. Et ma vie durant, j'ai élevé mes enfants grâce au Zaïre. Mais je ne braconnais que du poisson, rien d'autre ! On allait jusqu'à Utunge du Selous, d'autres allaient à Tagalala, mais nous c'était Utunge. C'est l'endroit auquel j'étais habitué. On entrait sur le lac Utunge et on pêchait. Moi j'avais un don, si j'entendais quelque chose dans ma tête, si je rêvais de cette chose, alors sache que cette chose devait arriver.

- Lavallée, tu sais, aujourd'hui on va nous tomber dessus !

- Comment tu sais ça ?

J'ai dit :

- Moi, quand je rêve quelque chose, elle arrive ! Il faut que tu saches que c'est quelque chose qui va réellement arriver. Donc, aujourd'hui on ne pêche pas ! Et nos poissons, on les cache. Le filet aussi et on immerge la pirogue.

Lavallée a acquiescé en disant :

- D'accord grand-père, tu as bien parlé !

Nous sommes montés au-dessus du lac et nous sommes restés silencieux dans l'attente de ce qui allait arriver.

Historia hii ya kuvua uvuvi wa Zaire, mimi nilikuwa 'napenda sana kuvua Zaire. Na maisha yangu yote watoto, kulea nimelea Zaire. Na wizi wangu zaidi ilikuwa ni samaki tu ! Hakuna wizi wingine. Tunakwenda mpaka Utunge (wa Selous) :

- Wenzetu wanakwenda Tagalala kwanza sisi tuende Utunge.

Kule ndiyo nilikuzoea zaidi. Tunaingia Utunge, tunavua. Na mimi nilikuwa na kitu kimoja, kichwa changu kilikuwa kinaniambia chochote nikikiota basi ujue kitakuwa cha ukweli. Ninamwambia mwenzangu :

- Lavallée, bwana sasa mimi 'naona leo tutavamiwa hapa !

- Unajua je ?

Nikasema :

- Hapana, mimi nikiota kitu kinatoka hivi kuja hivi, basi ujue hicho kitu cha ukweli kabisa ! Sasa leo tuache kuvua ! Na samaki wetu tuwafiche hawa, na nyavu tufiche, na mtumbwi tuuzamishe.

Basi Lavallée ananikubalia kusema :

¹¹ Le Zaïre est le surnom donné au Selous.

- Kweli kaka umezumgumza vizuri.

Sisi wenyewe tunapanda juu, tunakaa kimya, tunakaa kwenye njia ya matokeo.

Peu après, on a vu le garde qui se faufilait sur les berges. Il observait. J'ai dit à Lavallée

:

- Tu as vu le travail !

- Vrai !

- Bon, taisons-nous !

Les gardes sont restés silencieux sur la berge, ils se sont rejoints, ils étaient trois. Ils sont restés une heure. Ils observaient sans cesse. Ce jour-là, ils n'ont rien vu et ça a été pareil le deuxième et le troisième jour. Finalement ils sont partis. Alors on est revenus et on s'est mis au travail. On a pêché beaucoup de poissons, en plein jour¹². Une seule jetée de filet ramenait 5 ou 600 poissons. Une fois qu'on les avait pêchés, on allait les sécher à environ un quart d'heure de marche du lac. On ne restait pas près du lac, on s'enfonçait en brousse là où on n'avait aucune chance d'être repérés... On a longtemps pêché de la sorte mais ceux qui viennent pêcher aujourd'hui, la nouvelle génération, ils n'ont pas de respect. Ils installent leur camp sur le bord même du lac. Quand les gardes arrivent et qu'ils voient ces camps, pour eux c'est une aubaine ! Ils ne perdent pas leur temps. Et les filets... ou pour écailler les poissons, ils écaillent sur la rive !

Mara tu tunamkuta yule gamu huyo. Anapita pembeni pembeni. Anatizamizama¹³ namwambia Lavallée :

- Unaona hii kazi ?

- Kweli !

- Basi tunanyamaze !

Sasa gamu akawa anakaa pembeni kule kimya, wanakusanyika pale kama watatu watatu.. Basi wakakaa hapa muda wa saa mzima. Wakaangaliaangalia. Hawaoni kitu chochote siku ile mpaka siku ya pili, kimya, mpaka siku ya tatu. Wanaondoka tunakuja sisi nyuma tunafanya kazi. Basi hapo mchana tunaua vibaya samaki. Pigo moja mia tano, mia sita.

¹² Le narrateur précise « en plein jour » car c'est une pratique inhabituelle. Après le départ des gardes, les pêcheurs sont convaincus qu'ils sont à l'abri d'une nouvelle patrouille.

¹³ Le verbe *kutazama* est souvent prononcé *kutizama* dans le Rufiji.

Tunawavua wale tayari. Kuanika kwetu tunachukua baada ya kutoka pale kwenye bwawa mpaka huko tunaanikia, tuseme robo saa, tunavyotembea. Hapo sisi hatuko kule kule bwawani, lakini kule porini tunakoanikia hawezi atajua hata kidogo.

Sasa tumekwendakwenda, matokeo yake ikawa wanokuja kuvua sasa hivi, kizazi kipya hakina adabu. Wanaweka kambi mle mle pembeni ya bwawa. Magamu wakifika pale wakiona makambi yale, basi inakuwa raha. Hakuna magamu anayezidi kukaa sana. Halafu zile nyavu, nini, kwa kupalia samaki wanapaa pembeni.

C'est une honte. J'ai dit à Lavallée :

- La pêche est en train de mourir. Tu penses quoi de cette situation ? On a élevé nos enfants, ils ont étudié, ils ont fini l'école grâce au braconnage dans le Zaïre. Maintenant, le temps du braconnage est terminé. Tout ce qui reste c'est le danger. Aurait-on les moyens de s'enfuir ? Non ! Il faut porter le poisson, il faut aller jusqu'à Nkumbilo avec le poisson sur la tête. 270 poissons et personne pour t'aider à les charger sur la tête ! Si tu es fatigué, il te faut trouver un arbre sur lequel poser ton fardeau. Tu charges seul, personne pour t'aider à charger jusqu'à Mloka. Est qu'on peut supporter cette situation¹⁴ ?

Lavallée a dit :

- Moi, je ne suis pas prêt d'abandonner. Toi, tes enfants ont fini d'étudier, les miens pas encore.

- Si tu veux continuer, continue ! Je te souhaite bonne chance, continue...

Mes compères ont continué d'aller là-bas. Résultat, ils ont dit :

- Eh ! Roosevelt¹⁵, mon vieux, il est venu s'installer au-dessus du lac et maintenant ils tirent sur les gens !

Inakuwa hawa aibu. Ninamwambia huyu Lavallée :

- Sasa uvuvi unakufa. Unafikiri nini ? Hali hii ! Tumewalea watoto wetu, wamesoma, wamemaliza shule, kwa ajili ya wizi ya kuja Zaire. Sasa hivi wizi sasa hivi hakuna. Iliobakia sasa hatari. Una uwezo wwa kukimbia ? Uwezo hatuna ! Na samaki sisi tunabeba.

¹⁴ Ici le narrateur décrit le retour, lorsque les gardes ont détruit les pirogues mais que le poisson a été sauvé et qu'il faut le rapporter à Mloka à pied.

¹⁵ Le gérant d'une des nombreuses concessions de chasse du Selous, le nom a été changé.

Tunakwenda mpaka Nkumbilo, kubeba samaki wa kichwani. Samaki 270 hakuna mtu wa kumtwisha mwenzake. Akichoka aweke kwenye mti. Ajitwishe, basi hakuna mtu tena ya kumtwisha mwenzake mpaka Mloka. Hali hii sasa hivi tutaweza ?

Bwana Lavallée akasema :

- Mimi kweli bwana sitaachia karibu kwa sababu wewe mwenzangu umeshamaliza kusomesha watoto, mimi bado ninaendelea...

- Basi kama unaendelea, endeleo wewe. 'bariki, endeleeni.

Wenzangu wakawa wanaendeleaendelea kule. Matokeo yake wakasema :

- Ah ah ! Patamisi bwana kaja juu. Patamisi kaja juu, sasa hivi wanachapa watu lisasi.

- Tu vois le travail ! Et là-bas à Vinangu, vous passez comment ? Naguère on passait sans problème à Vinangu mais à présent comment passez-vous ?

Il a dit :

- Vinangu, pour passer il faut que tu prennes le bateau à moteur.

- Aïe ! C'est nouveau ça ! Le bateau là-bas il est gardé. L'européen était un très chic type. Une fois, il nous a sorti d'affaire au beau milieu de la nuit. Les gens ont mal agi en lui volant son bateau. Qu'a-t-il fait de mal ? Maintenant, il a mis du monde pour surveiller son bateau. Et (en saison sèche) quand tous les bras du fleuve sont asséchés, on ne peut plus passer que par là. Mon cher Lavallée, moi je n'irai plus au Zaïre. Je reste ici.

Et je suis resté ici. Pêcher ? Je ne pêche plus rien. Je me suis demandé quel travail pouvait me procurer de l'argent et j'ai pensé à la réparation des récipients d'aluminium ou de plastique. Ceux qui sont brûlés ou fendus, je les colmate. C'est comme ça que je gagne ma croûte. Et puis je me suis dit que ce n'était pas suffisant. Il faut que j'aie cultivé pendant la décrue, des patates douces, des giraumons... J'ai traversé le fleuve (pour aller dans la plaine inondable). Notre travail : les patates douces et le giraumon.

- Unaona kazi hio ! Haya nyinyi pale Vinangu mnapita vipi ? Zamani Vinangu tulikuwa tunapita. Mnapita vipi ?

Akasema hapa :

- Vinangu sasa hivi mpaka ushike lile boti, ndiyo upite.

- Aïe ! Mambo mapya hayo. Boti pale, pana mlinzi pale analinda ? Mzungu pale alikuwa nzuri sana. Katuokoa usiku sisi wa manane pale Hapo hapo watu walifanaya mabaya kumwibia boti lake. Ana ubaya gani yule ? Sasa hivi akaweka watu pale wa kulinda boti. Na barabara yote imeshakauka, maji yako pale pale (il n'y a pas d'autres bras d'eau pour passer, il faut passer par le fleuve car l'eau est basse). Bwana Lavallée, mimi siendi tena Zaire. Ninabaki hapa hapa.

Nikawa 'nabaki hapa. Kuvua sivui chochote. Nikaona sasa mimi nifanye kazi gani ya kuweza kuingiza hela ? Nikaubuni ufundi wa kutengeneza misufuria na maplastiki. Yalioungua, yaliyopasuka, mimi 'nayaziba. Ikawa riziki zangu sasa hii ya kupata chochote. Nikaona hata haiwezekani, bora nivuke mto nikalime mlao viazi, maboga... Nikavuka mto kwenda ng'ambo ya pili. Kazi yetu kulima viazi na maboga.

On est resté là-bas et Dieu a pris soin de nous car j'ai été épargné par la tragédie du lion¹⁶. Benoît a été la première victime mais ça aurait dû être moi plutôt que lui que j'avais été secourir. J'aurais dû être le premier à être dévoré par le lion. Il a fallu déménager de la plaine inondable, aller sur l'autre rive et mon travail a été de réparer les marmites, les couteaux. Ça a été mon principal travail. Et puis j'ai attrapé cette hernie linguale (...)

Quelquefois tu voyages sans armateur. Quand tu vois qu'une expédition a été bonne, tu autofinances la suivante.

- Je paie moi-même les avances mon cher, n'avance rien. Je t'apporterai du poisson.

De quatre pirogues, je lui vends la cargaison d'une seule et je m'occupe de la commercialisation des autres. Tu vends alors au prix que tu fixes toi-même et les affaires sont bonnes (...)

Nous pêchons la nuit. C'est la nuit que nous pêchons. On relève les filets quatre fois. Si tu ne te sens pas d'aller pêcher, tu écailles le poisson, tu le disposes sur les séchoirs et tu le fumes. D'autres surveillent les hyènes jusqu'à ce qu'on est fini d'allumer le feu. On retourne le poisson. On va pêcher à nouveau à 4 heures du matin.

Tukakaa kule, Mwenyezi Mungu akanijalia msukomsuko wa Simba, mimi umenikosa. Peneti ndiyo mtu wa kwanza, ndiyo nilikuwa mimi, kama kuliwa nilikuwa mtu wa kwanza

¹⁶ Entre août 2002 et avril 2004, 35 personnes ont été dévorés par un lion mangeur d'hommes dans les villages du canton de Mkongo dont Kipo fait partie.

kunidahi mimi badala huyu mtu niliyekwenda kumgombolea. Mimi nilikuwa mtu wa kwanza kuliwa na yule simba. Mpaka tulipokuja kuhama kuja ng'ambo hii, ikawa kazi yangu kutengeneza masufulia, visu, basi hiyo ilikuwa kazi yangu kubwa sana. Matokeo ikawa mimi sasa yakanipata malazi ya ngili ya hernia (...)

Unaenda mwenyewe bila kusafirishwa. Unajitegemea baada ya kuona, ah ! Safari hii kidogo mambo yangu mazuri :

- Posho yangu mwenyewe, bwana usininunue posho ya aina yoyote. Nitakuletea samaki.

Basi mitumbwi minne, 'nampa mtumbwi moja, mtumbwi mitatu mnakalia mwenyewe. Unauza bei unayotaka wewe mwenyewe. Sasa mambo yangu yanakuwa mazuri. Uvuvi wetu sisi tunavua usiku. Usiku tunakwenda kuvua. Mapigo yetu manne. Hamu hatuna ? Tutatuta samaki na tutaanika, tutakwenda kupaa huko. Wengine wanalinda fisi, mpaka tunamaliza tunachoma moto. Kupindua piga moto tunapindua. Tunakwenda tena saa 10.

A 6h30 on est de retour et on immerge nos pirogues, au fond. On va au camp, on écaille les poissons et on les dispose sur le séchoir sans allumer le feu. A midi précise, on sait que l'euro péen mange. A cette heure, il mange. On allume le feu mais c'est un petit feu... Papapapa... Ca y est, on l'a déjà éteint. Et voilà comment on s'y prenait. La saison des pluies, tu bois du petit-lait. Tu n'as pas peur des gardes ou de quoi que ce soit, tu ne crains pas qu'ils laissent leur travail pour venir te chercher jusqu'ici. Mais durant la saison sèche c'est là que la pêche pose des problèmes. En saison sèche les eaux sont basses et il n'y a qu'un seul chemin pour passer. Les hippopotames sont regroupés. Il faut que tu passes au milieu d'eux et les gardes comprennent pourquoi les hippopotames se mettent à meugler. Et comme ils comprennent pourquoi les hippopotames crient, c'est inévitable, ils viennent. Ils savent qu'il y a du monde qui arrive. Il y a l'hippopotame et il y a aussi le ng'walala (Bostrychia hagedash). Le ng'walala¹⁷ nous pose énormément de problèmes. Il n'y a pas d'oiseau pire que celui-là, si on pouvait tous les tuer on le ferait ! C'est une véritable plaie et les gardes savent que des pêcheurs arrivent. Une fois on s'est fait attraper comme ça par un Européen.

Saa kumi na mbili na nusu tunarudi, na mitumbwi yetu yote tunazamisha. Chini. Sisi sasa tunakwenda pale tunawapaa samaki, tunawapanga ndani ya uani bila kuwachoma moto.

¹⁷ Kwarara en kiswahili.

Saa sita balabala tunajua yule mzungu anakula. Saa hizi mzungu anakula. Piga moto, basi moto yetu unakuwa blablabla. Papapapapapa... Umeshazima. Basi ! Ndiyo tulikuwa tunatumia namna hio.

Masika kama chai na mkate. Hamna matatizo matatizo kuogopa gamu wala nini. Afanye kazi, aache kazi mpaka akukute wewe. Lakini hasa uvuvi uliokuwa wa tabu wa kiangazi. Wakiangazi maji yamesharudi, njia inakuwa moja. Sasa hio njia moja wale mpaka unakujua sisi wale boko wanakuwa pamoja. Lazima tupite pale pale kati ya boko. Sasa wale wanaelewa boko wanalilia nini ! Akielewa hivyo basi huyu boko analia hivo hukosi watu hawa wanakuja. Ndiyo maana wale mpaka wanakujua kwamba watu wanakuja. Kuna huyu boko na ng'walala. Huyu ng'walala anatuudhi sana ! Hakuna ndege mbaya kama ingekuwa kuwaua ndege hawa wangekufa kabisa. Hawa wana... hasiri kubwa, mpaka wale wanajua kusema kwamba hawa sasa wavuvi wanakuja.

Tulikamatwa na mzungu.

On l'a supplié :

- Cher Européen, nous sommes seulement venus pêcher ici. On te demande de nous excuser, qu'on reste encore deux jours ou encore le temps que tu voudras.

L'européen a dit :

- Pas question ! Vous ne resterez qu'un seul jour. Pêchez et rentrez chez vous. Ici c'est le Selous ! On travaille nous ! On ne veut pas que les touristes vous voient. Vous effrayez les animaux. Vous entendez !?

- On a compris.

- Si vous n'avez pas de quoi manger, voilà ce que je vous donne. Tout le reste je vais le renverser. Je vous donne de quoi rentrer à Mloka, point final !

C'est comme ça qu'a fait l'Européen.

Lakini tulimwomba :

- Bwana mzungu we, sisi tumekuja kuvua huku. Hatufanyi mabaya mambo yetu sisi samaki tu hawa ! Ndiyo sasa tunachokuomba, utusamehe hapa, tukae kwa muda wa siku 2, au vyovyote utakavyoamua wewe.

Cette histoire d'aller pêcher au Zaïre¹¹, moi j'adorais aller y pêcher. Et ma vie durant, j'ai élevé mes enfants grâce au Zaïre. Mais je ne braconnais que du poisson, rien d'autre ! On allait jusqu'à Utunge du Selous, d'autres allaient à Tagalala, mais nous c'était Utunge. C'est l'endroit auquel j'étais habitué. On entrait sur le lac Utunge et on pêchait. Moi j'avais un don, si j'entendais quelque chose dans ma tête, si je rêvais de cette chose, alors sache que cette chose devait arriver.

- Lavallée, tu sais, aujourd'hui on va nous tomber dessus !

- Comment tu sais ça ?

J'ai dit :

- Moi, quand je rêve quelque chose, elle arrive ! Il faut que tu saches que c'est quelque chose qui va réellement arriver. Donc, aujourd'hui on ne pêche pas ! Et nos poissons, on les cache. Le filet aussi et on immerge la pirogue.

Lavallée a acquiescé en disant :

- D'accord grand-père, tu as bien parlé !

Nous sommes montés au-dessus du lac et nous sommes restés silencieux dans l'attente de ce qui allait arriver.

Historia hii ya kuvua uvuvi wa Zaire, mimi nilikuwa 'napenda sana kuvua Zaire. Na maisha yangu yote watoto, kulea nimelea Zaire. Na wizi wangu zaidi ilikuwa ni samaki tu ! Hakuna wizi wingine. Tunakwenda mpaka Utunge (wa Selous) :

- Wenzetu wanakwenda Tagalala kwanza sisi tuende Utunge.

Kule ndiyo nilikuzoea zaidi. Tunaingia Utunge, tunavua. Na mimi nilikuwa na kitu kimoja, kichwa changu kilikuwa kinaniambia chochote nikikiota basi ujue kitakuwa cha ukweli. Ninamwambia mwenzangu :

- Lavallée, bwana sasa mimi 'naona leo tutavamiwa hapa !

- Unajua je ?

Nikasema :

- Hapana, mimi nikiota kitu kinatoka hivi kuja hivi, basi ujue hicho kitu cha ukweli kabisa ! Sasa leo tuache kuvua ! Na samaki wetu tuwafiche hawa, na nyavu tufiche, na mtumbwi tuuzamishe.

Basi Lavallée ananikubalia kusema :

¹¹ Le Zaïre est le surnom donné au Selous.

Mzungu akasema :

- Hapana, mtakaa siku zenu moja tu ! Mvue, mrudi nyumbani ! Hili sasa ni Selous. Tunafanya kazi sisi, sisi hatutaki watu kuwaonaona. Mnawafukuza wanyama. Mmenisikia ?

- Tumekusikia.

- Haya kama posho hamna, hii posho 'nakupeni. Hii nyingine yote, mimi 'nakwenda kumwaga. 'nakupeni posho ya kutoka hapa mpaka Mloka, basi !

Huyu mzungu akitumia hio...

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