

The Hunter-Gatherers of East Africa

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1 The Role of a non-indigenous person in the hunter-gatherer movement

I am very conscious of being a non-indigenous person and non-East African speaking on behalf of the hunter-gatherers of East Africa who are perfectly capable of speaking on their own behalf. I believe, however, that I have had a positive role to play in furthering the cause of the hunter-gatherer communities, particularly in Kenya, precisely because I am clearly seen to be outside the tribal divisions that typify relations in that country and equally interested in all indigenous groupings. What follows is a synthesis of information and insights shared with me during extensive travels in Kenya in August and September 2002. I trust it does justice to the faith and trust placed in me by the wonderful, so-called "ordinary" people living in isolated villages, who inspired and moved me. In order to be effective it was important:

- to meet and be genuinely interested in as many marginalized hunter-gatherer communities in East Africa as possible,
- to validate the relevance and importance of hunter-gatherer cultures, and,
- to be open and transparent during all interactions especially the process of trying to raise start-up funding for the hunter-gatherer network which has the aim of benefiting all communities concerned.

Though hunter-gatherers tend to be marginalized, materially poor and insecure about their future, I found them to be people with strong traditions and inspiring leaders, who live with hope – unlike many poverty-stricken people in urban slums who live lives of quiet despair because they see no chance of improving their living conditions. One of the reasons for the optimism found amongst hunter-gatherers, I believe, is their close connection with the natural environment and their lived experience that the forests are rich storehouses, which have nurtured them since time immemorial. They do not need long term financial aid. What they need is assistance in their fight for justice which will give them secure land tenure and compensation for broken promises and shattered agreements. More than anything they need rights to their traditional homes, the forests.

2 East African Field Trips

For the past few years, IPACC's strategy has been to focus on lobbying the relatively sympathetic African governments like South Africa, Kenya, Morocco, and Namibia, to gain support for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which is to be voted on in the General Assembly in Geneva in 2004. As part of this strategy, IPACC initiated an out-reach programme to contact the most marginalized hunter-gatherer communities in East Africa, with the aim of including them in the UN process and clarifying the just aims of the indigenous movement in East Africa and the Horn.

In February-March 2001, the first hunter-gatherer out-reach trip included Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia. The focus was on the Ogiek and Hadzabe and encouraged close co-operation amongst the Ogiek organisations engaged in a High Court case against the Kenyan government to stop the destruction of the Mau Forest, a vital catchment area and home of the Ogiek.

The objective of the recent Kenyan trip, in August-September 2002, was to visit isolated hunter-gatherer communities like the El Molo*, Waata, Dahalo, the so-called 'Boni' or Aweer, the Sengwer, Malakote Walunku, etc, with the intention of assessing their resources and capabilities and, where feasible and appropriate, initiating networks with other vulnerable hunter-gatherer groups in the country.

There was also the issue of gender mobilisation, a vital component for empowering indigenous peoples in Africa, given that women, as child rearers, are at the core of maintaining of traditional knowledge, particularly medicinal and plant technology, and contribute significantly to the well-being of their families and the community as a whole. Bringing women and men together to discuss

gender and other issues makes a substantial contribution to maintaining accountability and keeping the indigenous movement rooted in the rural areas and relevant to the communities.

3 The Travelled Route

In July 2002 we purchased a robust 4x4 vehicle in South Africa and drove it to Kenya where it was bought by the hunter-gatherer NGO, Ogiek Rural Integral Projects (ORIP), at the end of our trip. It enabled us to visit extremely isolated villages, which would have been almost impossible to reach without this vehicle.

Our trip involved three routes:

Route 1: North to Lake Turkana

Route 2: East to the coastal region

Route 3: West to the Rift Valley

Communities visited

Route 1: Waata, Rendille, and the El Molo

Route 2: Aweer, Waata, Walunku, Malakote

Route 3: Ogiek, Chepkitale, Sengwer

In total we must have met with over two thousand people.

Shared issues and concerns

During discussions with hunter-gatherer communities in Kenya, it soon became apparent that they were all grappling with similar problems as a direct result of infringement of their basic human rights by both the colonial and independent governments. My sense is that, though the details may be different for pygmies in Central Africa or for the San, Basarwa and Nama in Southern Africa, these issues are common to hunter-gatherer communities in Africa, if not world-wide. These include:

Identity Problem:

Hunter-gatherer communities are stripped of their identities and status

Hunter-gatherers in Kenya generally fall under the erroneous and pejorative label “Dorobo” from a Maasai word that means “people who have nothing”, which was applied to the Ogiek and other hunter-gatherer groups because they did not traditionally keep cattle. Similarly the Somali term “Boni” applied to hunter-gatherers in the coastal region, refers to someone without any possessions, while “Sanye” is a Swahili word meaning “to gather together to use for a general purpose”. For years, discrimination, injustice and victimisation of hunter-gatherers was so intense that many adopted these derogatory labels for themselves or denied their identities completely, preferring to become assimilated or pretending to belong to a dominant group. Only very recently have hunter-gatherer people renounced the names Dorobo, Boni, Sanye and started insisting on the use of their correct names: Ogiek, Sengwer, Waata, Aweer, Walunku. These names refer to their traditional ways of life: Ogiek means “protectors of nature”, Aweer means “hunters” and Walunku means “survivors”. It seems certain hunter-gatherers groups in Kenya do not apply a single label to themselves but use clan names, much like the San/Bushmen in southern Africa.

Assimilation policies and lack of recognition of separate and distinct identities of hunter-gatherers started under the colonial government when the stated policy was “*wherever possible the Dorobo should become members of and be absorbed into the larger tribe with which they have most affinity*” (Adams, 1932). The post-colonial government has followed a similar approach by classifying all hunter-gatherer groups under “Other” or forcing them to be counted along with their dominant neighbours. The government steadfastly refuses to allocate identity numbers to hunter-gatherer

ethnic groups or to provide them with permanent census code numbers. (The Sengwer were allocated code 81 during the 1999 census, but this has yet to be gazetted.) This has serious implications for rights to ancestral homes, the allocation of land, basic services, and relief food, etc.

Land Problem:

Hunter-gatherer communities have lost their ancestral lands and have no territory of their own

Each hunter-gatherer community we visited has its own tragic story of being systemically dispossessed of its ancestral lands and forced to leave the forests and abandon traditional ways of life. This started during colonial times and continues till today, despite courageous battles to defend their territory against the powerful, often armed invaders. Vast tracts of hunter-gatherer land, teeming with wildlife, were allocated to white settlers who considered these landscapes *terra nullius* (empty land), given the traditional lifestyle of hunter-gatherers, which leaves few obvious signs of settlement or caretakership. Even where hunter-gatherer habitation or “ownership” was obvious, hundreds of people would be moved off the land to make way for one white family that preferred the healthier highlands to the malaria-infested plains. During this time much of the wildlife was decimated by big game hunters - long before the post-colonial government came into power.

With independence, productive hunter-gatherer land was grabbed by the more dominant groups, scattering the people and forcing them to seek refuge deeper in the forests or to move to marginal areas where tsetse fly and mosquitoes are rife. In time the forested havens were taken away when the government unilaterally declared these indigenous forests so-called protected areas – either forest reserves or national parks. Other areas, especially in the coastal region, have been set aside for large agricultural projects. Hunter-gatherer communities were summarily evicted from the forests without access to the natural resources that had been the source of their livelihoods for thousands of years. Currently many of these protected areas are being de-proclaimed, sub-divided and brutally logged to the detriment of the country as a whole. Several hunter-gatherer communities have lodged court cases against the government but this is long and costly process, even for those organisations receiving wide spread support.

Unfortunately some of the hunter-gatherer leadership are taking advantage of the confusion surrounding the land issue in Kenya. While poor people are having to sell their land out of desperation, there are others, more interested in personal gain than in maintaining the hunter-gatherer culture, who are guilty of selling their ancestral land to the highest bidders. Invariably, the new owners are the very people who are accused of invading and destroying the forests. This plays directly into the hands of opportunistic government officials and politicians.

Political/Developmental Problem:

Indigenous peoples, particularly hunter-gatherer communities are marginalized and thus vulnerable to human and civil rights abuses

Once the colonial and independent governments had deprived the hunter-gatherers of their ancestral land, they ignored these people who existed outside the cash economy in marginal areas such as forests or mountains. Under colonial rule, hunter-gatherer communities in Kenya were not allowed to have their own leaders, instead chiefs from dominant ethnic groups were imposed on them. The situation still persists today with many hunter-gatherer communities not having their own chiefs or councillors to represent them. At least two hunter-gatherer representatives are running for the 2002 parliamentary elections, but at the moment the most senior hunter-gatherer in Kenya is a District Officer.

With no voice to speak for them at district or national level, the hunter-gatherer communities are regularly ignored in state planning and are seen as less than equal citizens by government and groups that dominate the political economy because they are seen to add little value to the adopted system and do not assimilate easily into the global economy. Given that hunter-gatherers are either

under- or unrepresented at all levels of government, they continue to be forced to conform to the dominant culture while being shown little respect for their petitions for self-determination and self-development based on their own priorities, values and traditional resources.

They are thus vulnerable to:

- human rights abuses including genocide (e.g. the Twa of Rwanda)
- dispossession of lands (e.g. forced out of National Parks, Game Reserves/Ranches in Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda etc)
- racial and ethnic discrimination (e.g. education and job opportunities are allocated to dominant groups)
- erosion or destruction of their cultures through deliberate policies including assimilation
- language suppression and language death (e.g. El Molo, Yakuu, etc)
- exploitation of indigenous knowledge systems and bio-piracy
- environmental pollution and degradation
- non-provision of basic services such as appropriate schooling and health care.

Organisational Problem:

Indigenous hunter-gatherer communities lack capacity and are not sufficiently organised at local and national level to express a coherent position in UN and Commonwealth fora or contribute fully in policy development

A major constraint facing hunter-gatherer communities is that they are scattered and fragmented, making it difficult to obtain support and funding. It also poses major problems in meeting together to formulate strategies and contribute to important local, national and international policies. While other African indigenous peoples have been active in UN fora on civil and environmental rights for almost a decade, very few African hunter-gatherer representatives participate in UN processes or know of international instruments on issues directly affecting them. This militates against recognition of the unique value of hunter-gatherer cultures worldwide. On those occasions when hunter-gatherer communities do manage to make submissions, they are heralded for their valuable contributions (eg. Ogiek Welfare Council (OWC), Ogiek Rural Integral Projects (ORIP) and other Ogiek groups, as well as the Sengwer, who made submissions to Kenya's Constitutional Review Commission in July 2002).

The most important fora impacting on indigenous rights include:

- the UN Commission on Human Rights and its Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – an important activity under Agenda 21 which offers an opportunity for a “New Partnership” with Indigenous Peoples for sustainable development and environmental conservation, a perspective endorsed in September 2002 by the Johannesburg WSSD Declaration;
- the ILO Convention 169;
- the UN Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), in particular Article 8j and related provisions of the convention on traditional knowledge and indigenous peoples;
- the UN Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC) under which definitions of afforestation, deforestation and reforestation pose a threat to hunter-gatherers and their traditional use of ancestral lands and territories;
- other UN organisations such as UNDP, UNEP, UNESCO, WHO and WIPO which have adopted policies and programmes on indigenous peoples;
- the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, an advisory body to ECOSOC;
- the African Commission on Human Rights;
- the International Association of Impact Assessments (IAIA) held every two years which offers a platform for indigenous peoples;
- the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreements combined with legislation of trade and investment regimes promoted by the World Bank and the International Monetary

fund which are undermining national legislation and regulations protecting Indigenous rights and the environment;

- the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights Union with its newly established Working Group on Indigenous Peoples;
- the Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit (CPSU) and the Commonwealth Association of Indigenous Peoples (CAIP) which are calling for the Commonwealth to adopt an explicit position with regard to indigenous peoples. Few, if any, hunter-gatherer organisations are members of CAIP, a situation that needs to be rectified at the Cape Town meeting.

Security Problem:

Hunter-gatherer communities are highly vulnerable in conflict areas

Many hunter-gatherer communities are caught in conflicts between more dominant neighbours, making it impossible for them to establish stable, secure livelihoods. Their lack of visibility in local, national, and global forums makes them vulnerable and promotes ongoing violations of human and civil rights against them.

Cultural Problem:

Hunter-gatherers are being forced to change lifestyle resulting in extinction of languages and loss of valuable indigenous knowledge

Africa has the largest number of peoples still living as hunters or herders and one third of the world's languages. Language is the main tool for codifying information, intellectual heritage and the frameworks for each society's unique understanding of life, however linguists estimate that half of the 7 000 languages spoken today will disappear within this century, usually the result of losing ecological contexts for keeping the languages vibrant and active. Many hunter-gatherer communities in Kenya can be included in this group, with their languages on heading for extinction as they continue to be prohibited access to the forests and are forced to adopt an agro-pastoral way of life or work as farm labourers.

Environmental and Socio-economic Problem:

Hunter-gatherers are the most marginalized indigenous peoples yet have knowledge and resources to participate in the mainstream economy

More than any other group, hunter-gatherer communities provide an inextricable link between biological and cultural diversity. Over the millennia, since humankind evolved in Africa, its people have developed numerous cultural strategies to use these resources sustainably. Hunter-gatherers have a profound knowledge of valuable resources like honey, medicinal plants and natural materials for containers, clothing, crafts and other useful products, as well as edible wild foods that can be collected in times of food shortages. Paradoxically, while this knowledge is not valued by governments in Africa, it is being pirated by international pharmaceutical companies involved in bio-prospecting, with little or no benefit accruing to the very communities whose indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) are being plundered. This further impoverishes Africa as a whole.

Though hunter-gatherer communities are materially poor, many still live next to valuable resources, which, if appropriately managed, harvested and marketed, would sustain their communities and contribute to their quality of life. Unfortunately, many of these resources lose their value because of inappropriate harvesting and packaging methods and lack of markets. Even where access to markets is possible, the monopolistic structures are out-dated, bureaucratic and corrupt. The Maize Board in Kenya is currently paying out Ksh9/Kg |(less than 1p/Kg) while the Pyrethrum Board takes six months to pay out farmers. Regardless of how hard-working and productive a small-scale farmer (or fisherman) happens to be, he/she will remain poor, unless the current inefficient, inequitable marketing system can be changed.

For those hunter-gatherer communities that have been driven from their lands into marginal areas where they live under incredibly harsh conditions, outside assistance will be needed to uplift the communities and/or move them to more areas.

Educational Problem:

Hunter-gatherer communities have little or no access to schools or tertiary education and too few teachers to sustain their languages or cultures

Many children from hunter-gatherer communities do not attend schools and those who do often have to travel long distances to schools where they are in the minority and subject to victimisation and intimidation. Learners who have completed their primary education do not have the funds to complete their secondary schooling. Consequently there are very few hunter-gatherer graduates or qualified professionals, including teachers, from these communities. Though hunter-gatherer communities would like to have their own schools and teachers, the Kenyan government's policy of cost sharing makes it virtually impossible for hunter-gatherer communities to build their own schools, pay school fees, buy books and invest in teacher training.

Illiteracy amongst adults is high, but it is important to distinguish between education, which is more of a tool, and knowledge. Many hunter-gatherers have vast stores of knowledge, but lack an appropriate structure and context for presenting their knowledge.

Gender Problem:

Hunter-gatherer communities are affected by alcohol abuse and family violence

As is typical of traditional cultures shattered by colonialism and adulterated by western influences, people, particularly men, often turn to alcohol and other addictive substances as a way of dealing with their frustration and powerlessness. The ultimate victims are the women and children who not only have no money for food or other essentials, but are also subjected to violence and abuse in the homes. Increasing a woman's earning power, however, can contribute to a man's sense of inadequacy, thereby adding to the spiral of violence when he beats up his wife in an attempt to "control" her and takes away her earnings.

Unfortunately the Church compounds the problem. Most creation stories of indigenous peoples speak of partnership between men and women, not subordination, but in the Christian tradition, woman was created from man's rib, thereby implying that men are stronger, have more authority and should therefore make all the decisions. Women are there to serve and obey. These inequalities inevitably introduce the issue of power, which leads to the open violation of women's rights.

In summary, it is important to note that the nine major problems presented above are not distinct issues but are all inter-linked so that an intervention in one area necessarily affects the others. Eg. Confronting the government on the issue of land has built up self-esteem amongst the Ogiek of Tinet and led to the building of a strong, cohesive community where alcohol abuse and family violence is the exception rather than the rule, and being called an Ogiek brings a sense of pride rather than shame.

4 A hunter-gatherer network

Having identified these shared problems, the challenge is now to produce enduring "good change" through creative solutions that promote well-being, financial independence and environmental conservation in hunter-gatherer communities in East Africa.

Well-being means different things to different people but is generally associated with improved quality of life and positive impacts on health, security, freedom from fear, good relations with others, love, friendship, peace of mind, access to basic services, choice, creativity, fulfilment and fun. The above attributes clearly relate to all levels of human experience – social, mental, spiritual, emotional, material and environmental. Also human impacts on the natural environment have reached such a level of degradation that it is no longer acceptable simply to have a benign impact on one's surrounding, instead there need for active interventions that contribute positively to environmental conservation and rehabilitation.

It was unanimously agreed that the most effective approach in trying to achieve these objectives is to pool resources. This is best done through the establishment of a network of hunter-gatherer organisations, in Kenya to start with, to identify and plan appropriate programmes and development projects and to lobby for joint funding. The nucleus of the network already exists with the Ogiek and Sengwer alliance. These groups with their experience and knowledge of lobbying the government and lodging land claims with the courts have an important role in facilitating the formation of the hunter-gatherer network in Kenya. It is important that the network devolves power to its member communities, so that decision-making and responsibility is shared. In this way, should one branch wither or die, the network will still be able to continue functioning. With respect to future funding, hunter-gatherer CBOs will be encouraged to submit individual funding proposals to the network, to avoid unnecessary duplication and to integrate them into the strategic plan before being sent to funders.

Once the network is established, the intention is to apply to IPACC-Africa for membership. Though IPACC's primary objectives are capacity building, organisational strengthening, advocacy, and lobbying, in order to participate in civil society and contribute to UN and other international processes, hunter-gatherer communities also require support for community based (and driven) sustainable development projects and resource management programmes to improve their standards of living and quality of life.

There are two phases to the proposed project:

Phase 1 will see the establishment of a functional structure for the hunter-gatherer network with an office in Nairobi that has clear objectives and a strategic plan of action.

Phase 2 will see the start of implementing projects and programmes identified and prioritised in the strategic plan that achieve the stated objectives of the network.

Wherever possible, members of hunter-gatherer communities will be trained to organise, facilitate and administer all workshops and meetings of the hunter-gatherer network. Special attention will also be given to promoting gender awareness in representation and consultation.

Phase 1: 2003 - Specific activities associated with the launch of the hunter-gatherer network

1. Establish a shared office for the hunter-gatherer network with the Indigenous Information Network (IIN) in Nairobi.
2. Draw-up a strategic plan for the network as a whole and a parallel strategic plan focussing on the needs of the youth.
3. Develop a functional structure for the organisation.
4. Appoint a permanent Co-ordinator/Administrator to run the hunter-gatherer network office and provide computer and fund-raising training.
5. In conjunction with IPACC-Africa and IIN, establish and maintain a database of:
 - members of the hunter-gatherer network and all indigenous peoples organisations and support NGOs in the region;
 - resources available to indigenous communities including: legal and human rights services, environmental protection services, alternative technology sources, language survival support services, organisational development services, financial management training, and funding organisations.

6. Promote awareness of IPACC and international instruments (UN Draft Declaration; Convention on Biodiversity – article 8j, ILO Convention 169, the Permanent Forum, etc) among hunter-gatherers in rural Kenya.
7. Facilitate communication (by correspondence or face to face meetings or exchange visits) between the hunter-gatherer network and existing IPACC members as well as established indigenous organisations and support agencies in the region.
8. Send two hunter-gatherer representatives to Geneva to represent the hunter-gatherer network at the UNWGIP in July 2003.

Phase 2: 2004 onwards - Implement prioritised projects/programmes identified in the strategic plan

In discussions with hunter-gatherer communities to date, the following ideas for proposed projects/programmes were identified but additional projects/programmes will no doubt be suggested and prioritised during the strategic planning exercise:

Advocacy, capacity building and organisational strengthening activities:

- a. Conduct civic education workshops concentrating on Kenya's new constitution.
- b. Promote democratic management amongst member organisations, including gender awareness, participatory management methods, voting procedures, conflict resolution.
- c. Use PRA/PLA to collect and document relevant information about hunter-gatherer communities, viz. locality, census status, demographics, health information, historical data, sacred sites, burial grounds, level of security, natural resources used by each indigenous community, etc.
- d. Co-ordinate land issues and land claims related to hunter-gatherer ancestral land.
- e. Conduct workshops on ways of promoting peace for communities where threats to security are a priority.

Income-generating projects that integrate alternative technologies and traditional systems:

- f. Investigate marketing fresh and/or frozen tilapia from Lake Turkana to local and/or foreign markets
- g. Introduce sustainable organic agricultural projects for self use and local markets, using simple solar, wind or water powered pumps for irrigation, if required.
- h. Improve bee-keeping and honey harvesting methods in indigenous forests and explore markets for honey and related products.
- i. Investigate a bottling plant for spring water from Mau forest and El Molo springs.
- j. Adapt and add value to traditional craftwork for the foreign tourist market, eg.convert the traditional woven skirt of the El Molo into lampshades or shoulder bags.
- k. Establish a marketing organisation together with other indigenous groups to sell crafts and products locally and overseas.
- l. Collect seeds of commonly harvested indigenous plants and trees, and propagate seedlings for replanting locally, as well as providing seed stock and saplings for national re-afforestation programmes.
- m. Initiate alternative careers for our youth such as freelance writing, photography, video-making, given the interest world-wide in indigenous peoples, e.g. screen-saver CD of photos of the best indigenous crafts.

Community development projects

- n. Provide boreholes for communities where access to water is a major problem.
- o. Build schools closer to hunter-gatherer communities.
- p. Employ own teachers to teach own languages in own schools.

- q. Train birth assistants and primary health care workers to work in the communities while at the same time lobbying the government to provide accessible clinics and health services.
- r. Run workshops on HIV-Aids and disseminate information.

Cultural heritage projects

- s. Incorporate traditional knowledge and practices into the formal education syllabus. A highly successful pilot project focussing on the importance of cultural diversity in maintaining biodiversity has been initiated with 17 schools in Ethiopia [*Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Africa and Sustainable Development*, Discovering the value of biodiversity practices in Ethiopia by Hailu Araya, Forum for Environment (ISD) pp.78-88].
- t. Collaborate with museums, the repositories of indigenous cultures, to ensure the information is accurate and non-prejudicial to hunter-gatherer communities, and that historical inaccuracies and paternalistic attitudes are not perpetuated. This includes using the correct names of indigenous ethnic groups.
- u. Encourage raising the age for male circumcision from 13-14 years to 18-20 years in line with traditional practice so the ceremony again represents coming of age for men.
- v. Discuss female genital mutilation (FGM) including health risks.
- w. Write own histories and personal accounts rather than having stories told by academics or foreigners - often with omissions or serious errors, eg. The chapter on East Africa in the World Directory on Minorities produced by Minority Rights Group International is most inadequate.
- x. Prevent extinction of languages through recording and documenting what remains of dying languages and, if possible, facilitate reconnections with remnant groups where the language is still intact eg. the El Molo language in Kenya is all but extinct but still spoken in southern Ethiopia by the Murle people.
- y. Identify and protect sacred sites of hunter-gatherer communities.
- z. Organise an annual or biannual cultural festival to celebrate and promote hunter-gatherer cultures, music, dance and crafts.

5 Socio-political context

It would be remiss to talk about rights of hunter-gatherer communities in East Africa at this time without mentioning the major political developments (hopefully “good changes”) that are taking place in Kenya. In addition to the new constitution by the people, for the people, Kenya is holding the first multi-party elections in 28 years that will not have President Moi as the presidential candidate. One has a palpable sense of Kenyan civil society eagerly embracing democracy despite the inevitable signs of turmoil, violence, repression and fear as the powers that be try to retain the status quo through increased surveillance, intimidation, phone-tapping, arresting leaders on trumped-up charges, etc. It is nevertheless an exciting and stimulating time for the country, with knowledge and decision-making being increasingly vested in the citizens of Kenya. Maybe this will herald a new era that takes into account the rights and needs of the country’s indigenous peoples, particularly the hunter-gatherer communities who have been marginalized and forgotten for far too long.

6 Recommendations

- Funding should be raised to assist the hunter-gatherers of Africa to contribute to and attend CHOGM.
- The hunter-gatherer network should apply for membership of CAIP.
- The hunter-gatherer network in Kenya should document the injustices resulting directly from the colonial period and produce a video which can be shown at CHOGM.