A hand holding a hat with a lion and leopard illustration. The hand is dark-skinned and wears a yellow bangle. The hat is green with orange and black stripes. The background is a collage of African art, including a lion, a leopard, a hyena, and a fox, along with a map of the Uganda/Kenya border. The text is overlaid on the left side of the image.

**THE LION,  
THE LEOPARD,  
THE HYENA  
AND THE FOX**

**PASTORALIST  
RESEARCHERS  
ON THE UGANDA/  
KENYA BORDER**





We continue from our previous book. Pastoralist leaders have decided a new strategy. When we are living with lions, leopards, hyenas, and foxes in the bush, we get to know them and how they live. Then we assess ourselves.



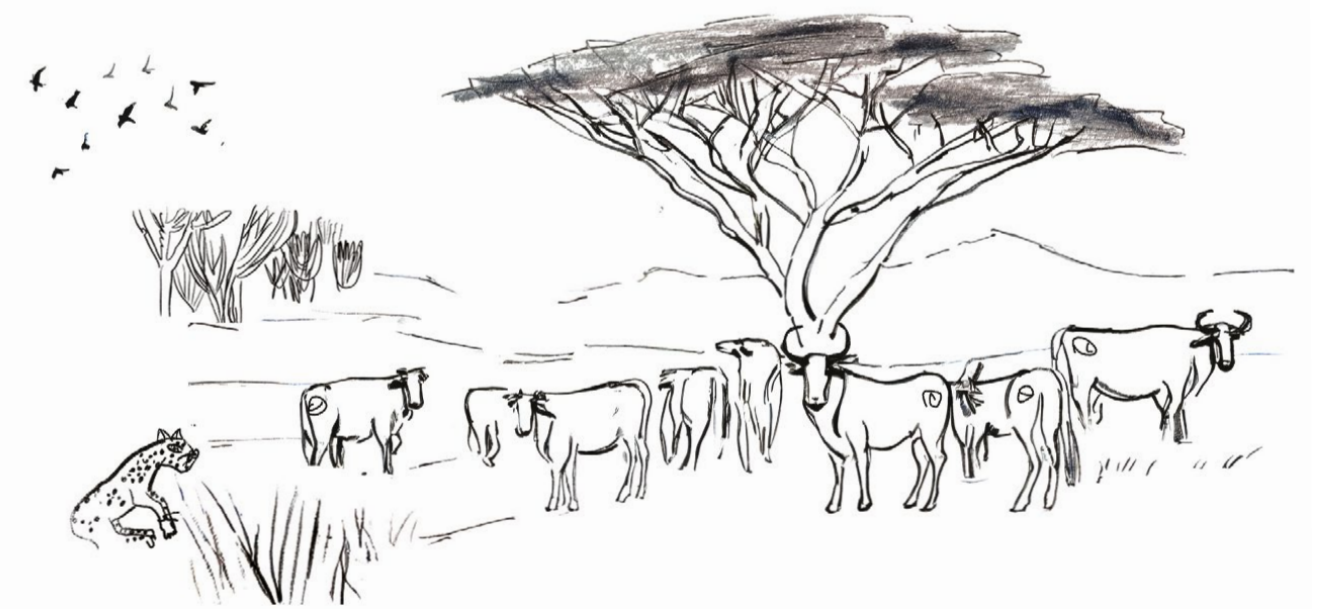
## PURPOSE

We are continuing from our previous book, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Pastoralist Researchers on the Uganda/Kenya Border*. That book showed the insecurity in Karamoja and Turkana in 2023. When we showed the first book to the government officials in Karamoja and Kampala, they said, it's a very nice thing. When we gave it to the Turkana County Government and Members of Parliament, they also complimented it.

In the face of the problems, pastoralist leaders have decided a new strategy. This second book records what we learned from May 2023 to March 2024. For instance, a new Brigade Commander was appointed to Kotido. He had sittings with young people. He came among them, not like any other soldier to be feared. He found people, he sat, he

shared. Even the warriors who feared the army were willing to meet him.

In this book we characterise governments, security forces, raiders and thieves as animals who live among us. When we are living with lions, leopards, hyenas, and foxes in the bush, we get to know them and how they live. Then we assess ourselves. Are we the ones that are confusing the animals and causing any of them to act dangerously? It is as if we have been trying to attack these animals, but they have escaped us. We look at our own skills, strengths, and weaknesses. What energy do we have? It is not an easy thing to move from here. We must find ways to coax these animals to bring them to good relations with us.







This book is our own words and photographs.

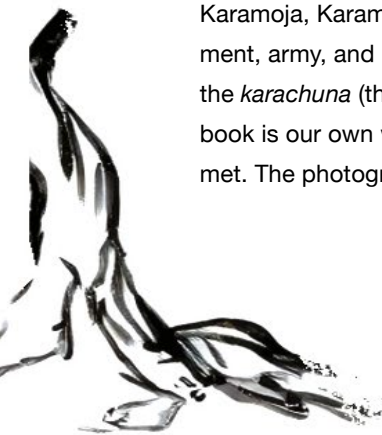
# WHO ARE WE AND HOW ARE WE RESEARCHING?

We are two teams from the community each moving separately in Turkana and Karamoja and meeting together to share stories and analysis.

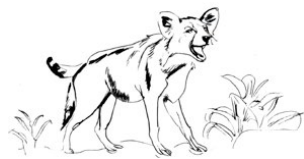
We visited kraals, trading centres, offices and took part in meetings with kraal leaders, government, and NGOs in Karamoja and Turkana. We witnessed what has been happening and heard what has changed. We have discussed with pastoralists, organised for kraal leaders to speak to government, and to meet one another. In Turkana, FOLT supported a meeting at Lokipoto. The kraal leaders of four main sections along the border decided how to respond to President Museveni's Executive Order No. 3 of 2023. In Karamoja, Karamoja Development Forum invited government, army, and pastoralists to meet. Francis Lodukui and the *karachuna* (the youth) of Kotido engaged UPDF. This book is our own words and the words of the people we met. The photographs were all taken by us.

**KARAMOJA**  
ASIYO JEREMIAH  
AYOO FLORENCE  
CHARITY AMEI  
ILLUKOL MANASSEH  
LODUKUI FRANCIS  
LOMOL KORYANG AJIE  
LORU ECHOR  
VICKY ABURA  
ICHUMAR LOKE

**TURKANA**  
AYEPIO ELIM  
EDUKIO NAMOE MARGARET  
EKAAL EPAKAN  
EWOTON LOMINAMOE  
ICHOR IMANA  
IRENE IRIA ERUPE  
LOSIKE EMANMAN  
SAGAL TIHOKO







Forget the plan for revenge I said. It took nearly a week to convince them. I talked about how we should refocus our energy.

## LODUKUI FRANCIS LOTHIGARA



I am a kraal leader of Losilang. I used to mediate between my section and other Karimojong. But many of my people lost their animals during the heat of raiding and they lost faith in me. They told me that I preached peace because I was a rich fellow.

It was 2022. One day there was a big raid. The raiders got away with all the animals including mine. Our only source of life was gone. I needed to recover my animals and I wanted revenge. There was nothing that would stop me.

I planned to sell some land to acquire the gun. I talked to a person who could sell me a gun. This person wanted to meet to discuss the price as soon as possible. I secured a buyer for the land.

I was on my way to meet the gun dealer when Ajje Koryang called me. He told me that Simon Long'oli wanted to meet me in Moroto. I hesitated, but I went. When I met Simon, I

also found *karachuna* from Kaabong, Kotido and Moroto that he had called there. He asked us all to come to Lodwar to learn community research.

On our way to Lodwar, all I had in mind was my plan of revenge and recovering the animals that were the only source of life to me and my people. The gun dealer kept calling me. I resolved to carry out my plan as soon as I got back to Kotido. My heart was heavy with the pain of losing all that I had.

At Lodwar I was lost in thoughts. All I thought of was the plan with the boys to get back what was ours. Then I heard Simon speaking about what we pastoralists could do to stop the violence. I began to see a new thing. The sessions started to become interesting.

When I got back, the boys asked about the plan. We sat down and I talked for long. I told them how it was not possible for me to continue

with what we had agreed. Forget the plan for revenge, I said. It took nearly a week to convince them. I talked about how we should refocus our energy. They heard me. Even those who had already acquired guns decided to return them to the government. It was done.







# MOVEMENT IN KOTIDO

## LODUKUI:

I identified four *karachuna* leaders. Natimu is a renowned leader of raids. I am a kraal leader. Ebokot is a leader of a youth savings and credit organisation. Lokwii Lochoch is a known livestock trader. I asked each of them how things were at their end. All of them pointed at the need to stop the violence and raids. We held dialogues in Nakapelimoru, Nakabaale, Nakapelimoru again, and Kanair. Those four dialogues set up a foundation for the continuous movement we have kept on doing.

The *karachuna* started coming out from the bush. The group kept growing from four, to ten, to many. At Kanair where we met the Matheniko *karachuna*, the new Brigade Commander, Lobokoli, was passing. He stopped.



## WHAT IS THIS MEETING?

**THIS IS A MEETING ABOUT PEACE.**

**WHO BROUGHT YOU?**

**WE WALKED.**

**HOW DID YOU KNOW TO COME?**

**WE TOLD EACH OTHER.**

We only want peace. You can look for guns at any time. Let us make sure these people are at peace. If you are looking for guns and the raider is still there, either that person will kill you or you will kill them. The problem will worsen.

The Commander sent soldiers to bring beans and maize meal and we cooked, ate, told stories, danced, and sang. The soldiers offered security. The *karachuna* said, no need! This was the beginning. When the army and the people exchange truth, we can work together. If there are lies, we become enemies.



The Commander sent soldiers to bring beans and maize meal. The soldiers offered security. The *karachuna* said, no need!



We held more dialogues in Losakucha, Napumpum and Lookorok. The District Internal Security Officer, the District Commissioner, the Brigade Commander and local government attended. We agreed that there is distrust. We agreed how security agencies could verify information before arresting people. And we agreed to continue to meet the security operatives.

At first the young people from Matheniko did not know what we are trying to do. But they listened. They joined the peace movement. We repeated it. It expanded. We asked the *karachuna*, if you have a problem can you not pick the wood and try and use it for something? If you continue raiding, can you see where it will end? How many people are we getting in trouble? We are continuing this for all the *karachuna*.







# STOPPING CRIME

We need to include the Turkana.  
We are like married people!  
We cannot live without each other.



Karamoja-Turkana  
Community Research 2024

We must take care of ourselves. We met Apakoima and the elders at an *akiriket*, a place where elders meet, sacrifice and speak with God. They agreed that whoever has stolen will not only be cursed, but will be beaten thoroughly, even killed. Those who hide them will be fined. The thief cannot go elsewhere and make more problems because the communities are speaking to each other. Apakoima asks everyone to be honest in case they see a thief, even if it is their own son. The same was agreed again in an *akiriket* at Pan-yagara. All the elders were there.

How do we make this agreement stay? Next month the elders will collect bulls and call all sides of Karamoja to an *akiriket* at Nakadunya. It has not happened in a generation. They will bring a fire that was set from trees without using matches and spread the fire to all sides.

Government suggests let there be a document that is written by pastoralists that shows that the animals that are here are for which community, kraal of so and so, these are the people who are here, so it is easy for the government to protect the pastoralists.

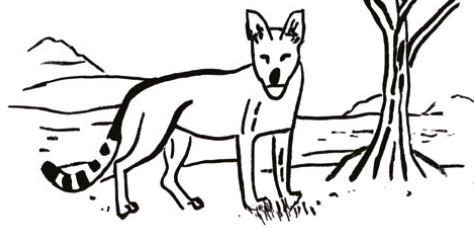
People who come looking for peace with vehicles, choose one kraal leader, invite him to a meeting, and leave out the people that they need, are not solving the problems.

The animals of Matheniko and Jie are now grazing together. The peace that is now in Karamoja is here because the locals are moving, and the army is responding. We need to extend it to include the Turkana. Even as we speak there are meetings in Kotido in relation to the return of the Turkana. We fear that Turkana who have lost so much will disturb. If they become poor, their young people will become thieves and the raiding will increase again. We need their businesses in our trading centres. We are like married people! We cannot live without each other.

The problem lies now with the politicians. We asked one politician, why are you rejecting Turkana? Whenever a gun is found it is always said it is from Turkana, but the community is aware that most of the guns are from the soldiers and only a few come from the Turkana.







The government is dealing with sales of stolen animals at the markets. And all the trucks carrying livestock out of Karamoja must pass Nadunget for checking.

The animals are at peace and God is at peace.



# THE OUTCOME

At Kalengolemuge the community researchers heard that since November 2023 the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko are staying in peace. Even those going to cut firewood and collect wild fruits are moving freely. Traders and those that go to Moroto move freely. The animals are at peace and God is at peace.

There used to be shootings in the centre at Nakabaale, Rikita. Now the place is full of people again. It used to be a centre of criminals.

In Potongor centre we observed soldiers and the people at ease together. Elders said, when you came last time, we could not sit with a soldier.

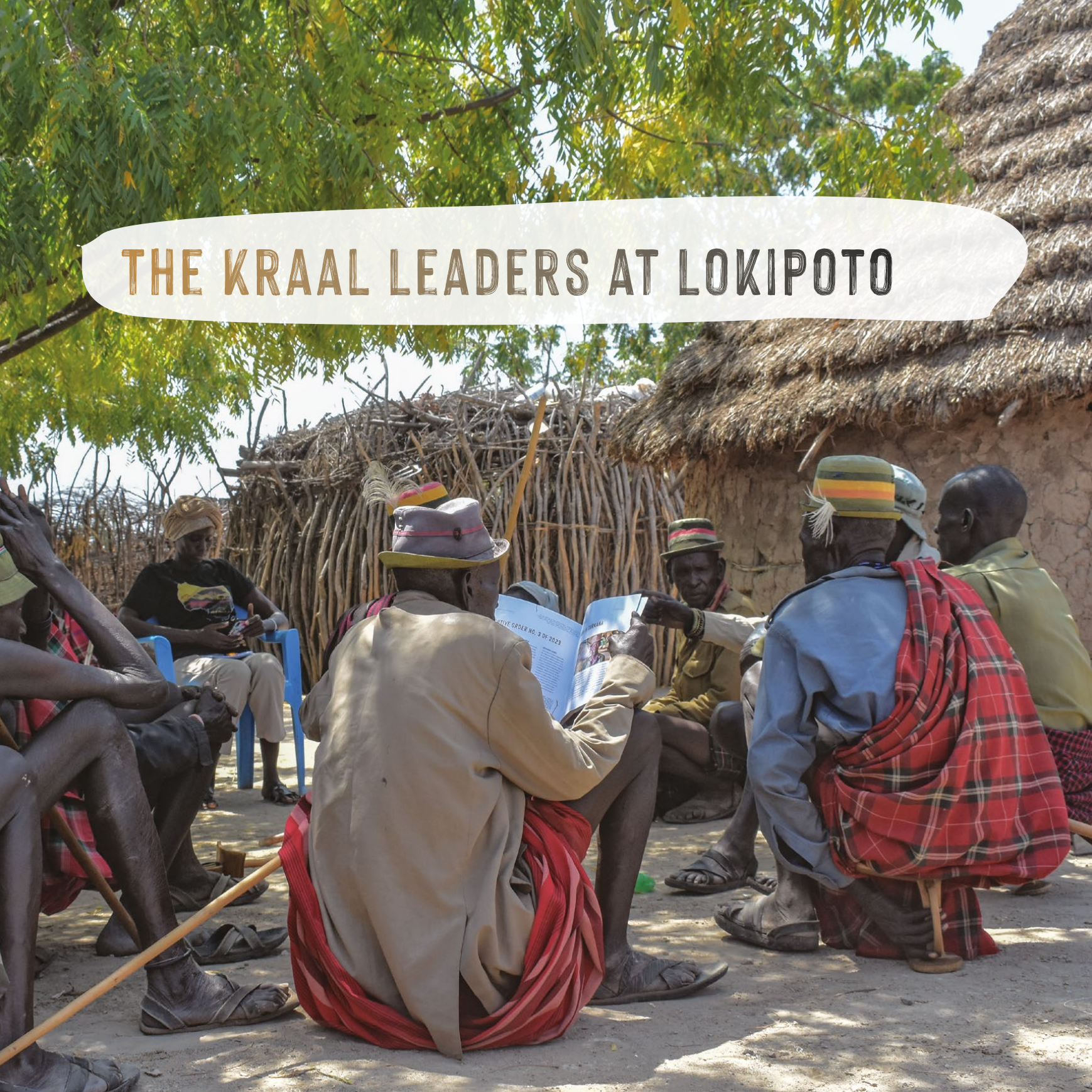
Meanwhile in Moroto, at Nadunget, at the livestock market, we heard that the government is dealing with sales of stolen animals. Before October 2023, people could bribe a government official with UGX 10,000 for a document. But now the military intelligence has posted people to markets,

and the stamps must be genuine. Now too, all trucks carrying livestock out of Karamoja must pass Nadunget for checking. Raiding has almost completely stopped.

We asked the honourable LC5 Councillor Kotido, how does she handle the issues of the young men? She acknowledged that promises to young pastoralists for giving up guns must be kept. When there is something, the government should say there is something. If it is not here, then it should say it is not going to be here. She has been asking the commander to speak to the youth to make sure there is no exaggeration.







## THE KRAAL LEADERS AT LOKIPOTO

The people in Lokipoto, Loreng and Namaaniko speak the same:

### WE WENT TO URUM, LORENKEKIPI, LORENG AND KOMIO IN TURKANA COUNTY:

One kraal leader said that we have a lot of painful stories. The UPDF did something bad by killing and injuring Turkana and Matheniko at the incident in Lokeriaut.

The women said, we are only waiting for death. We can put ourselves into sacks and die, and maybe the government will come and collect us. We were at Lokeriaut. We fled to Kenya with nothing. Neither the men nor the animals came back. We lost all our properties and belongings. It is a year later, and we still feel pain. We are tired of it. In Turkana there is no grazing and no water.

Some of our herders have gone back to Uganda. There is no one to protect them there. They face arrest, raiding, being pushed back. They may just be killed. The security forces shoot people. When the army hears that the Turkana are in Karamoja their vehicles are released to chase them.

The people in Lokipoto, Loreng and Namaaniko speak the same:

These people who represent government in our places are nowhere. There was a time when the MP came. He said, 'me, I don't know anything about Uganda. The only thing I know about is bursaries. We are told that the County Government is the solution to everything, but we are not seeing it. There are people who claim they are our leaders, who represent us, but they are not doing anything for us. They promised us dams, army projects, but they never came back. The chiefs and administrators only appear when they know there is an allowance.

Our herds have been locked out of Uganda. We appealed to one of the County Ministers. He asked us, why should you people go into Uganda? The County Commissioner and the national government personnel all ask, why should people cross to Uganda?

The kraal leaders met at Lokipoto. We agreed to compensate the families of the geologists who had been killed in Uganda two years before. It is one of the requirements of the

President of Uganda's Executive Order no. 3 of 2023. We decided to compensate with 250 cows, and agreed how much each territorial section would give. We were ready to compensate in 7 days.

County officials and political leaders came to Lokipoto. We explained our decision. They said they were sorry for us, but said we should not bring the cows. Everyone was asked to form a queue, even the chiefs, and everyone was given KES 1,000. After this money our problems were still there.

In January, the Turkana County Governor went to Moroto and met Peter Lokeris, Uganda's State Minister for Energy and Mineral Development. He made the offer of 250 cows to President Museveni. His delegation then proceeded to Gulu to meet General Salim Saleh. They made proposals for responding to the Executive Order. They asked for well-designed routes for Turkana to enter and exit the Uganda grazing grounds. It seems as if the Turkana government is in competition with us.





# THE LION, THE LEOPARD, THE HYENA AND THE FOX

NOW, AS TURKANA AND KARIMOJONG TOGETHER, WE ARE ABLE TO SEE THE GOVERNMENTS, SECURITY FORCES, RAIDERS AND THIEVES MORE CLEARLY.







Much as we say that the army has done violent things and has failed to hold its own soldiers to account, it will always be there. It is employed to take care of us.

## THE LION

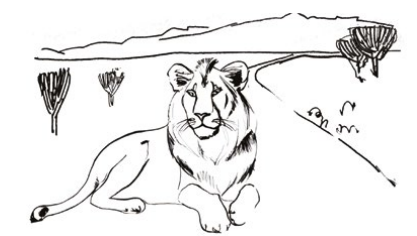


The lion is the Government of Uganda and the Uganda People's Armed Forces (UPDF). We need to bring these fierce animals into good relations with us. When we come close to the border, we find the soldiers. The lion lies in the bush in wait, and can bite you. Sometimes they want to do good, but they need to engage with the people. Sometimes they act stupidly. Is it intentional or unintentional? We should share what is true. If the lion does not feel like doing good, then we must respond.

The lion does not take ideas from the local people as important. It does not mind whether cows are well or unwell. It looks for a way to eat from us. When we have good relations with one person in the UPDF, that person is changed for a new one.

Much as we say that the army has done violent things and has failed to hold its own soldiers to account, it will always be there. It is employed to take care of us. The pastoralists are used to living with it. How can we make this animal bring good for the pastoralists?

We will go on learning about this lion. The peace that is now in Karamoja is easily broken. The lion may become dangerous again. We can work with this lion. Committees from different sections of the pastoralists can make documents that will help government to know where the herds and people are. We can all agree. The army can be the one with the gun and can leave our cows to graze.







Karamoja-Turkana Community Research 2024

It is too easy to say that this leopard has cheated us, Turkana! What strength do we have to do as Lodukui and the karachuna did at Kotido?

# THE LEOPARD

The leopard is the Government of Turkana County and the Government of Kenya. The Government of Kenya follows the laws of Kenya and doesn't want to interfere with the laws of Uganda. The County Government has been busy following up on all these issues. But it seems as if it wants to keep the power in its own hands and not share it with the people. It has encouraged the pastoralists to stay in Turkana when there is no grass.

We blame the leaders that we have elected. It may be that the national government is in a better position to go to Museveni and finish the negotiation over the Executive Order and other issues. But it seems

that both the national and county governments are interested only in their own affairs.

Here in Turkana, this government of ours has no plan. It only has politics and publicity. The people cannot depend on it. The leopard has given out small money to each person and left us weaker. Is it the government and the organisations that are destroying people with their money and their politics?

This leopard is difficult to tackle. In 2023 a senior kraal leader was brought to Lodwar and introduced to the heads of the water, drought, and livestock departments. But they had no interest in him.

This leopard has mastered a way to deal with the Turkana pastoralist.

He said, I cannot get your animals back. But I can give you the tools to address your plight: guns and food. The leopard has money. Most pastoralists are young and are vulnerable to money.

What possibility do we have and what strength do we have? It is too easy to say that this leopard has cheated us. Turkana, what strength do we have to do as Lodukui, the *karachuna*, did in Kotido?



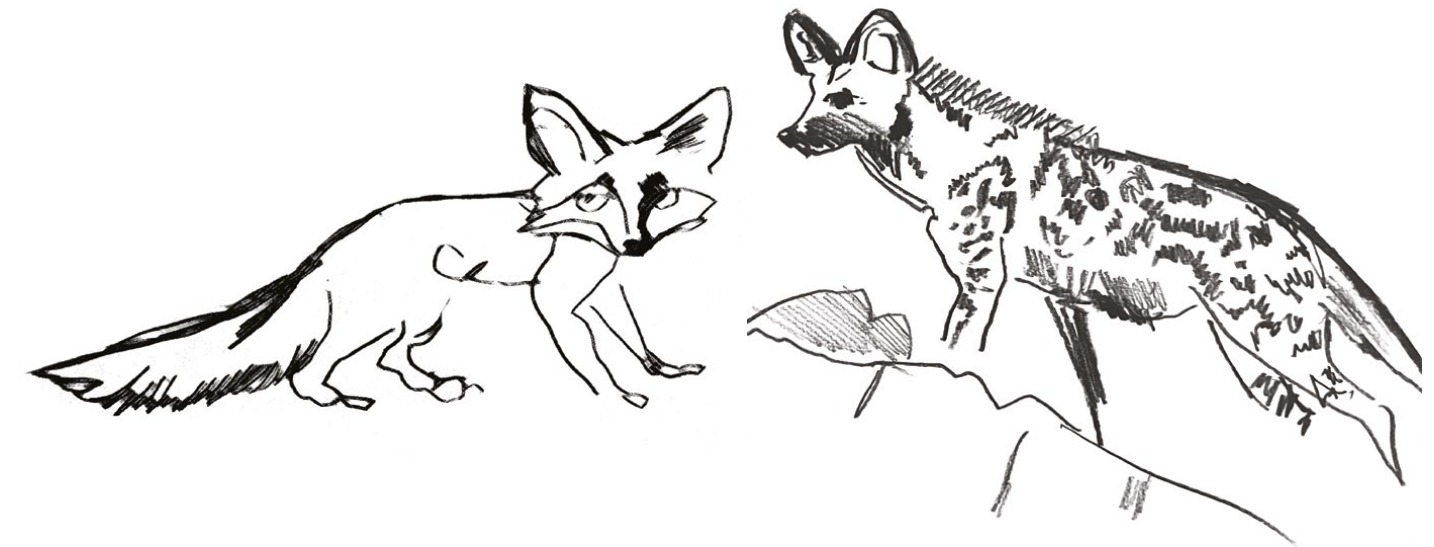




When the hyena are organising raids, when their supporters are catering for them, transporting them and passing messages, when the foxes are taking advantage of the holes in the fences that protect our homesteads, we must discipline them.



## THE HYENA & THE FOX



It is very easy to blame the lion and the leopard for their strength. Let us consider ourselves now! We are the shepherds controlling the animals. Do we need to call all shepherds together to demonstrate our value to this lion and this leopard?

Before we do this, let us weigh our strength. Our people in the border are not only crying to outsiders. We are doing a lot. That is why we still see

another day. Someone who usually uses the left hand is strong on that side and not on the right. Punching with that hand he really knows. You cannot spear the animal with the hand that is weaker. Strength and weakness, know each.

The bandit is the hyena, and the thief and the informer is the fox. The hyena and the fox have tasted meat. We need to discipline them. When

they are organising raids, when their supporters are catering for them, transporting them and passing messages, when the thieves are taking advantage of the holes in the fences that protect our homesteads, we must act. Our initiative must be our own ways for the hyenas and foxes. It will even be dangerous for us.







Karamoja-Turkana Community Research 2024

## THE HYENA & THE FOX

The communities have been brainwashed by money. The money that comes from the NGOs and government has not come to rescue us. We have failed to help ourselves because of it. Our people will not join *akiriket* because of this money. Is ours a community that is going to manage to hunt this hyena?

Some time back when we saw a drought, the elders of the generation used to contribute cows. They would say, this place is dry now, so we need to go to that side. They took those cows and engaged the leaders on that side to allow them to come to graze and water. They talked, they planned when and where animals were going to pass. They engaged committees, and they went to the government authorities. It is plainly us, without our politicians, who will go to the authorities.

We have leaders for the local people. If we wish for sweet pasture and water, this is what we need to do.

We will get our cow and kill it to come to agreements. We are now in a new generation where we must engage with our governments and where movements must also be documented.

Those people who are sleeping, they must sleep no longer. If we really want to solve insecurity, we need to first reach to the *karachuna*. They are the next leaders. We will look at the hyenas and the foxes and ask, who takes them there? They organise themselves and they go. They have the capacity. Let us include them and find out if they can help control these hyena and the foxes among us. Let us also organise our *akiriket* to deal with crime and agree peaceful grazing.

If the hyena stops raiding, then the army will lack work. Then the businesspeople will lack the cows that they always put on the lorries. And the government will not deny the pastoralists to share grass and water in Turkana and Karamoja together.



If the hyena stops raiding, then the army will lack work. The business people will lack the cows that they put on the lorries. The government will not deny the pastoralists to share grass and water in Turkana and Karamoja together.







## WHAT NEXT?

Among the pastoralists, the *karachuna* can support each other. The women can use their strength. The elders can conduct proper rituals and *akiriket*. We can all share our affairs and make ready to engage the lion, the leopard, the hyena, and the fox.

For peace to prevail the two governments must meet and discuss their differences such that they can have peace. They do not act together to bring security and protect the people.

We should be persistent with government so that there is less force and more agreement. How shall we share grazing and water and how shall we

manage crime? The pastoralists can meet as one, and together engage each government in Karamoja and Turkana. Then they will be ready do what is needed with the Presidents of Uganda and Kenya to solve the cross-border issues.

This research of ours, this movement, is the one that has helped people see how to change the situation. We will try to continue with this work. We pray that we have fuel. We will get this book and our future books to offices of the lion, the leopard, and the hyena. We will see them, and they will see us! They are now closer to us, and we will hold them to their promises.



This book was compiled by the Karamoja-Turkana Community Research Team; photography: researchers; designer: Sylwia Pecio; editors: Patta Scott-Villiers and Sarah Wilson; coordination: Alastair Scott-Villiers.

This book is a sequel to our first book, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: pastoralist researchers on the Uganda/Kenya border*.

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