

University of Alberta

**Famine, Displacement, and Destitution among Pastoralist Communities in
Northeastern Kenya.**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Sociology

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Fall 2010

Edmonton, Alberta

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ABSTRACT

Famine in sub-Saharan Africa is among the leading contributory causes of internal displacement among pastoral communities. Understanding pastoral vulnerability to famine and their contemporary survival strategies is therefore critical for mitigation planning. This study draws on the experience of internally displaced Somali pastoralists living in the Northeastern province (NEP) of Kenya, an area with a long history of food insecurity. Specifically, the study examines the causes of famine and its subsequent effects of displacement and destitution in order to bring into context site-specific interventions. Special attention is focused on understanding the implications of social dislocation with a view to illuminate the inherent potential for change on IDPs livelihoods within their respective socio-economic milieu.

The fieldwork was carried out in two sites (Wajir and Garissa) in NEP. A total of 48 semi-structured interviews and 104 surveyed households were covered by the field research. These were supplemented by participant observation, and documentary materials pertaining to drought and famine in sub-Saharan Africa. Data were analyzed using qualitative and quantitative techniques. The findings illustrate that the Northeastern Kenya arid ecosystem experienced famine vulnerability owing to structural factors that seem to destabilize the livelihoods of nomadic pastoralists, forcing them to painstakingly forego that lifelong inherent tradition all-together. The study participants attribute their displacement and destitution to famine, which they define as a complex and interminable process rather than a time-bound event. The IDPs mentioned sequences of events which include, but not limited to, climate change resulting in recurrent drought and floods, followed by population pressure and overgrazing, and diseases.

Additionally, IDPs face various barriers in their search for meaningful livelihoods such as weak governance (failures of market institutions, untimely response to famine, inappropriate representation and participation, and lack of trust in government led-initiatives), and aridity of NEP. These barriers are not tackled among the pastoral society and mere imposing pseudo-community development as a solution proved to be unsuccessful. Furthermore, the study's findings established that the theory of entitlement failures alone is insufficient to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of famine and its impacts on communities in African drylands. Accordingly, for the purpose of sustainable livelihoods, particularly for Northeast Kenya, community economic development model is likely to be more effective than past community development practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank some institutions and individuals whose assistance has enabled me to complete this dissertation and my study program. I can say that it was an undertaking that was more powerful and had a much greater impact on my life than I could have ever envisioned. However, without the help of many, this dissertation would not have been a reality. My thanks go to the International Development and Research Centre (IDRC) for generously funding my research in Northeastern Kenya. I appreciate their insights, beliefs, and opinions on the research project that made this dissertation possible.

Thank you, Dr. Amy Kaler, for making it possible for me to pursue my chosen study, and making the whole PhD process meaningful and stimulating. My special thanks go to you as my supervisor and mentor. Your encouragement, direction, and support helped me with the development of my dissertation. I was supported by your unwavering faith in me and continually challenged by your standard and your insights. I appreciate very much the time you gave me, and the candour that has always characterized our discussions. You provided enthusiasm and intense scrutiny that helped me to grow professionally and personally to reach my greatest potential. My special thanks go to Dr. Harvey Krahn and staff and colleagues in the Department of sociology for their encouragement and eagerness to help me with the completion of my study program. Thanks also to Dr. Karen Hughes who has been supportive in many important ways, and provided helpful suggestions for developing this work. Karen was thoughtful and thorough reader whose commitment to my work I sincerely appreciate.

Special thanks to Dr. Amy Kaler, Dr. Naomi Krogman, Dr. Debra Davidson, Dr. Denise Spitzer, Dr. Helen Vallianatos, and Dr. John Parkins for serving on my committee. Each of you added assistance and support that helped guide me through the completion of this dissertation including the speedy and meticulous copy-editing you provided. I was indeed fortunate to have six people that I respected and admired so much on my committee!

I am indebted to my late father, Maalim Dayib, who understood and valued this undertaking. He planted the seeds of this project with his encouragement to pursue high goals in life and with his own fine examples of the benefits of hard work and determination. His prayers and encouragement made it possible for me to finish this project. To my siblings, thanks for always giving me room to grow and for always being there for me when I needed you. I was blessed to have research participants who had wonderful social ingenuity, and shared their wisdom and superb intellect to make this work a reality. I thank them all for making this task lighter and my life better.

I would like to thank my family. My husband, Ahmed Abdi Noor, and my children, Abdul, Hannan, Hamdi, and Hayam, made life challenging, fun, and made this process tolerable. They accommodated my preoccupation with this task including my long hours in libraries, and numerous long research trips. They all missed the time that we could have spent together which cannot be recaptured, but I hope they do not feel this loss as much as I do. Thank you all for all the understanding, interest, and love you gave me throughout this project. My tribute goes to all those friends and family members I could not mention here, for their assistance and encouragement.

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1.0 Introduction and Background

Internal displacement in contemporary Africa has particularly affected pastoralists who are in many places being transformed from independent rural producers to permanently poor and dependent urban pastoralists. Pastoralism in East Africa evolved over a long period of time as a rational response to the fragile ecosystem. It was a successful subsistence strategy and formed a livestock economy, serving distant markets upon which many non-pastoral peoples relied. Recent literature, however, emphasizes the failures of pastoral economies, the impact of drought, and the attempts to incorporate herders into large regional and state economies. In Kenya, the main pastoral communities are the Somalis, Boran, Rendille, Samburu, Turkana and Maasai, all of whom constitute roughly 20% of the Kenyan population and inhabit 80% of the country's land mass (Abdille, 2006). The pastoral nomads are impoverished, forced to eke out a living on a diminishing resource base, and are at a risk of being dislocated altogether from their lands. The decline of NEP pastoralists' entitlement has consequently led to famine, displacement, and destitution of communities.

Some scholars argue extreme climatic variability is a critical factor in contemporary famine vulnerability within the pastoral sector in the arid ecosystems. Pastoralism is a livelihood system that enables dryland people to cope with this difficult environment. Pastoralists have developed resilient livelihood systems to cope with difficult climate, but global climate change seems to affect pastoral system in NEP as in elsewhere. Several structural factors have also increased incidences of socio-economic risks among livestock herders. These

factors include political instability, characterized by unrest and confrontation between groups competing for scarce resources, the privatization and individuation of resources, the loss of herding rangelands to crop farming, spontaneous settlements, creation of military camps, and the expansion of game reserves. The above scholars certainly provide vital empirical information on the root causes of decline of the pastoral livelihoods, but there still exists a number of serious gaps in our understanding about the determinants of famines and how it affects individual households' coping mechanisms.

It is clear that the sustainability of livelihoods based on ecosystems experiencing serious famine depends on appropriately tailored management approaches. An understanding and documentation of changes in the pastoralist ecosystems, the structural and dynamic characteristics of systems that lead to pastoral displacement and destitution in NEP warrants this study. This research uses entitlement theory to organize its empirical information, but attempts to unify the entitlement framework with a community economic development (CED) model to better understand the multifaceted nature of famine causation and to reduce confusion for practitioners and policy-makers. In light of these circumstances, this study aims to answer questions about why pastoralists in the North-eastern province (NEP) of Kenya are becoming squatter settlers around peri-urban areas.

This study ranges from the evolution of pastoralists' displacement to suggestions on policies that resonate to the realities of poverty in NEP and is organized into five parts. The first chapter lays out an introduction and deals with

the problem of famine and why pastoralists are vulnerable to food insecurity in NE Kenya. In this section, I also introduce the region's setting and cultural information about the Somali society of Kenya. Chapter two describes theories of famine. It attempts to define the conceptual framework of the study, and makes an effort to show, on one hand, the deficiencies in the conventional explanations of famine, and on the other, to demonstrate a new explanation of famine. The chapter ends with literature cited on pastoralists' displacement. Chapter three describes my methods of data collection and analysis, and the arguments that I make about the dynamics of famine and its resultant poverty in Northeastern Province (NEP) of Kenya. Chapter four brings out the findings and discussion on the structural causes of famine and the displacement of pastoralists from their economic mainstay, as well as its consequences. The final chapter deals mainly with suggestions and recommendations for eradicating the threat of famine from NEP, Kenya, by recalling the study's objectives, summarizing the study's findings and policy implications, and suggesting some possible further research.

1.1 Research Objectives

The overall purpose of this study is to explore the causes and consequences of internal displacement of pastoralists (IDPs) in NEP, Kenya, and to illuminate how the dislocation affects their lives. It seeks to identify the determinants of famine in NEP from the perspective of the IDPs and to examine the perceptions and expectations of the IDPs with respect to famine interventions. This study also explores the interactions and interdependence between IDPs and their livelihood resources in the arid NEP region of Kenya. This case study aims

to achieve its objectives in three steps: a) to gain an understanding of the causes of famine and its impacts on nomadic pastoralists in NEP, Kenya; b) to identify coping strategies used by the household members and the relevance of these efforts to pastoralists' forms of adaptation in towns; c) to recommend interventions preferred by and appropriate to IDPs in this study.

1.2 Significance of the study

Pastoralists in NEP, Kenya depend almost entirely on natural resources; their livelihoods have always been exposed to the vagaries of nature. However, in the recent years, these people have faced increased competition for water and pastures due to persistent drought that decreased rangeland resource. Since they were marginalized by both pre and post independent governments, human-induced factors have also contributed to decreased rangeland resource. Different theories and models (cattle complex, tragedy of the commons, and desertification) were applied to solve the problems of the NEP pastoralists to bring them into the so called “modern way of life”. Such attempts have failed due to misconceived policies that make a significant population at risk of displacement in *Bullas*/villages around towns; a situation that compounds to an already precarious urban life.

The existence of an increasing number of impoverished IDPs in NEP leads one to believe that currently, the Kenyan government has failed to meet its obligation to predict and mitigate famine in the area. This negligence is manifested in the lack of authentic development policy and outreach that would

have integrated IDPs into development and appropriate relief efforts (Mohamud, 2003).

Many researchers (Hjort, 1990; Baxter, 1993; McCabe, 1990; Noor, 1999; Nathan, et al., 1996; Markakis, 1998; 2004) have tried to understand the dynamics of arid lands ecosystems but tend to be resource based rather than people-centered. These scholars have not investigated to a great extent the causes of loss of livelihoods or the impact of these adversities on the affected pastoralist communities. It is noteworthy that many of these studies provide explanations of the pastoralists' subsistence crisis without looking deeper than the drought that triggered their livelihood decline.

A more complex explanation—one that recognizes the impact of a multifaceted problem that affects livelihood resilience and vulnerability to famine—is very much required. In analyzing famine, a distinction needs to be made between the causes of entitlement collapse that are drought related—such as the death of livestock due to a lack of water or good-quality fodder—and those that are man-made (e.g., government policy, failures of institutions and international response to crises). Furthermore, the absence of documentation on NEP IDPs needed to guide policy to mitigate famine and/or prevent pastoral nomads from dislocation necessitates this empirical study.

The rationale of this study is as follows: As pastoralists depend almost solely on natural resources, livelihoods of these pastoral destitutes are endemically exposed to many uncertainties. For example, the vegetation cover of pastures in non-equilibrium contexts like African drylands depends on

unpredictable variations in rainfall and other climatic factors (Markakis, 2004). Accordingly, pastoralists react to these uncertainties (crises) by employing different coping mechanisms including migrating to towns as displacees. It is thus interesting to explore how the Somali IDPs in NEP deal with such uncertainties within the context of famine. This knowledge would therefore enhance our theoretical and empirical understanding of the NEP pastoralists' indigenous ways of coping with famine and destitution today, as representative of what ways IDPs follow under similar circumstances universally.

Pastoralism presents several problems for a standard famine analysis. In this thesis, it is argued that an alternative approach needs to be taken to understanding NEP ex-pastoralists' adaptability – one that recognises the people's fundamental component of crisis management with a view to conceptualising how, in practice, effective adaptation measures can be built on local realities. This new perspective reflects a paradigm shift in famine and livelihood intervention thinking following Sen's entitlement failures framework which propose external and often "blueprint" solutions. The rethink of famine analysis, by contrast, marks a shift towards a more iterative approach between external donors' prescriptions and local people's own potential. It advocates acknowledgement and understanding of the ways in which NEP inhabitants manage and change their own livelihood strategies in response to stress and uncertainties. Potentially, it implies a new dimension to rural development which is similar to and builds towards NEP people's own experiences and enables them to avoid - or find

alternatives to – some of the deleterious effects of famine on their livelihood bases.

Secondly, the findings should enable us to identify key variables in the patterns of local adjustments which might be supported, modified or enhanced to develop long-range famine management. The planning of beneficial approaches to cope with perturbations requires that they be built on patterns of local adjustments. This is especially important when considering the feasibility of returning to pastoralism, given the impacts of global climate change on the economic and social activities of the NEP region. Therefore, the knowledge gained through this research will help to evaluate the appropriateness of the existing approach to intermediation in NEP and whether enough effort has been made to identify alternative approaches. This way, the research findings will support efforts that address the promotion and protection of human rights, and governance issues that aim to increase the participation of vulnerable populations in the process of resource allocation.

Thirdly, the findings of this case study could add to the existing sociological theories on human adaptation to peri-urban settlement as displacees. Histories of settlement processes in peri-urban areas of Sub-Saharan African pastoralists are notable for the ways in which women are excluded from them--rarely is the settlement experience described from a woman's perspective. Yet this study has ample evidence to show that NEP pastoralist women are significant both in their numbers and in the vital role they play in ensuring the survival of their families. Essentially, the ways in which the influence of gender on IDPs

settlement and survival can be understood and culturally encoded is a major sociological outcome of this study. The migration of pastoralists to per-urban centres of NEP appears to be an essential step for survival. We still glean little from the participants that tell us about the experience of the IDPs from gender standpoint. Results of this exploratory research are therefore anticipated to form the basis for future research geared towards reducing risks associated with pastoral destitution. Nonetheless, it is expected that the results will yield knowledge that may be relevant to other developing countries where unchecked squatter settlements have overwhelmed local authorities' ability to provide services and manage urban development.

Finally, as we expand and enrich our knowledge of adaptation, it should be possible to design new methods that would enhance our conception of IDPs' livelihoods, which may help us to rethink concerning the nature and content of external livelihood interventions. This would make various pastoralists stakeholders more consonant with the diverse ways in which pastoralists make their livings and build their assets. The main goal of this study is to bring the views of the Somali IDPs into centre-stage and demonstrate that responses to famine can be constructed on a new model of analysis based on an in-depth understanding of local people's behaviour. The observations I made regarding these people's hardships provides a way out of the current impasse associated with recurrent vulnerability to famine in the region.

1.3 Kenya's Profile

1.3.1 Physical Background

Kenya is located approximately between 3° N and 5° S and between 33° E and 44° E longitude. Along its southeastern border, for 400 kilometres, is the Indian Ocean. To the Northeast lies Somalia, to the north Ethiopia and Sudan, to the west Uganda and to the south Tanzania. The total area is 582,644 km² (Morgan, 1988) and according to the 1998 projections, Kenya has a population of about 28 million (GOK, 2000). Every type of landform can be found, from glaciated mountains to dry deserts, representing all the stages in East Africa's geological evolution. Kenya's altitude ranges from the sea level to 5,199 metres at the top of Mt. Kenya (Morgan, 1988).

In most of the country, rainfall is unreliable and more critical for cultivation than temperature. Rainfall is adequate for agricultural activities in the west of the Rift Valley and Lake Victoria region and falls in one season (Morgan, 1988). East of the Rift Valley, rainfall exhibits a bimodal pattern with the long rains falling from March to May and the short rains falling from September to October. Rainfall is highest at the Coast and in the highlands. The other areas below 1,200 metres are semi-arid and arid. Of the total area, arable land makes up about 4%; pastures 6%; parks and reserves 8%; forests and woodland 6% and the rest, 76%, is semi-arid and arid (CBSG, 1990).

1.3. 2 History and Government

As recently as the 1880s, "Kenya" as a country did not exist. After the 1884 Berlin Conference, the British colonized part of East Africa and drew boundaries around the country, naming it Kenya. Prior to the arrival of the British, each of Kenya's peoples had its own form of government, culture and economy.

The British imposed their own administration, and through their economic, religious, and educational activities, they transformed the Africans' way of life.

The colonial administration encouraged British and South African whites to move from their homelands to settle in Kenya. The loss of high potential land by the Kenyan farmers to the British immigrants brought resentment against the colonial administration, and in 1952 a war of liberation between the Kenyan guerrilla group called the Mau Mau and the colonial government began. The Mau Mau, made up of members of several Kenyan ethnic groups (primarily Kikuyu), led the struggle. The Mau Mau rebellion, as it was then called, took place immediately after World War II mainly in the highlands, where the Kikuyu people claimed their land had been stolen from them. The Mau Mau movement ultimately led to a larger social movement for independence, which was won in 1963 (Morgan, 1988). Kenya adopted a democratic parliamentary form of government. Initially a constitutional monarchy, in 1964 it declared itself a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations (now the Commonwealth). The dominant political party since independence, the Kenya African National Union, became the only legal party in 1982 and remained so until 1991 when multi-party politics was introduced. Throughout the post-independence era, Kenya has followed market economy policies (GOK, 1994).

1.3.3 Settlement and Economic Activity

Kenya has more than 43 different ethnic groups, posing a potential problem of communication. Swahili and English have been selected as national languages, and most people speak at least one of these as well as their own local

language. The people are also divided among many religious groups. African traditional religions are widespread, as is Christianity, which was spread by missionary groups in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Islam is particularly well established along the coast and in the Northeastern regions.

In the early 1980s, it was estimated that Kenya's population was increasing at the rate of about four percent a year (Carroll, 1988). This growth rate, one of the highest in the world, greatly increases the demand for land, housing, food, jobs, education, medical care, and other services (EIU, 1990). Although this growth rate is falling at the moment, it is still high enough to place a severe strain on the economy in a country whose resources are extremely limited.

Kenya's economic potential and human settlement patterns are closely linked to the agro- ecological characteristics of different regions of the country. The country is divided into seven agro-ecological zones. Eighty per cent of Kenya is arid or semi- arid (zones five through seven) and has little farming of consequence, though it now supports about 20% of the country's population. In these zones, pastoralism predominates, although occasional shifting cultivation (especially in times of good rainfall) can be found. Traditionally, Kenyans living in these areas have relied on livestock for their basic food needs, but acceptance of cereals is increasing.

Kenya is a developing country with a diverse range of industries playing different roles in the economy and national development. The main economic sectors are agriculture, tourism, mining, power generation and communications. The major constraint on the economy is the rapidly growing population (Carroll,

1988). Livestock is an important sector of the economy, especially in the semi-arid and arid areas of the country, such as the Northeastern province, where arable farming is not possible.

1.3.4 General Description of North Eastern Kenya

1.3.4. 1 Background

Eighty percent of Kenya is classified as rangeland (Pratt, 1968; Pratt and Gwynne, 1977; Ayuko, 1978). These areas are unsuitable for rainfed cultivation because of climatic and, or, topographic limitations. It has an annual rainfall of less than 350 mm, which is highly variable and unpredictable. The rainfall is bimodal with long rains between April and May and short rains between November and December. Day temperatures are around 34°C and temperatures do not fall below 20°C at night. The soils are mostly sandy, either derived from basement rocks or alluvial in origin.

Plain landscapes predominate with a vegetation that can best be characterised as commiphora¹(*commiphora erythrea*) bush land, well suited for such an arid environment (Pratt & Gwynne, 1977). Northeastern Kenya has an approximate total land area of 126,902 km² (see figure 1), and is the third largest province in Kenya. It comprises three districts, namely Garissa, Wajir and Mandera. It is bordered to the east by Somalia, to the north by Ethiopia, to the west by Moyale and Isiolo districts and to the south by Tana River and Lamu districts. Wajir district is the largest and covers an area of 56,601 km², followed

¹ Trees and shrubs species that are predominant in the African rangelands and are important for livestock browse in the drier parts of Africa, especially for goats and camels.

by Garissa (43,956 km²). The province constitutes approximately 31% of Kenya's rangeland.

The province has three rivers: Tana river, which is the largest permanent river in Kenya, which flows along the south-western edge of Garissa district. The Ewaso Nyiro river, located in southern and South-Eastern boundaries of Wajir district, is ephemeral and flows for only three to four weeks during the rainy season, although it is permanently upstream. The Dawa river in northern Mandera flows between three to five months a year, depending on the rains. Northeastern Kenya is mostly inhabited by, as mentioned earlier, people of the Somali ethnic group and has an approximate population of 961,000 with annual growth rate of 3.8% (GOK, 1998), and a population density of five persons per kilometre. The Northeastern Province (NEP) is the least densely populated region in Kenya. Northeastern Kenya has an arid environment inhabited by nomadic people whose livelihood depends on subsistence pastoralism. A small percentage (15%) of the population is engaged in trade and wage employment.

1.3.4. 2 Economic Structure

The province's economy is mostly agricultural, based primarily on livestock and secondarily on crops. Pastoral economies make a large contribution to national economic activity, especially through the production of milk, meat, hides and skins, and other products for domestic processing and consumption. The animals are also important as traction, especially for ploughing, and provide foreign exchange earnings through their export as live animals and animal products. Manure production of livestock also contributes to farming. In Kenya,

over 10% of government tax revenue comes from the traditional pastoral sector. In 1990, for example, agriculture contributed about 30% of the total GDP of which livestock was responsible for just over 15% (MOA, 1995).

In areas where the rainfall exceeds 350 mm annually some Northeastern Kenyans engage in the cultivation of quick and drought tolerant crops, though these areas constitute less than 5% of the province. For example, millet and sorghum cultivation is possible in such areas. Under these environmental conditions, pastoral ecosystems in the communal arid rangelands of Northeastern Kenya, therefore, tend to display both pastoralism and parcels of crop production.

1.3.4. 3 Background to Displacement and Sedentarization of Pastoralists in NEP

NEP districts occupy a vast land of Kenya's arid lands, yet very little is known about the lifestyles of the inhabitants and the way they interact with their rough terrain and harsh climatic conditions suitable, to livestock production on nomadic basis. The districts are arid with little arable land and unreliable rainfall. The province is prone to recurrent droughts. Nomadic pastoralism is the main economic activity, with over 80% of the population deriving their livelihood from livestock and livestock products. The pastoralists have long established patterns of seasonal movement between pasturelands and water supplies; the more permanent centers which have become focal points for the growth of smaller trading and service settlements.

Over the years, the pastoralists have had traditional ways of maximizing the use of the fragile environment, with minimal damage. However, these

traditions are increasingly undermined by the pressures of the modern state, such as creation of boundaries limiting movements, regional and local conflicts, weakening of traditional institutions such as the clan structures which manage water and grazing, and ill conceived development projects like the grazing block systems. As consequence of the erosion of traditions, pastoralists have become susceptible to droughts and conflicts as this hinders pastoralists' movement to areas of importance when there are early warning signs of disasters.

Culturally, most people are of Somali origin, comprising of a number of clans that have their own well-developed social structures that traditionally provide protection and material support during times of hardship. The three main clans are the Degodia, Ajuran and the Ogaden; and their substructures compete for productive resources and political representation, resulting in occasional conflicts. For example, in Garissa, the clans that have migrated from the other districts experience conflicts, especially at times of drought when the resources such as pasture and water get diminished.

Historically, NEP has been marginalized as it was isolated from the main centers of development during the British colonial period. The '*shifita*' secessionist movement during the 1960s also contributed to the chronic underdevelopment of the region. During the colonial rule, NEP was isolated from the rest of Kenya. Little or no attempt was made by the colonial rulers to integrate the Somali population from this area with the rest of Kenya or even to provide education, health care or other social services. In fact, Somalis were not permitted to cross certain boundaries into down country Kenya (Walker, 2002).

During the first and second world wars ethnic Somalis fought on the side of both the British and the Italians and even today enmity remains between clans that fought on opposite sides. Towards the end of the colonial rule, ethnic Somalis were told by officials that the northeast Kenya would become part of Somalia. This did not happen but prompted an unsuccessful war succession which is called the *shifita* war of succession of 1963-1969. This led to further isolation and exclusion of the people of northeastern province (Mohamud, 2003, Walker, 2002). As a result, NE districts remained under a state of emergency from the time of independence until 1992, when multi-party politics was introduced in Kenya.

This emergency rule gave the government wide powers over the population or the people and they used these to terrorize the pastoralists through atrocities such as killing, mass rape and denying them water from the boreholes and wells. The clan boundaries established by the colonial government restricted movement of pastoralists among themselves and to other Kenyans. Heavy fines were imposed on transgressors, sometimes involved confiscation of their animals besides communal punishment of clans whose members cross bordered. Movement is a basic need to the pastoral nomads and restrictions has caused problems over the control and use of the resources which continued even after colonial government leading to many conflicts among clans.

Government service provision is weak in NE districts. Schools are insufficient, with high class sizes and low equipment and staffing levels (Walker, 2002). Literacy levels, enrolment and completion rates are the lowest in the

country (Walker, 1996). Generally, health facilities are understaffed, under equipped and under supplied. Veterinary services used to cater only for cattle, and did not extend beyond annual Rinderpest and Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) vaccination campaigns. Pastoralists in NEP keep diverse breeds of livestock but the Kenyan government only recognizes cattle, sheep and goats as the only livestock and does not consider camels as a domesticated animal. Veterinary service provision only takes care of cattle which also do not go beyond annual vaccinations i.e. vaccinations against major killer diseases such as anthrax, CBPP (contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia) and rinderpest which is carried out on yearly basis or when there is an outbreak. Most livestock services directed at camel health comes from aid agencies.

The vulnerability of pastoralists has been exacerbated by inter-clan conflicts and severe cyclic droughts. As a result, many families have been forced to settle in urban centers, where they eke out an insecure continued existence. Since 1984 there are more people that have been settling in the town's periphery in villages known as *bullas* and these are the victims of the drought and insecurity. In some cases, they are refugees from war-torn countries of Somalia and Ethiopia.

Settlements begun by displaced pastoralists have developed around permanent water points. Following the pastoralists come other groups including small scale traders, civil servants, waged laborers and growing number of destitute families. Many female headed families who have dropped out of the pastoral economy during successive droughts and conflicts are among this group

and survive through a combination of extended family support, relief food and odd jobs such as collection of firewood, limestone quarrying for stone house building and petty business. They lack skills or means of production to earn a decent living when divorced from their traditional way of life. These groups of people do not have access to capital, credit or skills training.

At times of stress, women, children, elderly and the disabled are the most affected and at risk. Women are involved in collection of firewood using their backs or those who are fortunate use donkeys and sell at market centers to earn a living for their families. Some of the IDP women in Wajir form themselves into groups of five to supply fuel wood to secondary schools and institutions such as the hospital, humanitarian aid agency supported feeding centers and orphanage centers managed by faith based organizations. The men are also involved in petty employment of helping in urban constructions as casual workers. Others are involved in limestone quarrying (burning of the local limestone) used in stone house constructions. They use indigenous fresh trees and branches to burn the whitewash which has a tremendous effect on the environment as the indigenous trees are getting depleted and becoming extinct. There are currently no afforestation and tree nursery projects in place to replace the lost and depleted indigenous trees.

1.3.4. 4 Pastoralism as a Livelihood

Pastoralism is a livelihood production strategy in which people raise and herd animals as a means to earn a decent and consistent livelihood, often in arid and Semi-arid lands in Kenya. This production system relies on the availability of

water, pastures and labor to thrive well. Pastoralism is a form of productive capital, provides for subsistence (milk, meat, etc), transport (cattle, camels and donkeys), and serves as an important store of wealth and insurance. Various studies have characterized the NEP nomadic pastoralists' herding systems as a combination of camels, cattle, sheep and goats (Farah, 1996). Insufficient and erratic rainfall limits crop-farming activities such that the people are left with transhumance² or nomadic pastoralism as the most feasible and consistent viable livelihood.

Nomadic pastoralism is also a highly flexible system. The practice has evolved over time as an efficient means of exploiting transient water and pasture under ecologically marginal conditions. The pastoral resource use pattern is characterized by risk-spreading and flexible grazing resource management methods, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting. Pastoral exploitation of grazing resources is based on flexibility and the need to spread risks. This includes, for example, keeping diversified herds and splitting herds at certain points.

Central to the mode of resource exploitation in the districts is, however, mobility. Decisions on timings and direction of movement are based on factors such as availability of water and pasture. The presence of parasites such as ticks and worms, livestock diseases, security, soil type and the composition of vegetation species in an area also contribute to pastoralists' movement to manage risks. This mainly happens when there are droughts or conflicts as a coping and

² Transhumance is the seasonal movement of pastoral people with their livestock over relatively short distance. This denotes a semi-permanent system of pastoralism.

risk management mechanism. The cattle, sheep and goats are kept together during times of drought while the camels are taken to far grazing areas as they can trek for long hours and to long distance watering points. During the time of drought the camel are normally herded by very young and energetic men while the women and children are left with the small stock (cattle, sheep and goats). This is because it is difficult for the women and children to trek to far watering points and trading centers to purchase other food stuffs such as sugar, tea leaves and maize flour. In addition, the near pasture areas are depleted during the normal season and only the small stock will be able to survive on the remaining pasture. The mixture of livestock is a system to manage uncertainties and reduce labor as one individual will be able to herd the mixed livestock.

Goats and camels can survive longer dry periods than cattle and sheep. Camels can graze further from water points in the dry seasons i.e. from thirty up to fifty miles and require less frequent watering (every ten days is common but can be longer) while cattle have to be watered more frequently than camels usually after every two days. Upto the 1960's, different clans are associated with certain livestock types. The Degodia, for example were renowned as camel keepers; many Ogaden as primarily cattle keepers, the Ajuran Waqle sub-clan as camel herders and the other Ajuran sub-clans as cattle keepers. The composition of livestock per family is determined by factors like personal preferences, ecological conditions, family size and available labor.

Pastoral production is mostly subsistence based and aimed at providing a regular supply of food in the form of milk and meat for household members.

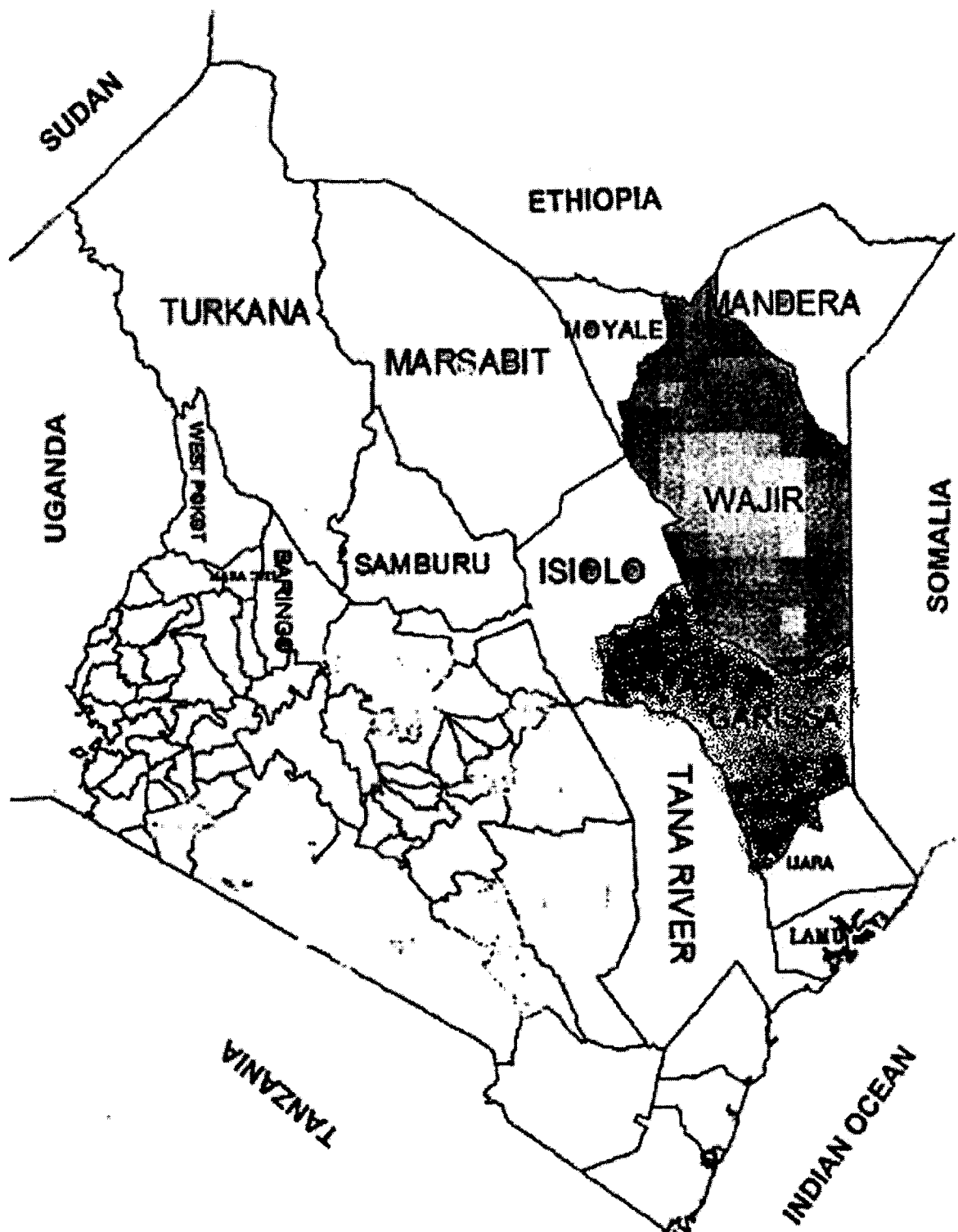
Small stock like goats and sheep, although more vulnerable to disease when compared with large stock, are cash buffers, for they have a high reproduction rate and they lactate during dry periods (Omosa 2005). Pastoralists also trade in livestock, hides and skins, and milk, for other food products or for cash income to purchase grains, pay for education, health care and other services. Production is usually organized within household units consisting of a male livestock-owner, his wife/wives, children and other dependants. The richest pastoralists are men who normally have over one hundred camels and cattle and over three hundred goats, and marry up to four wives. The first wife is normally in charge of the camels; the second is in charge of the cattle while the third wife who is normally the youngest wife is in charge of the sheep and goats. However, this sometimes depends on the clan to which an individual belongs. This is during normal season when all the livestock have milk and there is abundant pasture.

Livestock possession is a central element of one's social, economic and religious life. Without livestock, one is lost, as one will not have social status, power and cannot support a family (Omosa 2005). Animals form an integral part of social life and ideological values that guarantee the survival of individuals and the continuity of institutions. To pastoralists, therefore, livestock are insurance as they provide social links through bride price, inheritance, and are ritual objects. Livestock are a means of subsistence and prestige goods that enable individuals to establish social relations with other members of society. At the same time, the animals enable individuals to establish and achieve spiritual satisfaction during *idd* (Islamic cultural) ceremonies, blessing a new born baby, praying for rain

(Robdon), thanksgiving when there is adequate pasture and during peaceful occasions. During times of stress, pastoralists borrow milking livestock especially cattle and camels from each other which is known as "*irmansi*". For example, if one has many milking animals and that their close relative or neighbor does not have any, and then milking animals are given to them. The non-market transactions using animals is a form of social capital that enables pastoralists to attain food and social security. These social networks are getting eroded and pastoralists are now not able to cope with the many cyclic droughts.

The areas inhabited by these pastoralist groups, like the other regions in the drylands of East Africa, are fairly isolated from the main centers of development and are generally inaccessible because of poor communication and transport infrastructure. In addition, the prolonged struggle of the '*shifita*' menace and the continuing banditry hindered almost all research and development activities in the region. I, thus, have come to a point in my professional career to closely work with and research among these pastoral IDPs with the belief that such endeavor would pave the way for more research projects and targeted development. To this effect, my case study was based primarily on direct observation of events, in-depth and structured interviews with the aim of generating primary data from pastoralists displaced by famine. The next chapter commences with the description of famine and then moves on to the theoretical discussion, and finally moves through to the literature review section.

Figure 1.1: Map of Kenya Showing the Study Area and Other Pastoral Districts



Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 The Contextual Understanding of Famine

Famine is difficult to define, but some theorists define it as a failure of food systems. Its apparent solutions, as such, would appear to lie in following liberalised agricultural policies, developing better information systems, and forming integrated markets (Devereux, 1998). However, these neoliberal policies may increase the vulnerability and marginalization of the already poor. Zimbabwe often held up as an exemplar of averted famine, came to the brink of famine in 1992, in part, because the structural adjustment conditionality required the national grain reserve to be run down and for food stocks to be exported for foreign exchange (Devereux, 1998).

Traditionally, famine has often been synonymous with lack of food during periods of natural calamities. The 'Malthusian' theory argues that famine is a matter of the balance of population and environmental resources (Urdal, 2005). This perspective treats the environment as a limited resource and regard population growth as a threat to the biodiversity and ecological balance of that resource. The key to understanding overpopulation of livestock and human is not population density but the numbers of people in an area relative to its resources and the capacity of the environment to sustain human activities. In short, if the long-term carrying capacity of an area is clearly being degraded by its current occupants, that area is overpopulated. By this standard, are the pastoral nomads really running out of land and other resources due to overpopulation? Can the 'carrying capacity' for a given area grow? To answer these questions, it is

necessary to look at specific natural resources and assess whether or not they are limited in the strict sense for which Malthusians argue--an issue beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, the Malthusan theory is narrow in scope with respect to famine analysis as it disregards human dignity, and creativity in famine intervention; at best, it blames weaknesses in societal organizations (failure to regulate population) for famine occurrence.

In another approach, famine is explained as a complex condition of multiple interacting causes, diverse manifestations, and involving migration, increase in crime, increase of diseases, changes in nutritional status, mental deterioration, separation of families, breakdown of traditional bonds, and uprooting of families. All these variables are central to the famine phenomenon, yet the occurrence of famine cannot be understood meaningfully without reference to the economic, social and political structures of a specific society. Critically, reviewing different approaches to the definition of famine, Walker (1996: 6) considers famine as “a socio-economic process which causes the accelerated destitution of the most vulnerable, marginal and least powerful groups in the community, to a point where they can no longer, as a group, maintain sustainable livelihood.” Thus, while famine is a complex socio-economic phenomenon, our understanding of the inter-relationships of the processes is limited. Reviewing the literature on responses to famine, Hugo (1984) concluded that scholars have neglected the response to famine as a field of study. This is partly attributed to the fact that food crises still occur in the developing world and Hugo attributes this to lack of adequate data collection. For this reason, Hugo

argues that an adequate conceptual framework for exploring the inter-relationships between processes and famine has also remained unfulfilled. Broader interpretations of famine incorporate notions of dignity and capabilities to achieve one's potential.

This new understanding will lead to a broader definition of famine to include aspects other than loss of livelihoods. In this study, the participants describe the effects of famine as a human condition characterised by the sustained or chronic deprivation of livelihoods, capabilities, choices, security, and power necessary for enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights. Following this definition, the study of internally displaced people includes a wider range of famine indicators. In addition to Maharatna (1996) and De Waal (2000)'s definition of famine, my research participants added other human development measures such as life expectancy, literacy, and long-term unemployment. Using the participant's narratives, famine can be seen as a persistent evil.

This study postulates that famine is no longer confined to a narrow conceptualization related to point-in-time event. Instead, a more comprehensive definition focuses on the intersection of loss of livelihoods and other dimensions of social exclusion, including access to essential goods and services, adequate and affordable housing, good health and well-being, and participation in social networks. Based on the theory of entitlement failures, Sen's (1981) systematic approach to famine analysis is defined as the inability of a people to command enough of their entitlement sets—such as production-based assets, and labour-

based or transfer-based entitlements (i.e., received entitlements) granted for subsistence—irrespective of the food available at the local or national level.

The approach puts its theoretical emphasis on the market forces that offer unequal exchange prices to pastoralist producers and town-based traders; a situation dictated by the drought status. The disparity in relative prices offered for pastoralists' products, such as animals, milk, ghee, and hides, often makes it impossible for the pastoralists to buy enough staple foods to survive; this effectively forces them to join the broader urban poor (Saleh, 1985) as pastoral destitute. An approach that focuses exclusively on market forces as the root cause of famine, for example, ignores the numerous and accompanying "hidden famines" often concealed by the natural disasters debate. In Sub-Saharan Africa, famines are precipitated by adverse synergies between drought and political crises (e.g., civil war); famines have become endemic since the late 1970s for this reason. In view of the various arguments on conceptualizing famine, my case study attempts to bring a model that lessens misunderstandings around contemporary famine in NEP which will hopefully ensure appropriate responses to its mitigation.

2.2 Analytical Framework

The study initially used the entitlement failure approach to guide famine analysis but had to expand to accommodate the participants' perceptions of the various aspects of famine. Entitlement is a collection of alternative bundles of goods and services from which a person in question is free to choose (Sen, 1981). The term 'entitlement' is used to signify command over resources which, in turn,

give control over food or which can be exchanged for food (Sen, 1989). Sen states that through some combination of production, trade, labor, property rights, inheritance or social welfare provision, individuals have either direct access to food or the means by which to acquire it.

A pastoralist nomad, who keeps livestock, has the option of consuming his/her own production directly or selling it and buying some other combination of goods and services. A displaced pastoralist laborer sells his/her labor either for money or for payment in kind, usually for food. Pastoralists engaged in non-pastoral activities (e.g. shoe-making and weaving) sell their labor or products for money. All these options constitute their particular entitlement. Entitlements are, therefore, not fixed or equal but vary according to an individual's position within the wider system of production, exchange, control and distribution.

A reduction of people's ability to acquire food may be caused by a range of external shocks such as drought, floods or even infestation of pests and diseases. Imbalances in livestock or crop production can be due to natural factors. However, variations in the prices of goods and services, the implementation of new rationing rules or the disruption of food-distribution channels by war/conflicts can also affect the supply of goods and an individual's ability to purchase them. A good example of the latter is the intensively studied Bengal famine of 1943 (Bangladesh and West Bengal State of India) where communities experienced a shortage of grain which forced grain prices up, and the Second World War inflation compounding the problem (Maharatna, 1996). Sen (1989) and Maharatna (1996) point out that the Bengal people were deprived of food

because the British colonial administration did not intervene to control the price of grain; the price of grain exceeded the means of ordinary Bengal people. Consequently, the famine victims migrated to the cities to find food and employment; finding neither, they succumbed to starvation.

Droughts, or other short-term disasters, are generally blamed for famine and its resultant food insecurity, but the truth is that many people cannot withstand the effects of severe setbacks, no matter how short-lived. As Von Braun et al., (1999) tell us in their book on famine, although drought and pandemic disease contribute to famine, they do so mainly where people are vulnerable and when resilience to external shocks has already been worn thin by policy and planning failures. Von Braun et. al., also observed that erosion of traditional community welfare support systems may induce entitlement failure.

In light of such circumstances, a person's entitlement can change for a variety of reasons. This may explain why a great deal of heterogeneity exists in the discourse of famine, particularly observed when the lived experiences of individuals are explored. Scholars who see famine as a transient state look at it within the context of conjunctural poverty (Vanhaute, 2009). The writers observe that famine seen from this perspective is the impermanent state of destitution brought on by events such as natural disasters or collapsing commodity prices. The notion that famine is short-term and time-bound event that stems from a simple lack of food discounts; it is confronted by addressing the victims' immediate needs, traditionally through quick-fix solutions of famine relief

handouts. The assumption is at times of normalcy, those victims who have land will get back to livelihood at the onset of rains.

Structural poverty, in contrast, is embedded and systemic, and brought about by factors which range from policy and planning failures to natural catastrophes, overpopulation and conflict (Von Braun et al., 1999). The results of my interviews provide new insights into the dynamics of famine, its depth, and its consequences. Certainly, the study's population group seems to have a high incidence of both types of poverty resulting from dispossession of the pastoral economy. How should social and economic policies in Kenya adapt to these new perspectives and realities of interminable famine³? In the context of this entitlement-based famine, this study captures the socio-economic realities of IDPs in Wajir and Garissa of Kenya. It attempts to suggest appropriate recommendations that may be useful to scholars and decision-makers committed to famine mitigation, rehabilitation and prevention in north Kenya region. Further, where multiple causes are involved as in the NEP case, it is helpful to distinguish between underlying and proximate causes of famine. Thus, a gradual decline in agricultural production (e.g. through policies and planning, conflict, pest and disease pandemic or even population explosion) may be an underlying cause, whereas the proximate cause was drought and/or floods.

The classical way of dealing with the problem of famine has been to facilitate the supply of relief food (Keen, 2008; de Waal, 2005; Duffield, 2001). These scholars draw on their experiences of famine in the Horn of Africa as they witnessed and analyzed relief operations in conflict zones. Together, they differ

³ Tiresomely long famine that appears to have no end in sight fanned by climate change.

with Sen's entitlement theory of famine by stressing the active response of victim communities and the view of famine as a process over time. Their complex emergencies theory defines famine as a failure of political economy- failure of an otherwise benign socio-economic and political system (a characteristic of developing world). The focus of their theory is the interaction of violence (usually war) with humanitarian disasters and, by extension, with policies of intervention, aid and development.

Given that complex emergencies are normally based on civil conflicts and out of scope of global climate change, I shall not dwell on the empirical criticism arising from these scholars' application of the theory to NEP-specific famines. Instead, I shall examine entitlement theory as a conceptual framework and attempt to improve its application by incorporating community economic development (CED) model. CED is characterized by participation, transparency, accountability, the rule of law, effectiveness, and equity (Lotz and MacIntyre, 2003). In this sense, it could be a prerequisite for the sustainability of poverty-eradication efforts in any country, more so for envisioning long-term social development. Campfens (1997) also adds that by cultivating positive attributes at the community level, the creation of stronger social institutions is ensured, thereby improving community well-being and increasing social and economic opportunities. Mobilizing community skills, energy and resources, and applying them in ways that achieve positive social change are guiding principles of community economic development. Despite its relevance to famine mitigations,

CED has not been utilized as an analytical guide for understanding famine, its impacts, and solutions.

The most valuable contribution of the entitlement approach to famine theorizing is that it shifts the analytical focus away from a fixation on food supplies—the Malthusian logic of “too many people, too little food”—and on to the inability of groups of people to acquire food (Osmani, 1995). Devereux (2001) notes a crucial insight of the entitlement theory that food insecurity affects people who cannot access adequate food (e.g. because of poverty) irrespective of food availability—a famine can occur even if food supplies are adequate and markets are functioning well. Devereux continues to stress Sen’s emphasis on the statement that no technical reason for markets to meet subsistence needs—and no moral or legal reason why they should.

An equally important insight raised by Devereux —and one that has generated much confusion and controversy in the literature—is that famine can be caused by “exchange entitlement decline” (adverse shifts in the exchange value of endowments for food, e.g. livestock prices, rising food prices) as well as by “direct entitlement decline” (loss of livestock to drought, for instance). My preferred reconciliation of this debate would be to propose a unified approach, identifying some famines as clearly triggered by droughts, floods, diseases, or collapse of social networks, others which could lead to exchange entitlement decline (where food supplies could be adequate but certain groups face catastrophic collapses in their access to food) and others by political crisis (unfavourable or hostile government policies, conflict, failures and/or untimely

responses). Furthermore, people's actual food consumption may fall below their entitlements because of ignorance (Sen, 1981). In every case, however, identifying the trigger does not explain the famine, which requires a more complex analysis of conjunctural triggers and structural or underlying causes to be fully explained.

Entitlement collapse offers a perspective on the famine process, but as Devereux suggests, entitlements is too apolitical and ahistorical to tell us much about the structural causes of famines, particularly in the case of NEP. Additionally, multiple examples of famine analysis from different contexts sometimes suffer from a lack of deep exposition (Vanhaute, 2009). Vanhaute's concern is that scholars may be frustrated by the broad and generalized central message that may be an unhelpful remedy to various famine victims. In this, I see glaring gaps in empirical and theoretical development of famine, particularly in relation to relatively stable African countries like Kenya. In addition, it is important to bring out that the entitlement approach is not a theory of famine causation in competition with other theories such as Malthusianism or complex emergencies, but its claim to be a comprehensive framework is the focus of my study.

The set of all possible combinations of goods and services that a person can legally obtain is what defines a person's entitlement (Sen, 1999). The manner in which a person uses his/her resources must have the sanction of the law of the land, again interpreted in the broadest sense of the term; thus, the commodities he/she can obtain through for example, looting or begging are not counted as part

of the entitlement set (Devereux, 2001). A person is said to suffer from the failure of entitlement when his/her entitlement set is not able to help him/her avoid succumbing to hunger in the absence of non-entitlement transfer, such as charity. This means that no matter how a person may reallocate resources to obtain the food he/she wants; they can not get the minimum amount needed to escape impoverishment.

Famine occurs when a large number of people within a community suffer from such entitlement failures at the same time. It follows that entitlement failures, and thus famine, can only occur through some adverse change in either endowment or exchange transfers. In Sen's approach, for example, the entitlement transfers worsens the entitlement of a person by raising the price of food and general inflationary pressure fuelled by excessive monetary expansion (by raising the price of food). In the NEP case, famines are caused by not only the failures of endowment and entitlement exchange transfers, but also the deterioration of cultural and socio-economic variables (eg reciprocal relations and charities). The entitlement approach accepts the possibility of non-entitlement transfers (such as looting, begging, charity) for individuals to avoid starvation but rejects it as an endowment set to obtain enough food (Devereux, 2001). Famine is thus noted as an entitlement failure that can only occur because of an adverse change in either endowments or entitlement exchange.

Policies aimed at reducing the impacts of famine therefore should address problems associated with improving the entitlements of individuals and households. We should be careful not to restrict 'entitlements' to material

possessions—the economic entitlements of the individual or the household—but extend to incorporate the individual's skills, education and productive ability—the non-economic entitlements. My discussion is rooted in the increasing awareness of multidimensional famine and its resultant poverty; where most of my study participants can be classified as chronically poor and as famine victims in terms of duration, severity and deprivation. Given the age-old tradition of coping strategies to famine among pastoralists, is the entitlement framework adequate for analysing famine in NEP? Mounting evidence in this study suggests that the entitlement failure alone does not offer a useful organizing framework for studying the causes and the consequences of famine in northeastern Kenya. Consequently, I concur with Vanhaute (2009) that analysing famine is an empirical matter.

Empirical evidence from studies across sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world suggests that social networking plays an integral role in sustaining rural livelihoods. According to Collier (1998), social interaction can generate durable externalities that include knowledge about other agents, the world, and benefits of collective action. Johnson (1997), in his study, found out that social networking can be used in acquiring economic capital (money and materials), human capital (labour and knowledge), and natural capital (land and water), and is hence important for livelihood sustainability. In central Mali, it was observed that social networks act to spread risk and enhance coping with crisis for member households. In pastoral societies, both kinship and village-level associations were found to facilitate important non-market transfer of food and labour (Adams,

1993). Jacoby and Skoufias (1998) provide evidence that poor households draw on interhousehold transfers and informal credit markets to smooth seasonal fluctuations in income. Agarwal (1991), while studying livelihood adaptation in India during drought years and other years of exceptional stress, pointed out that people utilize social networks and informal credit networks to overcome shortages.

In Ethiopia, during the drought of 1975 and 1980, the Wollo in northeast pawned animals for grain with the Borana peasants in the southeast (Rahmato, 1991). The evidence in the literature suggests that the outright gifting of food to famished families plays an important role in sustaining households, but is never enough to weather a prolonged food crisis. In looking at the relationship between social networks and vulnerability of households in NEP, I found that those households with larger support networks define themselves as less vulnerable in contrast to less fortunate households with fewer social support networks. My study therefore shows how declining extended family support systems are a major source of vulnerability for the poor among Somali pastoralists.

There is extensive literature on the critical role of social capital or networks of trust and reciprocity grounded in the CED model, which need not be discussed here at length, but my interest is to bring their importance in pastoral livelihoods in NEP. The dialogue on CED is extended here to explore famine and its persistence, based on the fact that poor endowments and resource base are important causes of persistent famine resulting in pandemic poverty. The study helps to link the principles of entitlement approach to those of CED in exploring

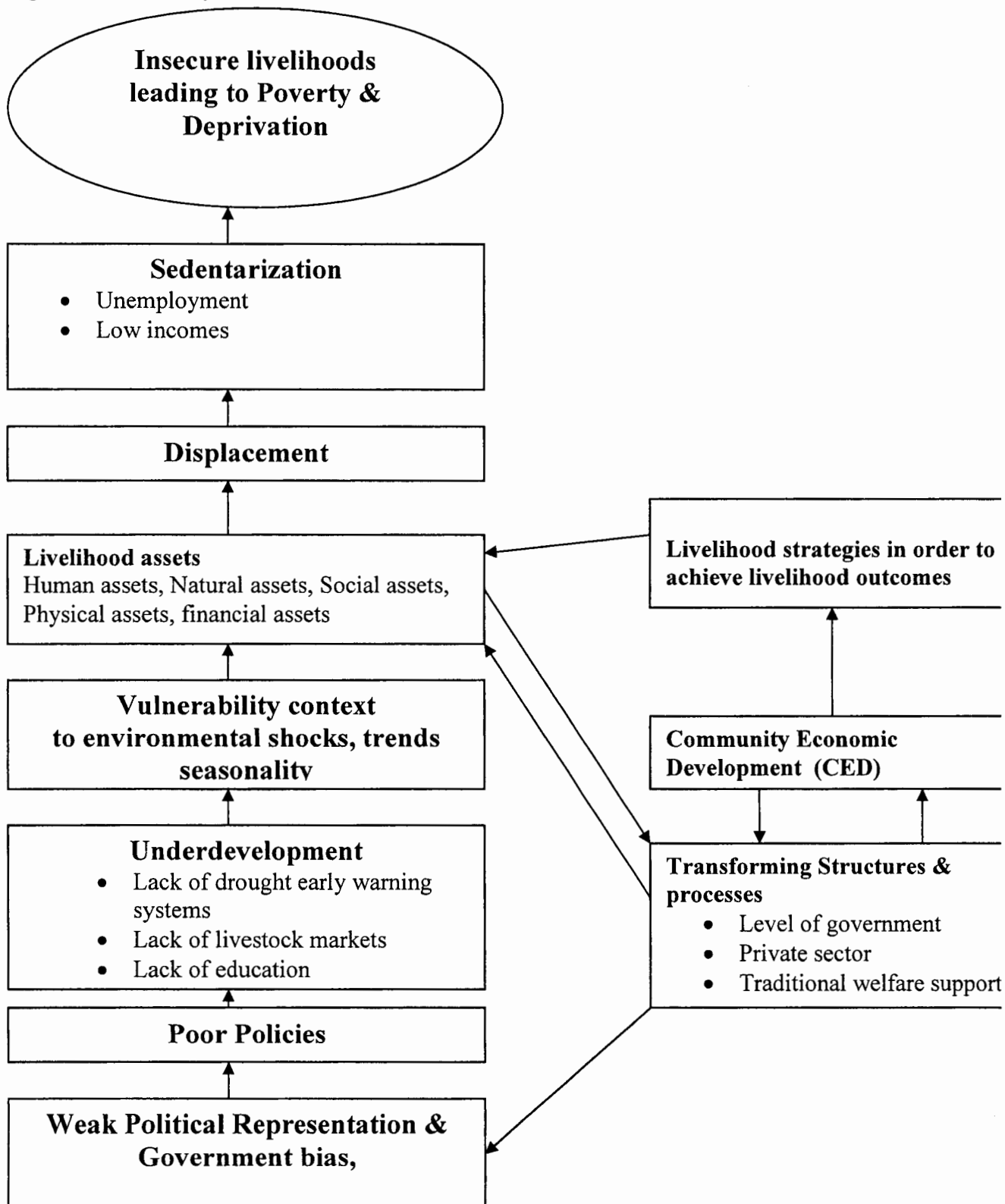
how social actors command goods and services that are instrumental to their well-being. This way, my study provides a unified conceptual framework for identifying, describing and analysing causes and consequences of famine at the household and community level. The unified model shapes the sets of institutions, interventions and perturbations that has influence on and determine resource availability (endowment) and resource access (entitlement), together with the duties and responsibilities of various stakeholders (entrustment). Applying the new model, individual households of different gender and wealth categories articulated their perspectives on the dynamics of famine and its influence on livelihoods.

This study attempts to capture what the failures of entitlement portends for pastoral nomads--a situation that calls for critical assessment of the status of those pastoralists who are dispossessed if these entitlement assets serve as the gateways to socio-economic democracy. The following research questions guide the study: how did these displaced pastoralists lose their livelihood and end up as IDPs on peri-urban fringes of towns? What impact did their changed fortunes have on their lives after they got dispossessed from their pastoral backgrounds? What lessons do we learn from pastoral displacement and destitution as they struggle to survive in towns?

My study embraces the entitlement failures objectives of famine scholarship. The participants' viewpoints and perceptions form the primary database and my main task is to place raw data within the definition of the study's framework and in the context of NE Kenya. Figure 1 below is the study's

framework showing the relationship between sedentarization and livelihoods insecurity that ultimately results in deprivation and poverty. All the factors arrayed around the core problem are seen as problems that are related and interlinked to the cause of insecure livelihoods, displacement and sedentarization in NE districts and is quite similar for other neighbouring arid districts in northern Kenya. The framework also provides antidote in order to achieve the desired livelihood outcomes.

Figure 2.1 The Study's Framework-Entitlement Failures



The literature review section below addresses the multiple causes of pastoralists' displacement and strategies used to address the effects of famine. By locating causes of pastoralists' displacement within the study's framework, emphasis is placed on the primacy of variables such as drought, governance, conflict and security, diseases pandemic, and development policies.

2.3 Literature Review

2.3.1 The Loss of Pastoral Resources in Africa

As stated earlier, pastoralists in Africa have been consistently marginalized under both the colonial administration and the post-independence governments. Pacification by the colonial rulers brought about fixed and more closely monitored nation-state boundaries that often disrupted cross-boundary traditional patterns of pastoral land use (Oba, 1992). Oba's historical analysis of African land use conflicts affirms that the ratification of borders set the stage for policies which had profound ramifications for pastoralism. In an attempt to deter African pastoralist tribes against raiding each other, Oba points out that the British colonialists in Africa created no-man's land along the international frontiers. The African pastoralists' mode of land use, as discussed by many scholars (Oba in Lamphear 1976; Salih 1994; Farah and Haji 1990; Okoth Ogendo, 2000) is based on movements between the wet season grazing within their territory and the dry season grazing movements which takes them across international borders.

Traditionally, each of the African pastoral nomadic tribes maintained concessions over grazing and water rights, expecting reciprocal access when

conditions were reversed. This important fact was ignored by the colonial administration (TDAR, 1938 in Oba). Instead, they assumed the responsibility of arranging with neighboring countries for the African tribal groups to be allowed to use grazing and water resources across international borders. African pastoralist tribes were alarmed by the attitude of the British, which in their view was only aimed at punishing them, while ignoring their rights to grazing grounds outside British territory. It was their conviction that the border administration and security structures were merely used to reinforce control over them. Noor (1999) reports that fixed borders are alien to the pastoral mode of land use, as manifested by continuous violations during periods of drought, etc. In this regard, the effect of colonial policy made important pasture and water resources, which the nomadic tribes depended upon during drought years, legally inaccessible. In line with the impact of capitalist economics, the efforts of colonial governments to solidify national boundaries have served to undermine pastoralists' relations of reciprocity, or the so-called moral economy.

This inevitably denied the pastoralists the opportunity to flexibly adapt to climatic variability. Territorial boundaries proved useful to European interests in exploiting natural and human resources without confronting a unified resistance movement of Africans (Lamphear 1976, Muller, 1989, Oba, 1992). Furthermore, the colonialists confiscated pastoralists' livestock so as to make them submissive disrupting the pastoral economy which left a large portion of its population in poverty. For example, between 1916 - 1918, more than 250,000 livestock were impounded from the Ngikamatak section of Turkana in Kenya, ending all

resistance to the colonial rule (Muller, 1989; Awuondo, 1990). This loss of livestock disrupted the social security system of reciprocal assistance (Barber, 1968; Muller, 1989).

Land alienation and restrictions upon pastoralists' mobility struck directly at the heart of their survival strategy. In many instances, the colonial government used previously unknown notion of property rights or what Okoth Ogendero termed as "legal-structural authoritarianism" in an attempt to undermine, or "de-legitimize" pre-existing sets of customary law (Okoth Ogendero, 2000). The national boundary policy cut off pastoralists from important resources such as watering points and grazing lands that lay across state boundaries. The loss of access to wetter lands, the privatization of the rangelands, the encroachment of modern agriculture practices and other restrictions have reduced areas previously available to pastoralists (Smith, Barret, Box, P, 2000; Chambers, 1983; Mohamud, 2003).

The history of land use in Africa has been punctuated by radical disruptions, caused by the containment policy of the colonial period, recurrent droughts and by the intertribal conflicts during the post-independence period (Abdille, 2006). Consequently, the survival of nomadic pastoralists has been threatened leading to their eventual impoverishment and displacement (Doyo, 2006). As sedentarization and urbanization continue to expand in pastoral regions, pastoral grazing lands are increasingly compressed and circumscribed disrupting pastoralists' indigenous food security systems.

Pastoralists' staple diet is milk and meat, and the goal of their pastoral activities is subsistence (Hodgson, 1995; Dahl, Spencer, 1998; Mohamud, 2003). The penetration of capitalism into subsistence-oriented economies, combined with economic shocks, is said to have contributed to the 1970's Sahelian famine (Meillassoux, 1974; Raynaut, 1977; Frank & Chasin (1980) in Devereux, 1996). These writers of the 1970s, all of them Marxists, claim that the commodification of livestock and the expansion of cash cropping have gradually increased the vulnerability of pastoral peasants to the vagaries of nature in Africa.

Currently, development policies advocate programs that integrate pastoral people into state economy and international markets working from the assumption that global integration will improve pastoralists' quality of life. Saleh et al. (2001) claim that the more pastoralists are integrated into the global market economy, the more diverse the sources of livelihood they will be able to secure. Due to the isolation of pastoral-based studies from the wider field of research on peasants, scholars (Saleh and others) have not given enough consideration to the integration of pastoralists into the wider structures, such as transnational marketing relations through strengthening their local capacities. Though not commonly acknowledged, pastoralists- like African farmers and urban dwellers- are affected by historical trends and, recently, by national and global processes (Little, 1992). As long as the environmental, poverty, and unsustainable livelihood systems that plague dry areas of Africa are treated as unrelated, effective famine solutions may continue to elude practitioners.

Historically, ethnic and sub-ethnic nomads have sustained traditional authority structures that have been crucial to pastoralists' survival. If a family successfully increased their herds while the socio-economic and subsistence needs of others changed rapidly, as a consequence of drought or raids, for example, that family could rescue others by lending animals. The moral economy based on kinship, friendship, and patronage gives herders the right to make claims of other herders in times of crisis, particularly for goods such as livestock and livestock products (Oba, 1992). In fact, some writers have highlighted the strength of pre-capitalist communities as they buffer weaker members against livelihood threats by means of a moral economy redistributive mechanism. In his epic study of food insecurity and famine in Northern Nigeria, Watts (1983: xxii) asserts that in the nineteenth century the Sokoto Caliphate exhibited a remarkable resiliency to climatic stress. Also, despite the diseases and warfare disasters of the 1890s (Anderson et al., 1999), the hardest-hit pastoral Maasai of Eastern Africa rebuilt their herds through traditional relations of reciprocity. The normal risks of their agricultural production were accommodated through the essential strengths of the social relations of production. These informal insurance mechanisms that exist among pastoralists in Africa provide a limited resilience against severe shocks, given the narrow economic base of these communities.

Colonial governments' efforts to establish fixed boundaries curtailed these practical cultural exchanges and relations of reciprocity, threatening the subsistence and socio-economic needs of pastoral nomads. Furthermore, the colonial policy makers viewed East African pastoralism as "archaic",

“unproductive”, and “environmentally damaging”, which needed to be “modernized” (Oba, 1992; 1996; Tadingar, 1994). To bring pastoralists in line with “progressive and modern” development, colonial policies consistently focused on privatization of the commons, tourism, and agricultural activities. Although these “modern” practices fit efficiently into the colonial capitalist framework, the vast majority of these strategies proved unproductive either socially or economically for pastoral peoples. Juma (1991) describes the traditional relationship between pastoralism and the environment, and the institutions that underpin livelihood security and natural resource management. He identifies the colonial policies that led to threats on pastoralism and the resultant increase in inter-tribal conflict over natural resources. As an example, Juma (1991) points out that preferential land allocation to “exotic crops”, such as wheat, in Narok, Kenya, may have drained fragile soil’s fertility of semi-arid areas. Juma further argues that the reduced soil fertility, combined with seasonal rain fluctuations, may be responsible for considerably less resilient rangelands and long-term ecological degradation.

Consequently, pastoral communities, which faced increasing difficulties and demanded access to more grazing land and water resources, were suspicious of and reluctant to participate in or accept any subsequent colonial projects, such as the provision of permanent water, education, or livestock health and marketing plans (Korten, 1996). Even as colonial administrators failed to address ecological problems of the rangelands, their faltering political trends persisted.

2. 3. 2 The Growing Instability in African Pastoral Areas

Since the mid-1960s rainfall variability has been on the increase in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) to the extent that drought is recurrent throughout (Watts, 1983). Rainfall variability is part of the climatic order of events; it is to be expected that those who depend directly on the land for their livelihood demonstrate a sound knowledge and judgment of climatic variability and environmental risk. Pastoralists appear to have a firm grasp of local processes that are observable within their domain including an acute understanding of their immediate geographical milieu. Paradoxically, this entire corpus of knowledge of pastoralists' survival in the African drylands, flexible adaptations is becoming highly problematic. This lack of adaptation is an exceptional condition and what has to be explained, therefore, are the structural forces which disequilibrate a resilient system of arid lands. One must explain the peculiar environmental severity of the recent conflation of poor rainfall in light of global climate change, ecology and land use on the basis of our knowledge on systems of resource manipulation.

As frequently espoused in the literature, contemporary African governments tend to regard pastoralism as a self-destructive form of underdevelopment (Chambers, 1983). Post-independence leaders adopted colonial ideas about pastoral backwardness and the need for 'modern' social and productive forms. According to Okoth Owendo, African states often established executive agencies for livestock development, to more effectively manage range resource development. Unfortunately, combining dryland development with other

responsibilities means drylands management takes second place (Pratt and Gwyne, 1977; Western, 1994). African states tend to adopt a generalist approach that isolates and diverts resources away from the pastoral sector and towards other, purportedly more “productive” sectors, such as agriculture and tourism. State leaders plan land use systems in isolation and expect inhabitants to conform, which can generate conflicts over indigenous land use rights (Okoth Ogendero, 2000; Migot-Adholla, 1994). Similarly, the dissatisfaction of pastoral communities due to lack of equitable access to resources continues even as they settle, contributing to pastoralists’ lack of trust or confidence in their governments. The creation of the Ministry of Livestock Development was influenced by development paradigms of the African drylands that were based on the experience of Australia and USA (Oba, 1992). The earliest paradigm of this sort is Herskovits’s (1926) “cattle complex, which presupposes that pastoral families attempt to accumulate livestock far above subsistence level.” The “cattle complex” appears to exemplify the neo Malthusian argument that unchecked livestock growth leads to an increase in livestock population. Overexploitation of the range, generated by increased livestock population, undermines the arid land’s life-support system. Conversely, pastoralists trapped in poverty and confronted by deteriorating conditions see a growing family and herd as offering the only realistic form of security against drought, disease, and raids (“mobile capital”, in Watts’ words).

Haaland (1977) provides a useful example in his study among the Baggara of southern Darfur; within the Malthusian paradigm, he claims that checks on

livestock growth, such as epidemics, may alter envisaged pressures on dry-season grazing land. Haaland points out that among pure pastoralists (e.g. the Rendille of Northern Kenya), any increase in their herd beyond the capacity of natural resources (i.e., pastureland and water) will naturally lead to the death of the most vulnerable animals. Traditional pastoralism should, in fact, be understood as a family enterprise in which livestock growth is limited by recurrent droughts, aging, diseases, raids, and the unequal distribution of states' resources.

Another development paradigm is Hardin's (1968) "tragedy of the commons", which argues that deterioration of communal rangeland occurs because individual users maximize their exploitation and degrade the land in the process. Accordingly, the perceived solution to dryland degradation was to destock and to privatize grazing lands so that individual landowners could then properly manage the land. Many western scholars who embraced Hardin's notion of the "tragedy of the commons" failed to appreciate the deeper implications of ownership rights to communal resources and the rationales behind large livestock populations as managed by the pastoralists (Oba, 1992).

In many scholars view, the foundational assumptions of the tragedy of the commons model are misconceived. The model does not recognize the practices of common resource users to limit the intensity of use to sustainable levels, for the common good, by instituting rules based on custom, prescriptions, and social norms. Members of the user groups observe these rules. Those who try to free ride or break the rules have to bear community penalties. It is important to distinguish between "open-access/free-rider resources" and common property rights (CPRs).

CPRs regulate a resource and exclude non-members (see Berkes et al., 1989; Circiacy-Wantrup & Bishop, 1975). Contrary to Hardin's claim, therefore, a resource held communally is not "open to all": It is exclusively accessible to members of a socially recognized group who abide by formal and informal cultural codes. In the case of "open access" resources, there are no property rights, entry is unlimited, and use is not regulated. Hence, the effects of the activities of many users on "open access" resources are often tragic.

The confusion inherent in "common property" as a "catch all" phrase (Ostrom, 1986) could be substantially reduced if it was defined by its various property rights regimes (i.e. common property, state property, or private property). Many studies record the depletion of CPRs in terms of area and productivity when subjected to privatization and state ownership (see Blaike and others, 1985; Chopra et al., 1989; Damodaran, 1988). In fact, these authors claim that communal ownership- with established institutional arrangements such as kinship, custom, and social norms- might be more appropriate for the sustainable management of renewable resources than the other two property rights regimes. Conflict is certainly endemic in sub-Saharan Africa—over water, pastures, land rights, cattle tracks etc - but it would be an act of fault to see such tensions and ecological consequences as mechanical result of Hardin-like structural logic of open access and individual use (Watts, 1983).

Hugh Lamprey's 1983 alternative model points out that although pastoralists are generally rational in their adaptive behavior – which enables them to achieve their primary goal of survival – it is apparent that survival at

subsistence levels is commonly achieved without regard to the long-term maintenance of savannah habitats. This implies that communal land ownership is synonymous with “open-access” pastures, a situation in which Hardin’s “tragedy of the commons” is expected to operate. In contrast, Tadingar (1994b), in evidence from pastoral natural resource management systems in the pre-colonial era, describes pastoralists as people who aim to protect and preserve natural resources for future productive use. Farah (1996), in parallel with Tadingar, indicates that the communality of land ownership is a prerequisite for the very functional integrity of pastoral nomadism because it allows mobility and, therefore, flexible exploitation of highly transient forages and water resources.

Traditional pastoral resource management is entirely based on indigenous knowledge, also known as traditional wisdom or ethnoscience that has evolved over generations as a product of human-environment interactions (Farah, 1996). Several traditional strategies, such as mobility, herd diversification, unique habitats’ protection, and conservation of economically important trees and shrubs, seem to promote and sustain the conservation of plant resources. Livestock herd diversification offers nutritional benefits while different livestock types with somewhat disparate diets, water, and management requirements make efficient use of range resources in the best and most flexible way. Cattle, camels, goats and sheep have different – not necessarily competitive – forage, water and management requirements.

Disregard for native, local knowledge and a non-participation-oriented approach invariably fails to provide practical alternatives to current and

potentially destructive practices. Indeed, since colonial times, development policies have undermined the rationale for customary pastoral livelihood systems. For example, pastoral land misappropriation has reduced the land available for grazing-thereby resulting in pastoralists' inability to sustain themselves in their reserves. This partly contributed to massive internal displacement of pastoral peasants to slum quarters around urban centers. Involuntary displacement imposes a transition from pastoralism-based livelihoods to non-livestock based alternatives. Limited alternative forms of livelihood in urban settings, exacerbated by climate change, force many pastoralists to become destitute or at best proletarians – an exploitable supply of cheap labor particularly of young girls recruited as domestic servants (Spencer, 1999). In effect, pastoral penetration to such capital social relations may provide local opportunistic investors with a golden opportunity to attempt a wide-ranging reorganization of class relations that aims to reduce labor costs, raise living costs, but reverse social expectations (Broch Due, 1990; Little, 1992; Parkin, 1972).

From an ecological perspective, development theories on pastoralism have evolved substantively, but scholars have prioritized animals and rangelands rather than herders (see Noor, 1999; Pratt and Gwyne (1977); Tadingar, 1994) observed that range ecologists have demonstrated the need for a paradigm of range ecology that re-emphasizes the dynamism and resilience of plant productivity in the dry land ecosystems). Farah (1996) avers that the ecology-based approach in rangeland development policy has often resulted in development activities that are not based on a holistic understanding of the socio-cultural and political dynamics

within which pastoralism operates. Pastoral development involves the management of people. As such, the effect of a calamity, such as famine, on people rarely gets incorporated into the comprehensive development plan (Tadingar, 1994). The trilogy of ecology, sociology and economics, as identified by Pratt and Gwyne (1977), bears some relationship with the study's unified framework as they regard the nature of pastoral production systems. This holistic and integrative approach to pastoral development may highlight and benefit the strong interdependence of humans, livestock and pastoral land use systems. Such a gesture resonates well with community resource management which is action by people within a specific geographic community or group of communities to create local economic opportunities and improve quality of life.

According to Shragge and Toye (2003), development strategies that do not involve citizens at the community level in fact disenfranchise them from the decision making process. The knowledge communities have gives residents perspectives that allow them to focus on issues, problems, assessments, solutions, among others, in a manner that those from outside the community are unable to do. For example, pastoralists have a remarkable grasp of the empirical consequences of rainfall deficits on their livestock. They can also prescribe ways in which symptoms might be treated.

In dryland Africa, development attention has shifted toward community resource management projects. Turner (1999) notes the concurrence of environmental degradation, resource conflict, and "weak" resource management institutions as evidence for the failure of local institutions to govern resource use.

Turner's article further demonstrates that such diagnoses are error prone and are often logically reducible to the simple advocacy of the formalization of resource access. "Community based" projects, such as those following the Gestion de Terroirs⁴ approach in Sudano - Sahelian West Africa, often attempt to improve resource management by spatially delimiting appropriate land uses, strengthening the community's exclusionary powers, and clarifying specific claims to village resources. Based on research within agropastoral areas in Mali and Niger, Turner argues that rigid adherence to such development templates runs the risk of increasing local ecological and livelihood vulnerabilities. He suggests that multi-scaled, co-management approaches may better utilize informal networks and political institutions to mediate resource.

2.3.3 Development Interventions in Dryland Africa

Development paradigms defined land use practices in terms of "modern" conventional dryland management. In particular, in the 1960s and 1970s, commercial group ranches were introduced for the development of communal drylands (Oba, 1992). Tadingar (1994) points out that the main objective of the USAID-supported ranching industry in arid and semi-arid lands of Tanzania and Kenya was to develop the beef industry as a potentially lucrative source of state revenue. Not only did urban areas have a sizable unmet demand for beef, beef was also a profitable export for foreign exchange in the livestock sector (Hodgson, 1995; Tadingar, 1994; Utah, 1976). In economic terms, efforts to achieve a high

⁴ An approach to community management of natural resources. The approach is widely used in francophone West Africa by NGOs, bilateral programmes, and government agencies. It tackles problems of territorial control. The *gestion de terroirs* approach can be seen as an attempt to transfer the management of control and access to natural resources from the grasp of the central government to local people.. It emerged from the recognition that previous rural development projects, primarily IRD, had failed to make an impression on poverty in the region.

level of off-take in pastoral areas was consistent with conventional resource management but lacked the necessary insight of traditional pastoral resource management systems based on indigenous knowledge (Tadingar, 1994).

The near complete absence of indigenous involvement may have contributed to the failures of various project components. For example, Hodgson (1995) said that the USAID experts assumed pastoralists, in particular male Maasai in Tanzania, raise cattle for beef rather than milk. Accordingly, the notions that men were always the primary economic providers and that milking could not be economically important to the maintenance of households prevailed. Traditional Maasai livestock breeding and production strategies, however, are designed to increase milk production contrary to the western emphasis on beef production. In time, the provision of permanent water points and cattle dips for each ranch as project components became problematic as converging herd zones of neighboring areas caused acute overgrazing and eventual settlement centres (Munei, 1990). The development of ranching and similar arid lands programs (e.g. block grazing programs in north-eastern Kenya) not only failed to reverse environmental degradation trends, the hugely ambitious, bureaucratic, and top-heavy projects sunk under their own weight (Hodgson, 1995; Munei, 1990).

Despite the large numbers and the considerable displacement of pastoralists in Sub-Saharan Africa, multi-lateral and bilateral funding of pastoralism declined in the 1980s and early 1990s (Western, 1994). According to Western, donor agencies appear to have gradually lost faith in their ability to offer effective assistance to both pastoral dryland development and sedentarised

residents. Declining support for pastoralism by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) could be interpreted as a symptom of donor fatigue that could discourage development initiatives in pastoral areas. However, some NGOs are addressing the effects of the past failures in pastoral systems (Abdille, 2006). In Vivian's (1994) article, NGOs have become the most active supporters of intervention strategies that provide alternatives to affected communities. The prevailing notion is that NGOs are somehow better than the other agencies at addressing problems of the "poorest of the poor" (Vivian, 1994: 183).

A number of case studies of NGO projects have suggested that NGOs may have an important role to play in addressing poverty problems in developing countries. Drawing on research conducted in Zimbabwe, Vivian's analysis seeks to broaden and contextualize the discussion of NGO involvement in sustainable development initiatives. Vivian's overall observation is that a major obstacle faced by NGOs is the demand made upon them to find simple, neat and comprehensive solutions to complex development problems. Vivian further adds that NGOs involved in intervention and/or development programs commonly provide quick, simple intervention models and may rarely benefit those in need of support. The tendency on the part of donors and NGO supporters to expect success stories is what Vivian refers to as the 'magic bullet syndrome'.

In the East African context, it is often difficult to monitor the effects of changes in the livestock production system and to devise means of improving the livelihood of the affected pastoralists. This is mainly due to lack of adequate understanding of the adaptive strategies pursued by the herders and of their

traditional cultural values. The poor performance of the Turkana development project in North Kenya is a negative example of strategies that have been adapted without full understanding of the multifaceted nature of the problems (Hoggs 1986; Awogbade 1992). According to these authors, the provision of services provided and the administrative procedures applied for pastoral areas have been small, unreliable, and inappropriate to the spatial characteristics of pastoral development. In Somalia, for example, pastoralism has been of low priority to the state, though the sector forms livelihood for about 60 percent of the population (Samatar, 1989). The purpose of my study is not to evaluate specific NGO development projects, but rather to highlight the mechanisms through which the NGO sector might make a significant contribution to sustainable development, and the problems involved in doing so.

Many development workers may have a poor understanding on the dynamics of the processes of displacement and destitution of IDPs especially as it relates to the pastoral livelihood systems. This knowledge gap around pastoralists' production system could account for the inadequate and inappropriate institutional frameworks designed for intervention; it may also give rise to a series of problems including land alienation, destitution, conflict, and lack of appropriate services.

Not all overseas pastoral involvement, however, may be intentionally misdirecting policies designed to improve pastoralists' and IDPs' livelihoods (McMichael, 1995). NGOs and volunteer organizations from the U.S.A., Germany, Denmark, and other western European countries have attempted to combat human impoverishment and land degradation in Africa through the

implementation of a wide variety of programs and projects. According to Abdille (2006), NGOs' involvement in Africa includes training initiatives, well and water pump construction (to provide rural communities with clean water), sanitation and vaccination projects, reforestation programs in degraded landscapes, relief food provision and restocking. In addition, pastoral development programs have adopted veterinary programs to provide inoculations where the rationale for the interventions and the delivery mechanisms are appropriate and somewhat effective (Mohamud, 2003). In all these programs, however, relatively little effort is made to build the capacity of famine victims to understand, analyze, and ultimately contest the overall policy frameworks that regulate their livelihood systems; the underlying forces that keep famine victims in interminable famine needs to be put in perspective so as to bail out communities on the margin of society.

2.3.4 Responses to Famine

Independent African states introduced insensitive legal and administrative measures which curtailed the ability of herders to pursue their productive activities. As Wolde Mariam (1986) argues, whereas drought or floods are acknowledged as causal triggers of famine, repressive government policies also play a significant role. Most famines in pre-twentieth century Africa, Asia, and Europe were triggered by natural disasters, including drought and livestock diseases that decimated herds. Today, however, these natural triggers operate in contexts where local economies are weak (i.e., subsistence-based economies that are imperfectly integrated with wider markets); simultaneously, the political will,

and often the logistical capacity to intervene when famine strikes is lacking (von Braun et al., 1998).

The most common human cause of famine is warfare (de Waal, 1997). In many African countries, independence was associated with increased political instability and the emergence of militarization, hence civil wars were major causes of famine. The first significant cases, Biafra - a region of Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Zaire were not vulnerable to famine prior to the 1960s (von Braun et al., 1998). During the 1980s and 1990s, these African countries have experienced conflict-triggered food crises. Other regions, such as Ethiopia, Sudan, and the Horn of Africa, that have been susceptible to drought-triggered famines, have experienced “complex emergencies” that remain largely responsible for recurrent famines (Cutler, 1993). Keen’s (1994) analysis of the Sudan famines of the 1980s, for example, established that the Dinka pastoralists were made acutely vulnerable to droughts as a result of cattle raiding practiced by the government militia and by neighbouring groups; this persisted until the Dinka’s livelihoods were so weakened that they succumbed repeatedly to famine.

The emergence and perpetuation of an asset transfer economy (Duffield, 1993) in south Sudan was facilitated and legitimized by the indifference or hostility of the government in Khartoum towards the Dinka people (Deng, 1999). Extending Wolde Mariam’s (1986) argument, the persistence of famine in some countries might be explained in terms of the failure of political contract—that is, an absence of respect for basic civil and political rights—where the state feels

little compulsion to prioritize the basic needs of its citizens. This may explain in large part why famines are more likely to occur in regimes that are too weak to adhere to an anti-famine contract, such as it occurs in the Horn of Africa, including the northeast regions of Kenya (de Waal, 1997). .

Despite the development of many detailed anti-famine programs such as the Indian famine code of 1883⁵, famines have persisted. One reason for this is that until the 1980s the underlying causes of most famines were poorly understood. Researchers have presumed that famines are primarily caused by a decline in food production despite some awareness to the contrary (Maharatna, 1996; Sen, 1999). The result has been that famines that are not accompanied by food shortages are usually not recognized as famines until well after they have occurred. The Bengal famine of 1943, for example, was greatly worsened by the government's failure to declare a famine and thereby secure the official responses that would have been dictated by the Indian famine code. Yet, even as rural Bengal was being ravaged by famine, the West Bengal capital city, Calcutta (now Kolkata) was hardly affected.

As noted in the study's framework, government policies can also cause entitlement failures thereby exacerbating the conditions of famine. Sen (1981) and Maharatna, (1996) pointed out that the Bangladesh famine of 1974, which was precipitated by the effects of widespread flooding, would have been less severe if the state's food-rationing system had not been in place. These authors noted that

⁵ During its occupation of India, the British government wrote the first modern codification of responses to famine so as to reduce its effects. This highly detailed Indian Famine code classified situations of food scarcity according to scale of famine intensity. The code continues to influence contemporary policies, such as food-for-work programs and what the code called "gratuitous relief" for those unable to work.

the rationing system was flawed because it provided subsidized, rationed food to only the country's urban population. Likewise, in 1974, despite higher-than-usual rice production, there was a slight shortage of per capita food availability, because the United States temporarily halted routine food aid over its objections to Bangladesh's trade with Cuba (Maharatna, 1996). As a result, had food been shared out across the country there would have been little hardship. Instead, the rationing system kept the supplies of food in the urban centers, thereby affecting the entitlements of rural Bangladeshis; ultimately causing famine that led to the deaths of over one million people (Sen, 1981; 1999).

During the Ethiopian famine of 1973, the country's overall food productivity did not decline—in other words, according to the food availability decline hypothesis, there should not have been a famine. Yet, in the province of Wollo and to a lesser extent in Tigray, residents suffered famine exacerbated by entitlement failures that were made worse by the poor system of transport between regions (Webb, 1992; Buchanan-Smith and Davies, 1995; Von Baun et al., 1999).

2.3.4.1 Famine Prevention and Mitigation in Pastoral Areas

In prevention and mitigation mechanisms, famine prone countries have, historically, employed different means to intervene in famine, especially with respect to political vulnerability. For present purposes, “political vulnerability” is narrowly defined as the extent to which a government lacks either the political will or the capacity to intervene in food emergencies (de Waal, 1997). India's

famine codes, drafted in 1880, have been widely applauded as the most comprehensive and successful national famine prevention mechanism.

According to Dreze (1990), famine was successfully averted in Maharashtra state in 1972–73 when five million people were employed in public works projects; in addition, public intervention prevented famine in 1979–80. Dreze argues, in the same study, that what is uncontroversial about famine is the apparent intentionality and/or indifference of governments and the international community when confronted by the suffering of powerless “others.” In fact, he cautions against any generalized view about public action as a means to avert famine successfully and concludes, instead, that tardy intervention and an inadequate food supply by government agencies could have been responsible for the numerous 1966–67 famines related deaths’ in Bihar, India.

As Buchanan-Smith and Davies (1995) observed, the relations between international donors and national governments, tend to be the most important determinant of timing and [the] scale of the international response” to famine. There is strong evidence in the literature that the Reagan administration of the early 1980s cut American food aid to Soviet-aligned states such as Ethiopia and Nicaragua. The deliberate withholding of food aid to Ethiopia for ten years, despite the Ethiopian famine of 1984, was aimed to undermine Emperor Haile Selassie’s Marxist Dergue regime (Sheperd, 1993); this resulted in the death of many distressed migrants, reinforcing Keen’s (1994) argument that political powerlessness is a crucial causal factor in contemporary famine.

Keen and others who view famine as more complex phenomenon and not simply a lack of purchasing power within the market define famine victims by their political powerlessness, that is, a near or total lack of rights or political muscle within the institutions of the state (Keen, 1994: 211). In a similar situation, the donor community was slow to respond to the 1990–91 famine in Darfur, western Sudan, in part because the Islamic fundamentalist government in Khartoum supported Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War prosecuted by the West at the time (Devereux, 1998). In an effort to minimize the effects of such fatal conflicts over information about famine crises, Buchanan-Smith and Davies (1995) advocate for “joint efforts” by governments and donors about early warning systems that would maximize the transparency, credibility, and timely utilization of information by policy makers. De Waal (1997: 105), however, offers counter argument about “joint efforts”: he claims it is neither enough nor feasible, particularly if neither of the stakeholders identifies the prevention of famine as an explicit policy goal. The case of Sudan is an instructive example: the near-perfect operation of the early warning system in 1990 remained meaningless without the necessary political commitment to fight famine (de Waal 1997: 105).

2.3.4.2 Enclosures and Irrigation Development in Pastoral Areas

Some studies (Baxter, 1993; Galaty et al., 1991) have revealed that ecological and socio-economic processes that encouraged adherence to a complex and harmful system of resource management have augmented contemporary changes in pastoral production. Historical trends to enclose and privatize common lands—a subject discussed by many authors (Smith, Barret, Box, P.2000;

Chambers, 1983; Sorbo, 1985; Helland, 1980; Mohamed Salih, 1985; Ahmed, 1987; Horjt, 1990; Rigby, 1992)—have forced pastoralists into the most marginal areas that are inadequate to sustain even subsistence-level herd sizes. Governments often use the difficulty in providing services to nomadic pastoralists as the justification to encourage settlement. For example, the development of ranching associations, the provision of cattle dips and water points, and the development of detailed land-use surveys were the first policy components of the Tanzania governments' plan to settle the Maasai in villages (Tadingar, 1994; Hodgson, 1995). This privatization of rangelands is but one such misguided policy that attempts to settle pastoral communities. However, sedentarization of pastoralists usually produces a relatively impoverished and powerless group, especially in contexts where no public support or protection is provided, as in East African countries.

Owing to recurrent droughts which frequently lead to famine in Sub Saharan Africa, government policies focused on irrigation development as a viable, sustainable alternative to pastoral nomadism. Farah and Rutagwenda (1991) also note that in the early 1970s, in Kenya, self-help small irrigation schemes were initiated out of a genuine desire by the dispossessed pastoralists to broaden their survival base. Also, in India, irrigation development using the green revolution technologies reduced household food insecurity and culminated in the apparent eradication of famine in India by the early 1970s. In this respect, Vedeld (1992) indicates that agricultural expansion into pastoral lands, to a certain degree, was a necessary development. However, the work of Tadingar (1994)

reflects this incursion that exposes the policy shortcomings of irrigation development. He observes the lack of institutional mechanisms to regulate the subsequent increase in competition for land or to manage crop–livestock integration between farmers and pastoralists. Further, Kariuki (1994) and Noor (1999), who extensively analyzed the ecological and socio-economic impacts of irrigation schemes in Kenya, emphasize the low overall productivity of small-scale irrigation schemes in the Kenyan drylands; they conclude that the introduction of smallholder irrigation schemes has contributed to the pauperization of the Borana and Somali pastoralists respectively. The transformation of populations' means of production from pastoral nomadism to farming or fishing, for example, as an appropriate livelihood alternative in Northern Kenya needs a rethink (Noor, 1999; Kariuki, 1996; Swift and Umar, 1991; Sorbo, 1977).

2.3.4.3 Famine Relief and Development Efforts in Pastoral Areas

In Africa, efforts to support the pastoral economic system and protect livelihoods was adopted by Oxfam between 1992 and 1994 (Bush, 1995), with the dual objective of preventing the long-term destitution of herders and, where this had already occurred, aiding their recovery. Oxfam's restocking programme had the objective to bolster the pastoral economy by preventing the depletion of herds and by rebuilding them. A paradoxical situation may emerge, however, when large numbers and different species of cattle are needed to feed households and satisfy newly acquired consumption patterns. Restocking dispossessed pastoralists with more than a few camels, cows, goats, and sheep is expensive and requires

massive capital investment, which may lie beyond the means of the restocking agency. While restocking may have assisted some pastoralists in getting back to their traditional mode of production, research shows that these strategies do not—in themselves—constitute an adequate long-term response to the collapse of pastoral livelihoods (Oxby, 1978). In fact, a preliminary review of Kenya's poverty⁶ rate suggests that current intervention policies have not had a significant impact on the country's poverty rate (PRSP, 2001; Mohamud, 2003). The prevalence of poverty is highest in NEP (58%), followed by Eastern Province (56%), Coast (55%), and Nyanza (42%), while the lowest poverty rate was in Central Province (32%).

Studies (PRSP, 2001; Mohamud, 2003) further confirm that extreme food security has a greater impact on women, who are usually responsible for food production in the peripheral regions of urban towns. As mentioned by Mohamud (2003), in the event of food security failures, pastoral women in NEP face a heavy burden as they scramble to find low-income-generating work to maintain family income. Unfortunately, with currency devaluation at 70% between 1997 and 1999, these women often do not make a living wage. Other studies indicate that when the availability of livelihood entitlements decrease, women often face greater social vulnerability than do men in contexts where intra-household rules

⁶ Poverty is multi-dimensional and complex in nature and manifest in various forms making its definition difficult. In Kenya, through the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), poverty is defined as the inability of individuals to meet their basic needs-associated with features such as lack of land, unemployment, inability to feed oneself and family, lack of proper housing, poor health and inability to educate children and pay medical bills (Poverty and Environmental Initiative-Kenya, August 2006).

for food allocation, health care, and other basic needs favour males over females (Deverux, 1988).

A gendered pattern of mortality in the Ethiopian famine of the 1970s confirms the evidence of intra-household gender bias that favours the survival of sons over daughters: girls less than five years old suffered mortality rates that were up to 50% higher than those for boys of the same age (Wolde Mariam, 1986: 57). Families are also faced with having to choose which of the children to educate, which results in decreased progress in girls' education in famine-prone communities such as reside in Northeastern Province. Given the gendered nature of famine, and poverty in general, studies on analysis of famine from a gender perspective are limited. This study will analyse the role of household members from a gender angle, given the division of labour among pastoralists in NEP, Kenya.

The literature review above depicts the analysis of famine in terms of either natural triggers or political regime behaviour. This study seeks to bring to light the relationship between drought and famine in the study area, where the resource base is poor, poverty is endemic, and public policy for famine prevention and mitigation is deficient. Bearing in mind the foregoing, I set out to analyze in detail the lives of the participants, placing their experiences in the context of two districts in northeastern province. While recognising the common basis of their lived experiences, which they share with each other, my study draws attention to the circumstances of their differences as pastoralists of two different localities in NEP.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Design & Methods

This chapter presents the research methods employed in this study. It begins by identifying the basic features of mixed method aligning it with the study's framework, to highlight the ways in which the method can be used to advance the study's objectives. The second section offers a personal reflection on the researcher's unique position as a female scholar studying pastoralists' people from her culture. Finally, the research limitations and opportunities for future research are presented.

3.1.1 Choice of Method

The study uses a multi-method approach during the data collection period. The method involves the use of survey interviews, semi-structured interviews, observations and written documents. Kertzer and Fricke (1997), argue that mixed method strategies offer opportunities to use sources of information from multiple approaches to gain new insights into the social world. The multi-method approach, which is a varied way of eliciting information from the respondents, can enhance the quality and kind of in-depth information desired to achieve the objectives of my study. The different data collection strategies articulated in this study allows us to advance the aims of our inquiry on the causes and consequences of famine in NEP. Any deficient information in one method is supplemented by the other.

The mixed method process of inquiry is one of the ways of exploring into those processes which organize and determine the actual bases of the experiences

of those whose lives have been disrupted. The purpose of our inquiry is to look into the specificities of the disruption process, the internal dynamics of the society and the goal of fundamental improvement of life. Integrated use of multiple methods is an important way to increase investigator involvement, familiarity with the overall research project and firsthand knowledge in exploratory studies (Axinn and Pearce, 2006). Increasing investigator's involvement in all phases of the research process helps to tailor specifically to the research questions in order to meet the specific aims of this study.

The mixed method approach adopted for this study shares some common interests with this study's entitlement failures framework. The study's framework recognises the fact of pastoralists' vulnerability and the low priority it has commanded in the mainstream traditional development. The plurality of analytical approaches in famine scholarship has its own advantages, as it makes attempts to address the dearth of knowledge that is historically grounded in the study region. Thus, the use of the mixed method approach which blends well with the entitlement failures framework, recommends itself in the NEP situation.

Data for the study was collected using a case study approach as described by Yin, (1994, 2008), Stake (1995), and Creswell (1998). Stake (2006) identifies three different types of case studies: the instrumental, the intrinsic, and the collective case study, or what is commonly referred to as a multiple-case or cross-case study. This particular study took the form of a multisite because it involves comparing two cases (Stake, 2006) based on the belief that understanding what is going on in these cases will regenerate a better understanding of a larger group of

cases (McNabb, 2004). Merriam (2009) adds that while some individual cases have the appearance of being relatively unique among cases within a given study, multisite studies do include features that are also generalizable. The cases in this study are dispossessed former pastoral nomads squatting in townships. I made sure that each respondent met the present study's criteria.

3.1.2 Setting

Pastoralism in East Africa evolved over a long period of time as a rational response to the fragile ecosystem. It was a successful subsistence strategy and formed a livestock economy, serving distant markets upon which many non-pastoral peoples relied. Recent literature, however, emphasizes the failures of pastoral economies, the impact of drought, but the risk of being dislocated altogether from their lands due to a highly variable exogenous environment remains unchallenged. The pastoral people of NEP are impoverished and forced to eke out a living on a diminishing resource base. The threat of displacement and the increasing hardships among pastoralists due to lack of rural income are emphasized in my study.

This study uses community-level data from two major towns in Northeastern Kenya: Wajir and Garissa. The two districts represent a homogenous grouping whose members share a common language, religion, and culture. However, Wajir represents a rather closed enclave that has almost no ties with major urban towns in Kenya. Their main ties are of kinship, ritual activity, and fragmented trade. The communities in Garissa, in contrast, have forged increasingly strong ties with the rest of Kenya, due in part to its proximity to

major cities like Nairobi and Mombasa. In this process, economic and social structures have been radically transformed; consequently, those communities dwelling in Garissa are believed to be both “progressive” in their general orientation and more advanced economically than their kinsmen in Wajir. The expansion of smallholder irrigation production in Garissa is presumably also a dynamic element in its economic growth process since the 1970s.

The explosion of IDPs population in Garissa in the last two decades and their dispossession from the pastoral economy indicates the need for data on the different pastoral sites to help establish baseline information for planning livelihood programs. Such a need arises from a genuine recognition because the failure of many such programs in the past sprang from insufficient information for the NEP pastoralists. In light of this, I gave emphasis on the two study sites needed to extract information during the field research. The different perspectives and the similarities of the two districts can be especially valuable to help us understand the underlying factors that trigger the socio-economic vulnerability of each pastoral community. In turn, this information will facilitate an assessment of the skills each community has developed in their efforts to cope with risks.

Following my preliminary research (May through August 2003), the study has the support of a variety of stakeholders, both at a government administrative level (support letter) and from community representatives. At the local community level, stakeholders comprise the advisory committee of each district. This preliminary stage involved stirring people’s interest through community meetings in which issues addressed by my research project were discussed and I

was accepted as a partner. The support of the advisory committees (i.e., marginalized IDPs) is essential because access to the communities cannot be gained without their cooperation. These committees are expected to possess demographic information of all the residents in their settlement units; as such, their cooperation was crucial to the sampling process. Contact with the private and public planners, who play a key role in pastoral production and the general poverty reduction efforts, was initiated where necessary and maintained by way of informal meetings prior to and during the data collection process. This informal discussion helped greatly to generate analysis of (a) how the identity of IDPs—in relation to livelihoods support—has been conceptualized; (b) the appropriateness and adequacy of interventions; and (c) their ability, or lack of it, to achieve intended objectives.

3.1.3 Sampling

The sample size for the semi-structured interviews was 48 individuals. The purposive sample include women and men who are dispossessed former pastoral nomads squatting in townships, and immigrated to these centres from 1970s. Specifically, they are families who live in the peri-urban fringes of Wajir and Garissa townships, speak Somali, and have at least one adult available for face-to-face interviews. As Neuman (2000: 198) states, the goal of purposeful sampling is “to select cases that are likely to be informative” with respect to the purpose of the study.

The samples included both male and female, who make decisions affecting the household residents. It has been established that the consequences of

people's displacement from their traditional economic mainstay affects members of households differently. Efforts were made to gather data from other members of households (i.e., the elderly, the disabled and the youth) who may have varied experience on the phenomena under study. Also, from my experience, the pattern of settlement of the displaced pastoralists takes on clan lines in NEP. All respondents were interviewed within the locality of their clans so as to capture diverse views of the various clans. Families were invited to talk about their experiences regarding their displacement patterns and famine dynamics in informal conversation. To understand the impact of famine on the NEP IDPs, households were asked whether they had access to food. Poor households were characterized as having tea as a major meal, perpetual hunger, and heavy reliance on food relief. Poverty was also associated with skipping meals, involuntarily changing diets, and sending family members especially children to eat at neighbors' homes. Based on these poverty indicators, rampant poverty is evident among NEP IDPs.

3.1.4 Data Collection

The interviewees were asked to describe their family biography telling the story of how they came to lose their livestock-based livelihoods systems. They were also asked to describe how they are trying to secure their livelihoods once they got displaced. According to McNabb (2004), while interviews may allow researchers to delve deeply into particular subjects and encourage participants to provide their understandings of the reasons for their situations, the recruitment exercise was time consuming. Prior knowledge of the area to be studied (Wajir,

where I was born, and Garissa, where I worked) is an advantage for the researcher to get around the time and resource limitations. Furthermore, the preliminary phase of the research, in which I explained the purpose of the project, enabled me as an established member of the community, and I did not, therefore, have to introduce myself as a researcher.

Another way I sidestepped the above limitation was to ask the advisory committee to help identify potential participants based on an individual's ability to provide relevant information. Use of this process continued until saturation was reached, that is, when new samples no longer yielded new information. In fact, the first interview was with the advisory committee and assessed it as a pre-test with a view to revising the interview guide to increase the clarity of interview questions that would be directed at the respondents. Respondents were interviewed at their homes and at their convenience. Each participant was interviewed at least once, with follow-up survey interviews where it was necessary to clarify issues and answers. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim.

Participant or naturalistic observation was also used to gather data. Marshall and Ross (1999: 107) describe this method as "the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for the study." It is understood that majority of an emotional message conveyed non-verbally, in their natural settings, often provide a rich and meaningful discussion of the topic. In view of this, attempts were made to organize descriptions of the

artifacts, physical gestures and postural attitudes (body language) of interview participants and established these for proper interpretation.

This study combines the qualitative data collection approach with survey interviews conducted with the help of two research assistants. The method balance enables the researcher to seek clarity about information respondents provided in phase one. In this way, information that did not come or not recorded in the qualitative data collection method would be captured; taking cognizance of the fact that these people have never been interviewed before. Questionnaire survey covering 104 pastoral households⁷ from the two districts were enumerated with the assistance of the research assistants. The research team read the questions to the study participants, served as interpreters, and assisted participants to complete the survey information. Generally, there appears to be preference for men in decision making. Due to cultural preference, male research assistants were employed. The questionnaires were administered by enumerators employed based on their knowledge about the study areas, familiarity with the local languages (Somali) and level of education. The women participants did not mind being interviewed by men. However, the researcher accepts the risk of such bias should it have arisen and will account for this in the discussion section and findings of the study. Interviews were carried out at a convenient time and location for each respondent.

⁷ A household, for the purpose of this study, includes a group of individuals who live in the same house and recognize the leadership of one individual who may direct some, but not necessarily all, decisions related to the home.

3.1.5 Data Analysis

In this study, the data analysis occurs in two phases. For the most part, qualitative methods were employed to enhance understanding of sensitive issues and meanings, perceptions, beliefs, values, and behaviours of the research participants and, help to elucidate the “black box” [who, what, where, when, why, how] of socio-economic impact of famine on pastoral displacement and destitution in NEP. The first phase comprised of qualitative analysis in which the qualitative interview data was transcribed and then imported into NUD*IST, a computer program for qualitative data management and analysis. Field notes have been used in the study to increase richness and details of my interviews. Inductive data analysis approach as outlined by Morse and Field (1995) was used to create a coding framework developed by the investigator, reflecting content themes and sub-themes and substantive categories. The categories reflected a range of content in data; useful i.e. meaningfully connected to data and applicable to the study’s objectives. The coding framework was transferred to N6TM qualitative data analysis software to enable data management.

The initial step involves translating and transcribing each audiotape word for word. Each transcript is then read simultaneously with the corresponding audiotape and edited for accuracy and completeness. For all the interviews, a line-by-line process of substantively coding each transcript was conducted until saturated categories were formed. According to Strauss (1987), the goal of coding is to “fracture” the data and then re-arrange the data into categories. During the process of sorting and analyzing to generate categories, I constructed a narrative

that explained each category and then developed tentative themes that encapsulated and explained these categories.

As categories of meaning emerged, I looked for consistency among and relationships between categories and sub-categories to articulate ideas and themes that shed light on the study questions. Throughout the analysis, considerations were made for alternative perspectives; in this process, the alternative interpretations were based on the themes that evolved in the raw data. During the process of analysis, documentary data was analysed using content analysis (Glaser, 1978) to gain an understanding of the ideas and concepts (i.e., the theoretical sensitivity) that emerged from the literature. The quantitative aspect elicits data on demographics and outcomes through structured questionnaire administered following the qualitative interviews. This helped to bring out the distinctions among pertinent variables, refined, and cross-checked qualitative data. Rigor was achieved through data saturation, and multiple sources of data. The variables considered for the analysis (e.g. age, marital status, employment status, sources of income, duration of settlement, labor demand) were fitted into descriptive statistical analysis. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was run to determine the relationships and variations among variables so as to understand the impact of famine in the two study sites.

1.6 Rigour

A model for evaluating rigour (i.e., reliability and validity) in qualitative research is the assessment of the trustworthiness of the research report, i.e. “how a researcher can persuade his/her audience that the sources of research information

are free from bias. This way, the research findings are authentic and worthy of attention” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 290). One of the ways I maintained rigour was through a “verification process” (Berg, 2007). Through informal group meetings with the respondents, preliminary conclusions drawn from the data were confirmed (verified) with the group at large. This assured that the emerging ideas are real and not merely wishful interpretation on the part of the researcher.

Second, I maintain regular contact with my academic supervisors, who constantly shared their thoughts and sent feedback about potential bias. This required the researcher to carefully check the various analytical steps that lead to the conclusions drawn. Despite taking such precautions, it could still be possible that the research assistants might misrepresent the respondents’ views as they conducted some of the interviews. To avoid any threat to the study’s criteria to maintain “credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability” (Gibson, 2003), the interviews were audio-taped, translated, and transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

A third phase of verification involved the use of roundtable discussion groups made up of researchers who independently examined the final report to determine if all the procedures used to arrive at conclusions have been clearly articulated; Berg (2001: 36) refers to this process as an “inter-coder reliability check.” The process of drawing insights from these multiple sources of evidence act as a form of the investigator triangulation method (Mitchell, 1986; Sandelowski, 1986): it enables the sampling of different perspectives that represent different contexts. The comments of International Development

Research Centre (IDRC)⁸ on the appropriateness of the data collection strategies were incorporated into my research to improve the quality of the data. The use of mixed method data collection approach , which is one way to employ triangulation (McNabb, 2004), ensures that relevant information is not missed thus provides an effective means to record and assess what is happening “in reality.”

3.1.7 Ethical Issues

The following are the main ethical considerations within the research: (1) consent, (2) confidentiality and anonymity, (3) sensitivity and/or burden to participants. As mentioned earlier, the government representatives approved the project and written a consent letter prior to conducting the research indicating that the research project is worthwhile and is within the country’s interest. Since rural societies in Kenya live and work together in identified communities, it is a common practice for elders to be approached as the first point of contact. Therefore, the fact that consent has been granted does not so much indicate approval of the project as it signifies the researcher’s credibility as it is understood within the elders’ cultural context. In view of this, I requested the consent of each community to pursue this research project within the communities.

⁸IDRC, the research funders, evaluator’s comments included the appropriateness of my research method with respect to data quality. Their other suggestions were to avoid direct involvement with government departments, and concern on the timely completion of my field research given the prevalence of tropical diseases in the study area. The personal reflection on my research experience section in this chapter covers the steps taken to address the evaluators’s comments.

Other ethical procedures involved obtaining informed consent from each participant before they participated in the actual study. The contents on the forms were translated into Somali and clearly spelt out to the participants the procedures that would be followed to ensure confidentiality and anonymity throughout the research process. All respondents were informed that participation was voluntary and that the participant had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. People living in villages have protocols of respect that must be followed. For me, my gender and age are two critical factors that determined the level and extent of interaction I could engage in these local communities. For instance, as a female researcher, accessing knowledge from elderly male respondents could be interpreted as rude behaviour. Where I suspected this was a problem, I sought assistance from the advisory committee and the male research assistants.

Ethical problems might have risen during the process of active participation. For example, some participants might have experienced unexpected emotional difficulties as a result of expressing deeply held and perhaps controversial beliefs and feelings. This study might have also caused some time burdens for participants. The researcher provided gifts to the participants for their time. Depending on the situation, the guiding maxim I applied was “to be fair and to maintain respect for others.” I, therefore, observed the conventions of respect for the local people and withdrew the cause of any burden this project might have imposed upon request. In all cases, written consent from each participant was obtained through the use of consent forms. These forms were accompanied by information sheets that described the research project, its potential benefits and

risks, the participant's right to withdraw from the study at any time, and the researcher's commitment to each participant's confidentiality. Participants were then requested to fill out and sign the forms. Where participants were not able to sign the forms, a form of verbal consent was obtained. The study's proposal was submitted for ethical review to the Human Research Ethics Board of the University of Alberta's Faculty of Arts for approval.

3.1.8 Knowledge Dissemination Strategies

On the issue of sharing the benefits of research, I will communicate the findings of this study to Kenyan and international audiences through peer reviewed publications and conferences. I will make copies of my dissertation available to local university libraries and the research funders. Through posters, story telling, and other communication media, my findings will be reported to those who participated in the study. In Kenya, there exists what we call farmers' field day, whereby farmers exchange their ideas of achievements and progress regarding a particular season in comparison to previous farming seasons. I will utilize this means to disseminate the findings to additional internally displaced and dispossessed people who are engaged in farming activities.

3.1.9 Personal Reflections on the Research Experience

This field work was an intensely poignant experience that left my imagination crushed by the burden of abject poverty, desperation, and feeling of powerlessness experienced by these displaced pastoralists; most of them were also involved in the survey (n= 104). The most painful part of the field work was therefore, to get into a home for an interview and getting told that there is no food

for the next meal, or nothing at all!! There was also glaring evidence of emaciated children sleeping with no bed sheet on top and none underneath. This brings us to question the values and institutions of a society that allows its members to succumb to famine and its impacts.

The enormity of the problem of the pandemic poverty was also amplified by the fact that each family that was displaced by conflict had to take care of children of their deceased relatives. Also disheartening was the number of young children who are taking care of other children or even infants. Therefore, throughout the entire fieldwork, I would unavoidably ruminate on these misfortunes as well as go through a grieving process together with participants, their children, as well as listening to these voices over and over, on tape and in my mind.

With training in the social sciences where emphasis is put on objectivity, emotionless involvement and value freedom, I found myself trying, but unsuccessfully trying to always check my emotions in the face of such crushing human suffering. Being an educated woman also compounded the problem, for the educated are socialised not to wear their emotions on their sleeves. Moreover, I had to be careful about my position as a scholar. Given my research agenda, I had to maintain a “critical” distance from my “data”. To me, the experiences were a source of strength, and an encouragement that these are stories need to be told. I do not think that I can forget the experiences of writing this thesis, most of all, the times I spent with the respondents and their children I met during the course of my field work.

As a researcher from a pastoral background, I am mindful of what I bring to my research. Besides the conventional norms of social research, my interest in this study is borne out of my own experiences. I can say with more confidence that I know where these pastoralists are coming from. In many respects, my position, despite a few constraints, was mostly an advantage. I had amassed a wealth of information about African pastoralists, in particular, Somali NEP pastoralists, before proceeding for field work, but my own perspective as an insider into this community was the main starting point of this inquiry. Yet, even as highly equipped as I would dare to say I was, I must confess that nothing could have prepared me for my experiences in the field. It is one thing to live and work within a community; it is another thing to critically analyze the dynamics of such intricate parts of one's life. The poverty level that these people are enmeshed in is a part of everyday life, which I had taken for granted until I went to the field to gather data.

My quest for information on the phenomenon under study exposed me to useful insights about this community and thus, provided a base for informed critique. I was well aware that my presentation was for a wider audience. I have to be careful about my interpretations of the participants' views in the context, knowing very well that the conception of famine and its impact differs in time and space. The dearth of knowledge surrounding the study of famine was a constant reminder of my ethical responsibilities as a researcher.

As a researcher of pastoral nomadic background, I am familiar with the Somali cultural milieu in which these respondents operate. In the field, I was

mindful of what is acceptable social behaviour for someone of my gender, age and status. For instance, I had to observe the Islamic dress code. I was also aware of the Somali greeting format and never looked at elders' right in the face.

All interviews were conducted in Somali, the native language all participants could speak fluently. The biggest challenge, therefore, came at the translation stage. Throughout this process, I tried to be as objective as possible, in order that what was conveyed in Somali got translated into English without putting in words that would convey concepts that I might have wanted to hear. However, there are some concepts that are just not translatable in a manner that captures the original meaning. This one other possible way bias might have been introduced into the final data. Transcription was also one of the most difficult processes of the study; because everything was played back over and over, bringing back to life the experiences I thought I had at least left behind for a while. It was also difficult in the sense that some concepts are not easily translatable into English without losing some local nuances.

The interviews, although quite interesting, presented many challenges. The venue, time interval and audience largely depended on many factors outside my control. With many unpredictable factors such as family obligations and the weather, I had to reschedule appointments on occasions. Interviews with the participants, specially married women, meant having the children as active audience. The respondents in many cases had to stop in the middle of conversation, either to tell the children to stop interrupting or comfort a crying child. Moreover, between sentences, some of them responded to greetings from

neighbours and other visitors who were keen to know what was happening. The tendency of the communities to crowd around interview venues, made me uncomfortable when giving out gifts and honoraria to the research participants. I had to request the participant to walk with me a little away from the crowd to give them their gift tactfully.

Given the time limitations I was working under, it was important to get my interviews done with as few problems as possible. I was well aware that these communities are not traditionally used to appointments and work schedules. Their primary concern is to meet a meal a day for their household members. I, therefore, had to fit my field requirements within their haphazard timeframe. This meant that I had to exercise a high degree of flexibility in my fieldwork and did not, therefore, get into the intricacies of calculations on time spent in the field.

It is important to note that I avoided any direct involvements with government departments, including use of government vehicles or any other linkage that may arouse suspicions and thus curtail trust and confidence with the communities. I had to commute by private transport between the various settlement centers on the outskirts of towns. I did not encounter any notable problems since I embarked on my research in early June 2005. However, as one might be aware Malaria, Pneumonia, Typhoid, etc, are prevalent in this region. I took all precautions to ensure that my research went smoothly with minimal interruptions. I also monitored the security situation on day-to-day basis.

3.1.10 Limitations and Future Directions for Research

One of the basic limitations of this study is the bias introduced by its focus case study approach which limits its generalizability. Although being a member of a cultural group one is studying has some advantages, such as language, this might have limited my ability to explore issues that I might have taken for granted. As an outsider, one can explore issues up to the hilt of participants' experiences. Also, recruitment of participants through advisory committees that provide leadership to communities brought its own biases. Participants might have felt obliged to comply with my request, fearing a backlash from these clan elders. A more balanced sample including participants that were not recruited by these elders might have enhanced the elicitation of a wide range of IDPs experiences, support flows as well as well as coping strategies.

The use of mixed methods, such as semi-structured and survey interviews, complemented by observations contributed to the richness of the data in this study. In the future, however, group interviews (i.e. focus groups) would provide an opportunity to validate and clarify themes from individual interviews. This strategy also has the benefit of allowing people to talk about issues surrounding their lived experiences.

There is little empirical information from the African region on the relationships between poverty and famine, or other analyses that give weight to inter-country comparisons of the famine discourse. As one way of raising the profile of poverty, and the devastation of people, research studies should be undertaken to provide such needed evidence. Rigorous data are also needed in

order to identify the exact mechanisms that help to improve quality of life. To this end, the development of widely accepted indicators to measure changes in human development would be ideal. Also, beneficial are longitudinal studies that capture the dynamic processes of: reciprocity and obstacles to mutuality, support needs and the type of support that are beneficial to IDPs as dictated by the policy implications suggested in this study, that favour marginalised groups. This, if undertaken, is likely to result in people driven and demand responsive intervention projects and actions. The processes involved in such projects would need to be documented to form learning opportunities for others. Such intervention research could take the form of participatory research, in order to enhance the capacities and community competence and efficacy of marginalized groups.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussions

4.1 Factors Contributing to Displacement

Morese's (1994) advice on employing the hermeneutic process guided me during the initial and subsequent continuous analysis. Using this procedure, I was able to loop back and forward to determine gaps in coherence and comprehension as well as to check and correct first impression I had created. This process was most effective when I conducted conversational interviews with the study participants. Data collected for this study are presented as findings in terms of themes and patterns that emerged after the interviews were transcribed. The data are analyzed and categorized on the basis of similarities and differences in terms of how the study group perceives their experiences. In my discussions of the

findings, I have attempted to explain submission and omissions from the participants' narratives. Their responses to questions that were raised in the conversational interviews are included verbatim without editing. However, in instances where I felt that serious language error existed, I added my own words or explanation in parenthesis.

Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics in relation to acquisition of livelihoods. The table shows that out of the 26 women surveyed in Wajir, more than half (55%) said they were employed at the time of the survey. About 60% of the same number of women in Garissa said they were employed during the same period. The livelihood results in this table are discussed in later chapters, but a few highlights are mentioned here. The largest proportion of IDPs stated that they solicited relief handouts, and charcoal, firewood, limestone mining, stone harvesting, milk etc. Support from relatives is more likely to be higher for Garissa IDPs (18%) compared to Wajir residents (4%). Similarly, Garissa IDPs (15%) have higher chance of getting support from co-resident members who went to school with permanent job and send remittances compared to Wajir IDPs (6%). Traditionally, pastoralists look after one another, neighbours share what they have, relatives assist each other, and clan institutions deliver justice and help people rebuild after crisis. But traditional responses are weakening as pastoralism comes under stress, IDP numbers increase, and services fail to support the full range of competence that an IDP requires. The observed difference in support from relatives in the two study sites may be explained by the variability of income generation and asset ownership within the two study sites,

given that Garissa is more endowed with resources. Many people, whose voices have been collected in this rigorous study, argue that they need support and diversification to reduce livelihood vulnerability. This implies that with the right support, the IDPs can thrive and contribute extensively toward improving their well-being.

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics

	Wajir	Garissa
Gender	26 (Female) 26 (Male)	26 (Female) 26 (Male)
Married %	69	74
Employed % ⁹	55 (Female) 40 (Male)	60 (Female) 48 (Male)
Average no. of children	7	5
In school/gone to school %	27 (Girls) 46 (Boys)	22 (Girls) 58 (Boys)
Sources of Livelihood %	Wajir	Garissa
Solicited relief handouts	90	91
Charcoal, firewood, limestone mining, stone harvesting, milk etc	80	72
Co-resident members who went to school with permanent job and send remittances	6	15
Involved co-operative ventures e.g., irrigation farming	3	16
Practiced agro-pastoral production	2	0
Retail trade and other merchandise	6	17
Support from relatives	4	18

Source: Author's survey

4.2 Asset Depletion and Climatic Shocks

Several factors acting in concert are responsible for the depletion of the resources base in the study area. The participants' responses clearly demonstrate their belief in relationship between natural and man-made factors that significantly altered their livelihoods. For example, drought-famine links remain

⁹ Employment in this context involves fetching and selling firewood, domestic servants, selling vegetables, milk, and milk products, watchmen/ security guards, and other menial jobs.

highly important to both districts but cannot be seen in isolation from the factors that predispose them to the risks of subsistence production. Table 2 below captures participants' perceptions of the displacement-famine linkages in the two districts when famine victims were asked to rank-order all possible causes of their displacement from a list provided in the questionnaire.

Table 4. 2 Causes of Famine

	Wajir (%)	Garissa (%)
Drought	97	90
Conflicts	90	80
Population Pressure & Over-grazing	86	81
Diseases	82	84
God's Will	81	76
Young Men Leaving Pastoral Nomadism	74	59
Land Use Development	71	60
Untimely Response to Famine	68	69
High food Prices	57	42

Source: Author's survey

The four most common causes of famine among Garissa (Abdalla and Abdwak sub-clans) displacees were drought (90%), livestock diseases (84%), population pressure and over-grazing (81%), and conflicts (80%). The IDPs of Wajir district experienced drought (97%), conflicts (90%), population pressure and over-grazing (86%), and diseases (82%) which led to their displacement. Overall, the relative frequency in table 2 shows no major differences in the reasons for displacements between the two districts. Nonetheless, other natural factors such as floods are also powerful determinants of famine as mentioned by the respondents from Wajir, especially, if it occurs in the more productive areas of the pastoral environment. In addition to the above quantitative analysis, the participants also gave their perception on famine through open-ended question.

Their understanding of famine may be summarized as sequences of droughts that lead to scarcity of resources, conflicts over meager resources combined with human and livestock diseases and eventually leading to displacement and interminable famine.

The two districts' ecosystems, a semi-arid area in NE Kenya, typify much of Africa's grazing land resource. The area exhibits the acute bush encroachment, limited water supply, and tsetse fly problems so common to African ecological rangelands. Vegetation is categorized as desert grass-bush land or arid poor vegetation type. The bush assemblages are characterized by species of acacia and commiphora, but with occasional taller tress. Climatic data from NE Kenya are very sparse but there is frequently great variation in precipitation from one to the next. The region as a whole receives less than 500 mm.

The participants postulate that periods of one or more relatively "wet" years characteristically alternate with many periods of drier ones. This means that severe drought conditions are experienced periodically. They refer to the desiccating factors such as high temperature, low humidity, and constant dry winds as being very pronounced. Because of these factors, the effective precipitation is often far less than the average total rainfall would indicate (DIDC, 2008).

According to the MoA (2007), the vegetation exists in a relatively precarious balance with the moisture, and the area is particularly vulnerable to desiccation induced by over-grazing, or cutting the vegetation cover. Soils are classified as predominantly aridosols. There is a difference between the quantity

of precipitation and the amount of usable water. Thus, the distribution and intensity of rainfall as well as temperature, soil runoff, permeability and other soil parameters affecting the water retention capacity, play major role in contributing to lower productivity of vegetation (MoA, 2007).

Faced with this unstable environment, the pastoralists of this region contend that they have developed specific coping strategies. The respondents gave examples of these traditional drought mitigations including migrations to new pasture lands in the event of a drought (reactive response to drought). Throughout a given year, pastoralists in Kenya are either preparing for a drought, in a drought, or recovering from drought. Cognizant that they must live and operate on a rigidly delimited and finite land base, the displacees said that they had developed these necessary traditional adaptive resource use strategies such as herd diversification and mobility. The efficacy of these strategies, however, depends, in part, on timing. Pre-emptive efforts required pastoralists to accrue adequate resources to cushion themselves and their animals against adverse periods. Pre-emptive measures to cope with drought effects include herd reduction through sales, slaughter, herd dispersion, and increased non-pastoral economic activities to boost their family incomes.

These traditional adaptive strategies work under the assumption that droughts are part of the natural cycle (God's will) in semi-arid areas, and local livelihoods are sensitively adapted to the certainty that drought will come and can be overcome. If vulnerability to drought is increasing, the reasons have to do with inadequate support to economic, social and political coping mechanisms, rather

than increasingly frequent or abnormally severe drought events. However, most participants believe that climate change is making droughts more frequent than in the past. Others also report facing declining incomes in drought years due to falling demand for their goods and services. After drought, conflict is another major source of vulnerability. An indirect effect of conflict is expressed by the Somali word *aabsi* ('fear of conflict'), which results in migration routes being disrupted, services not being delivered and large tracts of contested arable or grazing land lying unutilized for years. Defining features of the pastoralist way of life, frequent or increasingly abnormal drought events may be stretching coping capacities in the Kenya's arid and semi-arid lands to breaking point.

Another popular response is to call on support from relatives and a range of traditional institutions in pastoral culture. These are vital mechanisms for pooling and reducing risk, but as reported earlier, many participants complain that social networks are declining, in response to recurrent shocks and social change - the perception is that people are both less able and less willing to help each other than in the past. Formal safety nets tend to emphasise deliveries of emergency food aid, which have risen dramatically in recent years, but for beneficiary households the amount of food actually received is often trivial. Droughts are increasingly seen as a trigger of livelihoods and food crises among pastoralists; its relationship to livelihood vulnerability are discussed in the following section and later chapters.

4.2.1 Drought and the Distribution of Wealth

Drought brings about important changes in the distribution of wealth and access to income among those affected. This is due to the unequal incidence of drought and the differing capacities of livestock owners to protect themselves and their assets in time of crisis. It is widely agreed that droughts tend to have a stratifying effect within communities, the weaker members becoming impoverished further while the rich are able to minimize their losses and may even increase their assets during such periods of stress (O'Leary, 1980; Sandford, 1977; Boeckm et al, 1974; van Apeldorn, 1981). Drought is often seen as a mechanism through which there is a periodic "sloughing off" of the poorest households from the traditional pastoral sector; this human population outflow serving to restore equilibrium between human, animals and pasture (Barth 1961; Johnson, 1973).

This out-migration may be only temporary and as conditions improve so do the prospects for re-absorption of these people into the pastoral economy. Thus, Dupire's (1972) work among the Fulani of Niger details several case-studies of households which had been forced to leave the pastoral sector through livestock losses but who were then able to re-establish themselves as cattle-owners over time by their involvement in farming, trading and the successful management of small stock holdings. Even when a similar proportional loss takes place among herds of all sizes, owners of larger herds are more likely to end the drought period with a herd big enough to form a breeding nucleus, while those with only a few animals at the start of the drought may see their holdings fall to

zero, due especially to the need for stock sales to purchase food needs. Large livestock holders will also be better able to minimize their losses by policies of herd dispersion and species diversification.

In this study of NEP Kenya, drought does not affect herd-owners differently depending on their level of livestock wealth, but may do so in their access to other resources. Information obtained from participants in both districts differ with the view that large herd-owners suffer fewer losses than small herd-owners (see quotes below). Re-establishment after drought may not always be so easy and as evidenced in the study area, drought losses of livestock capital will mean having to turn permanently to new ways of managing life. Nonetheless, wealthy herders who have assets in other sectors of the economy - such as a trading business or relatives and educated children in urban areas- can fall back on incomes received from elsewhere (when drought hits their livestock assets). In large part, it is this capacity of the wealthy to transform animal assets into less drought-vulnerable capital which insures their greater viability in the face of drought.

In the case of NEP, however, the respondents confirmed that droughts in the livestock sector tend to be the product of a series of years with below average rainfall, causing a growing imbalance in the availability of grazing to animal needs. A given rainfall shortage is not likely to affect livestock sector differently. Since variability in rainfall becomes more marked as rainfall totals decline, the pastoral sector is particularly prone to drought from the low level and erratic distribution of rainfall within and between years. However, those herders who

occupy areas close to game parks and reserves or riparian basin appear to have less loss of livestock as the case of Garissa. Thus, in the drought years of 1980s and 1990s, it was the marginal pastoral zones of northern Kenya which were especially badly hit, while the more arable regions experienced very few drought-induced losses. In northeast Kenya, it is the progressive effect of a number of years with low rainfall, disease and sometimes combined with raids that cause the massive scale of losses felt by the pastoralists as some male participants' quotes below depict:

...To reflect on our past, [we] had all different types of animals....camels, goats and cattle and they were many, really many. But whether you had many animals or not, whether rich or poor we have all come here to look for food and water. Today... we are all poor surviving on offals around Wajir town. All these misfortunes struck us because of recurrent drought but it is accompanied by diseases, pests, raids and all vagaries of nature. Life is not the same anymore not only for us but all pastoral nomads wherever they are. And it is only God who can help us weather these problems...some people were left with a few goats but they did not fetch good prices at the market so, some were sold them at throw-away prices while.... the rest were slaughtered for home consumption....,(WMasio2).

...We were pastoral nomads before we settled. We kept cows and goats in southern region of Garissa. We were not displaced because of conflicts because we belong to the same sub-clan and we did not move to other parts of the country to migrate for greener pastures... but the combinations of drought and diseases have decimated our animals. We came here in 1993... We had nowhere to turn to....no support from the government and the elders in town.... no family support (GBBati 1).

The interaction between drought losses in farming and in livestock is crucial for two reasons. Firstly, grain forms an important part of the pastoralist's diet these days even in normal times. In periods of drought, as herd productivity falls, herders come to rely even more heavily on grain for their food needs. Where both the livestock and farm sectors have been hit by drought, the pastoralist's rising demand for grain is confronted by a rapid escalation of cereal prices as herders must buy their food on the market, resulting in a sharp decline in herders'

purchasing power. If drought has only hit the livestock sector, grain prices will be subject to much less upward pressure.

Secondly, farmers commonly own a considerable number of livestock, both those used for subsistence needs such as milk and meat and those kept as an investment, such as breeding stock. As was discussed in earlier sections, these animals provide the pastoralists with a margin of security being sold in times of need to pay for food and other needs. While widespread drought worsens the position of pastoralists, some may withstand widespread drought as they have a large herd size (Dupire's, 1972) but others may be fortunate to have sufficient pack animals in their favour. Evidence since the 1980s drought in NEP shows that certain pastoralists were unable to continue with their herding lifestyle because of loss of livestock, particularly pack animals as drought conditions intensified. A woman participant from Wajir said this about their predicament:

"We came here because of problems and hardships. We used to have camels. The camels were decimated by calamities such as ... diseases and drought. It started as a drought and then diseases followed.. First... those we used for transportation were decimated and because of that we came here. Once you don't have those transportation systems in place then there is no life. Water is life and if you don't have transport, you cannot get water and it follows that if you don't have water there is no life. Because of the drought the camels could not yield milk so we could not sustain ourselves in the reserves. We did not sell the camels, we did not slaughter them but just got decimated as it was moving. This was about 14 years ago" (WCatho1).

The dryland areas may share common characteristics and occupying populations may experience similar problems, but livelihood sustainability levels may differ greatly depending on the availability of socio-economic resources. It is argued here that for us to discuss the policy issues emanating from this study more meaningfully, we should not only address livelihood responses per se, but

also the socio-economic factors which promote or impede local responses to famine in the NEP region. It is only with such knowledge that we can make intelligent and informed suggestions about what interventionists can do to help without undermining local initiatives. The research undertaken in the preparation of this thesis was predicated on the idea that to make such a critical analysis and improve policy formulation, it was necessary to look at more than one community.

The effects of the recent famines were not the same in all areas of NEP, but within the time and resource constraints placed on a PhD project, it was only possible to carry out research in two towns reportedly hardest hit by famine. The two sites, Wajir and Garissa were selected with an understanding that the data collected would enable me to document the response differences to famine followed by each community (see the location of the two study areas in Figure 1). As mentioned in the methodology section, data were obtained through documentary review, in-depth key interviews, household survey, and case histories to give a clear picture of how various ex-pastoralists cope with famine.

4.2.2 Coping with Famine

4.2.2.1 Drought and Climatic Trends

Recent droughts have been very severe and the research participants attribute these anomalies of drought to world-wide climatic trends. The north-eastern Kenya arid rangelands suffer from periodic droughts, which according to the participants have appeared to occur more frequently in recent times. These people feel that drought is a natural feature ordained by fate which they define as

a condition of unexpectedly low or no rainfall. Although drought is a major cause of displacement in pastoralists regions, some of these people argue that drought is not a disaster because they have lived with it over the years. Some scholars also point out that although recurrent drought is a major factor of loss of livestock, the situation is more chronic and complex in the African rangelands (Merryman and Merryman, 1980, Fratkin, 1994a). In the NEP case, the impact of drought is far more severe than it was formerly and is due, in part, to the increase in human and livestock population, global climate change, increase in livestock diseases, conflicts, land use development and related development initiatives. Some male participants had this to say about why they have problems coping with recurrent drought these days:

"Drought is more frequent these days than before. The camels are nowadays suffering from the combination of diseases and drought. Drought used to be due to short rains. Now, there is no rain, and when it rains, it is very short, and then combined with disease problems. So famine now is due to multiple factors.....Also long time ago, after ten years or so we used to see one year of famine. Nowadays, after every 2 or so years there is famine. Drought is God's will. So, if we got it to the extent that it took away all my animals, then I migrated to town in a response to my situation (WB Makaro3).

"I became sedentarised because of hardships created by my lack of livestock. This was brought by ethnic clashes and drought and that is why I came to settle in here. Our first problem was drought. 70% of our livestock were killed by drought and these were the three domesticated animals. We were then left with 30%. The drought was accompanied by tsetse fly bites [and] other drought related problems. As a result, the livestock got swept out. The 30% that was left for us were again all taken away by raiders because there was conflict between us and those people from Isiolo district in Eastern province. During this conflict, both people and animals died. Over 240 people died in the attack and up to now we do not know the whereabouts of 10 people. The number of livestock which is approximately 17500 is not known where they are as well. Our problems were one time El-nino, another time it was drought and another time it was inter-clan conflict" (WBMaiso1).

Traditionally, a reactive response to drought required pastoralists to move with their animals to areas with better pastures and water. According to the research participants, since the wet and dry grazing areas are disrupted, even the best coping mechanisms are overwhelmed by a short period of drought. As mentioned earlier, the reactive response to drought, such as herd dispersion and trekking in search of water and pastures, require large tracts of land so as to sustain herds. These cardinal strategies for survival of nomadic pastoral communities have been affected by the shrinkage of the range resource base. The participants from districts attribute this ecological denudation to insensitive government policy and institutional failures.

4.3 Inappropriate Land Use Practices

The study shows policy and institutional failures are among the most important root causes of famines today. Generally, the north-eastern Kenya has been neglected by the government and development agencies. Some of the elders interviewed are nostalgic for the British colonialists who they felt were sensitive to pastoralists' problems. Although the British restricted the Somalis to NEP, these elders state that they gave them the freedom to graze their livestock in the traditional rangelands through the promotion of traditional institutions of resource use. For example, the British government negotiated with these pastoralists to create wildlife parks and game reserves. These participants acknowledged that the British government provided veterinary services, some water development, and protection against raiding and warfare which enabled the pastoralists to quickly recover from disasters. In my view, such actions were designed to avoid conflicts

with the Somali pastoralists, which is in agreement with Oba's (1992) observation about the colonialists' persuasive tactics to avoid tensions with the Turkana community in Kenya.

With independence and African self-rule, already strained pastoralist livelihood systems were further undermined by national economic development strategies that closely followed colonial blueprints and priorities. In the post-independence years, recurrent civil conflicts, forced displacement and progressive impoverishment have further eroded the social and material base of pastoralism (Markakis, 2004). However, elders reminisce that the colonial administrators respected their traditional resource management and local governance structures. These elders said pastoralists were called to participate in all meetings revolving around policies and program planning that had direct bearing on their lives. Further, they added that conflict resolutions were drawn from traditional institutions of the pastoral people. Some participants indicated that following Kenya's independence, the government placed all communal lands under trusteeship. The following quote summarizes the feelings of both male and female participants:

The Kenya government introduced land tenure system which in essence took ownership of the land from us... and put it under their [central] government. The provincial administration advocated for the policy of all the pastoral lands being under trusteeship....and, place in their hands allocation and management of the pastoral lands (GBrig1).

The lack of traditional control of resource management led to the—"tragedy of the commons"- in such circumstances, the government can appropriate land for its own use at will at the expense of pastoral nomads. Examples of government appropriation of pastoral lands in NEP given by the study group include the

Garissa irrigation schemes, Hirola wildlife sanctuary, Arawale, and Malka-Marri game reserves. This lack of local control is blamed for land degradation and serves as a recipe for inter-clan rivalries. These sentiments were common to the participants' responses as shown in the following extract:

Let me tell you, raiding of livestock is not different from drought or any other disaster because you don't anticipate it. I told you that I am 68 years old. Drought, conflicts or even famine used to be less frequent. From the colonial government to present, I have been living in similar environment whether in Isiolo or my home Wajir district. Since KANU took over the government (meaning the former ruling party (1963-2002), drought and conflicts incidences have increased. We prefer the British colonial rule to our government because people had specific, demarcated clan boundaries which empowered traditional mechanisms of resource use. This way, everybody co-existed well. Now with independent Kenya, we have been told all land belongs to the government and so everybody can graze anywhere. The government placed in its hands the allocation and management of our lands such that where our animals could graze for 5-6 months is being grazed in one day, then we are always fighting" (WMaiso 4).

Breakdown of the ability of customary institutions to manage conflict is widely seen to have occurred as a result of incorporation of pastoral groups into wider economic and political entities. We examine the evidence for this in the following quote from a Garissa male participant:

"Now as we talk, a few areas especially the Boran areas have received a lot of rain but none of the Somalis can cross to graze their animals in those regions for fear of conflict and the government of Kenya encourages it. During the British colonial rule, when such a problem occurred in an area, the area governor together with a few elders of the affected areas used to go to the governor of the area with prosperity and used to sort out issues amicably. Now, the provincial administration is not bothered at all. Right now, north-eastern province is dry and Boran land has rain but they have guns and nobody can dare go there because they fear to lose their animals through raids. With us, we accept people to graze their animals in our areas during harsh times, especially if communities agree to it. Because we can never know when similar problem will strike us. Some people in the pastoral reserves like to do rainfed farming. But since there is no rain, what will they grow? Nothing. And some of those places have no permanent water for irrigation. Their closest watering point is about 20km. Nobody is aware [about] these people. Any support that comes does not leave Garissa town. Even in our settlement here, we have been registered and some of us have paid 25 shillings for

the registration but up today, we have not received any aid from CARE. It is now about 3 months since that money was collected from us but have not received [food aid] yet” (GBRig 2).

The focus of customary approaches to conflict management is on the needs and desires of people by emphasizing respect, dignity and reciprocity. Collaboration between different communities ensures that the scope of conflict over resources is minimized. For example, if resources which are part of customary tenure patterns based on reciprocity are made legally inaccessible to one of the parties, this not only creates a potential cause of conflict but, more importantly, the condition of reciprocity is interrupted and with it the motivation to maintain conflict at a low level (Oba, 1992).

Dryland herders are aware that no matter how good one's situation might be at the present, at any time in the future one may depend on the favour of those who now one can afford to have as enemies, and vice versa. Among the agro-pastoral II Chamus (Njemps) in Baringo, Kenya, for example, those who have had their fields damaged by somebody else's livestock still usually ask for minimal compensation, being well aware that it is only a matter of time before their own animals are caught grazing in another's field (Little, 1987). The pastoralists in NEP exercise a degree of tolerance and flexibility with regard to cross-clan borders especially when other development policies and programs are trying to build it up.

The displacement of nomadic pastoralists from their prime dry season grazing areas is increasing and the effects of such changes are limiting pastoralists' territory and in the participants' words *“have crashed pastoralism”*.

Further, alienation of pastoralists' lands has been blamed for misguided development initiatives such as uneven distribution of water points followed by spontaneous settlements. Encroachment of agriculture and development of military camps were also reported as shrinking the range resource base.

This reduction of free range area has resulted in overuse of certain range areas, decline in useful soil properties (erosion of top soils and lack of infiltration) as a result of accelerated desertification. Consequently, aggravation of tensions among herdsmen ensues, and conflict between herdsmen and farmers, often results in violence and loss of life. For example, to the west of the Wajir district, respondents reported frequent friction and conflicts between the *Ajuran* and *Degodia* clans over access to grazing land and water points. Similarly, there are disputes between the Somalis and other neighbouring tribes, such as the *Borana*, and within the province, disputes exist among the Somali clans over land use rights. These disputes have often led to bloody raids by one community against another and subsequent retaliation by the victims of the attack.

In the absence of traditional resource management practices, pastoralists have resorted to fencing large parcels of land to replace their traditional dry season coping mechanisms. This emerging locally grown solution has come out of frustrations occasioned by lack of clear-cut policies on land tenure. This commodification of the range resource therefore begs for urgent attention given that privatization of communal lands leads to pauperization of pastoralists, and is a recipe for conflicts.

Lack of public preparedness to deal with shocks also illustrates entitlement failure. While the term “famine early warning system” did not appear until the 1970s, efforts to monitor indicators capable of providing “early” warning date back to ancient NEP where traditionally eminent drought was closely monitored. However, with the exception of British colonial famine codes developed during their rule (1883-1963), most of the efforts to provide warning of famines have, until at least the 1980s, focused on monitoring crop production. This focus on food availability was due to the dominant view that famine is a product of natural disaster. In contrast, the colonial administration maintained statistical departments which collected information on local conditions, and these systems formed the central component of the information systems which were used to indicate the imminence of drought and food shortages within the region (Abdille, 2006). The elderly participants claimed that the British colonialists had proactive policies towards drought preparedness and left nothing to chance.

They... (meaning the British colonial administration) worked closely with us to monitor and initiate early responses to anticipated natural perturbations.... They also encouraged the growing of millet and sorghum and built traditional silos for grain preservation (GBrig1).

In the last two decades, many developing countries have, with donor encouragement and assistance, invested in and improved the coordination of their existing systems for reporting on meteorological indicators so that they are better able to provide “early warning” information (Noor, 1999). In Kenya, such systems have involved the creation of “Early Warning Units” located in an appropriate department of the central government. Within regions, there are also local levels “Early Warning Systems”. Often these are funded by international

development agencies and usually, but not always, fed into the government-run National Early Warning Systems (FEWS report, 2007).

Thus, regional groupings such as Famine Early Warning Systems (FEWS) by USAID have established regional early warning systems which combine the output of the national systems with information from other sources, such as remote sensing information from satellites. At the global level, the FAO's Global Information and Early Warning System (GIEWS) also combine the output of the national and regional systems with information from other sources (FAO Crop Assessment Missions, NGO field staff reports). FEWS and GIEWS are important source of information for donor organizations. However, these systems appear not to alert the general populace about poor rains and the likelihood of an imminent drought or conflicts.

Most of the participants in this research ranked the untimely response to famine by agencies (government and external agencies) at equal level with those factors responsible for their displacement. As discussed in various chapters, recurrent conflicts, chronic underdevelopment, and environmental degradation in pastoralist areas have weakened pastoralists' resilience and undermined their livelihoods systems. Untimely response to famine/drought implies that there is lack of proactive response mechanism. Proactivity in livelihood interventions could probably be a great leap forward, and could even be better if it takes into account the concerns of the victims. The response to slow-onset disasters (such as drought) is often too late, largely due to unsatisfactory and often too late resource mobilization (Markakis, 2004).

The pastoralists reported that the international agencies are currently buying animals from pastoralists, slaughtering and distributing the meat to pastoralists experiencing drought. This multidimensional strategy imitates the traditional pre-emptive approach of pastoralists. Additionally, the approach mimics the emergency livestock off-take designed to cushion pastoralists against loss of livestock due to drought. It not only provides financial benefits but also accounts for the health and well-being of the drought victims. This could be viewed as crisis management strategy in the sense that no elaborate early warning system was in place-it is merely an ad-hoc response to an already deteriorated situation. One respondent raised concern about plummeting of livestock prices attributing it to the reduction of the quality of animals during drought.

You know... during drought, the animals fetch low prices in the market. This is because there is no water and pasture during the dry period. The animals also become susceptible to pests and diseases. Their body condition....gets weak and even unhealthy to eat their meat and ...hardly do people buy them. Consequently, if we sell them even to these relief agencies, we do not get much from animal sales (.WCath3).

Nonetheless, with early warning and detection of an imminent drought, some animals could be salvaged through slaughter. The process of salvage through slaughter is an ingrained traditional practice acquired through indigenous technical knowledge of the pastoralists; this traditional management by objective was based on early detection of drought. As evidenced by the above quote, the animal bodily condition is greatly affected by adverse climatic conditions. The quantity and quality of meat is also nadir (extremely low), and would not necessarily sustain households for a period of time. Furthermore, some diseases such as anthrax and tuberculosis are zoonotic (transmissible between humans and animals), and may pose a threat to an already malnourished people.

Pastoralists in NEP confirm that they rarely sell their animals during crisis. Factors mentioned by the participants regarding their reluctance to sell or slaughter their livestock include a declining livestock/human ratio (fewer animals per household), traditional values remain oriented towards livestock accumulation, lack of livestock markets and market information, lack of access or knowledge of alternative investments to livestock, strong concern for future recovery in face of present crisis, as well as the poor and unpredictable livestock market prices. An elderly female participant from Wajir expressed the following views on the subject:

Look here, before we settled we had many animals, all the three types of livestock. camels were over 200, cattle were also over 200 and goats were more than 300...Now all of them perished as we watched helplessly... the cattle were the first to go, followed by the goats and finally the camels succumbed to drought and diseases. When I realized the gradual decline of our animals, I talked to my husband and asked him if we could sell off some of the animals so that I go with the children to Wajir town while he took care of the remaining herd in the reserve. He said it was a curse and blasphemous to talk of disposing our animals and moving to town...see they are now all gone and we are here looking like we have never owned assests. You know... I am a woman and a woman's words do not mean anything here... (WBMaiso3).

Pastoralists' financial means are scarce; they must weigh expenditure by prioritizing their needs such as livestock sales for food, clothing, and health during critical periods. They may need to sell livestock and the decision to do this takes time as noted above, since decision-making probably requires involving other male members of the extended family. When the final decision is made, the livestock may need to be driven to the main market, which is often far away, while at the market the prices offered may not be favorable. There is then the issue of regular drought which affects the livestock market as well. During

drought, the animals grow thin and their market value subsequently diminishes. This affects the family's income and thereby their purchasing power for basic requirements including food and health.

Lessons learned from the study participants are the need to complement emergency responses (such as relief aid) that merely aim to save lives with strategic interventions that support livelihoods and promote the resilience of pastoral populations. Strategic livelihoods interventions equip communities and vulnerable households with the means to manage the oncoming shock before they collapse into crisis and result in untold suffering for the affected populations. Timely and appropriate livelihoods interventions need to be supported by flexible support mechanisms. For example, implementing agencies need to be able to quickly reallocate and commit resources so as to respond to a crisis in a timely fashion.

4.3.1 Inadequate Infrastructure

The lack of adequate policies that focus on livestock development as an economic opportunity has resulted in limited representation of livestock interests in decision-making bodies. Pastoralists, especially the men, said that they get insufficient information from informal networks and middlemen on prices and areas where livestock markets are readily available. Also, livestock traders have no access to transactional credit to operate at an efficient scale. Other hindering factors as mentioned by the respondents are poor communications, poor transport infrastructure and high risk of insecurity which make trekking of livestock to

middle markets difficult and prohibitive. The following quote captures the general mood of the research participants:

In the past, some retail traders/middlemen in towns would buy our animals and do hedging (risk management) and sell animals when livestock prices improved and sell off at good prices when it rained. Usually, we (nomadic pastoralists) do not know where and how to get market information for our animals before succumbing to the climatic shocks. Kenya Meat Commission (KMC) which used to absorb our livestock collapsed in [1988] and this led to dismantling institutions such as Livestock Marketing Division (LMD) and prominent businessmen who used to bail us at times through livestock purchase at critical times also went out of business. Since then.... there has not been any institutional support or market opening for our livestock... (GBrig2).

The livestock marketing division of Kenya's Ministry of Agriculture used to purchase immature livestock from herders for fattening at the ranches to sell the finished /fattened livestock to KMC. These ranches also served as disease buffer zones and were regarded as disease free zones. Following the collapse of these institutions in mid-1980s, there has not been any organized livestock marketing system. Due to mismanagement the livestock marketing division became ineffective and went out of operation. In this way, the herders were left at the mercy of unscrupulous traders and middlemen who are exploitative in character. Such policy and institutional failures restrict pastoral marketing responsiveness (Osterlon, Mcpeak, 2003). During the course of our conversation, another participant had this to say to me:

There was lack of reliable livestock markets for our animals. In the early years of Kenya's independence, the government used to buy animals from us through LMD that used to give us reliable market for our animals. We knew that every year our animals especially the weaker ones had ready market at least twice in a year. These days, there is no organized marketing network and no marketing information systems in place. This has been like that for the last 30 years....I do not know why....what happened? (W Maiso 2).

National policies with respect to cross-border movement of livestock and control of livestock diseases through movement restrictions and quarantines have

disrupted the natural flow of livestock from the grazing areas to cross-border markets. Under the synchronization of annual cross-border livestock vaccination programs for eastern Africa, major livestock diseases were drastically reduced. The intention was to have a wide coverage of animal vaccination so as to eliminate diseases. According to staff within department of livestock, Garissa, this venture was initiated by the colonial government but was discontinued in the 1960s following Kenya's independence. The government had limited funds and its priority was to control the *shifita* movement during that period. As a result, the entire NEP lagged behind in development and there was no willingness on the part of the government to improve conditions for the inhabitants of the area.

Consequently, animal disease epidemics, human diseases and pests' invasions especially endo- and ecto- parasites such as worms and ticks have affected the region in recent years. In particular, the participants cited rinderpest, foot-and-mouth disease, black-leg and contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia (CBPP), trypanomiasis and rabies. It is interesting to note the difference between the two districts in terms of the prevalence of the main livestock diseases. Garissa pastoralists specialize in raising cattle, sheep and goats—generally their pastoral mode of production can be described as transhumance, i.e. the movement of pastoralists and their livestock from one grazing ground to another, as from lowlands to highlands, with the changing of seasons, as opposed to pure nomadism where livestock move to considerable distances as herders living in temporary shelters move with herds all year round in search of better grazing and water.

According to the District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC, 2007), Garissa is an endemic area for the major livestock diseases. As well, most of the research participants in Garissa mentioned livestock diseases as the major factor responsible for the loss of their animals and subsequent displacement. The frequency of drought means animals especially cattle and sheep which are grazers require continual watering. Their frequent visits to water points and the reduction of the rangelands increase their concentrations around water points thereby leading to increased pest and disease outbreaks. DIDC (2007) reports indicate that the southern parts of Garissa district is habitat for tsetse fly, a vector that transmits Trypanomiasis. The thick mosaic vegetation prevalent in some parts of Garissa and the riparian basin of the river Tana provide a conducive environment for tsetse fly habitation (Noor, 1999).

The NEP annual report of the MoA also indicates that Wajir is relatively drier than Garissa district, with savannah vegetation and therefore camels and goats thrive well due to their hardy nature (MoA, 2007). It appears that the resilience of camels and goats makes them less susceptible to pests and diseases. The camel's ability to withstand pests and disease infections could also be explained due to their browsing habits. Unlike cattle and sheep which are grazers, camels and goats browse on trees and shrubs most of which have pharmacological properties.

The indications we get from the participants is that all livestock species in the study area eventually succumb to pests and diseases. Disease problems may be aggravated by drought, because of the ensuing large-scale movements of

livestock between areas. In addition, animals are weakened during drought due to lack of water and adequate pasture. Also, mobility is a cardinal strategy for survival of nomadic pastoral communities. Pack animals expend a lot of energy since they are used to fetch water, for transportation during frequent movements, and other basic household needs. Loss of pack animals in the face of hardships takes away entitlement from households by restraining their movements. Also, as animals graze on reduced swaths of forage, they pick up soil-borne pathogens. Blackleg, Leptospirosis, and Anthrax among others are some of the livestock diseases reported by the participants.

In both of the study areas, more than 80 percent of the respondents reported the incidence of infectious and parasitic diseases. The research findings reveal that the chances of occurrence for epidemic disease were generally higher during the drought period, while parasitic diseases are prevalently seen in all seasons of the year. Long distance migration by pastoral groups into unfamiliar areas was also cited to pose risks to the herd from exhaustion and from the change in pasture species as well as dietary changes for livestock. In addition, movement into new grazing zones often brings herds into contact with a new range of diseases and parasites. In southern Garissa, herds are particularly vulnerable to infection from tsetse flies when entering southern pastures and experience high losses as a result (MoA, 2007).

4.3.2 Out-Migration of Labour from the Pastoral Sector

Household labor forms the most important component of the labor force, and it usually comprises the head of household, his wife/wives, and children.

Practically, all the members of the pastoral community except the aged and children below six years of age are active participants in the production activities. The share of labor in herding and household activities follows a well-established pattern. The interviewees contend that labour available to subsistence pastoral households has become increasingly scarce. The underlying factor that has led to dynamic change in the pastoral labor structure is the out-migration of young men for urban wages and other attractions which clearly have implications for pastoralism. This correlation between young pastoralist men leaving pastoral nomadism, and the decline in pastoral production appears to trigger famine. Informants were asked to rank how much risk was posed to the labour force supply in the pastoral system from a set of given items. At the time of the survey, Wajir (74%) and Garissa (59%) participants felt that the risk to pastoralism lay in young men leaving pastoralism (see table 2). Both districts reveal the serious depletion of the main pastoral labour force, the young men, which adversely affects the quality of herd and pasture management rendering impossible many of the traditional adaptive strategies such as herd dispersion. The quote below is from a female participant that gives a vivid explanation of the relationship:

....When the size of the livestock diminishes, the young men leave us, especially the youth who become paid-herders for wealthier pastoralists or look for work in towns.... remember, the youth perform important livestock husbandry practices [such as] castration, vaccination and building of enclosures for the animals... (WMakar2).

In my view, the hands-off attitude on the part of the young men stifles the labour needed for the pastoral economy, particularly for watering and herding animals. Unquestionably, young men in pastoral societies have an important role in pastoral economy, just as the old men and women do. According to Mohamud

(2003), pastoral women are closely involved in caring for young and sick livestock as well as caring for animals kept near the homestead. Mohamud argues that older men are responsible for planning and decision making with regard to livestock, while the young unmarried men and boys perform most of the herding besides slaughtering animals and digging wells. The youth also graze and water the animals.

One means by which the pastoral human population can temporarily adapt to the fall in herd productivity caused by drought is to send some of its members elsewhere as mentioned earlier. The result is a reduction in the number of dependents on the herd for their support (Hjort, 1990). At the same time, it is hoped that the emigrants may start to earn an income which can help the family left behind to buy some of its food needs. There are, however, likely to be negative effects on herd productivity from this out-migration of labor, which tends to consist of young adult males, the most productive workers in the pastoral economy and crucial to the efficient management of livestock in semi-arid conditions. Researchers in both East and West Africa have noted the drop in efficiency of herd management following the outflow of labor in Mauritania and northeast Mali where the pastoral sector has lost much of its labour force (Bonte, 1975; Marty, 1975); in Niger where many households send part of their workforce on migration during the dry season when the labour demands of watering and herding stock are acute (White, 1984); and in Kenya, where the flow of migrants from the Boran economy has meant that more distant pastures can no longer be effectively used and protected. These socio-economic contributions are

disregarded when the men responsible for these tasks abandon pastoral life. The analysis of household labor sharing in the pastoral study area reveals increased engagement of women in herding activities, which is a recent trend resulting from dynamic change taking place in the household labor structure. In the absence of men, women assume male tasks which are difficult evidenced by loss of entire family herds with eventual consequence of settling around towns. The out-migration of men may challenge the pastoralists' traditional resource management practices and instigate clan conflicts.

4.4 Resource Use and Conflicts

The internal displacement in NEP is often caused by clan-based conflicts resulting from struggles for control over political power and leadership. The violent conflict occurs among the different clans and people of neighboring districts affiliated to the different clans that live in NEP. A female participant had this to say:

I'm displaced because my animals were raided. The conflicts normally happen during and after constituency elections when one of the clans loses the seat to the other. The other factor is competition for access to grazing area and water points. Competition over the [control] and the use of pasture and water resources among different clans happens when there are inadequate pastures and water especially during times of drought..... However....., what initially may be a struggle for access to resources or political power then seems to acquire an ethnic dimension... which further exacerbates and complicates minor conflicts... and then retaliations begin and this keeps on expanding... Consequently, there is displacement in the long run (WMakaro4).

In some cases, lack of employment or skills to achieve a decent living has produced a frustrated and angry underclass of largely unemployed youths (who are from the displaced families). These are easy targets for political manipulations by politicians and aspiring politicians (Abdille, 2006). It is to this disempowered youths that ambitious politicians often look for support, thereby instigating

violence or conflicts along ethnic lines. Large areas of Wajir district are affected by armed violence linked to livestock raiding and banditry.

Abdille (2006) observed that NEP's proximity to Somalia has made the acquisition and trafficking of small arms and light weapons as an alternative pre-occupation of the unemployed youths and other groups. He argues that Wajir district is a conduit of small arms transportation to other pastoralist districts, and the government believes that the arms which are used in urban centers such as Nairobi come from Somalia through the north-eastern province. This, in many cases, may be compounded by a widespread lack of good governance, transparency and accountability. As stated by the participants, Chiefs and District Commissioners may sometimes be involved in raids as facilitators or promoters, and take a share in the division of booty. For example, during the 1992-94 clashes in Wajir, chiefs had a major role in funding and directing the conflict (Swift and Kratli, 1999). In NEP, the military used to get involved in every conflict, and often their harassment of the local population, including habitual rape, made those people sympathize with the bandits (Swift and Kratli, 1999).

Pastoral communities have frequently fought over access to watering points, dry season grazing lands, ancestral lands and recently humanitarian assistance distribution points. This has become a serious problem among the three major clans living in Wajir district especially because of the erratic rainfall and ill-conceived government settlements that have disrupted the well-balanced traditional systems of resource use (pasture and water).

Generally, inter-clan rivalries are more common and severe than intra-clan feuds in both districts. This may explain why Wajir, which is more cosmopolitan, is volatile and conflict-prone. By contrast, Garissa district's rangeland is inhabited by one clan, the Ogaden, and therefore the various sub-clans often seem to coexist peacefully. These sub-clans in Garissa district resist attempts by other clans to come to their traditional lands in search of water and grazing for their livestock. Overall, the pastoralists in Wajir who are desperate and in dire need of water and grazing resources move to neighboring districts such as Moyale, Marsabit, Isiolo and Garissa and report that they are displaced because of raids.

The use and misuse of modern small arms and the breakdown of traditional peace structures has hindered the development of selective systems of grazing during wet and dry seasons. Here below is a Wajir male participant's view:

The government and politicians politicize conflicts...and this is because we are poor which we think has partly been created by bad governance. And then instead of seeking ways of solving conflicts, politicians apportion blame. They call for violence and expulsion of certain clans from certain regions which escalate tension and conflicts... but you think they care? The entire northeast was under a state of emergency from independence until 1992 when multi-party system came into being...during these times, the administration was shooting us and killing our people on sight on the grounds of suspicion for possessing guns.....(WCath2).

Unclear policies and conflict over traditional communal and tribal land ownership is a source of conflicts among the three major clans in Wajir district. Clan conflicts and insecurity due to scarcity of range resources results in making the government respond with a hard-handed and repressive measures. The imposition of majority onto pastoralists' cultural tradition of consensus decision making,

particularly within a context of clan-based politics, is a primary cause of political disputes, leading to increased conflict between the various pastoral clans.

Persistent droughts and harsh natural environment have also hampered flexible herd management practices including diversification of domestic herds, herd splitting and a clear division of labour (Noor et al., 1999) by age and gender. Pastoralists, even those with significant current assets in the form of livestock, are increasingly poor and vulnerable to drought. This is due to the breakdown of the traditional systems of mobility based on communal land tenure brought about by encroachment, privatization, sedentarization and the increase of conflict (Morton and Meadows, 2000). Current conflicts over resources are not just a contingent phenomenon but according to this study are to be seen against the background of history of active land alienation, cyclic droughts, mass displacement, cultural and physical aggression and political marginalization of pastoralist populations. The division of communal rangeland areas into discrete administrative units interferes with customary land use patterns. The concentration of animals in areas of settlements is likely to have an adverse ecological impact and increase the risk of diseases among livestock (Noor, 1999).

As indicated in the preceding sections, the Kenya government has been privatizing some of the pasture lands which lead to the reduction of the capacity of the land to support livestock (Munei, 1990). In the long term, this privatization increases social polarization and deprive large numbers of people among the poorest sector of the population in Kenya of crucial resources they need to sustain their livelihoods. Drought too, increases spontaneous disputes over natural

resource use and easy and attractive targets for large scale raiding which has consequences on the livelihood systems. Raids increase after droughts both for ecological and economic reasons. In general, raiding is more convenient during the rainy season, as the livestock have a better chance of survival. However, animal raids increase during dry spells because households hit by the drought are desperate to get back to a viable herd (Swift and Kratli, 1999).

According to some respondents, the British colonialists emphasized fixing firm clan boundaries which they referred to as *seragos*. The participants were emphatic that the colonial administration gave some degree of autonomy to the indigenous clans by imposing heavy fines on individuals or groups of clans that trespassed to other lands, raided or killed. According to some of the participants, the traditional authority structures for control and management of grazing and water resources was sustained. An elderly participant said “*in the face of an adversity in an area, the British system encouraged reciprocal good-will between clans through dialogue and consensus*”. However, Oba (1992) reports that the territorial boundaries proved useful to the British interest in exploiting natural and human resources the local resources without confronting a unified resistance movement of the nomadic clans (Oba, 1992).

4.4.1 Human and Herd Migration to Other Areas

Population pressure was mentioned as a major factor in rangeland depletion in NEP. As a result, intra- and inter- migration, particularly influx from the unstable neighbours such as Somalia and Ethiopia (the Somali region) is blamed for the range resource depletion. In addition, the transmission of pests and

diseases to their animals is of significance to them. The participants were asked to rank-order the most and least important possible causes of recurrent famine in their districts from a list provided in the questionnaire.

Table 4.3 Causes of famine (average for Garissa and Wajir)

	Average for the two sites (%)
Drought	94
Conflicts	85
Population Pressure & Over-grazing	84
Diseases	83
God's Will	79
Young Men Leaving Pastoral Nomadism	67
Land Use Development	66
Untimely Response to Famine	69
High food Prices	50

Source: Author's survey

In both districts, population pressure and over-grazing were on average placed in the third position (84%) after conflict (85%), and drought (94%). Diseases (83%) were also cited as a major cause of displacement especially by the Garissa residents. The following excerpt describes participants' overall feelings about the link between population pressure and their displacement:

"There are so many people and also the livestock population is high so then the land is degraded so much until it is not the land we used to know. We notice that people from other areas especially neighbouring countries of Somalia and Ethiopia come and graze on our land without regard to sustainable resource use. They also bring in foreign pests and diseases to our animals...and water shortage becomes a big problem too... Sometimes we might be lucky to be blessed with some rain but the grass might not grow. But long time ago, the grass that grew in one season used to exist for even three years and during drought only the old and very weak animals used to die" (WBCatho 4).

In times of pasture shortage, a common strategy by herd-owners is to take their animals to other grazing areas where they hope to find better conditions. In the case of NE region, herds are usually moved to areas with permanent water points such as flood retreat pastures and irrigation schemes. The concentration of

large number of animals and people in small areas obviously denudes the already fragile dryland. Movements of nomads during dry spells are more frequent. The nomads' requirements of plant twigs for building, fuel, and livestock enclosures during such movements leads to clear-cuts of large tracts of woody vegetation. Pastoral people in northern Kenya use large quantities of woody material for construction of night enclosures (fences) or livestock bomas. These fences keep animals together at night and prevent loss to predation and livestock theft. The fences are built at both permanent and temporary camps. Permanent fences are occupied for longer time periods than the temporary ones, but still require periodic replacement of the old enclosure to avoid the accumulation of ticks and parasites, so new material is required to construct a new fence. The construction of these fences has a great impact on the woody vegetation because a shrub in the arid area takes a longer time to grow and rejuvenation of new branches is low compared to more fertile and productive areas.

The settlement pattern of human population also contributes to the deterioration of rangelands in these arid districts. The traditional practice of the pastoral nomads was to disperse during the wet season from dry season grazing areas. The dry season grazing areas have historically had permanent watering points that remained green when all other areas were almost devoid of vegetation. Today, there is an increase in sedentarization of formerly nomadic people on these more productive lands. The respondents in this study observed that humans and livestock in this region are now tending to concentrate around water points such as wells and boreholes. These concentrations are followed by famine relief

programs, shops, schools, and medical centres. The former oasis becomes a nucleus of overgrazed and overused land, which spreads in widening circles of human-made deserts.

The pastoral economy is complex and has developed over the years to protect pastoralists from adverse effects of weather and other natural hazards, like diseases. It is increasingly becoming apparent that the traditional pastoral socio-economic institutions cannot sustain pastoralists under the emerging environmental, social-economic, and cultural conditions. Under-development symptoms such as displacement, severe hunger, insecure livelihoods, and other determinants of poverty are prevalent among these pastoralists. The NEP pastoralists have adapted and coped with a range of climatic variabilities. However, changes in climate that result in increased frequency of extreme events that fall outside historic ranges increase the risk of incomplete or collapse of the livelihood system. It is also apparent that the Kenya government lacks the will to diminish the problem or lessen the pastoralists' vulnerability to environmental changes. What does this mean for the NEP pastoralists? The physical, ecological and traditional systems of livelihood extraction have been or will be impacted. The remaining sections will attempt to address the extent of the impacts and the adaptive requirements of these ex-pastoralists.

Chapter 5: Consequences as Pastoralists Settle

5.1 The Life Before and the Decision to Emigrate

Once the traditional bases of livelihood security decline, pastoralists move to where they think they can get some form of support (livelihood) as an initial

response to their unfortunate circumstance. The respondents' initial survival strategy involves migrating as close as possible to permanent water points. It appears that the victims of conflicts and raids usually move to their homelands to seek clan sympathy and support, and above all to ensure some sense of security. Under such circumstances, the decision to move is instinctive where the affected sub-clan or extended family members move to their home districts--most of the respondents from Wajir district appear to fall in this category. This is due to the fact that pastoralists collectively secure their own security.

The decision to emigrate is one of the most crucial steps in the lives of those pastoralists affected by famine. Everyone grieves over the loss of family and livestock but the Somali culture has distinct gender roles and decision making in the family that is tied to gender roles (Mohamud, 2003). The young unmarried men as mentioned in the earlier section are most likely the first ones to leave in search of alternative opportunities. The older male who usually is the household head takes a unilateral decision to run away from the family if the loss of livestock is due to drought or disease. This can be explained by the fact that the man's pride, dignity and ownership of livestock (wealth) serves as prestige and honour for the family and the man in particular. When their wealth dwindles, the man takes 'flight' as face-saving measure by going to towns to seek menial jobs with the hope that he would restock his livestock herd.

This instance seeking survival opportunities is intended to salvage the 'wreckage' in terms of the family's diminished resources. The wife/wives who are left with the kids ponder for awhile and eventually try to reach out to nearby

relatives to feed the children. The traditional support mechanisms erode due to the calamity they are all sharing. Naturally, women trek with the children to towns hoping to find the husband. Their “decision” to migrate to the towns, however, is not to be described as going with plans of their mate or their parents/relatives but is with a view to making the best of it for their children’s survivability. Most of the married women or adult daughters have come begrudgingly, however for most of them, there was obviously no excitement, and did not expect any new opportunities. Some participants’ responses to my question on the decision to migrate to town were:

When my husband left us in the reserve, I used to fetch water from far distance or take the goats for watering without any assistance. It did not matter whether I was pregnant or just had a new baby but all the time on the road for water or from it. We go very early in the morning and come back in the evening. The kids may have something to eat or nothing at all.... and there would be no milk in my breast because of the hardships... a lot [of] work and hunger and lack of clothes for me and the kids. Instead of dying in the reserve, I decided to come to town. And I did not know where the town was from where I was. I held my son by the hand and put my daughter on my back and started my journey. My daughter was a newly born baby. I was looking for my uncle who had animals, and by evening, I still could not get his family. I passed many people on my way and every time I asked them if they knew his whereabouts. They were wondering with what I was doing with such infants all myself and almost without clothes all of us. I always had to tell them the reasons for moving to town. I had to always say I ran away because of hunger and hardships. I could not make it to the family that I wanted to go to on same day. So I had to sleep at another family’s place. She gave us some porridge for the night. They also had their own problems, you know. The next day, they gave me directions and went tracing for this uncle of mine. I went and went and asked about the family every time I met with people that I saw on my way. Finally, I got someone who knew exactly where the family lived and gave me good direction. And there I was with them!! I first saw his son cutting down firewood for the market. If you sit, you don’t get money. So a woman’s job has become to run around for anything. In Garissa, people like me survive by running around...or begging (GBbatl).

It is only God that I was counting on. Because I did not know whether I could be helped by anybody just like that or an organization. I was not that enlightened. I did not know about relief aid provided by relief organization or help from

individuals. I did not know anything about town life or anything to do with that. I used to get surprised with how people could support themselves in unfamiliar places like towns. I was thinking that there are sincere Muslims here, just live among them for security and protection purposes and enjoy their neighborhood. And that is why I came to settle here (WMakar3).

On the whole, what the IDPs all shared is a complete lack of understanding of what the decision to move really meant, of how it would improve their lives. For these families the decision to migrate to towns is a response to a crisis that forced them to look at the availability of alternative survival options. They hope through this venture that they would be able to survive and “pick up the pieces” from their declining situations, and, even more, they hope that they could help save the lives of their children by taking them to as close to where there is water as possible. During the interview, some women participants in Wajir said this to me:

A lot.... a lot. So much hardship. My hardships were exacerbated by the worries about my children in terms of what to feed them... When you look around the four corners of your house just to think about what to give to the children, you will not have time to think about your own problems. I saw myself not able to get up or sit when I had delivered and had a new born baby because of starvation and hunger and other famine related hardships. This was when we first settled here. That boy is now 12 or 13 years old. An organization used to cook porridge for us and that was how I managed with a new born baby. Everyone experienced the problem of famine and hardship but it affected more the children. If you ask yourself what to do with the children twice then you are likely to run mad (WCatho3).

We were just running around, asking ourselves what we could get for the children for the night. The children are the most affected but there was alot of dislocation... people went helter skelter. They cannot get anything for themselves and a child that is not getting anything to eat will keep cry...and cry and may not survive. I took my children to relatives who were living in different places. I took my sons to their aunts in different towns. Even my husband went away from us just to go and live with relatives (WCatho2).

It is important to understand the significance of that place they called their pastoral home. Many of them, especially the men, never transferred their “home”

feelings from that place to their new homesteads. To them, the pastoral reserve is their home as it shaped their destiny over the years. When they were asked whether they still consider themselves as pastoralists during the survey, they responded in unison that they are pastoralists. They said that it gave them a sense of who they are, and how they fit into the world they knew- this view may not be totally artificial in its attempt to down-play the “life before”. Many of them no doubt felt they were shedding the protective cocoon of their former life, with its comforts, familiarities and limitations, to be assaulted and ultimately transformed by the new environment.

On arrival at the peri-urban area, these displaced people face the first harsh contradiction of their new life: what they were before did not matter at all as it could not determine the success of their new venture; the lost wealth (livestock) and their traditional way of life were no longer relevant, yet it was all that they had ever known, and it was suddenly more important and more cherished than ever. But their stories highlight at times this bitter-sweet longing for a past pastoral lifestyle that cannot be recaptured or duplicated and a place that most of them may never see again. The social relations and cultural legacy of their ‘life before’ present these people with a real challenge in their new lives on the peri-urban: how to let go of it and yet still value it; how to retain those aspects of it that were important, while not expecting life to be the same are some of the dilemmas they experience. Their past was an essential part of their present, and would influence, to a significant degree, the ways they approached their lives on

their new homesteads. The following are some of the reactions obtained from a male participant:

In the reserve we were rich, we had camels, cattle and goats.. . But it is not important to talk about a wealth that is past. Even myself I had resources and I was a person who was independent from others because I had about 100 cows, 100 camels etc. A few days later those animals were all gone, my children passed away and all over sudden, I did not have anything. But still we are grateful to God because we are still a live so there is no need to go back to thinking about our past wealth. But as it is, there is no wealth in fact our living condition is poor...we have no where to turn to except God (WMaiso 2).

The pastoral identity they carried with them is almost routinely ignored or forgotten by anyone who might want to help them. In fact, they are frequently viewed as poor, urban blight and as a sign of large scale social problems. However, when one interacts with them closely, things look very different. At the sub-clan level, these communities seek to work with a remarkable degree of social cohesion and mutual trust and a complex internal social organization, involving social life that unfolds like a complex design for survival. A female participant had this to say about his opinion and experience:

I came to live with relatives who the next day said there are new people in the settlement with no shelter. Neighbors came running to us. Some women ran with ropes for hut construction, others brought with... them tea, others brought 20 shillings donation and majority were relatives but displaced like me. After that a few people were restocked by Oxfam..., a few were bought mats for hut construction while others were helped with donkeys. I did not benefit from that support in any way because my husband was still a live although away. And Oxfam was supporting the orphans and single mothers. So for me I got help from relatives but not agents (Wmakar4)

Unless catastrophe strikes a whole community, there are better social support mechanisms among these pastoralists than in most other societies. Partly, sharing is a means of building and consolidating social relationships. Also, when milk is abundant, it is available in quantities that can be shared without cost to the herders or the young livestock; so is when an animal is slaughtered especially a

steer or camel, extra consumers can partake without difficulty. These sentiments were common in their responses as shown in the following:

I did not expect any support....I lived with my children without any shelter for awhile. I was not talking to anybody because to me, people in town were like the wildlife I left in the reserves. The former IDPs told me not to be shy of anybody, these people are your relatives and everybody in this settlement experienced this situation. They advised me to go to any home that they are cooking some food, ask them for whatever they are cooking for the sake of your children. They sensitized us and encouraged us to ask for help. Some brought us water, others a tin of maize etc (Gbrg3).

I was wealthier when I was a nomadic pastoralist. My camels were over 100. A rich person in the nomadic pastoralism is a person with 100 camels or slightly over and 200 goats. The poor person is a person who has no animals or very few of them. May be five or four camels such that even if they in their milking stage it will not be enough for their very survival..., will not be able to sustain his children and the many wives they get married to unless they substitute with rainfed farming. And those who are wealthy give Zakat (giving alms to the poor) in the form of pack animals, a few goats for milking; a few camels for milking or you encourage the poor to live with you in your boma so that his family can survive on the milk from your camels. These are especially done by those who are very kind and good believers (Gbm4).

Regardless of the cause of the displacement, Somali IDPs in both districts display acute traumatic experiences, arising from loss of assets, separation from family members, rape, torture, and discrimination. These indications of entitlement failures manifest themselves as social problems, social capital disintegration, mistrust and sense of betrayal during resettlement. Research documents cultural variations in responses to trauma and post-migration experiences of conventional refugees. However, it appears that there is hardly any tracking of the impacts of famine on Somali IDPs especially as regards NEP.

Somali culture is entrenched in their belief that their fate is predestined by God. They draw strength in difficult situations from their solid faith and trust in God. Generally speaking, expectations are that they would have resilience that enables them to respond to trauma and psychological disorders during crisis. The following statement expressed the opinion of some participants:

I was leading my independent life because I was surviving on my livestock. All my life, I had survived on livestock based subsistence such as milk and my body is used to milk. Now, because I don't have what I am used to, I believe I was given the previous wealth by God and was taken away from me by God so because of my faith, I don't have to agonize what has left me and be happy with what I have and where I am (GBpun1).

The psychological consequences of loss of place and sense of belonging are expressed by these displacees as sense of powerlessness and lack of control over their lives. In this study, IDPs face continuing stresses resettling in towns, including acculturative challenges, societal prejudice, and limited access to various services that jeopardize their very survival. Traumatic anxiety disorder as defined by the American Psychiatric Association is a condition characterized by symptoms of re-experiencing the trauma, avoidance, numbing (2000), mental illness, and withdrawals syndrome. The study suggests the anxiety symptoms may be more prevalent among men than women and girls. The effect of prolonged displacement on individual and collective resilience had not been examined before but gender variations seem to be apparent in responding to the effects of post-entitlement loss and displacement. The response I got from a participant was:

Since I came here, I have nothing else to do, I became stranded, I told to myself that maybe I will not die in town due to hunger and starvation just go closer to town and that is why I came. Thanks to God, we are still surviving. Because the Creator will never miss food for those he created and that is how we are surviving right now. As you can see me right now, do you see how I look? I don't have the energy to do anything, but I harvest gravel for my children. We expected the men to work with us but some choose not to because they do not care about the children. If they can look for anything to eat, they will go for it....but the children cry to the mothers all the time. Some men, whatever they get chew miraa with it...Others have run mad I think. The others ran away just like that...(Gbkam1).

During my field research, I gained an understanding of how gender variations relate to pastoralist destitution among Somali IDPs of NEP. It appears that the consequences during post- entitlement failure and displacement may have implications for gender and health practices, policies and programs. The primary

aim of this study is not to investigate gender differences in vulnerability to traumatic disorder resulting from an interminable famine. However, the observed differences were quite a surprise to me making it necessary to suggest possible reasons for the differences and may elicit further investigations. One possible factor could be the age of the participant; it is potentially noteworthy that studies on adults (Breslau et al., 1998; Kessler et al 1995) appear to show a high risk of traumatic experience among male participants, whereas a study of adolescents (Cuffe et al., 1998) found the opposite. It is not clear in these studies whether these gender differences in post-displacement vary according to age. While the women reported the emotional distresses they observed among men, the men did not mention these anxieties in the interview because social demands offer no provision for expression of male weaknesses in such a patriarchal society.

Protective factors such as social support may contribute to positive aftermath. It has been argued that humanitarian assistance (a form of social support) can mitigate the worst effects of conflicts and displacement if it is fine-tuned to meet local needs and priorities (Almedom, 2004). Coordination and timely delivery of external assistance accompanied by adequate provision of information for the recipients ensures the preservation of social support and promotion of the existing resilience, at least in the short term. The need to develop an understanding for social support is grounded in the study's unified framework. The unified approach also enables the division of responsibilities between various players involved in restoring shattered lives of the IDPs thereby expanding the utility of the study's framework. This would hopefully offer

guidance to effectively address the needs of displaced and impoverished pastoralist communities.

5. 2 Pastoralists' Displacement and Impoverishment

The impoverishment of NEP arid ecosystems caused by a plurality of factors cited in earlier chapters results in substantial reduction in the human support capacity of pastoral nomadism. In an attempt to cope with crises arising from the decline of pastoral economy, these communities opted to become peri-urban dwellers. The IDPs feel that moving to towns would offer them an opportunity to make a living for their family and for physical security. Specifically, the movement to towns is to seek survival opportunities, education for their children and connect with their family members and relatives in towns.

Most of the participants talked of having had multi-species of livestock such as camels, cattle and small stock (sheep and goats). They were self-reliant in their pastoralist settings where they depended on their livestock, livestock products and by-products (e.g. ghee). In fact, most of them stated that they never regarded goats and sheep as animals of any meaningful value during their pastoral life. The children inherited the big livestock and, pastoralists' social interactions and connections with their relatives were based on this livestock wealth. They paid *zakat* (Islamic obligation for sharing of wealth with the poor i.e. 10% religious taxation for welfare), alms, borrowed and lent animals to relatives, friends and neighbors. The loss of such socio-economic and cultural independence make these families find it difficult to usher in a new beginning in towns.

Their involuntary settlement around the peri-urban centers as destitute is an affront to their very existence as human beings. To them, loss of animals means not only loss of livelihood but also loss of space, culture, honor, pride, and dignity – in essence they feel dehumanized.

We were rich and kept livestock and moved around with them in search of water and pastures. We used to depend on the milk and used to lead a good life. Now, some of the animals have been raided because of clan conflict. Some are dead because of drought and the few left have been swept by El Nino and its effects. Now, we don't have animals and we have to survive in town because we felt that we would die in the pastoral hinterland. We used to survive on those animals by milking them and selling them when they are not in the milking stage. Whether through conflict, or drought or by other natural calamities, we lost them all. We decided to live in the township where we could easily get water at least. This explains why we are here and since we did not have transport, even a donkey cart, we had to pull the children by hand (WB Makor1).

We were living alone and never used to ask people for anything. I did not even know that it was ok to ask for support. I was self sufficient. Now, I have learnt to live with others and so I don't shy away from asking. Hunger and starvation have taught us a lot that we did not know. It has taken us to a place that we would never think of going to. What we use to shy away from, we don't anymore. And our integrity is lowered and self esteem is kind of shattered. We can now go to anybody and ask them for help. It was very hard for us to ask someone for anything in the past. But now, we go to town and ask those we think are better than us or have sense of humor to help us with something, anything (BMasa 2).

In Badia [reserve], we used to rear our animals and just look after them. We did not know that people could ask for help with anything like what we are doing now. Nowadays we have become beggars. Because we are asking for support almost everyday. Whether from a relative or organizations, we are asking for food, clothing, school and hospital fees (Catho 4).

All households interviewed are not at different levels within research sites with respect to dimensions of average family income, occupation, and whether or not a family member is employed. However, Garissa residents have wider survival opportunities in comparison to Wajir respondents due to but not limited to Garissas' closeness to more market networks. The average household size was

seven in Wajir and five in Garissa, needless to mention that there were usually at least two other relatives resident in addition to husband, wife, and children in the case of Wajir. This could be due to IDPs, especially in Wajir, taking responsibility for the dependents of their deceased relatives who succumbed to death due to conflict. A good proportion of these families still have their primary residence elsewhere, mainly in rural pastoral areas. Among these families, social and financial ties to extend kinship do not remain strong any more. This could be attributed to dwindling pastoral herd size, and the poor quality of livestock and livestock products which fetch low prices in urban markets implying that pastoralism in NEP is no longer able to sustain its residents.

This collapse of the customary survival relations could also be due to the “dismal curse” phenomenon, by which families (both displacees and urban dwellers) cannot extend support to each other owing to their lack of an asset base. Despite ties to their pastoral communities, settled people in towns have undergone some changes in customary relationships. The adoption of capitalist concept of private property in individual gain (Meir, 1997) could include departure from communal and kin-based relations in the pastoral communities to individualized identities in towns. This means breakdown in the moral economy of redistribution, where communities rarely share social responsibilities with others as they did in their past life. More specifically, when viewed through the entitlement theory, the dynamics of non-reciprocal clan relationships limit the development of a sense of entitlement.

The entitlement theory tends to focus on the natural determinants of famine and somewhat on the political economy. But in some instances this emphasis distracts attention from other factors which shape societal and household vulnerability to famine--the majority of which are determined by social relations e.g. reciprocity. That is to say, there is frequently a danger that anti-famine measures can become an end in itself, detached from many of the social processes that give rise to hunger and starvation. The arguments raised in this discussion, however, are not intended to dismiss the need either for preventing famine or coping with it. Rather, they are an attempt to place these activities in a truer perspective. The existence of better moral economy built on CED, will facilitate the implementation of better anti-famine measures, but only if a range of other factors are met. Most obviously, the more reciprocal relationships (what Putnam 1984 refers to as social capital), the more entitlement secure and less vulnerable communities become, the more effective the structures can be in preventing famine.

Famine reduced pastoralist families to famine-relief dependents. In fact, the survey result shows that famine not only dislocated the social fabric of co-resident family members, but also led to deaths of some co-resident members. This continued exposure to stress, and the lack of resources to cope with it, has detrimental outcomes for these people, and result in assortment of negative consequences including environment degradation, asset depletion, family and marriage breakdowns, and withdrawn situations of some members, conflict or even child neglect.

Table 5.1 Consequences of Famine/Displacement

Impact of famine %	Wajir	Garissa
Reduction in the number of all animals and inability to sustain subsistence level	97	90
Lowered the dignity and pride	85	88
Dislocated the social fabric of co-resident family members	77	43
Increased malnutrition and deaths of some co-resident family members	13	3

Source: Author's survey, 2005

5.3 The Trend of Displacement and Sedentarization

Most of the pastoralists who got displaced in Wajir come from within the district and also from the neighboring semi-arid districts. There are also pastoralists and urban people displaced from other neighboring countries such as Somalia and Ethiopia. Most migrations relate to access to water which result in violence leading to displacement among the pastoralists in the two districts and the neighboring districts. As explained earlier, the conflicts are exacerbated by prolonged drought and the proliferation of small arms from Somalia and Ethiopia through the porous borders of the study districts. Unfortunately, there is no census to show the numbers of internally displaced persons among these pastoralists although the study establishes slightly over three-quarters of displacement occurred due to conflicts. All the participants in this study also report that no needs assessment was ever carried out on them by the government, civil society organizations, or aid agencies.

The participants point out that the government generally downplays the scope and significance of internal displacement in NEP. Yet most of the internally displaced persons continue to live in dire conditions, often in makeshift

settlements or actually abandoned building or sometimes with relatives who are already totally in abject poverty thereby increasing their vulnerability. Most of them lack access to clean water, food and sanitation. Table 4 shows that the internally displaced persons in Wajir have been visited by the higher rate of social disintegration, death, disease and malnutrition. These could be explained by the remoteness of the area relative to Garissa, lack of social amenities such as roads, and Wajir being more cosmopolitan than Garissa is more prone to conflict.

As a consequence of the droughts of 1984, 1991/92, and 2000/2001, 2004/2005 and of recurrent insecurity, a substantial part of the pastoral population has been destocked below the level necessary to practice nomadic pastoralism. UNICEF/Government of Kenya (2004) figures for Wajir and Garissa suggest that livestock numbers fell by 70% (cattle) 80% (small stock) and 20% (camel) between 1991 and 1992 across the districts. The poorest elements of the population are those who have been completely destocked. These particular groups tend to move into '*bullas*' settlement areas around established trading centers and water holes. The bulk of food consumed by this group is purchased with income earned through small scale petty trade activities and/or informal sector employment. As such, the poorest of the poor are those who have arrived in the *bullas* recently, and have not had time to develop skills or trade links, and those who are labor poor. Many female-headed households, particularly where the head of household is a widow, divorcee or separated, are likely to fall into this category.

Somalis predominantly belong to the Islamic religion and from a religious point of view they are single, married, widowed or divorced. When women participants were asked about their marital status, even those whose spouses were away for a long time would respond that they are married. This is a cultural issue and the concept of separation is not pronounced at all among the Somali community. In most cases, this miscommunication can be a critical factor especially in assessing victim of famine's eligibility for support/relief aid. In most cases eligibility for relief support is based on marital status—usually married persons are declared ineligible. Those supported are single parents and/or physically handicapped.

Rings of settlements in the form of villages have begun in urban centers of the two towns and still continue to expand after every major drought or other man-made disasters such as conflict. Whereas there is no major difference in the cause of displacement between the two districts, the study observes that the duration of settlement varies between them as shown in table 4 below. Settlement for Garissa interviewees was earlier in relation to Wajir with most of the indigenous Garissa residents settling in the early 1990s. It is noteworthy that the earlier settlers in Garissa were mostly pastoral destitutes from neighbouring Wajir who moved to Garissa to seek survival opportunities through irrigated agriculture.

Table 5.2 Duration of the Participants' Settlement as Displacees

	Wajir (%)	Garissa (%)
Years		
0-4	25	18
5-9	29	20
10-14	23	28
15 years and over	21	31

Source: Author's survey, 2005: percentages may not add up to 100% since few participants experienced recall problems on their duration of settlement.

The declining trend of settlement in Garissa does not imply that the district has no problem of reduced productive capacity of pastoral nomadism. The increase in sedentarization from early 1990s could be attributed to lack of access to dry season grazing lands. Tana river, the largest river in Kenya, passes through the entire Garissa district and used to provide dry season grazing pastureland for pastoral nomads. The Tana riparian basin is subjected to large scale irrigation farming since the 1980s followed by spontaneous settlement along the Tana river basin. As a result, pastoralists are denied access to vital river crossing points and riverine vegetation. In some situations, the parks offer a lifeline since herders graze their animals in game parks and national reserves at critical times as the quote below shows:

....the towns in NEP grow because of [the] animals in the reserve... anyway, the animals are increasing because diseases are becoming fewer, and people in the reserves have learnt to survive the hard way. They go to the game reserves and national parks bribing their way out just to graze the animals during drought season and when it rains, they come back. When there is severe drought, the cows owners go to the parks these days and believe it or not this is the trend these days. People have become more advanced in their survival strategy so they do not lose their animals like we did. They are now struggling but they will be left with a few animals. But in wajir, because of their distance from the parks, and lack of rivers, they do not go to the parks so their animals suffer more from drought than those in Garissa... (GBKamol).

The failure of the government to account for traditional nomadic pastoralists systems, and adverse environmental factors have made pastoralists in Garissa vulnerable that resulted in accelerated displacement and destitution (Noor, 1999). Conflicts and disputes along national and regional borders have restricted pastoralists' freedom of movement and their ability to manage their livestock effectively. Drought losses in north eastern Kenya are associated with sedentarization, lack of access to dry season ranges, dependence upon agriculture (risky in range land and semi-arid environment) and high densities of livestock and people, relative to the regional carrying capacity (Barton, Meadows and Morton, 2001). Table 6 below shows the historical trends of occurrence of major events that are of importance to pastoralists in the two study areas leading to internal displacement and sedentarization.

Table 5. 3 Time line showing important historical events in Wajir & Garissa Districts

<p>1984/85: The Government massacred 3,000 pastoralist men (Wagalla Massacre) of the Degodia clan suspecting them of possessing illegal small arms. The same year, there was a major drought in the country that killed the small stock and cattle. There were huge influx of displaced pastoralists into the Wajir and Garissa urban center and they settled at the periphery of the town.</p>
<p>1991/92: This was one of the severest droughts in the history of the pastoralist. Livestock numbers fell by 70% for cattle, 80% for small stock and 20% for camels. There was high malnutrition among the children, the aged and the pregnant women. Villages in urban centers were increasing in size as a result of influx from displaced pastoralists. This is the period when the Somali state collapsed, which led to massive influx of refugees to the districts under study.</p>
<p>1993/94: One of the worst clan conflicts in Wajir took place during this period between the Degodia and the Ajuran/Ogaden clans. There was severe loss of livestock and human population. The pastoralists call it the two evil years. Many displaced people came to Wajir bullas.</p>

<p>1995/96: Drought that killed the small stock and cattle. The pastoralists who survived on cattle and small stock got displaced to the urban centers and settled in the bullas.</p>
<p>1997/98: The Elnino rains which caused flooding, the north eastern province was completely cutoff from the other parts of country as the roads were impassable. There was an acute food shortage and the prices of all food commodities went up. There was huge death of livestock and human population due to occurrence of Rift Valley Fever and high malnutrition. Displaced pastoralists lost lots of camels and small stock during this period. Camel and small stock pastoralists were settling in the villages of towns.</p>
<p>2000/002: Severe drought that resulted in mass displacement of pastoralists to villages and the displaced started settling with old displaced family relatives for support. Pastoralists lost lots of cattle and small stock during this period.</p>
<p>2004/2005: Both the short and long rains of 2004 failed and this was also the same for 2005. Families with small stock and cattle got displaced to urban centers. There was a severe famine in the districts. The pastoralists have moved to eastern province in search of pasture and water. Source: author's survey</p>

Colonial and post colonial governments have always favoured the policy of sedentarization of nomadic pastoralists for a variety of reasons. A sedentary population is seen as easier to control and tax by the state, easier to deliver services to, and simply more modern (Morton and Meadow, 2000). Sedentarization policies, which included the use of irrigation schemes to settle pastoralists was in existence since the 1960s and early 1970s. According to Noor (1999) irrigation schemes do not offer viable, sustainable, and alternative to pastoralism. Generally, pastoralists have reacted at best opportunistically to state sponsored sedentarization by continuing to reinvest in livestock; implying that sedentarization policies have not delivered either welfare or environmental benefits (Morton and Meadow, 2000) to the pastoral communities. Pastoralists in Wajir and Garissa face scarcity of resources, environmental degradation, ill-

conceived interventions resulting in loss of their entitlements. Yet, no alternative arrangements are made by the government for the displacees. The following sentiments were expressed by participants in Wajir regarding the disconnection between pastoralists and the government.

Lack of support... We have never seen any [aid] agency or the government coming to ask us what we need and our problems. We have never been asked where we were coming from and what our plans are. Some people from BBC came to us and mentioned a little bit of what you are asking us but other than that none at all. The wells were dug for us by individuals who are doing it for God's sake (WBMak3).

If the government is serious and determined to help or do something for its people, it can do it. To tell you the truth, from north eastern side the government is sleeping from us. First, if what I am saying is not true, you would see tarmac roads in northeastern, province. We used to live in Isiolo district. To come to Wajir it took me three days and that is because of the bad roads. From Isiolo to Nairobi to Kajiado, the roads are tarmaced. Why is that in northeastern we don't have tarmac roads. Northeastern is part of Kenya and the Somalis in northeastern Kenya have a right for those facilities. Why is it that any vehicle from Garissa and Isiolo to Wajir takes 3 nights? Our government is not poor and we cannot say it has no resources for northeastern alone but has it for the other districts. So, the government is neglecting us as a community and region. We are requesting the government not to neglect us but all Kenyans regardless of regions should be equal to the national resources. We should not be segregated against but be made equal with others. There should also be special program for people like us who are internally displaced and have nothing and are under the Kenyan government. The government should be aware of its people. What do we need? , how is our condition? What are the problems we are facing? Such questions if they are coming from our government they can be remedies (WBMais2).

The critical question to ask is “How can we accommodate pastoralist communities’ priorities within political and economic structures that are built around very different assumptions?” Alternative models could develop and maintain community stability and enable them to progress and flourish. The unified approach guiding this study is important in helping to answer whether

social policies in Kenya succeed in meeting the objective they are designed to achieve.

The study's framework posits that a mis-match exists between policies and needs in developing countries such as Kenya where policies seldom meet the needs of the poor. The mis-match, as argued by Devereux and Cook (2000), is occasioned by the tendency of defining interventions without reference to the target groups, blind borrowing of northern concepts and programs by the South which do not reflect the local realities. Inappropriate policies are another source of mis-match which emerged from assumptions by policy makers that they have the familiarity of what the poor needs (Devereux, 2002). It is therefore imperative to examine the process of policy making to expose how policies are made, the main actors and the intended beneficiaries.

Figure 5 indicates how pastoralists are getting sedentarized and the rings of settlements that have been occurring in Wajir and Garissa towns in the event of any major disaster relating to droughts and conflicts. The setup of the villages has not been decided by the government or any aid agency but as the people come they feel more secure and safer to settle in a place where their clan is the majority. They also feel that they will be able to secure some livelihoods when they settle close to their relatives, clan mates and next of kins.

5.3.1 Settlement Patterns in Towns

On losing the minimum herd size to sustain a pastoral household, the first step taken by the famine victims is to settle around watering points, usually referred to as outposts, which according to these participants is a transition phase.

In these sojourn areas, they get access to water, and some support from either kinsmen or relief agencies. Wajir has diverse clan composition and outposts' tensions over meagre resources force most of the IDPs to move further to the peri-urban fringes of major towns. Garissa is mainly inhabited by one clan and therefore such tensions are rare. However, lack of continuous support, by relief agencies and inadequate market due to low population frustrates these people's efforts to survive in the smaller settlement centres which push them to move to the central business districts of Wajir and Garissa.

The villages (*bullas*) develop on the periphery of the central business districts of Wajir and Garissa. For example, in Wajir, these villages host about 60,000 to 70,000 of Wajir town's population of about 150,000. The rings of villages increase in size after every calamity. The villages have developed and evolved in relation to the clans that reside in each district. The pattern of settlement even in central business districts is along clan lines. For example, it is rare to see an individual from a different clan or sub-clan living amongst members of a particular clan who are dominant in that area. This is because clan loyalty is a strong factor among Somalis and offers a sense of belonging and security.

It is important to note that clan identity supersedes even religious practices among the Somali ethnic group. Although these participants speak the same language, relations between them have oscillated between uneasy coexistence on the one hand and intensive raiding on the other. Despite marked differences and the history of violent clashes characteristic of the area in mind, it is surprising to find that in many cases, members of mutually hostile interclan

groups regard each other as ethnic brothers when they settle, barring a clear distinction drawn from political rivalries. The lasting influence of the views of one of the early administrators of “the territorial divide”¹⁰ under British Military Administration had proven very hard to correct for six decades because they are also believed by some people to be universal. The British colonial administration drew a territorial boundary between the major clans of the people they recognized in the area. This measure of colonial administration was aimed at cementing/solidifying interclan relations and minimizes chances for conflicts over local communal resources (Baxter and Hogg, 1990).

IDPs eventually came to grips with the reality that the individualistic lifestyle in towns is totally at variance with their traditional social relations. The disappointments they encounter with town dwellers include the erosion of traditional social connections, networks, shared set of cooperative norms and trust-what Putnam (1993) refers to as social capital. Social connections grants access to resources and support networks, and may actually lay the ground-work for multiple social and economic advantage for IDPs in terms of – but not limited to – reducing social isolation, providing contacts for or information about town life, etc. The IDPs have a shared understanding that contributes to community aspirations, values, and needs, and the future well-being of their society. As a result, those with the same ethnic lineage cling together for social support.

The IDPs settle with the hope to benefit from town-based social amenities such as water, health and schools. However, they live as close as possible to the

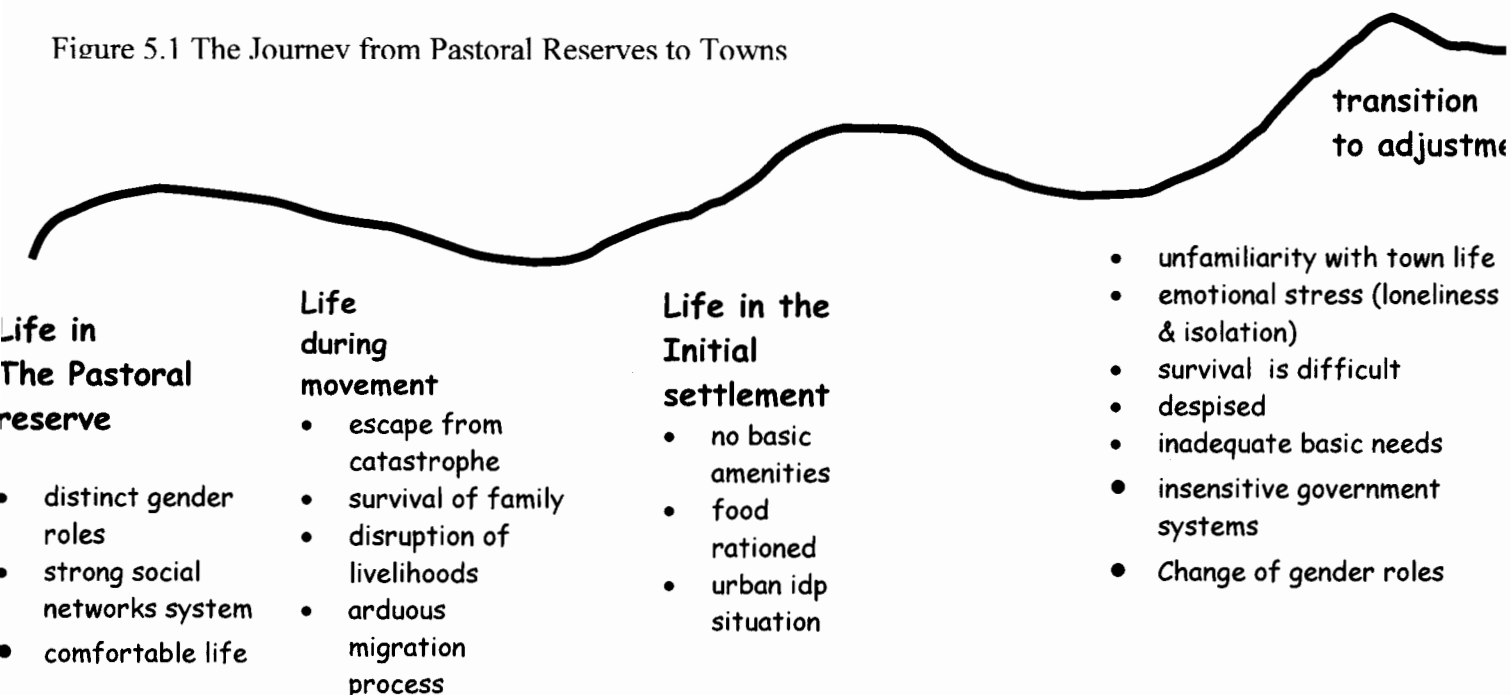
¹⁰ This territorial divide tactic was employed by the British administrators in all British colonially places in sub-Saharan Africa. Mainly to advance their colonial interest by ensuring divide and rule system. Independent Kenya inherited and promoted this legacy (Oba, 1992).

natural vegetation as an attempt to just “catch a glimpse of nomadic life”. The proximity to natural vegetation may also be due to some IDPs having remnants of livestock from drought, such as goats and donkeys. In addition, they have had no exposure or precedence regarding land demarcation for residential and business purposes. With time, they come to understand that they are different, and that the culture in towns is totally different from what they are used to, including the communal resource use. In order to avoid these complexities and possible conflicts, they resort to settling in places they think is no mans’ land, and prefer to stay close to those they “*float on the same boat*”. The figure below illustrates a typical pattern of settlement of the IDPs in town.

Pastoral life in the reserves appear to be comfortable for most of the participants, in relation to animal ownership,, social support systems in both nuclear and extended family, and social networks in the community. This loss of comfort and support serves as stressors on IDPs families, once they migrate and begin to cope with new lifestyles. The expression, “it takes a sub-clan to manage a household” captures the nostalgic yearning among IDP families when they have to deal with survival challenges without animals and the support of relatives in their communities. Mapping the journey of IDP families from their pastoral reserves to the towns provides a beginning of knowledge to help us understand the unique and complex circumstances that affect the lives of the IDPs among the NEP Somali community.

5.3.2 Stages of Settlement and Survival

Figure 5.1 The Journey from Pastoral Reserves to Towns



Across communities, common themes emerge from the experiences that form the basis of an organizing framework of IDPs as they escape from the effects of famine as shown in figure 5.1. This section captures the journey of 48 interviewees from the reserves to their new settlement centres, their pains, hopes and fears told from their voices of the participants. The transitions are presented in four stages: life in their pastoral hinterland, life during their worst time, life in their initial settlement, and the future. All stages contain stories of struggle and hopefulness in a new environment from the time they moved to when they settled.

When they were asked to give an illustration of their journey through life and what the future holds for them, IDPs expressed the challenges and opportunities they experienced as shown in figure 5.1 above. The initial

settlement is when they have strong faith in God - that is, everything will be taken care of by Him. This first stage is an upward blip characterized by high hopes and a lot of faith in God, elation, feeling relieved. Although new IDPs first impression of settlement is usually pleasant, difficulties in the initial adjustment are commonly experienced by all of them. There is a widespread awareness of the discrepancy between what they think of town life and problems they actually face. Upon arrival, some families get support from their peer group and some relatives.

But as soon as the peer help dwindles they see themselves in the old situation and suddenly “everything is awful.” Following this is a period of confusion. This can be described as the experience of culture shock and disorientation caused by having to function in a social environment in which patterns of behavior are different (and often unknown) from those that were formed since childhood. “Culture shock” as described by this female participant is the emotional effects they experience when moving from one place to another.

First, I moved with my family from the pastoral reserve...and hoped that we will get support from our relatives in town. But on settling in town, my relatives helped us for four days and nights but told us they could not help us with our needs anymore and that we should fend for ourselves. We did not get support from the government. We got confused as we could not get solace from anywhere. Well, you know it was totally a foreign environment to us. Even one day, I bought powder milk and put it straight to the tea and could not drink the tea because it got spoilt. We did not know how to cook their food because we were used to our type of milk and meat. People looked strange to me. I was disturbed and used to get sick all the time because the buildings use to make me feel dizzy...everything in town used to make me feel nauseated... (GBEid 3).

The IDPs become increasingly aware of social cues which make simple, everyday tasks more difficult to accomplish in towns. Lack of and/or withdrawals of support including relief food make getting through the daily routine harder to

deal with. Examples of mental fatigue, withdrawn behavior, expressing of anger and frustration, taking small incidences out of proportion are very common. Also, daily activities become difficult, craving for their traditional diet such as milk, tea, etc. and family starts to disintegrate although expressly more among Garissa residents of Wajir origin.

At the initial adjustment stage, things get better for some people, while the majority accept the situation and move on with life. These individuals say they begin to cope with daily activities, enhance their entitlements through their social networks, and for them it is the initial sense of gaining control over their lives. Hopes for the future are anchored mostly in children's success through education. IDPs value education as an important step in advancing the family situation. Where the parents' dream of a better life seemed unattainable due to their unforeseen circumstances, children would most likely achieve a secure future given the school opportunities available to them in towns. The benefits of a sedentary lifestyle according to these participants include education for the children which was not there in the nomadic way of life. This is because the children provide the labour force for herding animals in the nomadic pastoral arena. In a similar study, among IDPs settled on irrigation schemes in Garissa, Noor (1999) echoed the same sentiments.

Many parents resign to the situation they find themselves in, and accept their own limitations (health problems, old age, IDPs status, lowered self esteem etc) to prosper given the difficulties of finding alternative survival opportunities in meeting the demands of the family. A common pattern of behaviour among the

IDPs is that as soon as they settle, they take their children, particularly boys, to school. This is due to the fact that the children of the urbanites assumed responsible roles in supporting their parents and siblings on completion of the school programs--hence, the age-old Somali proverb which refers to children in schools as “thirst-quenchers”. This explains why the community readily accepted to be interviewed when I told them that I was a student. The IDPs, therefore, got exposed to this reciprocal relationship of the children of the town-folks and their parents. The IDPs also report that they get advice from local relief agencies on the importance of sending children to school.

We came here so fatigued, really impoverished but we got some support from a local NGO called Peace. They told us stay in where we are right now, encouraged us to take our children to school and have rest of mind and relax in our home district. These people came to us, built our confidence and told us nothing is better than peace so be peaceful in your new settlement. So, we got the peace, we took our children to [both] Koranic school and the formal education. Without any assistance from the government, we used our own strength to fetch firewood and mined stones and became completely different people in our lifestyle and thought with the hope that our school going children will one day move the family forward... (WBMak 4).

At the acceptance stage, some individuals begin to accept the bad with the good and cope with the discrepancies between expectations and reality and make best of town life. They get high hopes and aspirations and they think they can manage to make their life better within the new environment. For some others, particularly some men belief they will never adapt to the settlement and would prefer to go back to the reserve if given a choice. They begin to feel ostracized, miss their former lifestyle, reach ‘plateau’ seeking survival opportunities and feel they will never make progress. Loss of self -confidence, frustration over how they

still do not fend for their families in the new environment is a marked characteristic among most elderly men.

The lesson to learn from this settlement process is that isolation and integration can be thought of as opposite ends on a continuum. In the case of IDPs in NEP, integration is not a function of individual's choice (not that the IDP can decide where they want to be on the continuum). Integration is not a personal decision based on each individual's comfort-zone, but a feeling of being welcomed and wanted by the kinsmen is a very important part of helping IDPs to adjust to town life. The support they get from community, peer relatives and relief agencies give these types of people a message that they are welcomed and wanted and equate this with being settled and belonging.

There is a big difference between "knowing about" and "being part of a town and its culture". Getting to know about town life culture requires making the transition from knowing about to being a part, and this can only happen when the IDPs are able to make meaningful connections with members of the urban community. While the IDPs have friends or family members in towns whom they had connection with before they settled; most of them state that they find themselves with weaker networks when they actually settle. Some IDPs feel that they are ignored by their kinsmen in towns. This social disconnect or the disintegration of social capital as observed by the IDPs could be explained by the fact that urban kinsmen cannot generate enough resources to extend to their impoverished relatives. Due to the escalating needs of the IDPs including daily food, shelter, health care, employment and emotional support among others, when

they settle, it is beyond the reach of urbanites to bail them out single-handedly. However, some participants, particularly young women, said that sedentarization freed them from difficult situations in their pastoral lifestyle. Resettlement, especially during the initial settlement around peri-urban centres, was seen as abundance of opportunities and expectations but only to realize later on those chances for advancement is more difficult than what they had imagined.

In the bush, we used to support each other through the extended family net work. In terms of the number of animals, people have had different proportions. Some people are given temporary milking animals during hardship and could keep them until they were over with their problems, but some people were brought just to the homestead because their animals could not sustain them. ..We are still living in terms of the extended family for the purpose of support. We have to mention the clan, sub-clan, in-laws, religious leaders etc so that we emotionally sensitize whoever we can get something from. We got integrated, we are enlightened, and we are smarter now than before. We pray five times a day. We now understand the religion better. We experienced a lot of hardship during our initial settlement but now we are a bit fine. The living condition is not the same due to the factors that I told you about earlier. Our hardships are still with us including hunger and starvation. Once in awhile we ask our brothers and other relatives for something but you know, you cannot ask your brothers for something every day. Instead of standing in front of someone else's face every day to beg, it is better to get your quarter of sugar one day and miss it the other day (WBCa3).

We need to be aware of the fact that the culture of begging in towns is unconscious and simply thought of as normal – or right! –a way of doing things. To a new IDP settler, it is weird- or unacceptable! These participants indicate that unlike when they are in the reserves, when they come to towns they become embarrassed to ask people for help. This is because they are used to independent lifestyle and they want to maintain their pride. For the most part, Somali pastoralists believe never to beg and depend on themselves but *amaah* (borrow) in the event of droughts and return at the onset of rains or during periods of prosperity. This *amaah* is based on the age-old pastoral tradition of mutual trust

and reciprocity. Some of these IDPs point out the helpfulness of peer group and relief agencies in terms of food and shelter support, although they say that there is need to improve the timeliness, quality, and quantity of services. Some feel that they are shuffled around by different intervention agents and are critical of the government's limited aid opportunities and government policies for IDPs.

The support we got from Oxfam opened up our eyes and made us look like other human beings. The support started with wheat seeds, then maize and finally with porridge. This support came to us after 2 years of our settlement. That also helped us see the town and integrate a little better in town life than we were before. Even now, those whose children are still young have a problem and hardships but those who settled earlier than us and took their children to school are now earning something like casual wage. Those who have strong adults who can do the casual labour, they are ok with life and their lives have improved. With me, my kids are still young (WBCa3).

The government can see that we are refugees for a long time. It can also see our living condition and how hectic it is. Our faces and the way we look can tell the government a lot. See, the government is not far but with us everywhere. You do a small mistake, it gets hold of you quickly, but when you need it for support, it pretends that it cannot see you. I would tell the government to look at its people and be a government that is sensitive to its people. People are poor, within the poor, there are those of us who do not have even poultry. There is nothing they are expecting from anywhere. So the government should provide for such people. We need to be supported with the human basic needs whether through restocking or other income generating projects. That is the main problem in Garissa. The poor are not treated the same in Garissa. But the government should be aware that since the El Nino floods [1997], we are poor and we have been in hardship and that everyday is the same for us (GBKam 1).

...And the government also has some problems...may be it does not have the capacity to help its poor people these days. Or may be others are destabilizing the government. I do not know. All I know is that nothing is coming out of it these days. It is stranded. Even there used to be harambee where people used to be given casual labour by watering the forest trees. Such people used to get maize and beans but not anymore. The elders and those mothers who used to go to the forest department used to be given the same as well but not anymore. The new government does not provide these and the poor people are so annoyed with this new president. His government excludes us and we are wondering what next? I do not know when he will undo those ropes and unlock those locks. But he made the primary education free but not the high schools (GBKam 1).

5.4. Household Survival Mechanisms

As early as the late 1980's, the population in the peri-urban areas of Wajir and Garissa towns swelled due to migration of displaced pastoralist nomads. Currently, the population of Central Wajir, for example, is estimated to consist of only 5-10% working class or traders and 90-95% as destitute families living in the villages commonly referred to as *bullas* (Abdille, 2006). With the few livelihood opportunities available to these people, they are able to earn a small income from laboring, craft making, petty trade, collection of firewood, charcoal burning, and limestone quarrying that is used for construction of local stone houses. The bulk of food consumed by this group is purchased with income earned through this small scale petty trade activities and/or the informal sector employment.

Minimizing risk is inevitably a central element of the strategy of these households given that they are always surviving in harsh conditions and constantly facing the threat of famine that disrupts production and consumption patterns. For the most part, these people are rational in the ways they seek for survival and basic livelihood. The human epidemic and the armed conflict are not typically something that people prepare for. While those displaced by conflicts cannot plan for the occurrence of catastrophic shocks, those displaced by drought or other external shocks did not prepare themselves for their situation as well.

During periods of abundant milk, (i.e. rainy seasons and post rains), the surplus of milk could be prepared and stored for later use. Research evidence has shown that pastoralists do not usually store food during times of abundance (for example, milk and meat preservation) at times of and in anti Stores of food would

be called upon and the number and variety of potential income sources would become crucial to survive. However, this does not mean people suddenly become “irrational”-rather storing food may not be practical in such situation (subsistence production) where the “rational” response is simply to survive. Also, the unpredictability climatic conditions, lack of awareness and capacity to increase the shelf life of products may make it impossible to store products for future use.

It is evident that pastoralists in NEP moved from their traditional reliance solely on milk and meat to supplement their dietary habits with cereals and other grains. They sell off milk in towns to purchase commodities for their supplements. This change of lifestyle and dietary practices is caused by interaction with town dwellers. The production of milk and meat may have also been impacted negatively by the prevalence of pests and diseases and the shrinkage of the range resource base. Thus, subsistence production to sustain household members remains at its lowest ebb, not to mention storing milk and meat for future use. On that note, as the IDPs move to resettlement sites consumption becomes more restricted. They experience starvation but vulnerable households try to make efforts to protect themselves from death due to starvation. For example, adults cut their food intake as part of an earlier coping response in order to protect their children--subsequent household coping responses become just that: responses to things falling apart. Some households are fairly well equipped to ward off the worst effects. Many others succumb when all their options run out; there is nothing left to trade-off.

The specifics of household causes of displacement and asset structures obviously are important factors in the household food security strategy during movement. As mentioned earlier, the IDPs of Wajir town are displaced mainly by inter-clan conflict and reported that they had no animals left to dispose off for their survival in displacement sites. In contrast, some Garissa participants who have been displaced mainly by natural calamities said that they were left with a few goats which formed the basis for their food security during the movement. This coping mechanism may have largely been influenced by the fact that Garissa has a regional livestock terminal market which serves the horn of Africa pastoralists; IDPs in Garissa have the advantage of benefiting from such organized marketing facility. This is unlike Wajir where livestock middlemen may exploit the pastoralists who wish to dispose off their remnant livestock.

By and large, the household coping patterns involve a movement in stages along a continuum of responses but on the basis of short-term risk management. The IDPs have different coping responses which vary according to their endowment base, access to community support, and access to public interventions without implying that there is absolute chronology for such responses. These people try to minimize their risks and take risks to survive in an environment where there is virtually no public support. Below, I illustrate four key survival strategies employed by these people, namely informal employment, remittances, relief from non-governmental organizations and governmental support.

5.4.1 Informal Employment

The survey of 104 households shows that over 66 percent of IDPs in NEP are self-employed. Respondents (76 percent) report that they derive their income from sources related to local environment and pastoralism, including milk, offals, firewood, charcoal burning, and making of artifacts through wood carvings, weaving (see table 1). This outcome is not surprising because of their pastoral background and skills, would naturally attempt to catch a glimpse of pastoralism. However, some households also derive an average of 23 percent from other sources such as petty trade, hawkers/kiosks, *miraa*¹¹ business, domestic servants, and, of course remittance from relatives both local and international migrants. Whereas almost all the participants tended to indicate that they solicited relief handouts, Garissa displacees generally indicated that they had diverse sources of income. In particular, Garissa participants emphasized the sales from irrigated crops, remittances, domestic servants, and petty trade provided some income for their families. Table 1 gives a summary of each groups' livelihood activities. The living conditions column also refers to the level of hardship with the statement "our level of hardship in terms of eking out a living and living conditions" where 1 is "strongly disagree" and 4 is "strongly agree".

The livelihood sources of IDPs even after their settlement appears to be almost exclusively dependent upon the very factors that initially caused their displacement. For example, trading in milk involves flowing from the producer through non-written contractual arrangement to IDPs for sale to consumers in

¹¹ Miraa is a leafy plant grown in the highlands of Kenya and Ethiopia. The plant properties contain an addictive substance consumed widely by the Somali community in Kenya as a social pass-time drug.

town. In their capacities as milk producers, nomadic pastoralists control the distribution of milk between them and the retailers-the IDPs women. As producers they are at liberty to sell off the milk in the way they find most opportune including giving it away to close friends or relatives. Kinship ties play a central role in decisions on who the milk should go to, and in most cases disrupts the continued supply of income for some women IDPs. This is a common feature in both towns although the nature and level of nepotism is higher in Garissa.

Also, the mode of transportation from production sites to towns is plagued by insecurity and unreliable transport to markets. In addition to the hot climate (38 degrees all year round) in the area, milk is nowadays carried in plastic containers that reduce the shelf life of this perishable commodity. Traditionally, Somali pastoralists carry their milk in wooden containers that regulate the temperatures. Besides this, they clean the containers by smoking using a stick from a favorite tree (usually *Acacia Reficiens*). The cleaning prevents the milk from going sour, keeps it clean, and gives it the right aroma/flavor. For reasons that are not clear to the writer, all these important milk preservation processes are not followed. Although milk trade has meager revenue, drought and disease also reduce the yield of milk, thereby, affecting the milk trade.

A similar pattern is also observed with other sources of livelihood. Offals (the trimmings of a butchered animal) are thrown away by pastoralists in their traditional settings during years of prosperity. However, as part of the researcher's field visits, she had the opportunity to see slaughter slabs in the two towns. The

researcher observed that offals have become one of the famine foods among this community because of the lack of entitlement to more decent living. Animals are slaughtered at abattoirs early in the mornings and the offals are given out to IDPs women at that time. While it is thrown to them on first-come first-served basis, and is a matter of stronger IDPs women snatching the catch, considerations of kinship with the butchermen also plays a significant role in who receives the offals. What this means is that IDPs women related to the people slaughtering animals on a particular day get offals. If any IDPs women's kinsmen do not slaughter on a certain day, chances are high that they do not get their livelihood for the day. Furthermore, the livestock products rely on ready markets in towns which are not reliable. This is because many animals are slaughtered during dry spells; the supply of offals is higher than demand resulting in lack of readily available market to absorb these commodities. With the lack of proper storage facilities, there is tendency for the meat to get spoilt and lose value.

The same grim picture of favoritism is depicted in the firewood trade. This is a consistent thinking across all IDPs as they move to settle in towns. The thinking of the IDPs as they move to settle near towns is to get water for their children, but allegorically the notion of getting water is meant to strife for the basics of household. Just as water is life, the IDPs move to settlement centers with the intent to fetch firewood for sale in the local markets. In fact, fetching firewood has become the immediate economic activity across those interviewed in both towns. Similarly, these IDPs process whitewash, gravels, stones and other building materials that are locally harvested.

Environmental and social barriers could be experienced in extracting these natural resources. During excavation of these materials, gullies and ponds are created which eventually impound rain water and make harvesting difficult besides posing health hazards. For example, stagnant water is a good breeding ground for malarial parasites and other water-pond organisms that cause diseases. Besides the health hazards, IDPs nutritional deficiencies may further debilitate their physical condition. Also, it is difficult to process whitewash, used as wall-paint, during the rainy season. The purchasing power of the buyers of materials affects the demand for the whitewash and similar products. Competition from synthetic products such as paints also affects the demand for the local items and often delays in sales are experienced. Generally, these survival strategies are bedeviled by nepotism in the context of kinship ties.

....there was a time my livelihood changed for worse. These are somewhat connected to the purchasing power of the people in town. When there is a jam in the town, then our kibarua (Causal labour) also gets jammed. We could not get kibarua (causal work), nobody could buy the milk from us. You don't see people asking you for house construction, you do not see someone coming to you to tell you they want to buy a glass of milk because there was no money in town. This problem was exacerbated since the new president came to power [2003]. When people send money from abroad and buy plots then there is money in the town and so there is high demand for constructions and our livelihood changes for the better. There is no money in Kenya. The town is based on the flow of money from abroad (GBKam1).

An emerging trend is the significant contribution of household income by girls working as domestic servants (house-help). In Wajir and Garissa, the proportion of girls engaged as domestic servants represents 40 and 60 percent, respectively (table 1). This may have profound negative impacts on girls emotionally, socially and economically and will be discussed in a later section. In Garissa, another important strategy in reducing livelihood risks is crop farming

under irrigation. Small-scale farming along the Tana river basin involves the growing of tropical fruits and vegetable such as bananas, tomatoes, melons, papaya, mangoes etc. Successive years of above average or poorly distributed rainfall have negative effect on crop production, income and consumption patterns and complete crop failure in a set of contiguous fields cannot be avoided.

The primary effect on crops from the El Nino floods of 1997 was the major failure in crop output and loss of farmlands due to river bank erosion. Most farmers also cannot access the farms and cultivate their crops during floods. Malaria incidences increase during floods, onset of rains, and drought seasons as well making people sick and unable to fend for their families. In such cases, not only the farmers get affected but also those who buy the produce from the farmers and sell with a view to getting income are affected. Similar incidents such as build up of pests and diseases were observed in Eritrea. The most prevalent parasitic/viral disease was malaria, which is an acute health problem for all age groups (Kahsaye, 2002) not only in Eritrea but sub-Saharan Africa as well.

Others diversify income by building up social-support networks based on gifts, food sharing, and informal credit system. The importance of diversifying income sources through building social networks cannot be over emphasized. For example, households in Makaror village in Wajir, diversify their income from such sources-relatively more stable in conflict years than in drought years alone. They are thus better able to benefit from social networks and cope with the severe initial displacements than households in Garissa where households are displaced by mostly drought. As documented by Adams (1993) for Mali, the importance of

social networks is often overlooked. Yet, these social institutions and practices across Sub-Saharan Africa offer many elements which are essential to vulnerable households in their attempts to withstand the effects of events such as famine. Based on kinship, patronage, and friendship, the so called moral economy represents vital non-market relationships that allow for the sharing and exchange of favors (von Baun et al., 1998). Among the Somali communities, these relationships are established in their culture but the networks are more elaborate and broadly based during times of crises.

Reconstructing their collapsed lives, many IDPs argue that they require making use of the traditional values and institutions of the clan system. As stated earlier, they say that part of their destitution has to do with a dysfunction in the reciprocal relationship between them and their urban based kinsmen. This could have resulted from the intrusion of broader capitalist –individualistic forces within which the new *heer* (traditions, customs) system functions. In these social relations, the pastoral-based economy was eroded and the onslaught of capitalist culture resulted in an individualistic lifestyle extending beyond the cultural borders of Somali society. Constructive elements in traditional culture are disregarded, especially those pertaining to the *heer* system that fostered concepts of reciprocal kinship ties. The IDPs conceptualize the attitude of town's people as one bordering on cruelty, selfishness and insensitivity to deteriorating condition of an internally-displaced family.

In the past, the pastoralists rarely sought support because they were able to sustain their families with their subsistence livestock based economy. However,

they were able to get assistance with tea and clothing on the rare occasion they visited their relatives in towns. As well, they did not take their children to school as they provided herding labour. Upon settling, they need support with food, shelter, clothing, health care and education, emotional support, life skills, and other social connections on daily basis. Kinship ties transcend extended family relationships during crisis. The few individuals in towns will definitely be overwhelmed in their effort to give daily support to their many displaced relatives in light of their meager resources. The mistrust and the blame game that is generated by the escalating needs of the IDPs may be beyond the means of their kinsmen in towns.

The unmet expectations of the IDPs for social support could trigger envy, social unrest and conflicts. Much as the relatives in town may be willing to support their impoverished relatives, their limited capability may not allow them to extend support to their IDPs kin. The social aspect of this type of poverty links to what I referred to earlier as the “dismal curse”—the inability of individuals or communities to assist each other because of the inadequate entitlements of all—for this reason, the structure of informal social transfers (gifts and/or loans of livestock) has diminished. In such situations, those who are persistently poor or who become destitute disappear from social networks and rarely receive transfers in response to shocks. The social condition of the dismal curse for the study group emanates from their precarious livelihoods, diminished traditionally valued reciprocal goodwill, lack of information, education, health care and political power of the IDPs as well as their relatives in towns. This dismal performance of

the NEP region is a “curse” owing to the limited capabilities, problems of social exclusion, and weak community connections perpetuated by abuse of those in power or poor governance. In other words, the challenge of food and asset transfers to IDPs is a complex issue that should not be trivialized as an attitudinal neglect of the town dwellers as pointed out by the IDPs.

5.4.2 Remittances

Some IDPs around Garissa town have few or no livestock and depend on remittances from relatives living in other cities or abroad. They have no economic ties with their relatives who are still in the pastoral areas or *badia* and have livestock. Especially, families that have lived longer in these villages get remittances from their children and relatives working in other cities or abroad.

The following quote shows how they connect with their relatives outside Garissa:

....Life would have been difficult for my family without the support of my children and relatives who are in Nairobi and Mombasa. I borrow money from retail shoppers as bus fare and travel to Nairobi when our situation gets worse. Sometimes, we get from them but for the most part they give us something small. This does not apply only to me but also those who have their children abroad... In fact, see...if people have [their] children abroad they do not experience famine/drought because their children send them money regularly (GBbat 2).

It is difficult to estimate remittances in Garissa for a number of reasons. First, remittances are transferred in a number of forms and through different channels. They can be in the form of household goods, furniture, livestock, jewellery especially used gold, shelter materials and clothing. Since the province is underdeveloped, most of the remittances is channeled through trusted merchants or hand carried by migrants and family members when they visit home. Second, it is done through the *Hawilat* systems (money transfer informal companies) that are responsible for a significant part of money transfers especially from abroad

and big cities. For instance, a son or a daughter in Boston, U.S.A., who sends two hundred dollars per month to his/her family in Garissa will contact a local Boston agent of an informal remittance company (the *Hawilat*) that he/she opts to send money through. He/she will then provide cash to the local agent who deposits it in a bank account owned by the remittance company. The agent then sends a message by fax, e-mail or telephone to the central location of the company or clearinghouse may be in Nairobi with all the necessary information.

The clearinghouse contacts their local agent in Garissa and instructs the local branch to transfer two hundred dollars to the recipient family. The sender normally pays commission on the transfer, which falls to about 5%. In some cases, records are kept of the transactions, but in other cases, there is no paper record. The effect of remittances on households has been considerable in providing secure livelihoods for this displaced people in that they are able to restock themselves, live in modern houses and are able to provide good education for their children.

The issue of international remittance was particularly sensitive. The participants requested not to be quoted and/or audiotaped. In general, the participants feared that negative decisions might deteriorate the already poor living conditions. When I initially asked questions on IDPs livelihoods and additional sources of income besides the firewood collected, most IDPs would tell me that the quarter kilogram of sugar for tea was all they could afford. Later, after careful probing questions and stayed long enough to observe people's daily activities, I learnt that few IDPs did have additional resources. There was also a

great deal of suspicion towards the questions I asked and hence a reluctance to answer them. It is not surprising that the people of Garissa were reluctant to talk about it and reluctant to provide me with much information. This was mainly due to the way the children went abroad which was perhaps illegal.

The links that Somalis maintain with urban or wealthier relatives are essential for their daily survival. These links do not only operate between Somalis and NEP and elsewhere in Kenya but reach relatives throughout the larger diaspora as well. Remittances enable some IDPs in Garissa population to survive despite limited regional opportunities and insufficient international aid. The funds that are received through remittances enable these people to survive while simultaneously improve the general economic situation in Garissa. As a consequence of these monetary flows and the accompanying images of life, for example in North America and Europe, many people in Kenya, and in particular in NEP, dream of going to the western countries for resettlement.

Somali participants' perception of support is based on the principle of reciprocity. These participants explain that families and friends assist each other in many ways, just like they did in their pastoral lifestyle. Some participants clarify that their expectations of people depend on their family relationship. While support is expected from immediate family members such as parents, siblings, children etc, it is also normal to get it from extended family members. Space limitation does not allow full coverage of the factors that influence support exchange; however, a few illustrations emphasize how the availability and amount of support exchange may vary. First, it is not clear whether gender

does/not predict which family members are most likely to give and receive support among the Somalis. Second, differences in support exchanges across intergenerational family ties as a function of age could be investigated further. Third, geographic proximity can affect family interactions and use of extended family for support. In other words, close proximity may mean greater exchanges of support, however, it may also mean greater emotional stress, conflict, and need for greater use of tension management.

Finally, the family critical transition can strongly influence the support process- crises times are obviously the times when support is most needed. They are also the times when people are most receptive to the influence and support of others. Close relationships of all kinds serve some common functions in helping people through difficult times. The focus is more on the distinctive ways in which friends or families provide support for three very broad groups of people experiencing major life crises or transitions. These groups are those with physical or mental illness, the elderly and bereaved family member(s). All causes of displacement disrupt the basic livelihoods of people, or make them prone to risks of impoverishment. However, there are reports from the IDPs that they continue to face formidable challenges in the process of reestablishment, as most of them receive inadequate cooperation and support from their own government.

5.4.3 Government Policies and Mitigation Measures

Victims of famines in NEP are critical of their government for being slow to act to avert the displacement crisis that has, since 1980s, spread to the entire NEP region. In fact these participants said that the government is not only slow at

disaster response but utterly mixed up about food security management. Wajir participants report that NE districts are affected by constant famine waves, and Wajir seems the worst hit because of its distance from the main markets. This sorry situation notwithstanding, it is only when the media unearths the details about the misery of residents in this remote parts of Kenya that the “indelible” famine attracts national and international interests.

It is not just a sin for somebody to die of hunger but also a criminal offence for the government to leave its people to die of hunger....Despite the fact that we are citizens of this country, we encountered with a lot of discriminatory actions. We cannot get national Identity cards [IDs] for the children. We are begging as if we are foreign refugees. It is difficult to get anything. We have to pay a bribe but if you cannot pay, then the rich ones from abroad or those who get money from abroad get it. I do not know the beginning and the end of the corruption process but all I can tell you is that when we go there we don't get these IDs. The Chiefs, DOs and the DCs are the biggest obstacles. We want the government to know that we exist because right now we don't exist for the government. My dad was a colonial chief and even after independence we're nothing here mainly due to our pastoral lifestyle but still the fact is that we are Kenyans who moved from Hulugho and Hulugo is in Garissa, Kenya (GBMas1).

The coverage by Mohamed Amin in mid 1980s, a photo-journalist, saved millions of men, women and children. Amin revealed the tragedy of Ethiopia's starving millions and thereby shamed the world into responding. His coverage of the 1984 Ethiopian famine proved so compelling that it inspired a collective global conscience and became the catalyst of one of the greatest acts of giving (Sunday Nation/January 1, 2006). While newspaper articles and graphic pictures on famine may move some Kenyan presidents and set in mechanisms to address the tragedy, some ministers choose to exonerate the government from blame by heaping it instead on God.

As the Government, there is nothing we can do about the rains. We are not responsible for the drought situation and the only one question we ask is why God chose that it should be this part of Kenya that should experience famine.”(Minster Suleiman Shakombo, Sunday Nation/January 1, 2006.)

However, the situation at hand is more about challenges of rapid disaster response than a mere blame game over a “natural force”. These IDPs maintain that the government is to blame for the loss of lives. Information gathered from a recipient about how relief supplies are distributed by the government relief agency is as follows:

The government requests for external support so that those in difficult situations like us can be assisted. The government gets this relief from international communities. The government gets back to the people and asks us to come up with our own committee. But eventually, the committee comprises of people who are not like us but prominent people who have wealth. This is where the networking starts for the rich ones and the beginning of problems for the poor. The food that is brought to the distribution centre is so small that it is not enough for every household. The larger portion is taken by those responsible for the distribution (WBMAISO3).

The bad things that we encountered with....for us we thought we were refugees...therefore, the government, NGOs and the public at large will come to our rescue. Those who came to provide some support were the peace organization. Oxfam also helped us. They helped us with mats and some relief maize. But things did not comply to our expectations. Whether we heard it through radio or other means, we have some idea about how refugees in other parts of the world are assisted (WBMAISO1).

Relief resolutions of United Nations provide that the abandoning of victims of natural disasters and similar emergencies constitutes a threat to human life and an offense to human dignity (Cohen and Deng, 1998:114). The global provisions state that it is the responsibility and obligations of states to provide life sustaining assistance, if necessary by securing international support. In addition, this universal resolution declares that external humanitarian assistance should be provided with the consent of the affected country, and in a manner that respects

the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national unity (Cohen and Deng, 1998: 115). In Kenya, and generally in Africa, the question of sovereignty is a sensitive issue. Unintended offers to assist victims of emergencies may be construed as unlawful. Although the need for greater involvement of the international organization in addressing forced displacement has long been felt, the policy action in the direction of this expectation is slow and disappointing. Clearly, Kenya has not yet assumed full responsibility for its displaced NE population although limited involvement of the government in the study area is restricted to conflict-induced displacements.

The Government of Kenya subscribed to the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) in 2000 and embarked on the preparation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) at the same time (PRSP, 2006). This preparation was undertaken through wide-ranging consultations and dialogue in order to build consensus on priority actions and activities necessary for economic growth and poverty reduction. In light of these reforms, the government has begun a reform agenda to improve governance and to provide universal primary education which the IDPs mention as a positive step and of course are grateful for it. The research conducted in NEP reveals that the proportion of the population living below the poverty line, the minimum level of income deemed necessary to achieve an adequate standard of living, continues to rise as more and more people settle. Regionally, the study did not reveal substantial variations across the province, calling the need for appropriate intervention in the region.

The IDPs lost faith and trust in their government and NGOs appear to have filled the void to the extent that it is more popular and very much identified

with the communities. Trust is the glue that holds people together. On asking the participants whether the government should be responsible for famine mitigation they resoundingly rejected the idea. This implies that trust in government is low among this community as compared to other private organizations. An elderly participant said *all our woes emanate from the government and if famine is to be managed properly, the government should be kept out of it otherwise nothing will get to us. We would prefer that those who send the aid to deal with us directly when distributing it* (GBEid2).

5.4.4 Private Organizations and Relief Distribution

The IDPs point out that their decision to migrate to towns was not influenced by the presence of NGOs in the localities they settled. Yet, in many ways, NGOs whether local community based or international are a part of the informal safety networks in these areas. If an NGO is present in a community, there is high likelihood of relief in the event of famine with higher chances of IDPs settlement. The presence of relief and development organizations has undoubtedly attracted the IDPs to towns, just as economic advantages and urban facilities continue to attract nomadic pastoralists to town. Furthermore, insecure rainfall and pressure on natural resources in the pastoral reserves still push new IDPs to move to town.

Humanitarian aid agencies, such as Aldef, Oxfam, WFP, GTZ , CARE, MSF and faith-based organizations, though overwhelmed, provide people with food aid, and other material items, in response to crises such as the famine since 1990. These not-for-profit organizations provide vital services such as restocking

programs, relief food distribution, therapeutic and supplementary feeding, drug provision and water and sanitation. Yet all the available evidence show that this is the most inefficient way of helping people to help themselves because large number of people are still wallowing in abject poverty. It is generally assumed that NGOs work with the 'grassroots'— that they are somehow better than other agencies at reaching isolated people in isolated communities, and at addressing the problems of the "poorest of the poor" (Vivian, 1995: 183). However, NGOs involved in pastoral relief programs may rarely benefit vulnerable pastoralists through their untimely responses. The quote below shows the organization of aid delivery which can best be described as "too little too late":

I will tell you about the assistance we got. One time we were registered for assistance, this was a few years after we settled, people came from all over the world, went through the settlement came with vehicles, the force behind those initiatives was the late minister Khalif. This was after two years of our settlement. He heard about the bulla, so he went round and so the problem of the people, he could not do anything by himself so asked for humanitarian assistance on our behalf where NGOs like OXFAM came to give us some relief aid such as maize. People's kids used to be counted and used to be given the amount enough for every household. The maize was accompanied by oil and uji mix. This continued for 12 months after which we received nothing, nothing at all. But we used get enough and could count on it the next month. After the support, for a long time, we did not get anything. Now some households receive something that I cannot even tell you. A few gallons of maize. People become troublesome when they are hungry, and therefore people's problems is hunger. After a long time we got some relief maize from the DC's office. A bowl of maize. A large family will cook only one time in the pot. The smaller families will probably cook twice and something like that. We did not see anything of substance, nothing at all. So, that is it (WBCAT3).

The IDPs appreciate the support they get from the NGOs more so in the absence of timely response on the part of the government. But these famine victims in NEP criticized the NGOs for being slow to act to avert the food crisis that has been experienced. However, planning and execution of relief response is

critical since the areas affected by famine are not easily accessible. The NGOs have to contend with the difficulties of mobilizing resources besides bureaucratic red tape that may also be blamed for the untimely response. Advance preparation by international, national, and local organizations for an effective response to crisis alerts requires an adequate capability to detect potential emergencies and impending dangers. Lack of forecasting and early warning systems contribute to the delay in responses. Insecurity in areas where displacement is caused by inter-clan conflict could be a major hindrance to averting the food crisis situation.

Beyond this, there is a problem of perceptions and prejudices reported by IDPs in relation to the actual distribution of food aid. The IDPs report that aid seems more aimed at comforting corrupt administrators and unscrupulous traders than the deserving IDPs. The criteria used to determine eligibility for relief support is that one has to be widowed, disabled, or divorced. Once this is established, then support or the amount of ration is based on the number of children in the household. A consideration is also given to the number of dependents who cannot fend for themselves. However, humanitarian aid providers fail to consider during needs assessments that recipients share the little they get with their fellow IDPs. This is an oversight that reflects a broader tendency to undervalue the capacities of crisis-affected populations. This is illustrated by a respondent's reaction to relief distribution.

If anything, Oxfam recently started giving us something that is very small. Out of 2030 households 20 households are registered under Oxfam in this bulla where we settle now. The settlement in Bulla Makaror is big. Over thousands and thousands of households settle in here. Everybody's fingerprint is taken and then Oxfam decides who is the most unable to survive. Especially the orphans, widows and the disabled are assisted. Per child is given about 4 kilograms (4kg). When I am given that much, my neighbours who are about 5 households are also waiting for me to give them a share of the little that I

got. We divide the amount and I will end up getting 5 kgs if I am lucky. And that is the much we are getting as support and the only support (WBMAISO3).

Relief aid has become a competitive item between IDPs and businessmen. Theft of relief ration is rampant in the distribution centres where businessmen transfer the ration into gunny bags to conceal the international labels on the distribution packages. They then sell off in their private business premises/stores. Furthermore, local traders influence politicians to discourage the flow of relief supplies to IDPs. This is because they feel threatened by the free food distribution which poses competition with their business interests; free food distribution is at variance with the businessmen interests.

The IDPs also report that provincial administration officials such as chiefs and district officers are also involved in the theft racket. These administrators are in the first place vested with the responsibility to help identify and distribute the relief food of both from the government and sometimes international donors. In most cases, these administrators conspire with the distribution committee and flout the rules for screening the IDPs for relief eligibility.

The private organizations also bring the food aid in the most sincere way. When the food is brought to the centre, the monitoring teams do a good job to make sure that food is taken to the beneficiaries. But not all of them stay there until all distribution is completed. The rich fellow who does not care about the poor person gives money to those distributors and their supervisors. You know the bags from abroad have labels like not for sale or UNCHR, UN, or UNICEF. These fellows come with their own bags that do not have the labels and tear the labeled bags from the middle and empty the food from their original bags to their own bags. People do not see this because the food is not distributed as soon as it is brought to the centre... but people are told to come on a certain date for the distribution. In the meantime, the food aid distributors are doing their corruption and they have ample time to do so because they decide when to distribute. When the day for the distribution comes, every 20 people will divide a bag of 90 kg. The private organization has done its best to assist, the monitoring teams are also good people but in the the food does not reach the intended beneficiaries. Because

what is brought is little, people end up in rage, fighting, and hate each other (GBRig1).

There are so many enemies in Kenya. Even the MPs we elected become our worst enemies. They stop the government's aid from reaching us. They say there is no poverty in Garissa. The rich prominent businessmen are also pouring out money so that food aid does not come here with the claim that if these people are given free food, then who will buy the food stocks from them? Can we continue with that? Of course not? Because of these rivalries, nobody can bring any food for us (GBRig3).

Those we elected are the worst representatives because even whatever the government gives them to bring to us they swallow everything. The area representative the other day stopped food aid from us because the wholesale owners told him that they will not get buyers if we were given free food. So, he gave strong instructions to CARE agency telling them that we should be provided with nothing and CARE did exactly that, ... (GBEId2).

In a famine situation where people do not have the means to buy food grain from the market due to lack of cash, how do we transfer the food grain from the market to the starving peasants? In a country like Kenya, even free distribution of food grain entails enormous difficulties in accessing it. The business people see food aid as wrecking local economies by pricing local businesses out of existence. This was also observed as a chronic problem in Somalia during the 1980s and 1990s, greatly weakening the country's eventual ability to respond to a drought-related famine (Wood, 1987). While combating this problem remains a challenge, economic empowerment of IDPs may offer an alternative solution.

5.4.5 Expectation and Sources of Support

Drought management strategies are an important component of livestock production in the pastoral regions of Kenya. The herders build up livestock numbers in anticipation of recurrent droughts to ensure that they will be left with

a minimum herd size after a crisis period is over. The assumption is that those with larger herd sizes could be left with some animals at the end of crisis period. Regardless of the herd size, recovery periods were not easy for these IDPs households because of the multitude of factors that destroyed their assets. A household's decision on when to migrate and the route to follow during migration was found to be an important aspect of pastoral strategy. The decision to move appears to be a spontaneous reaction due to an unprecedented crisis—a situation these pastoralists describe as *wipe-out* (decimation of entire herds). Many of my interviewees considered the 2000/2002/2005 -famine as the worst rural tragedy to have struck their region. Nevertheless, their migration efforts for pastoral households to seek livelihood in settlement centres were affected by the long distances involved.

Although the sampled household responses varied in some ways, many agree that there is a good chance for those households with some members of their families in towns to survive better than those without. On the question of their expectations for relief supplies, the households interviewed acknowledged that a large proportion receive food aid from non-governmental organizations during drought season; though many complained about the insufficient amount they received and the untimely response to famine relief. The IDPs report that famine relief distribution consisting of edible oil, wheat grain, porridge, and beans is done around settlement centres rendering it inaccessible in pastoral reserves where it is needed most.

The IDPs expected to benefit from a generations-old tradition of mutual cooperation as a strategy to avoid the worst effects of stressful periods. They stated that their relatives in towns have individual responsibilities to their immediate families but unfortunately are divorced from their social obligations and tend to be selfish about resource sharing regardless of the long-term consequences of their actions--the concept of expectations is crucial to the pastoral IDPs. As a pastoralist enters into livelihood deficits, he or she expects support from kinsmen and institutions. The pastoralists accept the risk of hazards occurring but emphasize that every effort should be made to minimize the effects of such hazards on victims. The IDPs hoped to get some support from the government although they seldom had contact with the government in their life before. The issue on the IDPs expectation of support in relation to food aid shows that there is no well-established connection between the various pastoral groups of NE Kenya and their government to reduce impacts of famine or other disasters. The quotes below reveal their desire for support and expectation from their government:

We did not see anybody caring about us. My expectation was different. Some times we have seen some relief maize but even this is given to the area chief and the Dos but nothing reaches us. They divide it among themselves. We wanted the government to settle us and help us with some sort of shelter, run around for us and give us medicine but now the situation is to use your strength and fend for yourself. Just struggle on your own (GBAT3).

Somali have proverb which says, when there is heavy wind blowing, by instinct every one will place their hands on their eyes for protection. When we experienced the crisis of hunger without any consultation, we just found ourselves moving to Garissa. When cows get thirsty, they do not require any decision to make but to lead to watering points. Since the animals are gone and there are no opportunities for survival in the reseves, then it goes without any decision but everybody instinctively just moved to major towns to look for support (GBBAT1).

The above quotes suggest that expectations of food or asset transfers through social networks are part of a safety net with the objective of not letting a household fall into a poverty trap. This safety net failure can also be considered as entitlement collapse as it seriously worsens the threats of famine. Just like other pastoral communities in Northern Kenya, IDPs in NEP employ a number of risk reduction strategies to withstand the effects of famine crisis such as looking for menial jobs and begging.

5.4.5.1 Understanding the Culture of “Begging” Through the Entitlement Theory

IDPs are subject to inordinate stress as has been identified in the previous sections such as emotional disturbances. Some may manage this stress with healthy coping resources. However, from my observation, many IDPs can not manage their stress in healthy ways, as evidenced by the high rates of chronic illnesses (TB, hepatitis, malaria, stomach ailments and nutritional deficiencies). A useful way to assess and understand IDPs’ response to stress is through the lens of entitlement theory. I believe that these IDPs’ coping abilities are fundamentally related to their sense of entitlement. For example, can they ask for and expect to receive help for their problems, without believing that this help interferes with their pride and the ability to retain respect among their people? A person with a sense of entitlement would not feel ashamed or ‘weak’ in admitting that he or she needs extra support in times of stress. However, the culture of men among the Somalis identifies that asking for help is a weakness and the fear is that it will not auger well because of the cultural stigma associated with begging. The obvious

solution to that dilemma is, for some men, to ignore the problem and do not seek help, but the underlying problem is never addressed with this course of action.

In an attempt to mitigate the survival challenges, some IDPs women have said that they resort to begging in the absence of other endowments. The reality that comes loud and clear is that of fostering the sense of entitlement. My impression is that IDPs women value the necessity of life perhaps driven by their role as caregivers, or more importantly, their emotional connection to their children. An essential point is that what the Somali IDP women actually try to escape is showing certain social-dependencies that are inescapable in human life. One wonders whether the begging culture of the woman brings her spouse into an awkward situation especially when he is aware of her mission.

Obviously, begging comes at the cost of personal adjustment and opportunities to manage stress. Those IDPs who are making poor choices, for example, abandoning their families but avoiding begging for fear of negative public attitude have under-entitlement; as a result of the culture, often shift into entitlement failures. By the time the stress of the family becomes insurmountable, IDPs would have lost the ability to ask for real help – even if this were an acceptable avenue in the Somali culture. Unfortunately, and for many, if there were coping resources available, to utilize them would mean that they would have to admit to what the culture perceives as weakness. Since the culture of men among the Somali community values perception of strength and power, in my view, the true power of self awareness is missed. Those at high risk for experiencing difficulties during resettlement are left to feel loneliness, inner anger

and despair as real needs go unmet. Therefore, it is not surprising that many, particularly the men, lose self-esteem and fail to adjust or live up to the challenges confronting them.

Evidence in the literature, as discussed in Chapter 1, indicates that pastoralists' collective awareness of the economic hardship permits and even 'legitimizes' otherwise anti-social conduct such as farming, taking up paid (wage) employment, begging, and the pawning of women and children. These are definitely unusual behaviours, which, under normal pastoral conditions, are not allowed. Although the entitlement theory expands the analysis of adjustment behaviour, it does not capture certain aspects of pastoralists' adjustment strategies, like reciprocity and symbiosis, which is raised by the research participants in this study.

5.4.6 Adjustments to Sedentarization and the Settlement Area

Many Garissa informants, who are not indigenous in the area, commonly claim to face xenophobic challenges such as 'discrimination' and 'prejudice.' This is especially when seeking employment, land acquisition, and relief support. Most of them said they seek support from their extended families and community. These groups of IDPs encounter difficulties in coping with culture shock, social isolation, emotional loneliness, cultural understanding, and town life in general. Due to lack of connection with mainstream, this specific group tends to avoid seeking formal sources of help/support because they lack confidence in their ability to interact with others; they feel shy, embarrassed, and intimidated when interacting with other people, organizations and agencies in Garissa town.

Some participants describe difficult and frustrating experiences when communication breaks down between them and others during the relief seeking process. IDPs in Garissa of Wajir origin encounter specific difficulties with initial settlement because they are seen as 'foreigners'. They experience more difficulties in getting their basic needs (eg food and security) and acquisition of Kenyan identification cards¹². They are often unable to access pertinent services as the identity card vetting committees in most cases claim not to know the IDPs of Wajir origin. Here is what a member of the affected group said:

Our clan in Garissa does not have an advocate. An advocate that request support from the government on behalf of their kinsmen. Our people when they get some position or wealth, they forget about us and have no sense of humor. But the indigenous clans in Garissa, help each other a lot through many ways. There is a lot of nepotism also in Garissa. Even in the Koranic programs, if it is our children to attend, they have to pass through a chief in order to be considered for eligibility. We have no right to attend to those religious schools even. So, because of the process involved, we do not bother going there in the first place. There are also special schools for orphans where the kids are taken to boarding and they learn their school programs that way. Placement in those schools now is who know, who has an influential relative etc. a lot of nepotism. They nullify our statement and tell the school administration that we know these people, they are our neighbours and that they are not poor but have their animals in the reserve. That is how they get convinced and we lose our children's position just because of that. Whatever support we could get has become like that, even for relief food, those from Wajir are told to pass through a committee. And we don't have representatives in those committees neither the area chiefs. So, because of these factors, it is hard to get support from the government or private organizations. A few get and collect the aid/ support and those of us are told the chiefs and the committee will decide for us. That is the main problem in Garissa (GaBKam 1).

All respondents indicate that they needed different kinds of help at different stages of settlement. For example, at the initial stage of their settlement four major challenges and most frequently mentioned/reported by IDPs are food,

¹² Usually getting vital documents such as passport and identity cards in Kenya involve the payment of bribes to those vested with the responsibilities of issuing these documents. Although the difficulties of getting the Kenyan ID is expressed by all participants, others may not be considered at all if residing in an area their clan's men do not live.

shelter and employment. Once the basic needs (shelter and daily sustenance) are met, they need help with employment, financial support, legalized landownership, and cultural understanding of town life. This is they will be able to navigate the system for needed services. When IDPs have very little or no information about how the systems work in towns, they have limited means for seeking and obtaining needed help. New IDPs face difficulties navigating the system including looking for employment and food aid. In addition, to these difficulties, due to lack of information, most participants experienced great difficulties in understanding the social, economic, and legal systems in towns which makes it difficult for them to make decisions. IDPs responded differently to these challenges depending on their specific life situations, particularly their access to informal support. Men and women from both districts faced similar challenges. Despite these challenges, among the IDPs interviewed, women show more resilience in dealing with their problems in pre-urban setting.

There are a lot of options in Garissa for those who have the money. On average, the women are stronger and more capable to fend for their families than men. Most of the men play games under trees. And those who do casual work and get a 100 shilling use it to buy miraa (khat). Women are more vibrant in business and more enterprising than the men. Those who are going to school are women. Those who are learning the Koran are now women. The men have become a burden to their wives. And most of these women just put up with the weaknesses of the men because of the children and also because patriarchal culture demands it. He is a liability but since he is the father of the children the women just tolerate them (GBKam1).

Life during crisis evokes painful and terrifying memories of the past, escape from the pastoral reserve, and harsh living conditions for IDPs. The individual stories of each participant in overcoming obstacles to survive exemplify courage and determination of the participants. To survive life as an

IDPs and to find faith and hope in new and harsh environment shows resiliency of these people. These are the inherent strengths that many IDPs bring to their new resettlement centres.

5. 5 Natural Perturbations and the Fragile Arid Environment

The consequences of environmental degradation are particularly severe in resource-poor communities whose production system in most cases depends on natural cycles, and lack the means to protect themselves through technological innovation (Le Houérou 1996). The analysis of environmental degradation, though not part of the study's objective, is a theme that emerged from the participants. The research participants attribute recurring droughts and other climatic phenomena which caused their displacement to climate change. The local indicator of environmental degradation as described by the participants is land denudation and they report that it is one of the primary causes of their displacement.

Frequent floods and drought affects the natural resource that these people depend on. Ecological degradation translates itself into higher risk by increasing the instability of pastoralist source of livelihoods. For these people, migration to peri-urban centers is a major coping strategy to deal with the impact of land degradation. Drought in NEP has resulted in what range ecologists refer to as environmental refugees, having been forced to leave their original habitat to protect themselves from harm and/or to seek a better quality of life. In this regard, migration to settlement centers is obviously a necessary consequence of resource depletion.

As the IDPs population increase, their use of natural resources intensifies. For example, as the trees disappear, the land erodes and the regions drought-prone conditions grow worse resulting in the perpetuity of famine. Scarcity of trees compels women and girls to go far away from their camps in search of firewood and grass. As well, the men have to move farther to process limestone and harvest gravel/stones; spending longer time on these activities instead of engaging themselves in diversified economic ventures and attending to their children. Furthermore, women and girls get exposed to insecure situations such as snake bites, and wildlife predation.

Land degradation is associated with both deforestation and certain agricultural practices. In Garissa, for instance, IDPs reported they have been settled on irrigation farming since the 1970s and has created severe salinity problem that the entire farming schemes appear as unproductive areas. Deforestation followed by cultivation along river bank most fundamentally leads to river bank erosion followed by floods. In Garissa, irrigation problems are commonly cited by writers such as Noor (1999). Overtime, salinization and waterlogging of irrigated land reduce productivity. Improper drainage can also cause debilitating diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis. As the land attracts inflow of IDPs, it gets exhausted. Given the fragile semi-arid nature of NEP, this could be followed by the emergence of wasteland that eventually expels its people—resource degradation changing from a consequence to a cause of migration but in the absence of alternative relocation, the IDPs are left on the site to face the harsh consequences.

5.6 The Lasting Impression

Physical and psychological well-being of the IDPs is inevitably jeopardized by the material deprivation and stress arising from displacement. Nonetheless, little is known about the psychosocial long-term effects of internal displacement. People affected by economic changes and/or conflicts often display withdrawn behavior, confusion, violence, lack of interest in anything, anxious or aggressive behavior and symptoms of depression (Spitzer, et al., 2003). These behavioural symptoms are mainly displayed by menfolk, but its generalization among gender needs further research. Given that these peoples' lives are influenced by religion, some of them have a sense of healing and prove remarkably resilient through spiritual nourishment.

While every displacee faces traumatic challenges, the elicited information about the respondent's social network and satisfaction with settlement has demonstrated gender dimensions. For example, most of the men demonstrate loneliness, social isolation and therefore dissatisfaction with sedentary lifestyle. The men appear to be more likely at risk of stress, depression or other mental health issues. A case in point is my observation during my field visit in Wajir where I encountered cases of mental derangement. In reference to this scenario, a solitary character speaking to himself as he rummages through the garbage, and a forlorn figure tied to an acacia tree staring in silence, were no surprises. They are a sample of North-Eastern Province's mentally ill, considered a public nuisance, an unnecessary evil, and trivialized by others as a curse. Interestingly, some residents believe the situation is a spiritual curse that requires divine intervention

rather than medical attention. Most people sprint to the nearest religious leader for prayers to exorcise the 'demons'. The problem appears to be psychological trauma arising from displacement and its resultant poverty; many needy patients in this tail part of the country are unable to access mental hospital.

In my field visit, a woman participant who had a mentally ill son told me that a mentally ill patient is often chained to a tree adjacent to the parent's home in the outskirts of Wajir town. This mother wakes her mentally ill son every day at 7am and takes him to the backyard, where she ties him to a tree with a chain. I asked the mother, why she chains her 36-year-old sick son? She echoed the sentiments of many in this sun-scorched region:

It is not our wish to tie him. If we don't and he strays into the neighborhood, he can cause a lot of destruction and we will be blamed. I have no option in case I want to catch some sleep or do small business to feed my family. It is a precautionary measure. I'd rather have him chained under my watch than leave him go out on the streets where he often comes back with bruises. Taking him to Nairobi may not work because we don't have the money. We have given up on him. Apart from facing hostilities from people, especially children who throw stones at him, we lack psychiatrists to monitor his progress, she said (WBMaisio3).

Mental illness does not strike at once and in fact the research participants link mental problem to family stress, social and financial difficulties, lack of hope that result in depression. As well, such incidences could be post-traumatic stress for victims and the effects of conflicts as the province has experienced various historical injustices. There are the unresolved Bagalla, Wagalla and Malkamari killings in Garissa, Wajir and Mandera districts where it is alleged that the security machinery unleashed havoc, leaving hundreds dead and the surviving traumatized and poor.

The earlier mentioned economic survivability options for IDPs in towns such as firewood fetching, farming activities, harvesting gravel and limestone, or even logs for construction work require physical fitness and high energy expending. The connotation of age therefore, implies that only able-bodied mature adults can do menial jobs to survive in towns. Weaklings, the disabled and the aged have physical limitations that do not allow them to engage in strenuous jobs available to IDPs in towns. The quotes below explain the challenges faced by a woman whose spouse is aged.

There is no difference between men and women work anymore. Everybody runs to town to get something. Some of the men are too old to do anything or maybe they simply do not want to work. But even those who are doing something, their wives are running alongside them. For example, my husband is aged, my children are still young, so, I have to run on my own on daily basis to feed my family with the offals that I told you about earlier... (Catho3).

Human beings do not have that much strength. One day, you walk quite a distance and work so hard to make a difference in your family. But the next day, because of fatigue you cannot do the same thing and therefore cannot go for anything. And also age is catching up with us. But there was a time our children could get a meal a day. This was when I was still young and doing farming activities (Catho3).

The effects of economic downturns experienced by the IDPs are clearly visible but the speed of recovery from the psychological trauma inflicted varies depending on previous wealth status and degree of religious faith. Those IDPs, who had smaller herds before the settlement in towns, appear to adjust much faster to settling in town compared to their wealthier compatriots. The large herd owners perhaps find it difficult to accept the situation they find themselves in. Adjusting to life in town includes the search for oddities such as begging for offals at slaughterhouses, and registering for famine relief handouts among others. These practices may be degrading and demeaning for the formerly wealthy IDPs;

recovering from such unfortunate predicament may seem really a far cry for the former well-to-do pastoralists. Some of the internally displaced fathers are at risk of experiencing depression or other mental health illnesses.

This may explain why the men as household heads and livestock owners are more affected than women in the settlement process. In the Somali cultural context, honor and pride are associated with wealth as reflected by herd size; the larger the herds the higher the honor and dignity earned by the individual. The reason why men appear to be much more affected may be explained by the nature of patriarchal community of the Somali in particular and African societies in general. Here is a quote depicting the scenario:

Men and women or mother and her children are all together fending for the families. If the man goes to the farm, the woman will sell vegetables in the market. We (about 50 women) send about 2 to 3 women to go to Thika (a city near Nairobi) and buy tomatoes, potatoes etc. We then sell them in the local market. Those who have the means to start a business, this is the best time to go into vegetable selling. There are a lot of options in Garissa for those who have the money. On average, the women are stronger and more capable to fend for their families than men. Majority of the men play games under the trees. And those who do casual work and get some money buy mirra with it. Women are more vibrant in business and more enterprising than the men. W, the women are doing everything to support our families but our men have let us down. They do not help ustake care of the children or do household chores (GBpunda1).

5.6.1 Sedentarization and Gender Roles

In the pastoralist reserves, women were involved in all household chores while tending to small livestock besides milking animals and processing livestock products for sale and consumption. The men were involved in the planning and livestock management. Now that the situation is different, everyone is involved in fending for the family. Some men are now doing what was culturally unthinkable in their pastoralist background such as fetching firewood. The women too cut big trees and harvest gravel and stones. In addition, women also join men in

construction work, watchmen and livestock market as middlemen. As stated by a woman participant, women are now doing the “men’s job”:

“Now there are no specific roles for women and men. Because the men are also fetching firewood these days. Women are also cutting big trees and mining stones and are also in the livestock market. When you encounter with survival problems, there is no duty specificity with regards to men and women [gender]. We also join men with building construction. You will also see women as watch men and these days they have joined the livestock market. As for the single mothers like me are concerned, we end up taking all roles for the family to survive because we have no man standing by us. No support from relatives. So, we are doing the men’s job” (GBMas3).

This study also focuses on the importance of gender in understanding different aspects of family functioning. As a social construct, gender refers to “all duties, rights, and behaviors a culture considers appropriate for males and females” (Wade & Travris, 1999 p.16). In this study, my focus on conditions associated with settlement of IDPs that may challenge expectations about gender-related roles, envisioning renegotiation of these roles in IDPs families. A number of studies report positive and negative consequences, particularly for pastoral women who settle in peri-urban areas. Some scholars have found that urbanization may offer new opportunities for poor pastoralist women as maids and cooks, as sellers of locally made charcoal, or, sadly as beggars (Dahl, 1987, Talle, 1987, 1988; Hogg, 2001). Interviews of participants in this study confirm that when women settle in or around towns they have some economic independence and get access to other opportunities. The women appreciate the fact that settlement gives them such opportunities as learning the Koran and performing prayers among other religious practices. In their words, “*we got integrated, we are enlightened, and we are smarter now than before. We pray five times a day*”. Settlements in the towns connect married women with their parents

and relatives whom they got detached following their marriage while in the pastoral reserve.

The women claim to have gotten a break from the harsh trekking pastoral lifestyle to a more restful life although IDPs women still work numerous shifts everyday. Normally, each married woman makes all materials necessary for the construction and repair of their traditional huts. Caring for remnant goats and sheep are essentially their work as men often show disinterest in the numbers and health of such livestock. Meanwhile, women have the onerous tasks of taking care of the children, the elderly, and the disabled.

The search for livelihoods by the IDPs women may be hampered by diseases, age, and malnutrition. The women's lack of support with household chores such as child care also brings about lack of time to venture into livelihood alternatives and impede their productive engagement in fending for their families. Women collect and sell firewood. They supply on a small scale to families and sometimes sell to others who sell on a larger scale to institutions especially the secondary schools, hospital, individual hotels and orphanage centers run by faith-based organizations. The better-off poor men are involved in small-scale livestock business as middlemen since the bigger livestock business is undertaken by rich men. The bulk of charcoal burning and sale is done by the very poor men.

Charcoal is sold to hotels and to the well-off families who do not use firewood as fuel in their homes. The poorest of the population are those who are recent arrivals in the *bullas*, and have not had time to develop skills or trade links, and those who are labor poor. Many female-headed households, particularly

households headed by widows, divorcees, or the separated, are likely to fall into this category. Women are specifically involved in micro-credit activities initiated by humanitarian aid agencies working in the district such as Aldef and Oxfam GB. The activities women are involved in are selling of milk and milk products, sale of vegetables, sale of local housing materials and sale of cooked meat (*nyirinyiri*) to other urban centers, mainly Nairobi, as meat is more expensive in big cities.

5.6.1.1 The Multiple Roles of Women

Employment of women is a step in the right direction more so as they proceed from a culture where “women are only to be seen and not to be heard” (Mohamud, 2003). However, it might also be stressful if it makes fulfilling domestic and family responsibilities more difficult--consistent with the double burden or role overload theories. Moreover, even under favorable circumstances for IDPs families, IDPs women do not always experience the same or comparable benefits relative to IDPs men; suggesting that women experience stress and are more prone to diseases due to double burden resulting from household responsibilities, child care, and employment. In this section, I discuss how the process of settlement can challenge previous gender-related expectations about behavior and family roles.

In the interview sessions of these Somali community, spouses were interviewed separately. The couples represented three different occupational groups described as casual wage earner, family business, and stay home. Themes emerged from the interviews include husbands’ concern with the challenge they

perceived to male authority in the family given the changed family circumstances associated with gender expectations and behavior, as illustrated by the following comments from one of the husbands interviewed:

After she started getting her own money/working her voice got louder than in the past. Now, she says whatever she wants to say to me. She shows a lot of self-assertion/disrespect. She did not do that in the reserve. Right after we came to town, I heard that wives change a lot in towns. The women have nowadays become "men"-they developed "horns". Now, I clearly understand what it means to loose prestige and wealth. For the women now, even the children are better than us (GBEid 1).

Men have lost confidence in their women. As Muslims, men do not want women to go out there just like that. But she goes out there because of the family's difficulties and hunger. You know if the woman goes out there she is not in your hands anymore. Our religious beliefs have been overridden by the fact that we have no animals, we are IDPs and we have nothing with us. Because of those circumstances we cannot lock our women in the houses now. You cannot convince her to stay home when her children are hungry. She will not listen to her husband anymore. She creates problems for the man always (GBEid 1).

The wife of the above interviewee commented as follows:

In the reserves, wives tend to obey their husbands because husbands have authoritative power and provide for their families. However, here in towns, wives also go to town to fend for the family as the husbands do, so women are apt to speak out at least one time on what they previously restrained from saying. But the fact remains we are women and they are men. In our culture, we are supposed to respect men. Naturally, men are the heads of the household even if they are not working...we still give them the respect they deserve. We listen to them just like the children listen to them (GBEid2).

The couple quoted above worked in a family business together. Although the majority of the wives and husbands interviewed regarded family work as primarily the wife's duty, wives' participation in non-family work contributed to greater assertiveness. Women thus develop a sense of autonomy and competence attributed to the conditions resulting from internal movement. With regard to the issue of men's participation in domestic activities, the men still draw boundaries that are not to be crossed, although they are slowly stretching those lines. When

the husband was away for lengthy periods, women acquired responsibilities traditionally assumed by the other spouse. Thus, wives who remain behind in the pastoral reserves assume the role of providing and caring for the family.

The women reported assuming many responsibilities for the daily well-being of her family after her husband went away. At the same time, the work demand of being the sole head of the household was an important factor motivating the women's own migration from pastoralist reserves to join their husbands. Once the family was reunited, interviews suggest that gender-related expectations of behavior (e.g. decision-making, fending for the family, and household work) had not changed much, given the patriarchal nature of the Somali community. More generally, according to these participants, when reunited, couples who had experienced a lengthy period of spousal separation seem to show the same traditional gender-type division of domestic work. In other words, this study finds that the women in displaced families adjust to emerging circumstances including fending for the family faster without fundamentally challenging culture-related values concerning marital hierarchy.

The notion is widespread that economic empowerment will lead, eventually, to a rise in the status of women and the family. It is argued, for example, that the increased participation of women in the wage labor market leads to the extension of more social and political rights to women, and to greater equality between men and women in the family relations. This study sheds light on the presumed rise in women's economic status which appears not to be uniform or uninterrupted. This notion may be more applicable to middle-class

women (Stichter, 1987) than to low income women earners, among whom traditional patterns of family decision making and division of labor persist. In these families, income for women was simply incorporated within patriarchal family relations rather than changing them.

Young single girls are the category of women that is in high demand for domestic employment as house-helpers. Most of their earnings are received and controlled by parents, and working daughters do not in any way expand their input into family decision-making processes. Nor does their low wage confer on them the power to transcend their dependence on the family. Women bear the brunt of coping with the high burden of disease in poor countries. This study also shows that the women have not been able to expand their consumption levels and gain freedom in social life. Thus, gains in status either within or outside the family are extremely limited. The research results on the effect of married women's participation in the casual labor force suggests that the decision-making power of wives has somewhat increased though not significantly. Nonetheless, the actual distribution of work within the household is unaffected; housework still being left almost wholly to the woman. Furthermore, among the study group, household chores and rearing children are not considered as work.

The impact of sedentarization varies according to social class and income. Among middle-income urban families there is a trend toward "joint" family decision making and resource pooling (Schiter, 1987), but this trend is much less evident among these destitute families. There is little indication among the IDP families of a move towards egalitarianism in family labor allocation, that is, of

husbands' performing an increased amount of housework. For the "employed" IDPs women in NEP, the question can be raised, then, as to effects gains in economic status have had on women's status generally, and particularly their status within the family.

People employed different strategies to earn some living. We were living around the township and engaged in firewood fetching, stone and gravel harvesting, some people joined building construction (casual labourers) while others look for their survival means by cutting vegetation for various use. But overall, we went through a lot of difficulties in life. The lack of livestock combined with lack of knowledge on how to survive in town...., you can imagine the level and magnitude of such hardships on parents with their children. Children ate what God provided for them, for example, we used to go to relatives in town to get some tea for our children (GbKam1).

Why might these gender differences occur? Examining the effects of culturally patterned behavior among the Somalis provides important insights into what each gender undertakes. The Somali social organization is based on kinship, age and gender. The men have authority over all members of the family and are entitled to special privileges and token of respect. As a participant observer, I realized that most women in this community are married to men who are considerably older than them. The survey results also show that the average age for men in the two districts was 45 years while that of women was 30 years. Owing to the age difference among married couples, women either run a high risk of being widowed or are stuck with aged and physically unfit men with the consequent danger of being impoverished.

The age difference between men and women, averaging fifteen years, also confers an additional aura of marital authority on the husbands. It is through this discourse that mothers and daughters come to believe and accept the household responsibilities as fair, just and the domain for women. Traditionally, culture and

patriarchy assign childcare and house chores to women, who occasionally receive, or can seek support from close and extended kin. Men concentrated on search for casual employment. Migration to towns and the lack of support from extended family members, due to family dislocation, has thrown women into the household chores, children and taking care of the elderly. These transitions have long term effect and wide-ranging impacts on IDPs parents, and compromise the well-being of some family members.

5.6.1. 2 The Effects of Famine on Women

In pastoralists' societies, when livestock die, men migrate to other areas to pursue other activities while women and children are left to wander in the reserve. Sometimes the women trek for long distances to find famine food for their families in trading centers. With the men gone, if villages are raided women and children may even be raped or killed. Insecurity is likely to increase destitution for women as it reduces the possibility of women getting involved in business and petty trade with neighboring towns. For example, women will not prefer to travel during insecure periods for fear of rape and killing. They will also be robbed of the trading materials during these periods of conflict. Other scenarios that result from the loss of livestock, either through drought or conflict, involve men turning into idling, resulting in anti-social behaviors such as theft and banditry: leaving women as the sole breadwinners of the family.

For those women who get displaced during drought and conflicts, accessing natural resources such as land is extremely difficult when they settle. Women's ideas rarely appear in the area of decision making though they are

prime managers of households. For example, I attended a workshop for pastoral women in Wajir at the time of the field research and that one woman asked her husband during the 2000 extreme drought when pasture became scarce to sell the sheep and goats while they were still healthy so that they could get a good income. He did not want to sell them as the number of livestock reflects a herder's status. Eventually, they lost everything and had to depend on food aid.

In conflict prone areas, the risk of rape or abduction of girls creates pressure for early marriages (Swift and Kratli, 1999). In a hurry to place the girls' safety in marriage, their families are ready to accept unusually low bride wealth (Swift and Kratli, 1999). While the authors' argument could be seen from girls' security perspective, the dowry paid to the parents provides a short-term economic benefit that could be considered as one of the coping strategies during famine. One of the consequences of this is a considerable lowering of the age of the marriage, possibly triggering an increase in fertility rate (Swift and Kratli, 1999). Under-age marriage of girls may also lead to complications in pregnancy and delivery with eventual long-term effect on both their health and that of their children. Survival itself is at risk when there is inadequate healthcare, food, or water. The lack of access to public health infrastructure due to cost sharing reduces access to emergency care, preventive healthcare, reproductive health services, such as family planning, treatment for sexually transmitted diseases, gynaecological complications, and pre-and post natal care. The vivid picture is captured in the following quotes:

My living condition is the worst right now. Because I was strong when I came to settle in here. I could work for myself initially. Sometimes fetched firewood and

sometimes mining stones. I have now become weak due to sickness and cannot fend for my family. I am just seated here with my children. It is only God who knows what I will eat next because from the morning break there is nowhere that I know of that I can go to (Wbmai2).

First the problems are there. But the hardships have so much on women and children. Because during conflicts, men were able to run away. But women are unlikely to run away as they are tied down by the children. And so are the children...as they also don't run away from the gunshots. We could not hide ourselves as they cried all the time. Also, those who get raped are the women and those that are raided with the animals are women. Upon arrival in our new settlement, 60% of the men ran away when they could not provide for their children and probably 40% are still with their families. On the other hand, as far as we know there is no woman who has abandoned her children. We have seen them die, we have seen them helpless but we have not seen them run away from their children. Another problem that we have encountered is this continuous hunger that is living with us since we lost our animals. They include cases of death, especially of three categories of people, namely children, and elderly men and very old men and women. These vulnerable groups cannot eat the solid foods because they can drink only milk or any other soft food. This is mainly due to dietary change from their traditional staple diet of milk and meat. When we ask the DC (District commissioner) and others for help, they help a little bit and too late (GBKamor1).

5.6.1. 3 Family Poverty and Its Impact on the Child

The contemporary understanding of sedentarization is that it entails costs and benefits such as access to education and markets (Klepp et al., 1994; Nathan et al., 1996; Sellen, 1996; Frat et, 1999; Fijita 2000; Fujita et al., 2004). These authors opine that some women benefit from opportunities in the market economy, through selling milk, or vegetables while others may be forced out of poverty to survive in the urban economy by selling miraa, increasing their exposure to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases uncommon in the pastoral reserves. The pastoralists have undergone significant changes in their economic fortunes for the worse.

When there is a significant disruption of social cohesion, the IDPs, especially the women, struggle to strike a balance between feeding for their families, attending to sick relatives and taking care of the children. In such circumstances, child care gets relegated to a back seat resulting in child neglect. The potential for negative impacts from child neglect takes many forms. Children get exposed to the scorching sun all day, abduction, rape, child slavery and bullying, pests and diseases. Eye ailments such as trachoma mainly due to poor eye and face hygiene have been commonly seen among the IDPs children. Children are also at risk to car crash and other accidents such as fire, snake bites etc.

The children are abandoned and in fact my child was hit by a car sometimes back. Some of them have eye disease and their eyes get closed at night simply because of this wind and nobody is there to tell the child to go in the hut. Still others have diarrhoea on their clothes and the beddings and nobody is there to clean them out from this mess. So when the wife is not at home, there is much problem in the house because she is the only one who can put things in order. There are a few goats in the town which pour out the water meant for the family. These animals eat the huts because they are made of banana thatches. She leaves the infant she is breast feeding under the watchful eye of another baby just to go and fend for them. We come back to children in desperate and dire need. We are not able to get mosquito nets for our children and the children are constantly sick because of malaria. Our worry for the children is nothing other than what they should eat. There is no pampering and taking good care of them (GBb1)..

....at that time my children and my wife almost died because of hunger and starvation. These is not a unique problem to me...others have suffered even worse situations where all the children got sick and hospitalized, the wife got sick. Will such a person attend to the family at the hospital; fend for the them for the day or look after those children at home? Look my wife is not here because she went for some milk business. At the same time, I went looking for my donkey that got lost. These infants have been left here on their own and those who are at school will come back at lunch time but no food for them because nobody was here to cook for them. We experienced crisis when we first settled and even now we experience it almost on daily basis. We get sick every now and when we are sick, we cannot afford the medicine. When a child is sick and requires admission at the hospital we cannot pay for the child's hospital bed. School uniform is the same problem.

Let us say seven children are at school all requiring school uniform. Do you think we can pay for that? The women also run alongside us in fending for the family but when she delivers then the family's daily sustenance goes down dramatically. Whenever I get sick or my wife gets sick then the children have nothing to eat. (GBBat 1).

Although towns provide increased access to health clinics, and vaccinations, this study reveals that IDPs have no access to health care and incur losses in nutritional status. The positive ramifications of pastoralists' traditional high protein diet may be particularly significant for infants, pregnant women, and lactating mothers (Porter, 1997). Nathan et al., (1996; Sellen, 1996) show that voluntary settling of pastoral nomads in northern Kenya results in greater childhood malnutrition through loss of meat and milk protein, although pastoralists suffer seasonal shortages. Fujit et.al., (2004) studied maternal diet and morbidity and indicates that sedentarization has not significantly improved maternal health risks, particularly for women and children, as posed by diseases such as TB, anthelminths, other parasites, higher malaria and anemia.

There are higher respiratory and diarrhoea diseases rates among children living in peri-urban towns (Fujit et. al., 2004). Breast feeding and pregnant mothers living in settlement centres suffer more from malnutrition, as protein-poor grains replace milk and staple pastoralists food. Protein is an indispensable nutrient for reproductively active pastoral women, infants and growing children (Gal Vin and Little, 1999). The potential protein loss associated with sedentarization may have a negative impact on maternal and children nutritional health. This negative consequence on children's growth pattern, for example, is consistent with recent findings that the transition to sedentarization is

accompanied by a dietary shift from a protein rich pastoral diet to more cereal-based diet (Fijita 2000; Fujita et al., 2004).

The change of the dietary system and/or the lack of food cause micronutrient deficiencies (vitamins and minerals) in the body. As a research participant, I observed symptoms of nutritional deficiencies such as stomatitis (mouth diseases) which appear as inflammation of the lips and tongue among some IDPs. However, I found it difficult to adequately examine these health conditions mainly due to my limited knowledge of medicine. The information used to describe the health condition of the IDPs was therefore obtained from the local health officials. The IDPs normally treat these diseases by drinking urine of livestock, mostly from camels which has no medicinal effect. While urine contains waste product from the body, the superstition among the community is that it is a cure for many nutrition related ailments. However, treatment could be enhanced by several synergistic factors like replenishing their vitamins, minerals, iron supplements, taking milk and meat (telephone communication with local medical personnel, 2008)

Sedentarization resulting from forced migration in northeastern Kenya is a complex, on-going process and leads to fragmentation of the family unit. Disappearance of fathers has changes in the family structure, roles and family functioning. Such changes leave children and youth without guidance, role models and sustenance. In other words, displacement caused by famine, and deprivation can weaken the family social fabric (Fratkin, E. & Roth, E., 2005) where the children may become like a “rudderless ship.”

In the participants' views, the Islamic traditional religion often provides the basis for the shared values which, according to the research participants, an anomic individual lacks. The growth of IDPs children by "accident" may result in youths that feel alienated with an associated feeling of purposelessness. The absence of cultural training these youths could have received to play particular roles in their societies, may eventually lead to youths who exhibit anomic or deviant behavior. This could imply that with time, the involuntary settlement of one group of nomads opens the niche for a new group of nomads to move in and not necessarily be able to integrate responsibly in town life.

Sampled households were distributed proportionately with regard to gender, and age categories, as both young and old respondents were included, giving the sample a fairly reasonable representation of the pastoral community. With respect to education, the information made available by the Ministry of Education (MoE, 2009) reveals that the literacy rate across the pastoral communities is below 20%. As a result, the government is currently moving ahead with an ambitious program aimed at expanding school enrollment of children in the pastoral regions of the country. As a result, the number of primary schools has substantially increased in the last two decades; all the same, the impoverished communities and low-income families find it extremely difficult to educate their children due to school fees and supplies requirement beyond primary education

Access to education is critical for IDPs children as it provides an important base for the social, psychological, and economic well-being. The

education of children is seen as an investment for the future. The possibility of gaining education for their children is a motivating factor in pastoral sedentarization. McPeak and Little (2005) point to education and wage labor as important strategies to avoid risk, where having one employed child can guarantee food security for an entire household. Although the IDPs are aware that education does not so easily translate itself into income as it did a few decades ago, 52% of IDP parents in the sample took their children to primary school (computed from the database established for the study areas). Financial difficulties prevent all children from attending school. Instead, children are placed under obligation to provide for the family and to rebuild the homestead. This means that there is a greater likelihood of reluctance on the part of the parents in sending all their children to school.

The priority of sedentary pastoral households is to satisfy their basic subsistence needs. Households with adequate family labor would have a greater likelihood of diversifying their economy which could be viewed as a risk averse measure. They, therefore, devote any available labour to household production. This implies that in sedentary pastoral households, attendance at school means that the child is at least particularly removed from the household labor pool, to which children in Third World settings make significant contribution from an early age. Otherwise, child labor may be divided between the various production activities such as farmwork, schooling and urban employment. Children heavily engaged in income earning activities not only do rigorous work but also are denied the opportunity to go to school or may perform poorly at school.

Particularly girls find themselves in situations of greater responsibility for themselves and the rest of the household members. In their own words, the IDPs said that *after mass displacement since 1990s, we can estimate approximately 75% of domestic servants are our IDP girls (WBMakar3)*.

Parents prefer their girls taking on bigger household activities such as selling produce in the markets, fetching firewood, looking after small livestock and attending to domestic household needs. Yet a potential advantage of town life is increased education for pastoral children (Caldwell, 1992). Caldwell argues that female education leads to increased autonomy; a prediction borne throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Education represents a tremendous potential engine for both demographic and social change with female education being one of most important factors associated with mortality and fertility decline.

Education for girls brings the additional benefits of helping identify youth who are most abused by employers. It is also a valuable protection tool for providing alternatives to domestic servant and other forms of exploitation. Roth and Ngugi (2004) point to the importance of educating females, despite the strong bias for male education and correlate females education to knowledge about and reduction in sexually transmitted illness. However, IDPs girls may confront some circumstances that make them realize the anticipated benefits of settlement such as education and health care difficult. An important aspect of the education-gender link in relation to parental decisions about which children should enroll in school appears to be similar between the two study sites.

Besides the information obtained from the Ministry of Education, my interaction with the research participants reveals the imbalance in the proportion of children attending primary schools: more boys going to school than girls. The endorsement of traditional gender role expectations might account for these findings. Culture specific patterns may influence parental decisions about schooling. Owing to these IDPs financial constraints, the girls contribute to their boys' education. Just as culture defines the distinctive roles for boys and girls, it is the norm that the girls contribute through, for instance, domestic service to the family income to educate the boys. Girl children are providing domestic services particularly live under the constant threat of sexual, physical and emotional abuse and exploitative labor. Unfortunately, there might not necessarily be economic trickle-down effects from the boys on their completion of school to their sisters following the girls' marriage. Unlike in the pastoral setting, town life may be responsible for the menfolk's pursuit of egoistic ends rather than seeking the good of extended family members including their sisters.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

The pastoral production system in NEP has become unable to support the basic needs of people whose very survival is strongly linked to the performance of the sector. The aim of the study was to find out the causes of famine, displacement, and the needs of displacees in NEP. The study used a unified approach of the entitlement failures and CED in order to identify appropriate livelihood strategies for NEP pastoral IDPs. This study was carried out for four

months of fieldwork in two sites (Wajir and Garissa) in NEP. This was an exploratory study, and combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to achieve its objectives. The interview guide invited participants in the study areas to describe their experiences of displacement and its perceived impacts, any intervention processes, and other factors that might have triggered their displacement process. These were supplemented by secondary sources such as documentary materials pertaining to drought and famine in sub-Saharan Africa. A total of 48 semi-structured interviews and 104 surveyed households were covered by the research.

The study unearths that famine is commonly taken as a natural occurrence consisting of shortfalls in rainfall, shortage of food, and reduced purchasing power of people over a period of time. The researcher argues that these misconceptions trap famine in a framework that models it in relation to temporal factors. This fails to capture the broader socio-economic implications of famine; rendering meaningful responses quite elusive in NEP.

The research participants defined famine as a process and not a time-bound event but also give a series of interrelated events leading to complex and interminable famine. The sequences of events mentioned by IDPs include climate change resulting in recurrent drought and floods, followed by population pressure and overgrazing, and diseases. The triggers of famine are weak governance (responsible for breakdown of traditional authority structures, failures of market institutions, untimely response to famine, land use development), and the aridity of pastoral environment. All these natural and human-made factors eventually

result in rangeland resource depletion, increased insecurity and conflicts. Pastoralism in NEP, like any other region, is dynamic since it adjusts itself to changes in ecological and social environment that are driven by fragile arid ecosystem. The pastoralists' response to this fragile ecosystem has been to develop adaptive patterns that have been flexible enough to cope with the variation and to minimize risks. In the absence of such buffers as reported by the research participants, it had become increasingly difficult for them to adapt to what they described as an interminable famine.

The above findings imply that famine analysis in relation to nomadic pastoralism is complex and the use of my core theory of entitlement failures alone is insufficient to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of famine and its impacts on communities. In this study, the scope of the entitlement failures approach is improved by the application of the community economic development principles. As reported in chapter 4, the IDPs are powerless, voiceless, vulnerable, and live in fear and uncertainties caused by the interaction between several factors. The basic failure in the understanding of famine is the inability to recognise these determinants that mark the onset of the process, and operate to keep famine victims under continuous pressure.

To remedy these conditions, the study recommends the use of CED principles that promote economic opportunities that facilitate empowerment, and enhance security. Participatory processes geared toward enabling all community members to meaningfully influence the decisions that affect their lives, would ensure broad-based support, good governance, transparency, and accountability.

The entitlement theory is explicit that the government must do something about the response to crises, such as famine--a government that may have other priorities, and unwilling to do anything about a community crisis. A prominent role of CED is about community capacity building, an interactive and inclusive approach to build local people's skills (MacIntyre and Lotz, 2003). In response to crises such as famine, linking CED efforts (e.g. capacity building) to the entitlement theory will strengthen the technical and leadership resources of communities. IDPs would be able to foster partnerships with other communities, organizations, and government agencies. Partnerships like these give people access to knowledge and resources that might not be available in their own community. Capacity building based on social capital--the idea of enhancing and mobilizing existing community relationships, resources and skills for the purpose of improving people's living conditions is an aspect of CED. The NEP famine victims are people of different interests and needs. Having a CED plan, that addresses people's interests means consulting and involving all members including special groups (women, youth, elderly, and the disabled). In this respect, CED offers opportunities for inclusive and holistic approaches to meeting the needs of vulnerable individuals and groups while being sensitive to the natural environment.

Informal networks are crucial to fostering local involvement in development (MacIntyre and Lotz, 2003), but responsive, open, and accessible government is a prerequisite to the support of local initiatives. The inclusion of CED principles into the entitlement framework will focus on site-specific interventions that may meet the support needs and preferences defined by the two

IDPs groups. The multiple interventions i.e., food aid along with development programs proposed in this study could also widen options and strengthen victims' entitlements both short-term and in the long run. The use of the unified approach will advance the dynamic integral to support interventions, social exchange, and social learning theories such as gender in development, forced migration and rural/resource development.

The breakdown of trust in government and social solidarity among IDP communities in NEP brings out the need to foster trusting relations between various groups based on improved entitlement framework. Such conceptual framework has many potential applications:

- 1) become a common instrument for coordinating and steering the choices of the various famine interventions at different levels;
- 2) serves as a basis for structuring the way actions are monitored, assessed, and measure progress made;
- 3) help define objectives especially in areas where action is required, and strategic approaches to be adopted and;
- 4) produce a general strategy to refocus policies and various players' contributions consistent with causes and consequences of famine presented in the unified study's framework. In other words, the analysis of famine will encompass what is more often called "social development"¹³.

¹³ Social development is based on four dimensions of human well-being that are essential for the functioning of societies that recognize human rights and democracy as underpinning the way they are organized. this include equity in respect of rights/non-discrimination;dignity and recognition;autonomy and personal development; and participation/commitment.

Famine, according to this study, is also premised on the failures of societal institutions including age-old traditional mechanisms and governance structures that restrict people's access to entitlement. Our characterization of famine stirs arguments on the theories of famine held up against the sole conceptual framework of natural disasters. Nonetheless, famines in NEP are found to exhibit many of the characteristics associated with the theories of famine. In cautioning against single-cause of famine (Devereux, 1993), my study demonstrates how single-intervention (food aid) may undermine or weaken the capacity to deal with famine crisis. This is particularly so, in NEP where famines come at the tail end of long- term processes of increasing vulnerability to pastoral households.

Clearly, natural factors such as drought, floods, and diseases significantly contribute to famine, displacement, and destitution in NEP. Development initiatives that undermine the traditional management system and market failures can push pastoralists into different forms of lifestyles. Moreover, the government of Kenya has not shown the will to intervene and mitigate famine. In light of these discussions, it is clear that the policies during post independence periods weakened internal management and leadership capabilities of pastoral societies. The generalized official view of the government is summarized in the quote below:

I know there is famine in the country. But the government cannot be accused of being indifferent to the suffering of Kenyans. We have stayed up late in our offices trying to figure out how to get the best deal for our people. Raila, Prime Minister of Kenya, Daily Nation, Saturday February 28, 2009.

The incoherent perceptions above demonstrate the lack of understanding and direction on the need for specific interventions to famine in the country. It also serves as evidence of the lack of contingency planning, formulation of

appropriate policies, and ad-hoc responses to famine mitigation. It exhibits the government's ignorance of the cause and impact of famine as those in power still hold the notion that famine is time bound as it is caused by drought. It is not clear whether the generalized statement above also refers to the NEP IDPs or famine victims in other parts of the country or whether all famine victims are lumped together.

Adverse changes in the pastoralists' natural resources negatively influence their purchasing power, livestock conditions, milk production and ultimately IDPs entitlement security. The decline of the pastoralists' entitlement, such as the supply of milk, leads to reduction in food intake common in both sites. Pastoralists compensate for reduced food production through household diet adjustments involving: (i) giving priority to young children to receive milk; (ii) shifting diet composition for other age groups to include more cereals, meat and blood to accommodate the needs of children, sick and elderly; and (iii) reducing the size and frequency of meals to adults and older youth. The resultant weak bodily condition predisposes IDPs to diseases, other ailments and eventually makes them unable to fend for their families. The study, therefore, reveals that no pastoral households in NEP have the capacity to recover from disasters on their own--an indication of the need for external support if only to save human lives.

Migration to urban centres has also become a common response for households that are unable to fully sustain themselves in the pastoral system. It is, therefore, important to ask a question on the consequences of famine so as to plan appropriate responses for an interminable famine. Households migrate to towns

for wage labor in order to revive their diminished livelihoods, and to obtain cash to purchase grains and animals. While they may face many barriers, these famine victims also work to create many opportunities for themselves and for their children. The majority of households in both districts are engaged in small-scale businesses such as petty-trade, quarrying, and as domestic servants. However, factors such as struggle for employment and inadequate knowledge about town life impede IDPs ability to mobilize resources or use relief services in towns.

Additionally, post recovery efforts are constrained by several resource shrinking factors including (i) expansion of settlements, (ii) insecurity, (iii) population growth and influx of displacees, (iv) high drought frequency mainly resulting from climate change, (v) poor infrastructure (vi) urban poverty (vii) bad governance. The ability of the IDPs and their kinsmen to share and help each other is also constrained by the circumstances beyond their control. The IDPs raised myriad challenges including hunger and hardships which pose a high risk to their livelihood activities. Despite all these challenges, many IDPs still migrate to towns every year to seek better lives for their families. This indicates the need for relief and development interventions to reduce IDPs' isolation and loneliness; enhance their sense of belonging and life satisfaction; mediate the stress of discrimination and child poverty; and, facilitate their economic independence. Equally, the lesson to learn from out-migration from pastoralism is not to lose sight of the need for effective rangeland resource management in the pastoral hinterland.

The two study groups have several commonalities concerning poverty levels and its sociological impacts, but they are differentiated along certain variables such as geographical locations and livestock species. The concept of differentiation generally emphasizes that not all pastoralists in Sub-Saharan Africa face the same kind of lifestyle and constraints (Coppock, 1994). There is clearly a need to distinguish more among different types of pastoral communities in designing policy and interventions; rather than treating them as a “homogenous” group of “pastoralists” as referred to them by Coppock, and often, assumed to be the case. The participants report that wealth status of a pastoral household is mainly dependent on the number and composition of the animal herds (camels, cattle, sheep and goats). However, the wealth status of NEP pastoralists does not matter when succumbed to famine since famine results from many interrelated factors. For example, escalating conflict has been reported as one of the major causes of famine; it is not selective as it affects entire herds reducing or eliminating pastoralists’ entitlements.

The Wajir camel herders have an advantage over their Garissa counterparts since the camels are the last of the multi-species to succumb to the vagary of nature. It is important to caution that drought is more frequent to the extent that the camel as the ship of the desert may no longer be tenable. On the other hand, most Garissa indigenous people (over 80%) were affected by drought and disease, and some remained with remnant goats to help in their initial settlement.

The NEP of Kenya, being one of the most affected areas by natural and human-made factors, has more than half the region's displacees skipping meals in some days as opposed to the popular assumption of the poor surviving on less than US\$1 a day. Based on my observations, a meal a day in Garissa for the IDPs comprised of combination of maize and beans. In contrast, IDP households in Wajir, on average, had tea without milk as a major meal. This implies that the effects of famine in pastoral areas of NEP may have differences even within the province suggesting that interventions should be tailored to area specific needs. Despite the poverty situation outlook, it must be reiterated that little or no attention has been given to the development of NEP and studies on IDPs in NEP have been excluded in the literature.

The reasons advanced for the above scenarios are insecurity and poor infrastructure-all stemming from government insensitivity and historical prejudice in policy and development planning for the area. The NEP IDPs believe that their predicament is shared by other pastoralists in the country; often exacerbated by the problem of asset depletion, distribution and access, within an already difficult environment of fragile ecosystems, poverty, poor economic performance, and bad governance. Nonetheless, unlike other pastoralists in Kenya, the NEP pastoralists feel that they face official prejudice and insensitive attitudes that further complicates and expound their problems. The participants were emphatic that this outlook of underdevelopment is a common feature of the entire NEP although they consider themselves as the last to benefit.

Although this study revealed gender differences in IDPs coping and adjustment to peri-urban settlement, its goal was not to examine these differences. The casting off of some former gender norms by IDP women, as required by the new circumstances in which they find themselves is a part of a new interest in our understanding of social structures/social policy in the area of sociology. These new themes that emerged could be used to understand the structural barriers, social relationships, and the interplay of gender roles among IDPS—demonstrating that gendered identity is always in a process of change as it is a social construct.

The value of the women who shared their stories with me remains the central tenet of this study. Women and young girls seem to show rapid adaptation to the settlement in towns. This could be attributed to their new-found economic opportunities and their reprieve from nomadic “hardships.” The children’s cries for the basics of life could also be a motivating factor for the women’s aggressive search for survival means. More attention could be paid to women’s optimism thesis: the notion that women IDPs are able to transcend barriers to their success because of their positive outlook and determination. Reliance on women for family financial security is undoubtedly a valued safety net given their resilience in the face of adversity. This also counteracts the historic traditional barriers to economic independence faced by Somali pastoralist women (Mohamud, 2003). However, women’s struggles for daily survival combined with household chores may lead to work overloads. The extent to which the observed overloads could impact on women’s health and

well-being, child development and food insecurity has been mentioned in my study but their relationships require further investigations.

It would also be worthwhile to ask whether the financial independence gained by IDP women would lead to egalitarian social relations at least within household decision-making. At this point, we cannot exhaustively state why some women have this positive outlook, and others, especially the men, are more pessimistic after settling in peri-urban fringes. It is possible that families who are optimistic may simply have more support resources at their disposal than those whose support systems are weak. Thus, factors influencing women's optimism towards sedentary lifestyle opens up new avenues for research in gender dimensions of internal displacements.

It is important to ascertain when families feel vulnerable as their entitlement dwindles. It is possible that some new IDPs may enjoy considerable support upon arrival, which erodes overtime. Despite the support, recently-arrived IDPs were reported to be living under extreme poverty¹⁴ temporarily, while they work to rebuild their lives in their new environment. The living conditions of the new IDPs appear to be the same for both study groups. However, the claim by the Wajir IDPs not to have been prepared for the rapid raids/conflicts that dogged them as opposed to displacement due to drought implies that famine interventions need to be tailored to meet site-specific needs. Coppock (1994; 1998) acknowledges the complexity of the problem that the contemporary pastoral societies in the Horn of Africa are experiencing. He rightly adds that a certain

¹⁴ In the context of IDPs, extreme poverty is the situation where a household or some of the household members skip meals a day or more due to lack of food.

sector specific government department or piecemeal efforts of a few NGOs can hardly address the impacts of disasters.

According to a joint report by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Norwegian Refugee Council, "national governments have the primary responsibility for the security and well-being of all displaced people on their territory, but often they are unable or unwilling to live up to this obligation as defined by the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the set of relevant international standards. In the absence of a single agency mandated to help IDPs, the international community has been trying to work out arrangements aimed at ensuring a collaborative, inter-agency response to the needs of the displaced.

Famine response agencies have programs in the pastoral areas but, primarily offer emergency relief, with inadequate attention to development. There is also little coordination of intervention efforts between them, government and the local communities. Like any other development interventions in the Sub-Saharan Africa, the end results of such interventions in NEP have failed to achieve sustainable development although these projects were initiated with good intentions. Climate change is also likely to disrupt the pastoral livelihood system to the extent that pastoralism may fail to work as a sustainable, viable way of life in NEP and elsewhere. From a policy standpoint, the feasibility of returning to pastoralism in the context of drought and desertification in NEP requires action at local, national and international levels. The perception of pastoralism as a backward production system could be replaced with a recognition of the rationale of the systems in dryland areas. Policies and programs focusing on

pastoral development could be enacted to support local resilience and adaptive capacity to climate change.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Coping with the Vagaries of Famine

The evidence drawn from my study suggest that the supply of relief food to famished families plays an important role in sustaining households, but is never enough to withstand a prolonged food crisis. The NEP famine calls for the adoption of a wide range of strategies to cope with its effects and displacement. Empirical evidence from studies across Sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world suggests that social networking plays an integral (or critical) role in sustaining rural livelihoods. Johnson (1997), in his study, found that social networking can be used in acquiring economic capital (money and materials), human capital (labour and knowledge), and natural capital (land and water), and is hence important for livelihood sustainability. When I asked the research participants about the relationship between social networks and famine vulnerability of households, I found that those households with larger support networks define themselves as less vulnerable in contrast to less fortunate households with fewer social support networks.

Respondents explained that an individual's network consists of people who share food, exchange livestock, discuss future plans, share information, make decisions and engage in mutually beneficial labour. This provides evidence that declining extended family support systems are a major source of vulnerability for the poor in NEP. Despite the critical role of social capital or networks of trust and

reciprocity in pastoral livelihoods sustainability in Sub-Saharan African countries, it has not been given a high profile in recent famine literature (Danny de Vries, Leslie, and McCabe 2006; Johnson, 1999). Moreover, Kenya's poverty reduction documents that I reviewed ignored the social networking behaviour in the formulation of relevant livelihood policies in the country. The cultivation and maintenance of social relations is a response to crises and a way of dealing with livelihood shocks, and refers specifically to non-market transfers of goods and services between households.

Successful coping through external intervention, generally, depends on the effectiveness of famine management. The respondents identify four key components that could positively contribute to effective management of their complex situation. First, an elaborate structure that is relevant, transparent, trusted, and able to trigger timely action. Second, a package of flexible responses appropriate to each stage of the famine as it evolves which may include support for activities before the famine strikes. The interventions may include, but not limited to, marketing and livestock off-take, appropriate water development, livestock health, public-works schemes, food aid, and initiatives to promote long-term socio-economic wellbeing. Third, the resources and the political will to put all the above into practice. Finally, mechanisms to hold those in authority accountable for their actions e.g community-level representation that takes into account gender representation in decision-making.

The respondents report that since Kenya's independence, they were exposed to gradual deterioration of their economic mainstay. They have had

periods of stress, great anxiety and uncertainty. These periods were characterized by lack of sense of direction in government policies, drought, famine, and general economic hardships that resulted in unprecedented mass migration of pastoralists to towns and relief centers. The respondents point out that both their own coping strategies and external support such as food aid or relief can only be regarded as temporary solutions to their problem, not long-term improvements to quality of life. Practices such as irrigation schemes have evolved in Garissa but do not necessarily represent improvements in people's socio-economic welfare (Kariuki, 1994; Noor, 1999).

Similarly, findings in studies on restocking programs in the Horn of Africa show that recovery of pastoralists are challenged. For example, in the case of restocking by external agents, Hogg (1997a:17) comments that, "restocking may be a popular intervention with pastoralists but it only offers hope to a small number and, even these, are unlikely to survive subsequent droughts". The reality of pastoral areas is that 'crashes' are an inevitable aspect of life, and, while restocking may offer temporary respite for several years, most restocked families have and will succumb to high frequent droughts. This implies that in places like the NEP region where drought and conflicts are not occasional risks but inevitable frequent phenomena, restocking may not be a feasible option.

This practice is premised on the assumption that the existing circumstances in the region under consideration suggest that households are better off if they can recover from drought and stay in the pastoral activity. This does not mean that there are no instances where some pastoralists prefer otherwise,

although the options may not be sustainable. For example, most women migrants in this study indicate their unwillingness to go back to pastoral life after being exposed to a different experience in towns.

The impact of famine is never uniform but strikes differently, both within, and between different pastoral groups depending on their differential access to support services, cause of famine, political power, gender and the market. This underscores the importance of a broad-based intervention that takes into consideration the dismal curse phenomenon in addressing post-famine management. This means that an understanding of the matrix of vulnerability of each group from different angles is a pre-condition for effective famine contingency planning. In Garissa, due to the location of the pastoral areas which provide many with relatively better access to external markets, cross-border livestock and terms of trade has become a major source of employment for many people. Irrigation development was prescribed for Garissa because of its proximity to Tana riparian basin.

Recovery by restocking although usually thought as something provided by agencies is widely practiced by pastoralists themselves in Wajir. The connection to their former occupation is important because they find it more difficult to adapt to life in their urban village since they had a relatively better standard of living while they were in pastoral life. On the other hand, restocking involves purchase and provision of livestock to families who lost their herds, usually as a result of drought, disease, or conflict. However, despite the support they get, they struggle to survive as interventions hardly meet their daily needs.

They feel that if complemented with food ration, restocking could sustain the lives of restockees until they start to reap the proceeds of their livestock.

It is important to note that while there are many similarities in the types of stresses and adaptive strategies faced by NEP IDPs, there are also some differences which affect the livelihoods of displacees. The diversity of African pastoralists (Coppock, 1994; Opschoor, 2001) as it relates to the concept of “average household” has little use in prescribing blanket intervention approaches. For example, most of the Garissa pastoral communities are prone to problems of drought and livestock diseases. As such, remnant animals may offer Garissa residents lifeline during the transition to town life. On the other hand, the Wajir counterparts have to contend with drought, livestock diseases, frequent livestock raids and other internecine conflicts that may not accord them the same opportunities.

6.2.2 Governance and Famine Mitigation

Weaknesses in governance – governance being defined as the way in which public institutions perform their functions in a country – are strongly correlated with the cause and deficiencies in famine intervention according to this study. The majority of the respondents define bad governance as corruption, rampant poverty, inequitable growth, social exclusion, and lack of trust in authorities. This explains why the operation of the state and its interaction with the public, particularly with the pastoralists and IDPs, are key challenges in Kenya. Regional programs to help the pastoralists improve the natural

environment, and stimulate economic growth are impacted by poor governance and have little positive impact while continuing to inflict harm.

The participants' response to how the government addressed their plight was one of desperation and lack of coordinated response to famine. These participants are categorical that the government never gets to the source of their problems neither does it bother to deal with the effects or even assess the risks involved. In essence, the IDPs claim that they are "left on their own" to deal with challenges related to their displacement and destitution. In their own words, the participants said:

Our government has no eyes or ears for our problems... it uses a hands-free approach and lets us struggle on our own. We are the forgotten poor. To us ...it would have been better if there was no government like the people of Somalia...you see, the refugees from Somalia are doing better than us even with their school going [children]. This is because they are assisted by the UN. But we cannot dare go [to] the refugee camps even if they are close to us simply because we do not have the money to go there and also as a Kenyan we are not eligible for [UN] support...(GBbat 2).

Legislation on the persistent problem of livelihood loss is not in place. Equally, the participants resented the government's handling of the relief food distribution. This might be a minor example but a broader picture of the participants' reaction shows the lack of connection between pastoralists and the Kenyan government. Mistrust and suspicion of IDPs were clearly manifested in their responses to how they would want relief food delivered to them. Corruption and nepotism are themes that kept coming up from the participants. Clearly, these people reiterate that the government does not involve them in matters pertaining to their welfare pointing to their lack of representation in decision making meetings.

During my field research, a government circular was issued to stop the cutting of trees for all purposes. This effort sounds well for environmental

conservation but displacees derive their livelihoods from charcoal burning, limestone, firewood, logging for fence construction. The IDPs are not familiar with formal government circulars neither are they offered alternative livelihood options. State agents arraign them in courts for flouting the rules where they get fined (beyond their means) and eventually imprisoned.

The failure of democracy and economic development in Kenya are due, to a large part, to the scramble for wealth by predator elites who have dominated the country's politics since independence. As reported by the research participants, the state is seen as a source of personal wealth accumulation; in the respondent's own words *those in power and those who seek power use all means to promote their selfish interests* (GBRig 2). This includes fostering tribal sectarianism and political repression as evidenced by the recent political violence in Kenya in 2008. Competition for control of the state between political parties is invariably ferocious and generates instability. The competition for national resources eventually translates itself into regional rivalries leading to conflict and repression as the case of NEP depicts. A large proportion of the respondents attributed the apparently senseless conflicts in NEP to the battle for the spoils of power. Abdille (2006) concurs with these views in his study on displacement and sedentarization in smaller urban centres of Wajir.

The destructive nature of corruption is not in dispute because corruption widens the already yawning gap between the rich and the poor in a country. The participants opined that corruption in government increases poverty both directly and indirectly. They claim such acts divert resources to rich people who can

afford to pay bribes for their interest and away from those who cannot afford to do so; this weakens the government and lessens its ability to fight poverty. They blame their children's lack of access to jobs and the general lack of employment for their inability to pay bribes. They further add that access to public services such as medical care is not possible for them because of lack of means for bribery. More generally, corruption eats away at the fabric of public life, leading to increased lawlessness and undermining social and political stability (UNDP, 1997).

These people need the basic necessities of life prioritized by them as shelter, food, clothing, health care, employment, and education, which they find difficult to acquire in their present circumstances. The thing that bothered the research participants most was the callous attitude shown toward their suffering. The Kenyan poverty reduction strategy spells out that prompt actions should be undertaken to bail out citizens experiencing hardships. One of the women respondents asserted that they are not lazy people since they struggle to make a living against odds. She continues that this is evidenced by their daily struggles from the many years of selling milk. The folks wake up early every day to go to the markets in towns among other activities. A mother of seven children in Wajir had this to say:

We are all discarded...more so those with extreme problems...we have been engaged in this kind of business [milk] since we lost our productive livestock during the drought of 1992... I work hard to feed my family. This became a business for mothers like me, because we knew nothing else and we had no yearning to go back to the bush."(GBrig 3).

Although the milk business does not provide enough daily income to many families, it shows the communities' resilience to withstand difficult situations. This implies that they need minimal effort geared towards a more enterprising venture to realize their dreams. For all the years, these people have been eking a living in similar petty economic activities in the most deplorable conditions making meager returns. They brave the scorching temperatures of the market on a plain barren land. The cost of living keeps rising and many like this respondent have been unable to feed their families. Furthermore, the daily rising food prices in the region, as they report, have translated to starvation in many homes. A family's hard-earned income cannot manage to get a major meal per day but afford only tea as the 'main meal'. A village elder in Wajir had this to say:

"Our milk business is not performing since we are unable to make ends meet. I am depressed so much about this." "There is no point of continuing this way if it can't sustain at least the family, the situation of the drought-displaced pastoralists in Wajir is worsening and hunger looms large. The aged and children are the worst affected," (WMakar 3).

The above sentiments are shared by many respondents in Wajir. The participants stressed the need for their government and external relief agencies to transcend human relations - i.e. going beyond individual needs and extending compassion, respect, and concern to every person in the country including NEP displacees.

In the last two decades, the two study areas have witnessed the evolution of "community-driven development," such as the Arid Lands Development Focus (Aldef), Wajir Peace and Development Agency, and WomanKind Kenya, but the communities express dissatisfaction with the way interventions are delivered through this model. They are reasserting values of creativity, sustainability, and

inclusiveness in decision making. This implies that the community based-action concept is commonly misused at least in the context of the study area. The key features of community-based programs and projects are that they are based on participants identifying themselves not by some other attributes but as a displaced community with unique challenges and experiences. In the context of CED, communities are responsible for choosing projects, selecting leaders, and implementing and fiscally managing their projects in a decentralized manner. In other words, community driven development represents an empowerment of communities at the bottom of the development strata (Lotz and MacIntyre, 2003).

The research participants describe their community-based development as “pseudo” and generally feel that they are used as “pawns”. There was unanimity in the participants’ arguments that manipulations and political machinations are commonly used even in the selection of beneficiaries. In essence, community development in this context is controlled and promoted by interest groups (some unscrupulous local leaders and corrupt government agencies) to advance their selfish and parochial interest. Likewise, the local community-based actions have been faulted as short-term since they provide mostly relief supplies and lack long-term vision. The destitute need both short-term relief efforts and long-term support for self-reliance to take root.

Poor governance and lack of effective famine mitigation are posited by the respondents as the root cause of poverty in NEP. Although the entitlement approach assists in situating famine within a wider context; it may not be able to analyze the dynamics of relationships that emerge during calamities in the NEP

districts. Famine intervention has not been successful in NEP partly because of the intrinsic difficulty of convincingly making its connection with its multi-dimensional causes and effects. For example, these theories do not easily highlight and critically analyse the strengths of social capital as a survival strategy within their frameworks. They also fail to put in perspective the context in which this is applied as the theorists may not be conversant with the details of how and why some societies would choose certain survival strategies. This argument is applicable to my study because the way Somali IDPs achieve and maintain their livelihoods during a crisis is not documented for use in famine theories. These points are, however, met to a certain degree by the community economic development model which my study recommends to be used with the entitlement framework. Together, the unified framework could provide more useful guideline for sustainable strategies that would minimize the challenges of famine, displacement and destitution in NEP.

6.2.3 CED Principles and Famine Analysis

Famine in pastoral areas is complex, diverse, and makes it difficult to capture the dynamics of livelihoods or adaptive strategies in one theoretical approach. How pastoralists' perceive famine, how they interact with sociological processes taking place within their households, the diverse ways in which they interpret these experiences, and how such perturbations are coped with may be viewed as determinants of famine. Given the limited period of my study, capturing these dynamics during the last few decades of famine and, at the same time, avoiding the dangers of simplistic overviews was no easy task. This called

for a combination of different approaches, as discussed in Chapter Two. The core theory used in the study was the entitlement approach with a particular focus on a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the household and its assets as a unit of social organisation. It implies that, following Sen (1981), what NEP IDPs need or what they do not have so as to build their strengths and capabilities, for instance, are important to consider just as is looking at what they actually possess.

In my study, the application of the principles of CED is anticipated to broaden the entitlement framework and help to deepen our theoretical understanding of the dynamics of famine among NEP pastoralists. The purpose of combining the two approaches is to rationalize famine issues affecting NEP IDPs as it would strengthen the claims of the most vulnerable. The use of the two approaches may also help to counteract the limitations of each approach and allow for consideration of various factors and processes that either constrain or enhance NEP IDPs' ability to sustain their livelihoods during crises.

As gathered in this study, a combination of factors is responsible for the interminable famine that results in poverty in NEP. The integration of CED principles into the entitlement framework during famine interventions will address site-specific needs, so often overlooked when strategies and policies focus on the broader aspects of famine mitigation. Rather than offer short-term relief food to famine victims as was the strategy of the past, applying ideas of the modified model will make it easier for IDPs to obtain both relief support and build assets.

Admittedly, more on the hope is that social enterprises for IDPs will be realized if IDPs are given the means to build their livelihoods. The unified framework is based on moral imperative i.e., responsibilities and obligations of all pastoral stakeholders to ensure the provision of socio-economic, legal, and psychological well-being for IDPs. It means that the pastoralists' stakeholders conceive and implement CED activities within the social, economic, cultural, and political factors affecting the lives of the displacees. The moral imperative encompasses the best of both, coupling short-term relief food, and market-based economic activities with commitment to democratic rights and social justice. The distinct theme of CED, in this respect, is the commitment by relevant actors to mitigate perturbations such as famine and its effects, and bringing the various categories of the displacees along in decision-making.

The stakeholders involved in pastoralism can protect development and promote it by preparedness planning to "halt famine in its tracks". The unified model can contribute to self-reliance of the IDPs by encouraging the acquisition of relevant skills and the development of supportive structures and institutions. This hope stems from a few programmes in the developing countries (such as the Grameen Bank¹⁵) that have been started and serve massive number of poor people where access to wage jobs and an effective public safety net decrease. The founder of Grameen Bank, Dr.Yunus, realized that the Bangladesh famine of

¹⁵ The Grameen Bank was initiated in 1983 in Bangladesh by Dr. Muhammad Yunus following the 1974 famine that ravaged many lives in the country. Banker to the poor, most of the Grameen Bank's loans are given to women as microcredit, and since its inception, there has been an astonishing loan repayment rate of over 98 percent (Muhammad Yunus, 2003). It should be noted that since microcredit may have high cost of repayment, it is not necessarily a magic bullet but may be helpful to some and not all.

1974 continued to have heavy toll in the country which altered his economic theories to practical action. His thinking and commitment to community revitalization is captured in this quote:

What good were all my complex theories when people were dying of starvation on the sidewalk and porches across from my lecture hall?...Nothing in the economic theories I taught reflect the life around me (Yunus, 1977).

Consequently, Yunus started an experimental micro-credit enterprise in 1977; by 1983, the Grameen Bank was officially formed and to this day, it has high loan repayment (Yunus, 2008). The lesson learnt from Yunus's initiative may be that theories do not necessarily inform practice more so when generalized in a broader context. It appears that Yunus is disturbed by the idea of the existence of theory that is not reflective of the living conditions of the poor people. Theories are abstract and conceptual, and to this end, they are supported or challenged by observations in the world. Moreover, theories are revised to conform to new observations that could express phenomena in some formal system of logic-- they should be formulated on the basis of reality on the ground. If theory and practice are separated, as observed by Yunus, then they fall into a distorted one-sidedness; theory and practice can only fully develop in connection with one another. Yunus regards experience as valid, emphasises the active side of practice, and in this sense, introduces a rational element into empirical analysis so as to plan and execute appropriate practices. The displaced experiences enriches our knowledge about the encounter of CED principles (practical approach) that has to be an integral part of the entitlement theory. My study serves as a means to enhance understanding between famine victims, and development practitioners for the institution of appropriate mechanisms to alleviate constraints on IDPs in NEP. It

offers a glimpse of the amazing future Yunus forecasts for a planet transformed by thousands of social businesses-- a model that inspires a more humane form of poverty alleviation.

6.2.3 Sedentarization and Livelihood Activities

The African governments always hope that pastoralists could be sedentarized as quickly as possible, making them amenable to the types of service delivery system used for dealing with citizens (Tadingar, 1994; Mohamud, 2003) . Governments often claim the difficulty with providing services to nomadic pastoralists as a reason to encourage settlement. However, we see that sedentarization of pastoralists is evident in pastoral areas in an increasing rate even without governments' intervention (Markakis, 2004). Yet, the interventions during the phase of famine cycles range from those aimed at rehabilitation of the pastoral sector by enabling the destitute to re-enter pastoralism through restocking or to those aimed at encouraging a major shift to other forms of livelihood, such as irrigation agriculture.

Following their settlement, the only tangible long-term development initiative for these pastoral households are irrigation farming in Garissa and restocking in Wajir. Whether these strategies do allow the households to be reestablished as economically independent units depends on the environment in which they find themselves in, bearing in mind the frequently volatile conditions of the region. Irrigation development as argued by some scholars (Kariuki, 1994; Noor 1999), at best decrease pastoral grazing areas forcing more herders to quit pastoralism rather than offering relief from economic hardships to pastoral

destitute. Scoones et al., (1996) have written about the existence of a wide range of contingencies that impinge on day-to-day farming practices. Some of these are: networks of social relations, agricultural price levels, transportation and marketing infrastructure and, the occasional drought, to name but a few (cf. Scoones et al., Barker, 1989). According to Scoones et al,

...farming in dryland environments is thus not a static process amenable to simple analysis and recommendations, but a highly contingent affair constrained by resource entitlement and always shaped by a wide range of risks and uncertainties (1996:84).

These risks and uncertainties become a daily threat to household agricultural production levels and, because of the central role of farming in some Garissa IDPs poor performance has implications for their economy. Nonetheless, rather than condemn the irrigation farming to the scrap-heap of history, the aim should be to build on its strength and overcome the weaknesses in order to create more vibrant irrigation communities with sustainable livelihoods. Good husbanding of resources is critical in irrigation management. River bank erosion, land degradation, floods and siltation that have been perennial problem in Garissa irrigation schemes could be minimized. There has been great deal of soil erosion in Garissa irrigation schemes and river bank cultivation needs to be discouraged in the area before many farmers lose their farms. Further, to date there has been little sign of impact of previous extension programs in the region. While some farmers were trained by Garissa Irrigation Program (GIP), they generally do not have the resources to cultivate their farms especially after floods, river bank erosion or siltation. They urgently need further inputs such as seeds, tools, other farm implements, and extension services.

If they succeed to nurture their crops and have good harvest, marketing is the next phase that would bring its own uncertainties given the perishability of the farm produce. The boom in production comes with the risk of flooding the local markets. In the absence of a sound resource base (reliable transport, cooperatives and market networks, credit facilities, processing plants), farmers are often forced to sell all their produce at once. The continuation of this problem can only mean that the community's main livelihood is made vulnerable and more precarious given the cost of irrigation farming. The relationship of farming to vegetable and fruit processing, and markets is a key determinant of economic and social well being of displaced communities in Garissa. It would be advantageous for external agencies to establish training, marketing channels and credit programs to support the growth of the agricultural sector in the province. In comparison, some residents of Wajir informed us that they would prefer to be supported with handset pumps to cultivate small plots for dryland crop production (melons, maize, sorghum & millet, tomatoes, papaya).

Restocking in Wajir as mentioned earlier, has also proved unsustainable due to frequency of drought, raiding and conflicts, and poor livestock husbandry practices. The restocking problem of Wajir stems from failure to supply a viable herd to the beneficiaries. A viable herd consists of about 40 animals per household contrary to the small number of goats given to each restockee. Considering the frequency of famine, productivity of the herd is affected thus the inability to provide enough income for the households. Equally, it has the

disadvantage of tying some family labour that could otherwise be freed for other economic pursuits.

At this juncture, the displaced families of NEP feel quite ambiguous about their future plans. Severe droughts and starvation still exist in the two study sites, hence most of the IDPs are unwilling to return to the nomadic way of life, particularly women IDPs and those living in Garissa. Many IDPs indicated that they are better off living away from pastoral reserves because of access to casual labor and other town opportunities. In the case of Wajir, insecurity and lack of resource and support make them not to return to their original places. It is clear that the displaced population cannot expect to continue to rely on food aid and a number of options need to be considered, and carefully implemented.

It should be noted, however, that a number of families I interviewed expressed an interest in returning to their nomadic life-style if they were provided with some kind of re-stocking program. Therefore, one option would be to consider re-stocking some of the displaced pastoralists of Wajir and allow them to resume their nomadic way of life. Since, as pastoralists, they claim to possess no other skills, restocking policy seems preferred and appropriate. Timely livestock disease detection and treatment is paramount for the restockees. Almost all of IDPs in both districts work as casual unskilled and semi-skilled laborers and rarely find regular work. Given the fact that none of IDPs households possess significant capital or other assets, they have minimal opportunity to enter the market or trade sectors. Perhaps the most practical and potentially most beneficial policy would be to implement a labor intensive program that would generate work

and a pattern of self-reliance to the community-both in Wajir as well in Garissa district.

Within this context a number of issues need to be addressed. One option that has garnered the interest of the research participants in Wajir is a food-for-work road project that would connect villages in Wajir to Garissa on a distance of over 400 kilometers. They agree that such projects would benefit the IDPs in the short term to supplement their incomes, as well as open trade and market opportunities for the wider community in a sustainable manner. In particular, the rehabilitation of this road would provide opportunities to develop the agriculture sector in the region. At present it is difficult to travel from Wajir to Garissa livestock terminal market. Wajir IDPs involved in livestock trade expressed the advantages enjoyed by Garissa traders and other more advanced districts, particularly with regards to infrastructure and transaction costs. For example, given high transportation costs, the profit margin of Wajir-based traders is far below their counterparts in Garissa, yet food commodities are more expensive in Wajir. Similar public-works projects such as afforestation that target IDPs women, dam desilting and construction could ease the pressure on the local environment in terms of limestone extraction, charcoal burning, firewood fetching, gravel and sand harvesting.

Pastoralists reestablish themselves by involving in non-pastoral activities; the most common of these in NEP is a petty-trade business and in small-scale handicrafts. Almost all these pastoral communities have indicated, particularly in recent years, that these economic activities seem not to have succeeded in

diversifying their activities to a significant degree. These failures mainly emanate from their meager investment capital which gets unsustainable as the family continues to use for consumption without replenishment. Provision of credit to sustain social enterprises such as retail trade, milk marketing, vegetable vending if based on a strong social safety net, would make it possible for these people to take charge of their future, rather than drift into it.

An important point pertaining to why the petty trade including milk marketing have not been able to meet the daily needs of the IDPs is due to lack of coordinated marketing networks. A significant number of the displaced population especially women are engaged in selling of milk but do not make much profit out of it. In order to streamline milk marketing, efforts should be directed at putting up of effective and efficient distribution systems. This would involve organizing transportation of milk from the producers through regular customers for sale to consumers. This marketing chain requires a centralized milk market that could also serve as stalls for women to sell other commodities such as fast foods and retail trade. The organized fashion has the benefit of ensuring hygienic conditions of food handling, protecting women and children from adverse weather and timely delivery of the perishable commodity. It will be easier to mobilize women for capacity building to improve their skills in record keeping, cooperation, collaboration and marketing strategy. A community-based organization in Mandera, one of the districts in NEP, has already started centralized milk market which can be made use of in deciding on the feasibility of

its implementation in the study districts following a well prepared assessment report of the project.

Women will be able to integrate into the mainstream national markets and develop vital networks. Through this broad support, women can have a voice and political clout to acquire credit facilities which will lead to long-term economic independence. Pastoral development is often as much concerned with the management of conflict between competing interests as it is with physical or economic improvement (Prior, 1994). The consequences of famine in NEP are often compounded by other factors such as civil unrest even after the victims settle. Women could be engaged in peace-building initiatives among pastoral communities. Their ambiguous kinship ties, their primarily non-combatant status, and their vulnerability as individuals, mothers and wives, can enable them to enlist the support of the elites, youth, elders and the government in resolving conflict in ways that might not be open to other actors.

Moreover, during post-conflict reconstruction, whether in groups or individually, formally or informally, pastoral women can contribute significantly to reconciliation efforts, to the revival of local economies and to the rebuilding of essential local services and networks. The Peace women group in Wajir, for example, was established in 1996 to represent Wajir pastoral communities in local, national and international debates, and defend their rights. It has focused primarily on peace initiatives between clans and building a shared voice for pastoral groups. The traditional social institution of the Peace was formed through women's peace crusade and brings women's informal roles of persuasion and

influence on male leaders into the public sphere. The peace initiative enables women to act as ambassadors of peace, bearing messages through songs, poems, dances and speeches performed for neighbouring communities. The group travels along between two communities in conflict and involves key stakeholders from the different sides. These groups have helped initiate dialogue and provide opportunities to create a common bond among different conflicting groups. If the rising tide of IDPs is to be tempered, women are the key actors to achieve it.

The challenge lies in working with pastoral women to emphasize these powerful informal and formal roles in effective and positive ways. Civil society organizations can play a crucial role in peacebuilding and conflict resolution initiatives, in establishing a political voice for pastoral groups, and in sharing experience between regions. In Kenya, local NGOs have helped mediate conflict resolution processes between pastoralist groups and farmers – often supported by international NGOs (e.g. ITDG, Oxfam UK). National and regional pastoral associations play a crucial role in the political empowerment of these communities. When working through civil society groups, there is a need to recognize their resource limitations and their dependency on specific individuals for leadership. Also, to avoid raising expectations and political and social problems, any project or service delivered to IDPs should be done with the full consultation and participation of the elders of the respective communities. Awareness and acceptance of conflict resolution strategies should be promoted throughout the region, with the process and outcomes continually monitored and evaluated. By improving women's confidence, awareness and participation in the

peace process, more possibilities for conflict resolution will be available and broader social change in other areas of gender concern are promoted.

The youth displacees in NEP should also be engaged in all development processes including peace building initiatives. Not only do they form the bulk of the population, but they bear the brunt of war, conflict and are easily manipulated by politicians. Labour intensive employment could be modeled for the youth as a way to distract them from being drawn into conflicts or manipulation by interest groups. An important pre-requisite for future investment and development assistance for the IDPs is the establishment of legal framework for land-ownership; the legal status of IDPs must be prioritized. There must be a clear and official recognition of IDPs in NEP which should be stated in official policy by municipal, national, and international organizations. Currently, the NEP IDPs' existence is not recognized by all levels of the Kenya government. The IDPs expressed a desire for recognition and want to be heard and resettled as an avenue to find a permanent solution within the context of their municipalities.

Insecurity of land tenure and ownership on the part of IDPs was cited as a primary concern of most IDPs interviewed. It is of particular concern for non-indigenous residents of Garissa, and the womenfolk. There is a vital need for the implementation of an urban planning program for the two districts that would incorporate the resettlement of the IDPs within the towns. There is also a need for coordination between stakeholders with respect to IDPs population in NEP. So far, coordination and information sharing between agencies has been dismally poor. Previous interventions in terms of mapping the composition and outlining

the priority needs of the IDPs of pastoral background is yet to be supported by the Kenya government. Local authorities have yet to show good faith in setting aside public land for resettlement project although the research found that some NGOs are keen to design and implement humanitarian and long-term assistance to the IDPs.

Finally, the prevalence of long-term trauma among IDPs was noted throughout the research period evidenced by the frequent resort to religious solutions to problems. The complementarity of religious counseling with medical control may help to avoid exacerbation of psychological problems. Along with such support, the IDPs require civic education to enable them learn their rights and responsibilities as enshrined in the Kenya constitution. Continuing free education programs beyond the primary level has been cited as a service that may help these IDPs parents to pull themselves and their children out of poverty. But we should look beyond the obvious in order to examine the so-called “success in life through education.” Success defined as getting employment through education is a “mirage”-difficult to attain as it depends on other factors such as bribery for jobs, nepotism, network, and corruption.

The reality for many IDPs girls is that they are at risk of rape, forced marriage and exploitation. Due to gender bias in the Somali patriarchal society, they are less likely to learn to read and write or have opportunities for formal education (Mohamud, 2003). Girls are often considered the property of their families, with little or no say in decisions regarding marriage, employment or other life choices. At a time in their lives which should be marked by enormous

potential, IDP girls' lives are characterized by poverty and other forms of gender-based deprivation. In these adverse conditions, girls are compelled to take on adult roles, protecting and providing for younger children. They lose opportunities to learn, and are denied the structure, stability and predictability they need to develop their potential and ultimately lose their sense of trust and hope for the future.

In response to the unmet demand for primary education for IDP girls, there is need to conduct a school-awareness campaign. Educated women from the region could provide the foundation of a social movement to seek support from other women and human rights organizations such as Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). Educated women in the region are a critical group for social change, given their access to power and representation as role models. Also, working with local communities to develop and strengthen parent-teacher associations could increase parents' interest in girls' education. Attempts of this nature would increase educational opportunities for girls in underserved areas. As part of the special educational programs, girls could be encouraged to attend educational activities where they develop reading, writing, computer and numeracy skills. This way, the additional skills will enable IDPs graduands to compete in the competitive job markets both internally and outside the country.

6.2.4 Rhetorics to Realism

Famine relief food supplies are rarely given on time and serve, at best, as temporary measure in the struggle to keep famine victims alive. My argument is that external support is always necessary for NEP IDPs because their livelihoods

are dominated by risk and uncertainty and need to have their livelihoods reconstructed. The participants indicate that they are enterprising communities; such community entrepreneurs utilize the CED model from the moment they express their interest in participating in economic opportunities. The respondents claim that their government is yet to get fully on-side to their problems but NGOs strive to reduce rural poverty by providing relief handouts. My respondents claim that external intervention programs designed to supply famine relief fail to take into account existing realities. They also indicate that external agencies have missed the opportunity to understand their production system and lack a common front with the locals for instituting permanent solutions to buffer environmental disturbances, such as drought. This implies that there is a need for local participation for solving poverty issues because the people in the community can define the key elements of deprivation as they appear in the local context (Oba, 1992).

The prominence of my interest in undertaking this research originates with my pastoral background and work experience in the two study sites. While working in NE province of Kenya as an agricultural officer, ensuing famine made me feel that something needed to be done to change things for the better. To enhance the NEP IDPs resilience to famine, I realized that it is important to document and create awareness of their extreme hardships. Like other pastoralists, the NEP IDPs' own capacity to recover from vagaries of nature depends on their ability to connect with those mandated to help them. This connectivity with relevant institutions can function as buffers which promote socio-economic

stability. Respondents informed us that during the pre-colonial past, many nomadic communities, such as the Somalis, were less vulnerable to calamities (crises) as they had strong traditional mechanisms reinforced by reciprocal relationships. Additionally, the Somali people had vast rangelands where they constantly moved back and forth with a range of coping strategies depending on whether conditions were good or bad. This study has shown that Somalis in NEP have faced recurrent famines and have resorted to a range of livelihood strategies which are complex, dynamic, and pragmatic. This suggests that NEP pastoralists are not passive and helpless in the face of hardship but have considerable ability to adapt and respond to crises.

My observation during the data collection process was that there were no concrete plans to address the problems of impoverished communities. Rhetorics rather than realistic approaches have provided poor protection to reconstruct communities' lives. In terms of appropriate policy responses, it is important to recognise the realities of daily life in the region and the way people span both traditional practices and new linkages to foster their livelihoods. The local communities require effective interaction with the various stakeholders including the government and community representatives. This engagement process between stakeholders which is a core aspect of CED will ensure transparency, accountability, and sustainability of peoples' livelihoods.

The challenge facing those who want better governance is how to make those in power accountable. In other words, effective accountability and service provision have been undermined by the politics of patronage and not necessarily

the principal-agent problem. Thus, community involvement in service provision has not been effective probably because those in power fear being held accountable through appropriate checks and balances. It could also be due to the fact that those vested with the responsibility of serving the people lack the skills necessary for community-driven development. The IDPs' loss of faith in service providers, such as the government, is evidenced by a research participant's feelings as shown below:

Look here....it's only God who can help us. First of all let's not talk about the government. They have given up on us and we have also given up on them and lost faith in them. The only thing we see about independence is this flag. Will the flag give me food or medicine or, money? The government has a lot of money but they give to those who are rich because they are seen.... The poor in Kenya are invisible and because we are invisible we don't feature when the rich ... [people] are sharing the money. (GBKamor 1).

The participants singled out corruption and bad governance as the major cause of their destitution, and not the lack of their country's financial resources to counter famine. They stated that their government should not just develop national anti-poverty measures that subsumes everyone, but put in place sensitive, specific and targeted responses/policies to famine for their region. In recognizing famine as a national problem in Kenya, a rethink and an appropriate course of action is required than has traditionally been the case. This is because, in many instances, development policies in Kenya are done at the national level ignoring grassroots involvement hence violating real community driven development. Using CED as a policy guide, Kenya needs to reconsider its policies on famine monitoring, mitigation, and poverty alleviation strategies with the primary purpose of rural economic growth. A pilot-testing of the new model is necessary so as to collect information on its feasibility and effectiveness in the study area.

This study also proposes the establishment of a commission comprising of all stakeholders including IDPs representatives to critically analyze the displaceds' problem. While the state is deciding on the make-up of such a committee and what its charge should be, the study urges all stakeholders to provide timely and appropriate interventions to the displaceds to off-set their hardships. It also makes an impassioned plea to members of the academia to focus their research on the undocumented famine displaceds in their homelands. The inclusion of community economic development in curricula for post-secondary institutions in Kenya could leverage continuous improvement opportunities in community development processes.

Principles of CED have been applied in vulnerable communities throughout the world for a long time. Communities in developed countries such as Canada have, on various scales and timelines, been engaged in CED principles for similar indigenous communities. According to Cabaj (2004), Aboriginal communities, the first European communities in Canada, and communities today have all employed various strategies for either adapting or coping with their economic and social challenges until they achieved self-governance.

Strengthening communities works well when communities themselves are usually in the best position to develop ideas on how to improve their conditions. In this way, providing training to IDPs may bring about collaborative relationships between and within communities and their governments to achieve common objectives. This calls for targeted training of the diverse community groups (youth, women, men and elders) for each individual in the community to

advance in leadership for equal participation in all spheres of development related ventures. It is important for practitioners to know how to build on community strengths, nurture participation, and appreciate everyone's unique contributions.

By utilizing the CED principles incorporated into the entitlement framework, development activities such as school feeding programs, supply of school uniforms, and school supplies targeting IDPs children can be achieved in NEP. Such gesture has the long term impact of increasing school enrollment; particularly for the girl child and make IDPs children compete with their urban peers. The current situation where IDPs children go to school without food does not offer a level playing field with their counterparts. The attempt has the potential benefit of relieving pressure from the IDP parents who currently worry about their children's uncertain future. Besides, such intervention would allow IDPs parents to have the time to engage fully in their search for livelihood sources.

Over the past 35 years, worldwide community-based actions have advocated for community development so as to realize sustainable development. However, past community development initiatives have not been all-inclusive, as some key community members such as the youth, women and seniors were left out in most cases. In some societies, e.g. the Somalis and most other African communities, patriliney places a critical role in decision-making. Decisions regarding relief or development efforts in the study area are taken by men. Yet, women and youth play a significant role in household livelihood security and other initiatives. Their exclusion could have possibly contributed to the failures of

local development initiatives. The IDPs perceptions about sedentarization elicited varied responses from the participants--the youth and young women in both towns being mostly interested in staying in towns. The women and the youth explained that they do not want to experience the cyclical process of famine that brought them to destitution. They hope to get better lives in towns as they see employment opportunities in urban centres.

The men in Wajir on the other hand, had mixed reactions while those in Garissa were mainly interested to stay in towns. The elderly men and women and relatively wealthy former IDPs men in Wajir preferred to be restocked and get back to pastoral life. Those men who want to revert to pastoralism argue that they find it difficult to survive in towns and wish to regain their honour and pride by getting back to pastoral life. To them, restocking is seen as regaining their entitlement which will ensure their socio-economic and cultural independence lost upon their resettlement. This is the challenge that development practitioners have to bear in mind as they prepare to assist famine victims in NEP. This way, development agencies will avoid the pitfalls experienced regarding family differences on possible interventions; avoid friction and further dislocation of families. .

The principles of CED are open and responsive to innovation from outside, and seek to build alliances with organizations challenging marginalization locally, nationally and internationally. CED involves strategies which confront prejudice and discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, age, or disability. In addition, CED strives to create own

local ventures as an alternative to public and private sector. Being a model premised on local collective action, CED looks at multiple bottom lines (social, cultural, economic, and moral). For example, self-governance will enable the IDPs to keep their unique pastoral traditions alive. Through targeted civic education, IDPs will be enlightened about their rights and benefits, thereby relegating rhetorics to the past and realism the norm. In this regard, rethinking entitlement failures approach provides an opportunity to understand how things became the way they are and what can be done to restore endowments for both short and long-term interventions for the IDPs of northeastern Kenya.

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