Responding to Pastoralists in Drought

Does Drought Management Policy and Practice in Kenya Address the Needs of Somali Pastoralists in Wajir?

Hannah Curwen

September 2012
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28th September 2012

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
MA degree in Development and Emergency Practice,
Oxford Brookes University
For ALDEF Kenya

And the pastoralist communities they aim to serve
Abstract

Drought does not have to be a disaster. As a hazard drought is slow onset and its cyclical nature means that it is predictable; this means there is time to prepare. Yet despite this 2011 saw widespread food crisis across the Horn of Africa and the first famine of the 21st century. Pastoralists, as the main inhabitants of areas routinely subjected to drought, are increasingly at risk due to the changing social, economic and political environment around them which is negating their ability to cope with drought.

This dissertation therefore looks to explore why pastoralists are growing increasingly vulnerable to drought induced disasters and to identify the best way to support pastoralists through drought. Its approach will be to consider pastoralists’ own indigenous ways of coping with drought, to understand the effect of external pressures exerted on these coping mechanisms and to seek to identify what pastoralists need in order to ensure these systems can operate effectively in a changing environment. It will also look at the systems in place for external actors’ response to drought, analysing the capacity of NGO’s and Government to respond effectively under these current systems.

This dissertation concludes that in order to address pastoralists’ needs drought should be seen differently. Actors need to move away from an emergency response approach to drought and seek instead to address drought through long term investments and initiatives.
Statement of Originality

This dissertation is the result of my own independent work, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed: Hannah Curwen Date: 28 September 2012

I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

Signed: Hannah Curwen Date: 28 September 2012

Statement of Ethics Review Approval

This dissertation involved human participants. A Form E1BE for each group of participants, showing ethics review approval, has been attached to this dissertation as an appendix.

All Photos were taken by the Author with permission of the communities
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To my dear friend Sue Cavan, asante sana (thank you) for your continued encouragement and support. Aside from enthusing me with your passion for the dry lands and pastoralism, you have shown me the way; in sharing with me you experiences you have taught me what good development really is.

Thanks must also go to my tutors, particularly Supriya Akerkar who guided me though this piece of work and helped me enrich and expand my thinking, as well as my course mates, particularly Sian Long who supported me along the way and listened patiently and receptively to my endless chatter on pastoralism! Finally I would like to thank parents, for always being my biggest support, encouraging me to strive for my best and for always believing that I could get there.
Acronyms

ALRMP     Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ALDEF     Arid Lands Development Focus
ASAL      Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
EWS       Early Warning System
FEWSNET   Famine Early Warning Systems Network
HDI       Human Development Index
HoA       Horn of Africa
HSL       Household Sustainable Livelihoods
KFSSG     Kenya Food Security Steering Group
MDNKOAL   Ministry for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands
MPI       Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index
NDMA      National Drought Management Project
NEP       North Eastern Province
NFD       Northern Frontier District
NGO       Non-Governmental Organisation
Oxfam GB  Oxfam Great Britain
PAR       Pressure and Release
PRA       Participatory Rural Appraisal
SCUK      Save the Children UK
Shoats    Sheep and Goats
WFP       World Food Programme
# Glossary of Indigenous Terms

## Somali

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>Baadia</td>
<td>Bush or Rangelands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dufful</td>
<td>Handmade matting used to cover the Somali hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iftar</td>
<td>Evening meal taken to break the days fast during Ramadan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herio</td>
<td>Traditional Somali hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowlac</td>
<td>Meeting place (identified within the pastoralist temporary settlement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rer</td>
<td>Smallest clan structure; a small group of pastoralist families</td>
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## Swahili

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<tr>
<td>Boma</td>
<td>Homestead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaai</td>
<td>Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mzee</td>
<td>‘Older Man’; Term used as a mark of respect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shifta</td>
<td>Bandit</td>
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## Terminology

<table>
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<th>Definition</th>
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<td>Age set</td>
<td>Traditional grouping consisting of people of a similar age range – usually who have been circumcised together.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic Somali</td>
<td>A person who is by birth born in Kenya but who’s heritage is in Somalia</td>
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<td>Shoats</td>
<td>Sheep and Goats</td>
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1. Introduction

Camels moving out to graze: Morning in the Gosia Hills
According to the Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG) 3,800 000 Kenyans in ASAL areas are affected by drought today, many of whom are pastoralists (GoK, 2011). The predictability and regularity of drought in the Horn of Africa should mean that drought does not have to be followed by food insecurity and famine. Despite this, the year 2011 saw the first famine of the 21st century unfold as the Horn of Africa suffered the worst food crisis of this century (Oxfam and SCUK, 2012). As such, questions over the effectiveness of policies and programmes in relation to drought management are, as Amartya Sen suggests, “as relevant today as they were 150 years ago” (1999, p171).

Abkula (2010, p1) offers a response to such questions:

“Despite decades of empirical research, many policy makers, government staff, NGO personnel, and the broader public do not fully understand or appreciate the rationale and dynamics of pastoral livelihood systems. This poor understanding has resulted in inappropriate policies and development interventions, which have systematically undermined pastoral institutions and their strategies for responding to environmental adversity, particularly in arid and semi-arid environments.”

Having worked with pastoralists communities during the 2011 response, the disconnection between pastoral systems and programme planning and policy provision for pastoralists was all too clear. As such this study intends to investigate this relationship. Experiences in Kenya during the 2011 drought response resonate with what Abkula’s statement projects: policymakers and practitioners’ poor understanding of the pastoral livelihood systems is one of the main causes leaving drought response lacking today.
Pastoralists have been faced with the pressures of drought for centuries (Catley et al, 2013). As a result, this research therefore assumes that pastoralists themselves will be the greatest resource for understanding how to respond to drought in the arid areas in which they live. As such, the research endeavours to bring pastoralists’ skills, knowledge and ideas together in order to identify the key needs which would enable them to manage the pressures of drought effectively, counteracting the lack of understanding and appreciation. However this work will also endeavour to look at the systems of response, understand the challenges faced in responding to drought externally, as well as explore the perceptions of drought as a disaster, the role these systems have had in drought response to date and the implication this has on drought management and addressing pastoralist needs.

This study will address these aims through three main objectives:

- To understand the ways in which pastoralists in Wajir indigenously cope with drought; the decisions they must make in order to survive, the strategies they employ to do so and the needs they have in relation to achieving this aim.

- To place these needs within a drought management and response programme and policy context within Kenya today, to establish whether pastoralists’ needs are met and coping strategies supported and to critique the critique of the interventions and policies of today to understand why these needs are not met.
- To look forward; exploring new ideas emerging in the sector, and reflect on what best fits pastoralists’ needs and wants.

### 1.1 Structure of the Study

**This Chapter:** Provides a brief introduction to the reasoning behind the research question and the context of drought management and pastoralism today in Kenya. It will also introduce the main aim of the research, and also provide a breakdown of the chapters ahead, explaining how the research will be structured and approached.

**Chapter 2 – Background:** Looks at the subject of this study, pastoralism, and provides an understanding of the pastoral livelihood and what it means to be a pastoralist today. It then goes on to study to context of the research; Kenya, the North Eastern Province and the county of Wajir. The chapter aims to demonstrate, through the history of the region, how pastoralists in Wajir have become vulnerable to drought induced disasters due to the marginalised state in which pastoralists in Wajir exist within today.

**Chapter 3 – Research Methodology:** Discusses the chosen research methodology, looking at the way in which this research has been approached as well as presenting the methods used for data collection, and the reasoning behind these choices. The challenges to the research as well as the ethical considerations will also be discussed and the parameters or limitations of the research will be set.
**Chapter 4 - Theoretical Perspectives:** Explores the theoretical perspectives and concepts surrounding drought management in the dry lands. Definitions and ideas surrounding vulnerability, coping capacity and hazards will be discussed in relation to the pastoral livelihood systems. A variety of different models and theories will be discussed in order to better understand disasters, models that have then gone on to influence disaster management over the years will be then be discussed; focusing on how these relate to pastoralism and drought. Finally, critiques of drought response practices will be presented with the learning on vulnerability and drought management in mind to reflect any gaps between pastoralists’ needs and drought management policy and practice already identified in the literature.

**Chapter 5 – Perspectives from the Field: Data Analysis:** Analyses the data collected from the field research with pastoralists, NGO practitioners and government policy makers. It presents the needs of pastoral communities as stated by the communities themselves, applying the thinking of the theoretical perspectives chapter practically and appreciating the challenges of effectively managing drought brought by both the all three actors. It addresses the field work findings by looking at; supporting existing livelihood systems; adjusting perceptions on pastoralism; changing perceptions on drought and taking a long term approach to drought management. Data presentation, analysis and recommendations arising from the same will be woven together within the body of the text and then reflected on again in the concluding section.
This study is based on the findings of research from two locations, as well as drawing on ideas developed from working with pastoralist communities in Wajir during the 2011 emergency response. It seeks to use the information and experiences gathered from the time spent with communities and development and relief workers in Wajir, to explore the interface between pastoralists and the external actors in the field of policy making and programme design, and to understand the challenges surrounding drought management and response in the pastoral context.

Nomads on the move: right – a goats gets carried on a donkey cart. Often animals that are young or too weak to make the distance will be carried on loading camels or donkey carts. Right: a camel loaded with the pastoral house materials.
2. Background
2.1 Who are Pastoralists and What is Pastoralism?

Pastoralism is in its ‘traditional’ form nomadic livestock herding whereby pastoralists move according to the seasonal availability of water and pasture according to their livestock needs. It is well adapted as an effective dry land production system, due to its mobile nature. (Birch, 2001). However, today the term ‘pastoralism’ encompasses a much wider, diverse livelihood grouping than the ‘traditional’ nomadic herder alone. It includes those who have diversified their livelihoods and are now semi-nomadic, relying on crop production as well as herding for income generation and subsistence. It can also include those who have ‘dropped-out’ of pastoralism and have settled around existing centres with only a few livestock left. Although they may no longer be fully engaged in herding as a full time livelihood, pastoralism is far more than a livelihood; it is a culture and an identity. (Devereux and Tibbo, 2013)

2.2 Prevailing Attitudes Towards Pastoralism in Kenya

Despite pastoralists employing complex techniques to ensure that their livestock based livelihood system is productive in such a harsh ecosystem, pastoralism is “widely seen as backward by mainstream African societies” (IFRC, 2007, p22 and HPG, 2006). Indeed “Most governments and policy planners view pastoralism as a way of life that is not viable ... there are only two legally-recognized land systems in Kenya; farming and town planning. Despite the fact that 80 per cent of Kenya is arid and semi-arid, pastoralism is not recognized as a land-use system.” (Ali Wario. In IFRC, 2007, p45) Even today governments and other external actors are failing to grasp the importance of investing in livestock and pastoralism within Kenya; failing to see it as the important economic resource it is and as the only production system that can cope effectively within the arid
lands (HPG, 2006 and Birch, 2001). Many have seen this failure to recognise, support and understand pastoralism fully as a prime reason for the inappropriate interventions and poor policy planning at a national level that have undermined pastoralists and their ability to cope with the stress of drought (Abkula, 2010 and HPG 2006).

2.3 Kenya and the North Eastern Province (NEP)

Kenya is highly diverse in its climate with fertile highlands around Mount Kenya and the central provinces and vast lands to its north and south which are extremely arid. These vast arid and semi-arid lands of northern Kenya make up approximately 70% of Kenya’s total land mass. Kenya’s arid lands contain roughly 25% of the countries total inhabitants and pastoralism is largely the mainstay livelihood in these areas, as it is arguably the most effective way to make a livelihood in such harsh terrain and conditions. The size of this pastoral population is estimated at 6 million people whom reside across three major provinces; North Eastern, Eastern and Rift Valley (Markakis, 2004, Birch 2001 and UNDP, 2011).

Despite pastoralism being adapted for dry land productivity, successive severe, multi-year droughts over the last 20 years have crippled pastoralists’ ability to cope with disaster and remain productive and as a result their vulnerability to drought induced food insecurity and famine has increased. According to the World Bank “vulnerability remains high especially in the north and eastern parts of the country, which are also some of the poorest regions” (World Bank, 2012). Indeed according to WFP, the NEP of Kenya has one of the highest levels of poverty and vulnerability to food insecurity in Kenya” (IFRC, 2007, p45 and Ellis and Swift, 1988 In: Devereux and Tibbo, 2013).
The particular vulnerability and poverty in the NEP is highlighted by the results of the Oxford Poverty and Human development Initiative’s (OPHI) Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) for the UNDPs 2011 Human Development Report (See Fig 2). These figures show a drastic gap between the NEP and the rest of Kenya in terms of its education health and living standards; with the incidence of poverty being the highest in the country at 85.5% in the NEP along with the percentage of the population in severe
poverty approximately being two times greater than other provinces in Kenya. In the 2005-2006 survey the highest incidence of rural poverty was found to be within the NEP at 74.0 per cent against the lowest of 30.4 per cent in Central province; an almost 45% difference (World Bank, 2012).

**Fig. 2 OPHI Multidimensional Poverty across Sub-National Regions in Kenya**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
<th>Multidimensional Poverty Index (M= H x A)</th>
<th>Incidence of Poverty (H)</th>
<th>Average intensity across the poor (A)</th>
<th>Percentage of Population vulnerable to poverty</th>
<th>Percentage of Population in Severe Poverty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>0.133</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>0.255</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>0.248</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>0.250</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


For Birch (2001, p 5) “Drought ... and the failure of government and other agencies to manage [it] effectively [is a] major courses of the poverty and vulnerability which characterise most pastoral areas of Kenya, including Wajir.” With investment in Kenya’s Arid and Semi-Arid lands (ASALs) being extremely low, pastoralists have little access to basic needs and services that could help bolster their livelihood through times of stress. As such the NEPs political, economic and social marginalisation has left its population extremely vulnerable to the stresses of drought (World Bank, 2012 and IFRC, 2007).
2.4 Wajir County

Wajir County is one of Kenya’s arid counties and is situated within Kenya’s NEP and shares its entire eastern border with Somalia (see Appendix 1a). Wajir (along with the majority of the NEP) is made up of an almost entirely ethnic Somali population. It is home to three major clans; the Ogaden, Ajuran and the Degodia; the latter of which reside in the district of Wajir East, the site for this study (Birch, 2001).

Insecurity has always been a feature of the NEP (including Wajir) but since the Kenyan army entered Somali territory in October of 2011, the counties susceptibility to cross border fallout from the on-going war with Al-Shabab has increased. Aside from Wajir’s susceptibility to an overspill of violence from Somalia, it has been subject to its own insecurities caused by recurrent ‘clan clashes’; notably between the Ogaden and Degodia in 1966, the Ajuran and the Degodia in 1995 as well a longstanding tensions between the Garre and Degodia clans which have recently resurfaced, causing an uprising of violence in Wajir town between the two clans in late August of this year (Appendix 7a, The Standard, 2012 and BBC, 2012). Such tensions can and have had a major impact on pastoralists coping mechanisms; often limiting access to watering points and pasture, as well as disrupting key social supports which are sought through clan alliances, all of which exaggerates the stress of drought (Appendix 7a and 7b).

As well as internal warring, Wajir has seen the outbreak of war rooted in political marginalisation. Wajir has been perpetually marginalised since the colonial times; independence did nothing to remedy this ostracism. In 1962, the outgoing British governorship included the NEP within Kenyan Territory, despite the majority of the population of the NEP being ethnically Somali and expressing a wish under survey for the
NEP to become part of the larger state of Somalia rather than remain under Kenyan governance (Schlee, 1989). Once in power the Kenyan government were unwilling to hand over the NEP territory to Somalia and as a result a ‘shifta’ war ensued between the ethnic Somali’s and the Kenyan government which saw banditry spread throughout the NEP.

This violent period between 1964 and 1966 is referenced as a time of ‘emergency’ and meant that within the new Kenyan independent government, anti-Somali feeling was strong (Historical Timeline, 2012). Furthermore the new government was largely composed of Kenyan’s from the central province, who being from farming communities did not understand or support pastoralism. Consequently, the nomadic way of life was highly distrusted since it made governance challenging and as a result was specifically targeted during the ‘shifta’ war. One man from Gosia recalled the violent nature of the government’s actions; “During that time [the ‘shifta ‘war] the government army operated under two orders; any camels found must be killed and any women seen should be raped” (Appendix 7a, Schlee, 1989 and Birch, 2001). Such targeted violence is exemplified in the infamous events of the Wagalla Massacre later in 1984 (See Fig 3).

*Livestock in the ‘boma’: Livestock are the backbone of pastoralism*
Today the lack of investment in Wajir under the sufferance of years of political, social and economic marginalisation is all too evident. The county, as much of the rest of the NEP,
lacks basic infrastructure. The tarmac road from Nairobi ends in Garissa making the road to Wajir long and arduous. The total journey can take up to two days in the dry season and in the rains is often impassable, making trade and aid delivery difficult and slow. Basic services are also limited, with poor sanitation and health facilities being a major problem and education severely lacking. Moreover the geographical distance from the capital city, means pastoralists are all too easily side lined politically, lacking the influence to press their case in the corridors of power (Birch, 2001, Uwezo 2011, IFRC, 2007 and Devereux and Tibbo, 2013).

2.5 The Research Context

2.5a The Research Communities (See Appendix 1a for a map of locations)

Wajir comprises of eight districts; Wajir East, Tarbaj, Eldas, Wajir West, Wajir South and Habaswein, Buna and Wajir North. Both communities involved in this research are from locations in Tarbaj district in the east of Wajir, their locations were Harakoba and Gosia. The east of Wajir is heavily populated by the Degodia clan, more specifically the Fai ‘sub clan’, who form a sub group of the wider clan structure. Both groups came from a background of camel herding; which it typical of the wider Somali pastoralist group.

**Harakoba**: Is approximately 15km west of the formal settlement of Dasheg and approximately 32km from Wajir town. Dasheg provided them with access to a permanent water source, aid distribution point and some basic services, whilst Wajir was the site of their nearest market. The community at this location were looking to permanently settle in Harakoba and had largely left a life of mobile pastoralism behind. The community had lost almost all their remaining livestock during the drought of 2011, having suffered badly
in the droughts and floods previously to that. They were now unable to continue with a ‘traditional’ pastoral lifestyle, living off their livestock, since their herd sizes were now far too small; consisting of a few goats and perhaps a cow and a donkey for transport; all their camels had perished in drought.

**Gosia Hills:** The community residing in the Gosia hills were still fully nomadic, herding a mixture of camels and shoats with a few donkey and carts being owned as well to assist the male camels with transportation. We met with them near to the Gosia dam, 7km from Sarman (their nearest water point) approximately 103km from Wajir town. The community consisted largely of young, married men and women and their families. Elders, as well as older men and women were notably absent from this community. The elderly were no longer actively engaged in pastoralist life as they were no longer able to cope with the mobile life. As a result, these family members resided in the nearby settlement of Sarman, contributing to the family from there.

### 2.5b The Research Partner - ALDEF Kenya

ALDEF Kenya is a national NGO founded in 1989 and based in Wajir. They are one of the leading national NGO’s in the area. Their primary beneficiaries are the pastoralist communities with whom they work to develop sustainable livelihood options, improve governance and advocacy and respond to humanitarian emergencies. ALDEF was a key respondent in the drought emergency of 2011, being the implementing agency in both Wajir East and West districts as well as the co-operating partner for WFP’s food aid response county wide (ALDEF, 2011).
3. Research Design and Methodology

*Proportional Piling with Pastoralist Men in Gosia:* The Men used the goat pellets to demonstrate the effects of drought on their herds over the years and how they had managed this. They proportioned what percentage of animals were slaughtered for food or for sale, what percentage survived and what percentage perished across five historical drought periods.
3.1 Objective of and Approach to the Research

Since the focus of this study is to understand the needs of pastoralists in relation to drought management and how these needs are addressed by policy and programmes the research was designed to take a largely ‘bottom-up’ approach, focusing on pastoralists’ voice and opinion. Pastoralists voices have been notably absent from policy and practice planning procedures in Kenya, in the past. Furthermore pastoralists have been seen as ‘backward’ in their livelihood with their knowledge of rangeland production being severely undervalued. The research was therefore designed to ensure that this study counteracted this trend in its own approach. (HPG, 2006 and GoK, 2011)

The research will therefore follow a narrative methodological approach aiming to harness the narratives of the pastoralist communities as key data that can inform drought management in Wajir. Indeed, “Thinking of an interviewee as a narrator is making a conceptual shift away from the idea that interviewees have to answer researchers’ questions and toward the idea that interviewees are narrators with stories to tell and voices of their own.” (Denzin and Lincon, 2008 p70)

The research will therefore be entirely qualitative in its approach focusing on collecting data which reflects the pastoralist culture, ideals and livelihood mechanisms in order to foster a greater understanding of and appreciation for pastoralist livelihood systems. It is this qualitative approach to the data collection which will allow for interactive discussion which is needed to in order to allow this process of learning and appreciation to occur (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003).
3.2 Research Methodology

Narrative theory recognises the importance of narratives in social life; “People tell stories to entertain, to teach and to learn, to ask for an interpretation and to give one” (Riessman 2008, p10) and ultimately to communicate. Czarniawska suggests that “Narrative is the most typical form of social life ... the conceiving of it as such provides a rich source of insight” (2004, p3) and indeed this study works on that very basis using the assumption that listening to and analysing the narratives of the pastoralists in Wajir on their experiences surrounding drought will provide an insight into how effective policy and practice on the matter really is. Furthermore, “Identity formation, problem solving, intellectual inquiry and skill acquisition can be defined by the messages embedded in the narrative” (Benham, In Clandinin, 2007 p153) and thus a narrative approach creates a context in which pastoralists culture and decision making in terms of coping strategy and indigenous drought management may be understood. Indeed Behnam suggests that because “A Narrative approach does not homogenise rich indigenous knowledge so it fits a western view, in fact because narrative recognises the value of indigenous knowledge and its connection with other forms of knowledge it has a place in research and policy arenas.” (Benham, in Clandinin, 2007, p513)

Whilst narratives role in society as a method of communication transcends culture it is particularly relevant to the pastoral context. Pastoralist culture relies heavily on oral tradition. All learning is done orally and story-telling and sharing is used to pass learning down through the generations over time and as a way of sharing news and making decisions on a daily at the ‘Mowla’ (meeting place) in the temporary settlement.
Indeed narrative can be described, in its simplest form as a ‘story’; yet in reality the concept is far more complex. Narrative can be written, oral as well as visual and can be told through words, actions and images. Indeed in narrative methodology How the story is told, who tells it and for what purpose are all as important as the narrative itself as are its context its teller and it’s impression on the listener or reader and their own interpretation of the narrative (Reisman, 2008). However, the analysis within this dissertation will take a thematic approach; focusing on ‘what’ has been said rather than ‘how’ or ‘for what purpose’. This approach can be applied not only to interviews and group discussions but also to literature. Thus it is particularly appropriate for this research which aims to bring scholarly arguments (which are often the basis for policy documents) and pastoralists own narratives into the same discussion (Riessman, 2008).

Through collecting data on social dynamics and actions through observation the research will also borrow from structural and visual approaches. It will use the physical actions, tone and context that surround the narratives to compliment the thematic analysis and provide useful data triangulation where appropriate and possible.

3.3 Research Methods and Data Collection

Figure 4 details how this methodology will be put into use practically. Stories generated through discussion with the pastoralists communities will be recorded, transcribed and translated. These pastoral narratives will then be used to influence and create a new narrative (this dissertation) through combining it with other narratives expressed in the literature review and policy documents as well as other narratives generated by key informants from NGOs and governmental departments and ministries.
3.3a The Research Team

The data collection with the pastoral community was done through the ALDEF a local NGO who have a relationship with the pastoral communities of Wajir East and were thus able to facilitate legitimate access to nomadic families. ALDEF provided translation in the field as well as support with full verbatim transcription and translation of the field data recordings. All team members had been party to a pre-research PRA training session, run by the author, to encourage the development of a team relationship rather than that of researcher and translator. An overview of the PRA training can be accessed in Appendix 8 and full details of the research team and their roles in the data collection can be found in Appendix 3.
3.3b Research Methods

The two communities involved in the research were selected by ALDEF Kenya on the basis of providing a broader outlook on pastoralist communities in Wajir. One community represented the ‘traditional’ nomadic herding pastoralists the second group and were able to represent the needs of and challenges faced by nomadic herders today. The second group who were in the process of becoming sedentary was chosen in order to provide insights as to the factors that ‘pushed’ them from pastoralism or ‘pulled’ them to settle as well as the change in their needs as their livelihood systems have changed. Selection was also voluntary and both communities were fully consulted on whether they wished to take part in the research. An example of the consultation can be found in Appendix 4.

The data collection took the form of focus group discussions aided by PRA tools and techniques. Focus groups were determined by the community group themselves who when asked ‘how would you sit if you were going to speak freely?’ separated themselves by gender thereby self-assigning themselves into focus group which they felt comfortable with. In both communities a men’s focus group and a women’s focus group were held as well as a focus group with the herding children. Research was carried out consistently in both research areas in order to ensure that the data collected can be legitimately compared.

Within the focus groups data was collected using two techniques; informal discussion through oral story-telling and visual PRA diagrams. This combination of techniques allowed pastoralists to utilise their indigenous oral traditions whilst the diagrams provided a method of encouraging conversation in focus group discussions on selected...
topics as well as adding a visual dimension to the work which provided a new perspective on the discussions for both the researchers and participants. PRA tools used include:

- **Historical Timeline:** was used as an introductory tool which would allow the research team to gain an understanding of how the community had related to drought over the years and how they had coped with it. It also provided an opportunity to understand the other major events and stresses pastoralists deal with, within and between drought periods and to discuss how these had impacted on their ability to cope with drought. A detailed timeline of the 2011 response was also discussed in order to foster specific understanding of the stages of a drought period in detail.

- **Daily Schedule:** this was done twice with each focus group, mapping daily activities during a ‘normal’ time of plenty as well as during times of stress in drought.

- **Proportional Piling:** was used to aid discussion on herd sizing how that had changed over the years and how drought had affected livestock herds. This led to further discussion on viable herd sizes as well as yielding information on herd management.

- **Chapatti Diagrams:** were used, were appropriate, to discuss the key resources needed for the pastoral life to be successful. Access to resources during times of plenty and times of stress were discussed and exemplified using the diagram

- **Preference Ranking:** was used when thinking about the pastoralist context in a wider sense than just drought management. It was used to address the challenges
to pastoral life and to understand the prevalence of each challenge in the community.

**Top Left:** Engaging children in the ranking exercises. Children were used to represent each of the problems the women came up with in Harakoba. This overcame the language barrier as the women could associate the problem with the child and then rank accordingly. Goats pellets were used and placed at the foot of the child representing the problem.

**Top Right:** A Woman engaging in a Chapatti diagram exercise used to represent access to resources in Harkoba.

**Bottom:** In Gosia the focus group discussions were done at night with the women as this fit in best with their daily schedules. The benefits of staying with the community allow researchers this time flexibility which is essential when working with pastoralist communities to ensure their livelihood is not disrupted.
During the data collection the research team stayed with the community in the ‘baadia’ working on the onus that understanding the contextual surrounding of the narrative is key to making sense of the narrative itself (Clandinin and Connely 2000 cited in Bold 2012). Residing together in the same location worked towards creating a “culture of openness” (Chambers, 1997, p215) which encourages participation, interaction and learning from both the community and the research team; essential elements to ensuring PRA methods yield their full potential of information through discussion and narrative making. Furthermore it allowed data to be collected by observation proving a useful tool as the scenario in Figure 5 exemplifies.

The research camp in Gosia: Staying in ‘badia’ with the community was an important part of the learning and helped to build a relationship with the community making discussions more comfortable.
Semi-structured interviews were also used within the community work to capture small vignettes. The community members nominated these representatives and were asked to provide a sample from different age sets and gender where possible. The interviews provided an opportunity to hear individual narratives which form part of the larger community narrative that was evolving through the focus group discussion (Riessman 2008 and Czarniawska, 2004). It was also a useful method of data triangulation.

Semi-Structured interviews were also used to collect data from Government officials and NGO practitioners relating to drought management policy and practice in Wajir. Interviewees were selected through their relevance to drought management and emergency responses in Wajir. The minister for Northern Kenya (whom is also the area

**Fig: 5 Field Experience - Verifying information and yielding new understandings**

During a PRA exercise the community told of how they had ‘nothing’ left of their livestock after the drought of 2011. Yet minutes later a herd of around 50 shoats were herded past the area that we were using as a base for our discussions. I asked the community “you have just said you had nothing, but I can see at least 50 shoats passing by us now – surely they are ‘something? Who owns all these shoats?” They explained that, yes whilst the shoats did indeed belong to the community that herd passing was an accumulation the whole community’s livestock; with each household contributing around 5 shoats to the total herd which was then herded in turn by a young member of each family.

Furthermore whilst to me it looked like they still had ‘something’, for them 5 shoats was seen to be like having nothing as; it couldn’t sustain their firmly in terms of food as the herd was too small to risk slaughtering any for cash or food and the milk alone was not enough either. Moreover, such a small herd meant that there were not enough animals to be able to fulfil the cultural traditions such as slaughtering goats in celebration of birth (1 for a baby girl and 2 for a baby boy).

*Source: Discussions with the community of Harakoba, July 2012*
Member of Parliament for Wajir East) was interviewed along with the CEO of the new drought management initiative to represent the policy makers. The NGO professionals from Oxfam and SCUK (formerly) were all involved in the drought response of 2011 in partnership with ALDEF Kenya. Each interviewee was asked the same set of questions to ensure comparability and validity. Engaging with all three actors allowed for a rounded view of drought management in Wajir, which in turn not only exposed gaps in knowledge and practice to emerge but also allowed for an appreciation of the difficulty in bridging those gaps. Interview questions and a research timetable can be found in Appendices 5 and 2.

Fig. 6 List of Key Informant Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Place of Interview</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Hon. Mohamed Elmi,</td>
<td>MDNKOAL, GoK</td>
<td>Minister for DNKOAL and MP for Wajir East</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>3/8/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>James Odour</td>
<td>NDMA</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>2/8/2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Jeremy Loveless</td>
<td>Oxfam GB</td>
<td>Deputy Humanitarian Director</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>22/6/2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
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<td>Oxfam GB</td>
<td>ASAL Coordinator</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>3/8/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Catherine Fitzgibbon</td>
<td>Independent Consultant (formerly SCUK)</td>
<td>Former Programme Quality Director (SCUK)</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>22/8/2012</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>Diyad Hujale</td>
<td>ALDEF Kenya</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
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<td>5/8/2012</td>
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<td>g</td>
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<td>ALDEF Kenya</td>
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<td>Wajir</td>
<td>1/8/2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Mohamed Kuresh</td>
<td>ALDEF Kenya</td>
<td>FSL Coordinator</td>
<td>Wajir</td>
<td>1/8/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Ahmed Ali and Sharun Iman</td>
<td>ALDEF Kenya</td>
<td>Project Officers and Research Assistants</td>
<td>Wajir</td>
<td>1/8/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>Bashane Adan</td>
<td>Gosia Community</td>
<td>Mzee</td>
<td>Gosia</td>
<td>29/7/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ahmed Abdi</td>
<td>Gosia Community</td>
<td>Herding Boy</td>
<td>Gosia</td>
<td>29/7/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>Somali Man 1</td>
<td>Harakoba Community</td>
<td>Community Member</td>
<td>Harakoba</td>
<td>20/7/2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
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<td>Harakoba Community</td>
<td>Community Member</td>
<td>Harakoba</td>
<td>20/7/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
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<td>Harakoba Community</td>
<td>Elder Mama</td>
<td>Harakoba</td>
<td>21/7/2012</td>
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<td>o</td>
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<td>Harakoba Community</td>
<td>Community Member</td>
<td>Harakoba</td>
<td>21/7/2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Somali Boys (x5)</td>
<td>Harakoba Community</td>
<td>Herding Boys</td>
<td>Harakoba</td>
<td>24/7/2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Challenges to the field work

i. An outsider, not being able to speak the Somali language I had to rely on translators from ALDEF and trust their interpretation of the pastoralists’ words.

ii. No female translators, who were fluent in Somali, were available for the research. This did present a challenge when addressing female focus groups, particularly in Gosia where the women were heavily marginalised and as a result very reluctant to open discussion\(^1\). In order to try to mitigate the women’s shyness in the presence of men, only one male translator along with the author was present for the women’s focus groups.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

i. Whilst a narrative methodology lends itself well to this study, there is ethical debate that surrounds this methodology in relation to interpretation which should not be ignored; particularly when translation from the vernacular has taken place. This dissertation is in itself is a narrative, which represents collectively the other narratives (those of the pastoralists and professionals) which have been recorded. However on hearing a narrative, the listener (in this instance the author of this work) places themselves in relation to the text by forming their opinions on the narrative they have just heard. As a result the process of the listener retelling the narrative can dilute or contort the original narratives through the listener adding

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\(^1\) Women were homogenised and referred to as ‘things’ by the men rather than by name, unlike the livestock who were each individually referred to by their given name. Women were also very reluctant to talk with men whom were not their husbands or part of the community; hence a lack of female translators posed a challenge in extracting narratives from the women during their focus group sessions.
their own opinions or influence to the original story. (Riessman, 2008 and Bold 2012). Data triangulations, as well as recap and verification sessions with the communities were put in place to minimise the likely hood of narratives being distorted in this way. Verbatim quotations are also used where possible to allow the original narrative, although translated to be seen in as organic a form as possible.

ii. Discussions with the pastoral communities were organised so as to cause the least interruption to the community participant’s daily schedules and livelihood activities. Meetings therefore took place with the men in the early morning after the animals had been sent to graze, then again after 1pm prayers and in the evening after Iftar had been taken.

iii. Introductory discussions were held with the community where interest in the research was discussed and communities were asked whether they would like to be part of the study. During this session the communities were fully briefed that this research, although facilitated by a prominent local NGO, would not yield any projects or programmes in their area. The research team expressed that this was a stand-alone piece of research that was aiming to understand pastoral needs in relation to drought management. The community were also briefed as to who else was partaking in the study and who would potentially see the results of their discussions. The potential publication of this document online was also shared and discussed with the community. Confidentiality was discussed with all participants who contributed to this research, all agreed (other than those from
Harakoba – who for this reason will remain anonymous) to their contributions being acknowledged by name during the research. Much deliberation was given over whether it was ethical to include community participant names in the research. However, it was felt that this was important to credit the individual contributions of the community in the same way as the professional participants. An example of discussions introducing the research and the issue of confidentiality can be found is Appendix 4.

iv. All photos were taken with the communities’ permission, all agreed that their photo could be published in this document and copies will be returned to the community along with a copy of this report.

3.6 Limitations of the Research Methods

i. The time constraints of the research period meant that only two communities could be studied, the sample is small and takes into account only one clan in one district of Wajir, and one type of pastoral livestock herding; camel herding. The research is therefore heavily limited and in no way can be said to be representative of the diversity of pastoralism in Wajir. However, what the research does aims to provide, and can, is a window of insight into pastoral coping strategies, needs and challenges that can then be compared with the parameters of policy and programmes to assess whether such exemplary needs are addressed.

ii. Not all the focus groups could be achieved. The challenges of active pastoral life meant that it was often difficult to ensure that all age sets were represented. In
Gosia due to herding duties young girls as well as older mamas were not available for interviews or focus group discussions. The research team did attempt to mitigate this by trekking to the herding area, unfortunately part of the herd had been lost and thus the herder had had to stray away from the usual designated area and could not be located. The challenges of working with nomadic herding groups were certainly experienced. If further research were to take place the study would benefit from a longer period in the field to ensure there was time and flexibility in the research schedule to reach all age groups; in this case time was constricted and the timing could not be avoided.

iii. A host organisation with contact in the local community is essential in order to gain access to pastoral groups, and the research could not have happened without the assistance of ALDEF in facilitating this opportunity. However it is important to recognise the potential limitation which this puts on the research findings. ALDEF Kenya is one of the main local NGOs operating within Wajir County. Communities may have been influenced by their presence of an organisation that they perceive — or could potentially receive assistance from. Steps were taken to mitigate this limitation and to free the data they provided from an influence. Explanation was given to express that this research was stand-alone from ALDEF and its operations there would be no negative repercussions for the community in terms of service provision, no world there be any ‘reward’ of a project. An example of this explanation can be found in Appendix 4.
4. Theoretical Perspectives

Ahmed Abdi a young herding boy in Gosia tends to the young kids: Children learn to herd from a young age and are an important part of the pastoral production system.
4.1 Drought as a Disaster

Drought is often seen as ‘natural’, being grouped into the ‘natural hazard’ category along-side other disasters such as floods and landslides. However, this idea is now being questioned by current disaster thinking which suggests that attributing disasters to one single cause, that of nature, is failing to comprehend and understand the broader factors that contribute towards disasters such as risk, vulnerability and peoples own ability to cope with and cause disaster (Wisner et al, 2004; Twigg, 2004).

Whilst previous literature had suggested that disasters were outside the ‘norms’ of life, Wisner et al (2004) argue that they are not. In fact, disasters and ‘normal’ life are inherently related. Aysan (1993) supports this view suggesting that a disaster, such as famine, occurs when a hazard or a threat, such as drought, arises in vulnerable conditions. Given the arid nature of the pastoralist’s habitat and its susceptibility to drought, one could assume that this risk of exposure is what makes them vulnerable to drought induced disasters. However, direct exposure through residing in the dry lands does not necessarily pose a direct threat for pastoralists. They have been mitigating the effects of drought for decades through the use of complex coping strategies and livelihood systems (HPG, 2006). Indeed, Wisner et al (2004) suggest that the root causes of vulnerabilities go far beyond a hazardous place of residence; they are in fact caused and created by the social economic, political and cultural conditions of everyday life. This context is the cause of a disaster rather than the hazard itself.
4.2 Root Causes of Vulnerability: The Pressure and Release (PAR) Model

The Pressure and Release (PAR) model, used by Wisner et al (2004) visualises how social contexts, seemingly unrelated to the hazard and often hidden in ‘normal’ life, can give rise to increased vulnerability within communities who are exposed to hazards. The diagram expresses vulnerability to be a compound of ‘root causes’ which when compounded by ‘dynamic pressures’ within society give rise to ‘unsafe conditions’. These unsafe conditions put the population in question in a vulnerable position and thus at risk of disastrous effects from the hazard. In order to mitigate the disastrous effects of a hazard, the root causes of these vulnerabilities must be addressed. This can be challenging however, as root causes and their connection to communities’ vulnerability to hazards may not be immediately obvious until the dynamic pressures have created unsafe conditions, the hazard has struck and a disaster has been created. Furthermore, addressing the root causes will undoubtedly be a long term process, often requiring a change of attitudes, as well as political and economic systems that are heavily institutionalised.

Funding for disaster recovery is generally readily available, often funded by large international media campaigns, sourcing significant amounts of funding from individual donors. However, funding for longer term planning addressing the root causes, which gets almost no media coverage, is far less abundant, leaving a dangerous disparity between funding in the humanitarian and development sectors (Oxfam, 2012).
Using the PAR model to assess drought induced disasters exemplifies that "hazards [such as drought] are only one factor in food crisis ... Political, economic and social factors including conflict, can be powerful contributors" (Twigg, 2004, p252). Such factors can be considered root causes and dynamic pressures. For pastoralists in Kenya in general, as explained in the background section of this work, geographical location on the margins of the country lead to political marginalisation, with the geographical distance and social difference between the rulers and the ruled extremely great (Sen, 1999, p170). Furthermore as a livelihood pastoralism is largely misunderstood and undervalued as a production system. This combined with poor investment in infrastructure and basic services within the arid areas they inhabit contributes further to their marginalisation.
socially as well as economically (Birch 2001; GoK, 2011). Such marginalisation and subsequent lack of voice and access to resources is the foundation for pastoralists’ growing vulnerability to drought.

4.3 Capacity to Cope: Access and Needs

The PAR approach to disasters suggests that “society creates the conditions in which people face hazards differently” (Wisner, 2004, p10). This approach thus implies that whilst the conditions in which individuals or communities live may be hazard prone, it is their response to that hazard and their ability to cope with its effects which determines whether it will be disastrous. The notion of ‘coping’ with and ‘responding’ to hazards is included in Wisner et al’s (2004, p11) definition of vulnerability: “the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard”. Whilst the contextual element of people’s vulnerability to disaster is still present, they introduce the notion of ‘ability’ of the affected. Indeed, for Pavanello (2009, p5) peoples capacity to cope is central to assessing vulnerability as she states; “[a] group of people are vulnerable when they lack the capacity to deal with the shock and stress”. Thus it can be argued that it is the level of exposure, created by the conditions in society, combined with the subject’s ability to manage or cope with the shock that forms the basis on which vulnerability can be measured (Chambers, 1995).

Pastoralism is a highly specialised production system which employs complex systems of mobility, migration and land management techniques, allowing those who engage in it the flexibility and versatility to cope with the changing climatic conditions of both the wet and dry seasons (Oxfam, 2008). Additionally, herd splitting, herd sharing, as well as
livestock lending and borrowing across social kith and kin alliances, are all coping strategies employed by pastoralists to manage their livelihoods in times of stress, such as drought (HPG, 2009a, p1). The effectiveness of these coping mechanisms is directly correlated to levels of vulnerability: the more effective the system is, the less vulnerable the community will be to disaster (Wisner, 2004; Pavanello, 2009; Chambers and Conway, 1992). However, a community, household or individual can only employ effective coping strategies if they have the resources to do so. Again, accessing such resources depends on a number of factors which are also heavily influenced and dictated by the social context of the community in question.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is rooted in thinking by Chambers and Conway and their work Sustainable Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century (1992). It maps out the relationship between the community and their capability to achieve a livelihood which is sustainable over a long term period and how this is influenced by their social context. The HLS model in Figure 8 adapted from the SL approach by Sanderson (1999), explains clearly that enabling one’s ‘capacity to cope’ with a disaster or ‘capability’ to build a sustainable livelihood requires unrestricted access to resources in order to address basic needs, which in turn build assets therefore reducing vulnerability. For pastoralists, livestock are their main asset and their whole livelihood system centralises around livestock rearing and production. Given their role in trade at cash markets as well as between kinsmen and the social status that comes with owning a large herd, livestock can be considered as a physical asset, a financial asset and a social asset, (Pavanello, 2009). Key resources for ‘building’ these assets are pasture and water. However, access to good pasture is increasingly restricted by overcrowding, land
tenure agreements and violence clashes with neighbouring clans. Water may also be regulated by local authorities and influenced by ethnic clashes; especially during drought when water sources are low and may be located further away. As Sen (1999) suggests in his work ‘Development as freedom’, addressing these challenges of access and thus ensuring pastoralists have the resources or ‘endowments’ to improve the production possibilities of these assets is key to reducing pastoralist communities vulnerability to disaster.

4.4 Linking Development and Disasters: Building Resilience

Building on all this past literature development agencies today are looking towards ‘resilience’ as the new approach to disaster management. Resilience looks at a communities’ ability to cope with, but more importantly ‘bounce back’ from disasters; i.e. be resilient (DFID, 2012). Resilience builds on much of the same ideals as previous disaster thinking but captures the need for longer term thinking in disaster management and adaption. It works on the idea that effectively preparing for or militating against disaster as well as ‘building back’ livelihoods after a disaster is largely long term.

Fig. 9 The DFID Resilience Model

‘development’ work (Centre for Disaster Resilience, 2012). DFID puts this at the centre of its definition:

“Disaster Resilience is the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses - such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict - without compromising their long-term prospects.” (DFID, 2012)

DFID’s approach to resilience exemplifies the wider context in which disasters must be reviewed today. In its resilience literature, DFID advocates for the assessment of systems or processes rather than ‘people’s capacity to cope with disaster which, if utilised correctly, should result in better analysis of not only people’s livelihood systems but the assessment of programmes, policies, systems of governance and environmental contexts in disaster management. Furthermore, when looking at ‘capacity to cope’, the role of actors, other than those immediately affected by disaster are included in the assessment of capacity; advocating a holistic approach and encouraging external actors to assess how effective they interact with livelihood systems in building resilience to disasters (DFID, 2012).
4.5 Responding to Drought Induced Disasters

In the dry lands of the Horn of Africa (HoA) drought is expected and experienced periodically as part of the cyclical ‘La Nina’ effect of the ‘El Nino-La Nina’- Southern Oscillation climatic pattern (Pulwarty et al, 2004). Drought frequency increased with dramatic effect in the 1990’s, leaving pastoralists little time to recover from a previous drought before the onset of the next. Drought cycle management (as modelled in fig 10) was developed out of this context and adopts a cyclical approach to a cyclical hazard

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**Fig. 10 The Drought Cycle Management Model**

The mitigation stage of the model encourages resilience building activities in times of ‘normal’ climatic conditions; which would now be known as ‘resilience building’. The preparedness, Relief Assistance and Reconstruction phases mirror the typical approach to drought response today. The model aims to capture drought in a sectorial response that is understandable to pastoralists and development practitioners, as well as linking it with early warning systems in place in dry land areas, and provide a guide for appropriate responses at the appropriate time (Oxfam, 2010).

However, as the drought response of 2011 showed the model is not as effective in practice as the timeliness of response needed for the preparedness stage to be implemented effectively was severely lacking and furthermore the interventions did not follow the livelihood focused guidelines the model sets out. Indeed the major criticism surrounding today’s drought response focuses largely on these very two areas; the appropriateness of response given and the timeliness of the response. Segmentation of developmental programming and funding from emergency relief work in relation to drought is largely the cause for this criticism (Oxfam, 2010; Oxfam and SCUK, 2012).

To address the first area, Aklilu and Weseka (2002) state that what works as relief for settled communities will not work for nomadic pastoralists who operate under patterns of high mobility. Indeed there is a strong argument in the literature that for pastoralists, an approach based on ‘saving lives through livelihoods’ needs to be adopted in order to create long term sustainability for pastoral communities (Pavanello, 2009; HPG, 2006).

Yet, current practice does not adopt such an approach and in turn this has dramatic consequences on pastoral coping mechanisms. Food aid provision has long been the dominant response to food insecurity in dry land areas in Kenya, creating a culture of
dependency (Pavanello, 2009). Despite WFP’s aims being “building self-reliance and restoring livelihoods” (cited in Darcy et al, 2003, PAGE) a food aid response does not support pastoralists in their herding livelihoods nor does it facilitate their ability to diversify their livelihood into another sector. For this reason many argue that food aid should be seen as a last resort rather than a principal response to drought induced disaster (Aklilu and Weseka, 2002; HPG, 2009; HPG, 2006; Birch 2001).

Other ‘traditional’ drought responses such as water trucking and destocking do however require timely responses to be effective in saving livelihoods, and thus ensuring pastoralists future livelihoods security post drought. Failing to provide interventions in a timely manner has been stressed as a hindrance to pastoral coping strategies and ultimately detrimental to pastoralists’ long term security, this has most recently been raised in Oxfam and SCUK’s joint briefing paper ‘A Dangerous Delay’ (2012). Indeed, the delay between local early warning systems and humanitarian response is evidenced by HPG (2006) in Figure Such a late response, with relief commencing almost six months after initial local early warning systems were activated, does not allow for a livelihoods focused relief effort which can sustain pastoralists in pastoral activities through the drought period.
Downing’s (1993) suggestion that vulnerability is temporal is certainly true in the pastoral context. As the diagram in Fig 11 illustrates, there is a ‘window of opportunity’ between the early warnings at the local level and the emergency response, during which pastoralists could be supported through livelihood based initiatives focused on supporting them to weather the drought through their own livelihood mechanisms. Assisting pastoralists in a livelihood focused way decreases their vulnerability to drought, preventing them from succumbing to drought induced disasters such as food insecurity. This would in turn remove the need for costly relief programmes that are necessary once disaster has struck (DFID, 2012; Pavanello, 2009).

However, such a shift in programming and policy requires a habitual operating adjustment from both NGOs and donors. Steps are being made to focus relief efforts more towards livelihood approaches. Indeed this is exemplified by the development of the ‘Livestock Emergency Guidelines and Standards’ (LEGS Project, 2009) which provides the livestock alternative to the SPHERE project’s ‘Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response’. Avocation for a longer term, livelihood focused response by prominent
thinkers and policy groups such as HPG (2006), Pavanello (2009) Oxfam (2011) and the GoK (2011) has gained momentum in the last year following effects of the 2011 drought in the Horn of Africa. Drought management policy in Kenya is also adopting a longer term focus with the Government of Kenya’s ‘Ending Drought Emergencies in Kenya’ Country Programme Paper (2011) focusing on matters of constructing resilience by building human capital and infrastructure, as well as increasing the adaptive capacity of livelihoods alongside the more traditional humanitarian relief efforts.

With this in mind, and drought management policy and practice on the cusp of change, the following section will try to seek out pastoralists needs, as identified by them and to understand whether new drought management ideas presenting themselves in Kenya today give pastoralists the parameters to access their needs and afford them the necessary support in order to ensure they are able to do so.
Chapter 5
Perspectives from the Field

The research team and the community in Gosia engaging in discussions
The field research undertaken in Kenya involved pastoralists, practitioners and policy makers who are involved in and influencing drought management in Kenya and Wajir today. The research aims to look at whether pastoralists’ needs during drought are addressed. Thus initially the data analysis will focus on pastoralists themselves, what they need to cope with drought and how pastoralist focused programmes and policy can do this, in the changing context in which pastoralism operates.

However, much of the recent literature looking at drought management has focused on the capacity of the drought response systems employed by humanitarian organisations to respond according to pastoralists’ needs to in order to provide them with sufficient support. Thus this topic will also be addressed in the data analysis, using data obtained from all three actors to address this idea.

5.1 Supporting not spoiling existing systems

Consultations with the pastoralist communities of Gosia and Harakoba revealed the variety of pressures pastoralism as a livelihood is under in the ASALs of Kenya today. The growing diversity of ways in which pastoralists create their livelihoods, as well as long term pressures of increased population, the rise of settlements, growing commercialisation of pastoralism flooding the markets and the scramble to exploit the subservice natural materials, is all making it increasingly difficult for pastoralists to cope with drought. With these external pressures alone pastoralists’ methods of coping with drought are squeezed. However, as the pastoral communities depicted in their historical timelines, drought cycles are narrowing and multi-year droughts are becoming increasingly common which coupled with pastoralists’ decreased capacity to cope is making disastrous effects of drought more likely. Indeed Longley and Wekesa (2008, p1)
support this idea stating “drought is becoming more frequent, allowing less time for recovery in between droughts, and increasing the vulnerability of local populations”.

Drought is not a new scenario for pastoralists in the Horn of Africa. They have been adapting to and coping with drought conditions for decades through a variety of adaptive ecological, socio-economic and cultural strategies (Catley et al, 2013, HPG, 2006 Pavanello 2009). However, changing drought cycles coupled with external pressures has hindered these coping strategies, pushing pastoralists to a point of extreme vulnerability for pastoralism. What became evident from talking with pastoralists was the complexity of their decision making processes today when coping with drought. However pastoralism is largely misunderstood and underappreciated (HPG, 2006). Pavanello (2009) suggests that this is changing but evidence on the ground suggests that it has not yet changed enough; the events of 2011 stand in testament to this. Thus perhaps there is a need to recap on pastoralists’ own coping strategies, under these new pressures in order to understand pastoralists’ vulnerability to drought fully and the most effective way to bolster their indigenous coping systems today.

This section therefore aims to present the needs identified by pastoralist communities in their discussions on drought and the associated coping strategies they have developed. It will then explore the pressures pastoralists are under and analyse how they impact on these needs and what effect this has on pastoralists’ ability to cope. It will also take into consideration the current programmes that are being targeted at pastoralists and look to see whether they support pastoralists in protecting these needs.

5.1a Protecting Pastoralists Livelihood Needs: Managing the Rangelands and Protecting Pasture
Traditional pastoral livelihoods are heavily concentrated on livestock production. Indeed Swift (1988) defines pastoral production systems as “those in which 50% or more of household gross revenue comes from livestock or livestock related activities” (cited in Birch, 2001, p10) With livestock being central to their livelihood, and thus ensuring their food security through sale or consumption, the needs of the livestock are the primary dictators for the resources pastoral communities’ needed to cope with drought; saving your livestock means saving yourself.

The communities identified two key resources that livestock need to survive; pasture and water. With pastoralism occurring in the ASALs of Kenya, neither is abundant continuously. Thus to ensure access to such resources throughout both wet and dry seasons the pastoralist lifestyle is purposefully mobile. This enables them to continually move to new supplies of pasture and to trek their animals to find water, thus ensuring that both resources are accessible. In times of drought mobility becomes even more important, pasture is scarce and pastoralists may need to trek long distances to find sufficient sources. Both communities in Harakoba and Gosia recounted times when drought had forced them to trek as far as Ethiopia and Somalia, crossing borders in search of pasture. The ability to move is therefore key to the pastoralist livelihood. Appendix 1c maps out the movements of this community and the chapatti diagrams in Appendix 7d, charting access to resources before and after movement, present the efficiency of movement as a tool to ensure access to key resources such as pasture.

However, the pastoral rangeland environment has been changing over the decade and thus the context in which mobility is being used as a coping strategy has changed. Different arising factors have begun to constrict the areas of rangeland that pastoralists
in Kenya are moving within, and this, on top of shortening drought cycles, is depleting their ability to cope (HPG, 2009).

A significant population increase has put pressure on the pastoralists and their movements. An increase in population has meant an increase in settlements. The community of Gosia recalled that fifteen years ago the nearest settlement from Wajir was Tarbaj, now settlements are much more common. More people moving within the rangelands, as well as residing within them, means that resources such as pasture are spread thinner due to overgrazing surrounding the settlement areas and also restricting movement. Furthermore, the use of cut wood for the construction of new settlements is having a negative effect on the environment. A community member from Harakoba explains the effect this is having on the pastoralist community: “we are not comfortable in [pastoralism] like we were previously. There were many settlements in the grazing land where we graze our animals in a short time and that settlement causes an effect on the environment – it affects the pasture, the trees, and erodes the soil”

This pressure has been heightened by the number of pastoralists who, due to their inability to cope with drought, have been unable to continue in pastoralism and have no other option than to settle. Indeed in this sense the situation is somewhat of catch 22; pastoralists who drop out of pastoralism and settle in turn contribute to further pressure on the remaining nomadic pastoralists. The community of Harakoba themselves represent such a category, after having lost much of their livestock from the drought in 2009 and in the most recent drought in 2011, they expressed that their inability to continue in pastoralism was due to the limited number of remaining livestock. One woman described herself as “economically worthless” (Woman 1, Harakoba) citing that
problems were incurred due to the loss of their burden animals (the castrated male camels and the donkeys) which meant that they could no longer stay mobile; an essential for livestock herding in the ASALs. The politics of settling is however complicated and there are both push and pull factors which affect pastoral communities in their choice to settle. Whist they may be ‘pushed’ into settlement by the loss of their livestock through drought, the pastoralists many be ‘pulled’ into settlements through the benefits and security it provides which is not available in ‘badia’. For the women of Harakoba this was certainly an attractive factor. Proximity to basic services such as water points and health care services as well as the ability to register as a beneficiary of aid (particularly food aid) gives incentive for settlement (Oxfam, 2008 in Pavanello, 2006). Indeed one mama from Harakoba explained “we have no access to interventions [in ‘badia’] … I settled in Harakoba because I wanted to get aid” (Woman 1, Harakoba). Whilst is it un-doubtable that settlement is also influenced by local politics and voting, now more so with the March 2013 elections on the horizon, addressing how aid is delivered and the effect it has on all users of the rangeland, both nomadic and settled, needs to be considered to ensure situations having negative effects on pastoralists livelihoods are not encouraged.

Pastoralists are facing further encroachment on their grazing land from recent explorations into the potential harnessing Kenya’s underground natural resources such as natural gases and oil. This is creating growing difficulties for pastoralists in Wajir and a concern for development agencies assisting them.

“Currently we are facing a big challenge from the oil sector in the last few months ... oil companies have come to search for oil. The local people were not consulted but the companies from UK and china were there on the ground trying to explore oil. They have
taken over all their [the pastoralists] land and are destroying their environment” (Diyad Hujale Fig 6f).

Indeed with the discovery of oil in the rangelands of the Turkana pastoralists in North West Kenya in March of 2012, explorative drilling in other parts of the ASALs of Kenya are likely to increase and thus constrict grazing land even further (BBC, 2012). Pastoralists are themselves aware of this difficulty which they recognise is in part due to their own overstocking. Through a ranking exercise plotting herd size in relation to drought management pastoralists identified that the most viable herd size was around 100 animals, which is around half the herd size today (See fig 13). They discussed how these larger herd sizes were more difficult to manage, especially during drought; which again is expressed by the herd ‘use’ in drought graph which shows that today more animals have to be slaughtered in order to ensure herd to survival yet despite this increase in the percentage of herd slaughtered massive losses are still incurred. Furthermore such large herds contributed to the overstocking and overgrazing of the rangelands, which in surviving contributed to depleting pasture. Pastoralists did however acknowledge that they would need to reduce their herds to survive better; a big shift in pastoral thinking, a culture where herd size is directly related to social status, and thus marking the

Fig. 13 Herd Management Over Time
willingness and ability for pastoralists and pastoral culture to adapt to a changing environment.

Improved rangeland management is largely the solution pointed to by many NGO professionals as well as the literature, as it could provide protection for pastoralists against harmful investments as well as encourage sustainable range use and thus reduce overstocking. However, for them to be effective, they must take into consideration the complex movement systems already in place (such as those exemplified in Appendix 1b) and adapt their thinking around these indigenous systems in order to avoid further insecurity in thus further pressure on pastoral livelihood systems.

5.1b Protecting Pastoralists Livelihood Needs: Access to water

Water is a basic need for livestock upkeep as well as for daily human survival. Access to water is often a challenge for pastoralists, particularly in periods of drought and mobility. Adan Salat of the Gosia community remembers; “in earlier days ... sources of water were few. When we used to reside in Dunto we used to get water from Got Ade well in Wajir Town. It took us 8 days to make the round trip and we used to make the trip every month”. The importance of access to water for pastoralists can be seen in the community of Gosia’s historical timeline (Appendix 7a) whereby the opening of the first borehole in Dambas in 1973 as well as the digging of the first well in Sarman in 1988 were listed as important milestones in their history, alongside drought and conflicts. It is also demonstrated, in the events of ‘el herr’ (closing of the wells) where by the closing of water sources by the government of Kenya was used as a strategy against the Degodia communities.
The long trekking distances Adan Salat recalls are still experienced by pastoralists today in times of drought. Appendix 1c depicts the extent of movement. In moving long distances during drought both animals and humans can waste away, as they are already nutritionally deficient. Indeed a woman from Harakoba explains “before, we were able to take the animals for water – but during the drought we are feeding and watering the animals at home. I was using a lot of energy to do that, then the animals themselves trekking to the water point – they were now relying on me. Myself and the burden animals (whom I was depending on) were in the same position both of us were stressed with the trekking distance” (Woman 1, Harakoba). Furthermore, such long distances often force pastoralists to make difficult decisions. Livestock’s new young, born in a time when trekking large distances are necessary are often slaughtered in order to ensure that the trek can be made successfully by the majority of the livestock. They are not yet strong enough to walk long distances and their suckling puts an added stress on their mother. However, given that pastoralists regard milk as their form of food security, which is stimulated from the mother by her sucking young, such a decision actually has a negative impact on the pastoralists’ food security. Thus pastoralists are forced to compromise their own needs to ensure that their livestock and thus livelihood survives in the longer term.

Access to water must be addressed in order to ensure pastoralists are not pushed into such negative coping strategies. In the past, boreholes have been dug to increase the availability and reliability of water sources but whilst this has relieved problems in terms of access, it has also brought with it its own problems such as pasture depletion in the water point area. Adan Salat of Gosia explains: “everywhere there is a water point ...
everyone settles there. The animals drink the water but the pasture disappears fast, when there is no pasture animals die”. Similar problems are found with water trucking, a usual response in drought to ensure the availability of water, due to the few points of delivery used to service a large number of pastoralists (ALDEF, 2011).

5.1c Supporting Pastoralists by Understanding and Complementing their Livelihood Strategies

ALDEF Kenya, a local organisation, did just that and used their understanding of pastoralism and problems of pasture depletion caused by traditional methods to change their method of emergency water trucking in their 2011 drought response. Rather than trucking water to a small number of water points causing pastoralists to gather and deplete the pasture, ALDEF encouraged pastoralists to gather into smaller groups in the areas where they were naturally residing in and instead trucked smaller amounts of water to many more sites. This avoided pastoralists collecting at water points and thus avoided rapid depletion of pasture (ALDEF, 2010). Adapting thinking to suit pastoralists’ ways of living is too becoming evident within the policy arenas of Kenya. This is largely due to creation of the Ministry for development of Northern Kenya and other arid lands (MDNKOAL), a coordinating ministry created to ensure arid lands development is addressed by the Kenyan Government. A distance learning educational strategy put forward by the MDNKOAL and which has been adopted by the GoK in 2010 seeks to adapt the formal education system to fit in with the pastoral way of life; promoting distance learning via radio to allow children to learn whilst contributing to the pastoral production system through herding (Siele et al, 2013). The Minister himself, Mohamed Elmi explains that policy works on the premise that “since nomads are mobile and cannot
therefore be confined to a geographical location, the policy will target them wherever they are” (Birch et al, 2010, p33).

Today education is increasingly seen as an emerging coping strategy for nomadic families. It provides a way out poverty for those who manage to attain it and eventually through employment, a source of remittance for those who have remained in pastoralism. By supporting families develop this coping mechanism through providing an education system which can take place without disrupting or compromising the pastoral productive systems (as traditional options of mobile and boarding schools do) the policy is allowing pastoralism the flexibility to grow and adapt its livelihood system to build a more sustainable future with no short or long term losses to their livelihood. Indeed pastoral development specialist Dauod Abkula that “over the years, the education system has worked very hard to change pastoralists, now it is time for the education system to change to suit pastoralists” (Birch et al, 2010, p33). Indeed this change needs to occur within governmental and NGO drought management systems and policies too.

Adapting to suit pastoralists in this way requires an understanding of drought management monitoring indices, such as food security in the context of the pastoralists themselves. Twigg (2004, p252) uses the definition: “[Food Security is] when all people, at all times, have physical and economical access to sufficient safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”. The communities of Harakoba and Gosia defined food security in their terms of their livestock, specifically their milk. However, the prominent response to food security in Kenya is generally food aid provided by WFP and consists largely of carbohydrates in the form of Maize. Interestingly, studies have shown that communities who are settled, and
taking maize base meals, are largely more under nourished and at risk of food insecurity
due to the lack of protein in their diets than those in the pastoral areas who are surviving
on protein rich meat and milk (Browne et al 2008 in Pavanello, 2009). Indeed a study
after the drought of 1984 in the Turkana pastoralist region of Kenya showed that food aid
initiatives directly contributed to the sedenterisation of pastoralists, which in turn made
them less able to secure their own food, more dependent on aid and as a result more
vulnerable to drought (Hogg, 1985 in Pavanello, 2009) Indeed the community of
Harakoba stated they would prefer cash as it would allow them to purchase food of their
choice that they are able to digest (meat and milk). As a result, there is a growing push in
Kenya for WFP to adopt a cash based approach to food security (Fig 6a).

A Woman Milks her Goats in Gosia: Milk is seen as the main source of food security in pastoralists communities
A new approach to food security interventions that invests in pastoral livelihoods has been seen in Wajir through a new programme run by SCUK in partnership with ALDEF Kenya. The EC Food Facility (ECFF) programme works to contribute towards pastoralists’ food security by investing in the existing pastoral production systems and markets. The programme procured meat and milk products from local producers and fed them through local traders who were paid to distribute the meat and milk rations as supplement to their normal WFP food basket. Indeed, this not only benefited pastoralists’ food security but also that of the producers and traders, whose businesses also benefited through training in safe meat and milk production and storage. It also demonstrated the production capacities of the pastoral livelihood, which when supported in this way was still able to provide quality meat to the programme right into July and August of 2011, despite drought conditions having been prevalent in Wajir since October 2010 (Diyad Hujale, 2012). Such an outcome is supported in new emerging literature, exemplified in the publication by Catley et al (2013) Pastoralism and Development in Africa which argues that pastoral productions systems are a viable and worthy investment. Such adaptive thinking positively answers those development practitioners who believe that the pastoral production system ‘is broken’ questioning the viability of pastoralism today, and it points towards the appreciative approach to support pastoralists effectively in drought (Catley et al, 2013.)

5.1d Changing attitudes towards pastoralism: Changing the way we work with Pastoralists

It is clear a greater attention to the pastoral lifestyle and production systems and more effort to understand them is needed in order to support them effectively. Too much of
the literature today talks of pastoralism as being ‘misunderstood’ or undervalued and it is time policy and practice sought work with pastoralists in a way that allowed them to better understand pastoralism (HPG, 2006, Pavanello 2009, Catley et al, 2013). Twigg (2004) suggests that due to the wealth of literature aimed at ‘understanding’ the causes of drought induced disasters, such as food insecurity, the use of community based approaches and use of indigenous knowledge has increased. However, whilst an increase may have occurred, evidence in places like Wajir would suggest that practice has not gone far enough in this direction. Pastoralists’ own voices are markedly absent from literature and at field level it is easy to understand the reasons for this, as there is a lack of consultation directly with pastoralists themselves.

“There are definite benefits of community planning the consultation at the level of the nomadic community, sitting with them at their own convenience and listening to them. For me, even as much as I come from the same community, I learned a lot. There is something we have been assuming throughout, we sit in the offices, thinking that we have all the knowledge and skills and we read a lot of literature from the universities and from the research institutions and we just plan our programming through that … [but] If you really want to address pastoralism you have to go and talk to the true herder. Even the planning and design of our projects will be more economical, it will realise the expected results as in their consultations they are very honest they are very sincere they have all the knowledge and skills.” (Diyad Hujale, fig 6f)

The community of Gosia explained that they understood that NGOs and policy makers used ‘gatekeepers’ in the settlement centres to inform their programme planning. These ‘gatekeepers’ whilst from a pastoralist background are no longer mobile, and as such
there is a marked difference between the opinion of those settled in town and those in
the ‘badia’ (rangelands) like the community in Gosia. Indeed one man from Gosia
expressed this idea saying; “You [NGOs] can go through the gatekeepers in the
community but you will never get our opinions truly”. Such a statement begs to question
how NGOs can address pastoralists needs when they are building their programmes
based on ideas and information from people who are no longer in pastoralism?

Indeed this assumption that someone who has been raised in the area, and has a
background in pastoralism can understand the needs and dilemmas of pastoralism today
is false. An ALDEF staff member expresses the gap in knowledge he experienced despite
being brought up in the area; “Even though I am Somali – there were a lot of things I
never knew about the culture ... the activities they have been doing in the different times
of the seasons – I have learned a lot – in fact I felt that I was in class learning. One funny
thing is even though I am Somali there are some Somali words [used by the nomadic
communities] that I cannot even know” (Ahmed Ali, Annex ....) Thus both international
actors and local NGOs need to address the way in which they include pastoralists in their
planning. In order to ensure they address the need of target communities they need to
physically reach out to them and build a relationship. Otherwise they risk perpetuating
the marginalisation that pastoralist are already subject to, as well as providing programs
that have little place in a pastoralist culture and at worst deplete its effectiveness in
dealing with the very problem the programme is trying to protect them from.

5.1e Understanding the Culture of Pastoralism

In spending time with both communities, observing their livelihood patterns and listening
to their insights into coping with drought it was very evident that pastoralism is more
than livelihood. It is much more of a culture (fig 6d). Livestock herding invades every part of their life and livestock represent much more than food security, they represent status and identity too. I describe it as a culture because even those, such as the community in Harakoba who have left the ‘traditional’ pastoralist life of nomadic herding still see livestock as integral to their life and identify with the ‘badia’ (rangelands). One woman in Harakoba, who despite wanting to leave the nomadic life and settle, said she “believed the backbone [of her livelihood] will be ‘badia’ – still I am ‘badia’ [a pastoralist] even if I go to settlement” (Woman 2, Harakoba). Furthermore, other sources of livelihood unrelated to livestock herding were still described in relation to animals’ production with the collection of gum being described as “milking the tree” (Woman 1, Harakoba).

5.2 Adapting to changing conditions: Creating opportunities for diversification

At the same time as accepting and understanding the ‘culture’ of pastoralism and the depth that pastoralist’s livelihood permeate into their everyday lives; there is also a need to understand the changing dynamic of ‘pastoralism’ today. Commercialisation in the pastoral sector is growing as pastoral elites who have left the pastoral life and moved to towns and cities are reinvesting in pastoralism for commercial gain. Large commercial herds have negative consequences on small subsistence pastoralism. The large herds contribute to the degradation of pasture as well as monopolising the livestock markets. It is not possible for smaller pastoralists to rear herds that can compete with commercial herds owned by wealthier town and city dwellers who can afford animal health drugs to protect from diseases and to truck water during the drought (Fig 6e), Catley, 2013). However, the community of Harakoba discussed how a nearby commercial trader had trucked water from their owner in town. More investigation needs to be done into the
way in which programmes can be tailored to work towards creating positive links and
synergy between the traditional pastoral systems and these new emerging new emerging
systems.

Indeed pastoralism today is diverse with the term covering traditional nomadic
pastoralists, pastoralists branching into agro pastoralism, pastoral ‘drop outs’ alongside a
growing commercial sector. There is a need to understand how all the groups interrelate
and understand that to support one sector fully, that links to other types of pastoral
sectors must be supported too. Diyad Hujale explains the extent of the pastoralist
network and the need for integrated support across the broad definition of pastoralism;

“Yes pastoralism is diverse – you cannot talk of the nomadic herder because even the
pastoralist dropout still has elements of pastoralism – that economy of pastoralism will
require the herder, that person who is mobile – but it will still require those in the
settlement, it will require those in the urban centres and it will require those in the city.
That is the total economy so all of it can be classed as pastoralism because one depends
on the other. So you cannot have the nomadic community surviving on its own without
supporting the drop outs or the urban people” (Diyad Hujale Fig 6f)

Supporting the diversification of pastoralism also requires creating opportunities for
pastoralists. With a growing number of pastoralists ‘dropping out’ of pastoralism there is
a need to provide prospects in towns and settlements for livelihood outside of
pastoralism for those who can no longer continue nomadic herding in order to support
this growing group of pastoralists through drought and prevent them becoming
dependant on aid, as is occurring now (Pavanello, 2009). Indeed whilst social protection
cash programmes, such as the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) which has been
implemented in Wajir as well as other pastoral areas in Kenya, have provided support to this group of pastoralists, some development practitioners expressed concern over cash interventions. With little economic investment in places like Wajir, this cash cannot alone create a sufficiently stable livelihood that can keep families food secure. This coupled with some of the lowest rankings in the country in recent primary literacy and numeracy rates, prospects for learning new skills that will equip them for a life outside of pastoralism are low for Wajir’s pastoralist community (WERK, 2011).

Long term planning and investment is what is needed to ensure programmes like the HSNP can really provide a safety net for pastoralism. Infrastructure such as roads and investment in trade and markets as well as in human capital through health care and education is what is needed to provide alternative livelihood opportunities in Wajir. This means long term investment. Encouragingly policy is now moving to reflect such perspectives. The MNKOAL advocates for this long term approach in its draft sessional paper ‘realising our full potential’ (2012) and in its country programme paper ‘ending drought emergencies in Kenya’ (2011). The Minister himself explains the thinking behind these documents;

“So our arguments in that paper I basically simple; livestock like any other production system whether it is flowers whether it is coffee or tea (and I always give this example of coffee) they need access to basics; this means investing in infrastructure; human capital for a healthy and educated population and peace and security. Those are what we are calling foundations that need to be in place for any production system to work. So I tell my colleagues if you remove one of the access roads or if you remove the credit to the farmers that they give to coffee farmers how long will it last? I ask him how long
they will last before they have to uproot or be given maize [food aid] he says only one season. Therefore pastoralists are inappropriately subsidised [in terms of the basic access they have]” (fig 6a).

Indeed pastoralists identified that lacking these basic services and infrastructure, as well as restricted access were causes of their biggest problems in the problem ranking exercise. Long term approach means holistically all aspects of pastoralism benefit and thus opportunities for the future of pastoralists so that the diversity of wants, from Ahmed in Gosia who wants to grow up to herd camel or for the boys who are growing up in Harakoba who want to become school teachers can be realised (Fig 6p).

5.3 Assessing the capacity of external actors to respond to drought

As well as looking at how pastoralists cope with drought, it became evident through my field research that there is also a need to assess how policy makers and practitioners deal with drought and how this impacts on their own capacity to address pastoralist’s needs. This section therefore aims to step away from the pastoral perspective and analyse, as it were, the response mechanisms of governments and humanitarian agencies in relation to drought.

5.3a Early Warning, Late Response

Drought is a slow onset disaster. Its potential impacts can therefore be foreseen and thus planned for in a way in which rapid onset disaster can be. Because of this, development agencies and governments can play a much greater role in averting crisis as long as the hazard is approached correctly (Twigg, 2006, GoK, 2011). Indeed there has been much investment in detecting the onset of drought early, through the monitoring of climatic
changes and meteorological conditions as well as vegetation (Twigg, 2006). The idea of early warning has been highly researched and a Famine Early Warning System (FEWSNET) developed in reaction to the 1980’s Ethiopian famine is in use today throughout the Horn of Africa (FEWSNET, 2012). Furthermore long and short rain assessments are undertaken by the Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG) which assess the food security situation across the country in line with exaggerated or depressed rainfall and pasture growth. Such early warning systems are designed to stimulate action and prevent the conditions of drought pressuring communities into an emergency food crisis (Twigg, 2006).

Why then, with such warning systems in place, did we have a drought from which a food crisis ensued within Northern Kenya in 2011? Arguably drought is being ‘allowed’ to progress to food crisis and famine because of the way in which key actors are currently responding, failing to meet pastoralists’ needs. The recent paper ‘Dangerous Delay’ (2012) collated by Oxfam and SCUK, as well as the Humanitarian Practice Group (2004) Pavanello (2009) and Levine et al (2011) suggest that it is the delay in response from humanitarian actors that is costing livelihoods through drought and thus lives through famine. With early warning systems in place, response in the early onset, which is needed to take a livelihoods approach to drought response, should be possible. However, an Early Warning System (EWS) is only as effective as the responding capacity of the systems it aims to trigger into action. The bureaucracies of funding drought responses today can arguably be seen as one of the biggest obstacles to effectively responding to EWS effectively (Fig 6d and fig 6e).
Currently there is a definite divide between funding for long term development in the Kenyan ASALs and short term emergency relief funding. This is not a problem unique to Kenya. Funds are largely compartmentalised by donors for accountability purposes, with emergency funding coming separately to longer term development funding. In the case of rapid on-set emergencies where there is little time to prepare, donors are quick (or quicker) to release funds since the ‘proof’ of the emergency situation is evident. However drought is different. Its slow on-set nature means that it’s effects are not immediate and NGO professionals have noted donors unwillingness to adhere to or trust early warning systems, rarely releasing funding until concrete evidence is produced to show that drought has hit (fig 6d). However, by this point it is already too late for pastoralists. Saving livelihoods, which would ultimately help secure food security though out a drought period, and result in less people reliant on food aid post drought, is now impossible. Animals are already wasted beyond the point of saving and prices are already so low that selling will buy little grain in return (HPG, 2006 and 2009).

Responding early is in fact not only beneficial for pastoral livelihoods, it is also beneficial in terms of cost effectiveness, and more research needs to be done, and evidence produced to prove to donor communities that responding earlier pays. Diyad Hujale estimates the cost effectiveness of early response:

“When we realise the rains are failing and we start interventions then it is much cheaper. In 2009 we spent around 4 million shillings, and then we got another 2 million to save lives and livelihoods. But in the subsequent drought when people delayed until we were in crisis, as ALDEF alone we might have spent over 300million shillings, but
when it is done at the right time, at the right stages it is very cheap. If you delay in decision making, and delay in funding then you will be forced to spend” (fig 6f)

Indeed NGO professionals have noted that donors seem to be unwilling to spend early due to the concern that there may not be enough money left for response in a serious crisis that may unfold later on down the line. Thus, much more work needs to be done to understand the cost effectiveness of responding early and in expressing that an early response will negate the need for highly expensive interventions later on (Fig 6e).

Furthermore, this divide between humanitarian responses reduces NGO capacity in terms of staffing, particularly for local NGOs like ALDEF Kenya, who do not have access to ‘surge’ or ‘rapid response’ teams like Oxfam or the UN for example. Diyad Hujale, Executive Director of ALDEF Kenya explains; “we got a lot of technical support, from Oxfam – they came to Wajir to build capacity of our staff. The challenge now is as the contract with Oxfam has ended in June, as ALDEF we didn’t have enough budget to keep the staffs that were recruited and trained during that time. After every one year you get drought, we train staffs and then they go home – but we want to make sure that [in future] they can be retained ... so in case of any challenge of drought we are able to upscale easily” (fig 6f) Thus, not only does a gap in funding hamper response in terms of monetary capacity, human capacity is also limited as the short term funded programmes do not allow for the capacity built up in local organisations during the emergency to be retained.

Advocacy has already begun from the international development and humanitarian sectors asking for a change in response, particularly from the government. Oxfam wrote about the need for a drought contingency fund in Kenya in 2006 in their publication:
'Making the Case: a National Drought Contingency Fund for Kenya’ and indeed swift et al (2002) advocated for the same as part of their ‘Policy Guidelines for Kenya’ which addressed ‘Drought Management for Pastoral Livelihoods’. Both suggested that contingency funding was needed in order to ensure drought response programmes that better address pastoralists’ livelihood needs. Indeed today in Kenya five years on from Oxfam’s paper the Ministry for Northern Kenya (MDNKOAL) has acted upon these recommendations and in 2011 the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) was established. The NDMA was formerly the Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) which has now been institutionalised to ensure the sustainability and streamlining of drought within and across the government. This authority has recognised the gap in donor funding and understood the need to release funding much sooner and more rapidly than currently. As such the Drought Management Contingency Fund has been set up to address this vulnerability gap and ensure that the window of opportunity evidenced in fig 12 does not go unexploited due a lack of funding (fig 6b).

The minister Mohammed Elmi also explained the plans to make the smart card system on which the HSNP runs to distribute cash system a ‘multi response’ card system through which all responses, developmental or relief could be targeted. Given that the HSNP is now being rolled out across Wajir county after a successful pilot stage this ‘multi response’ system is very close to becoming a reality and paves the way for streamlining thinking between development work and emergency response. A positive development that through its flexibility and long term approach to drought response will allow agencies the flexibility to responds to drought effectively.

5.3b Seeing drought differently: Drought as a dynamic pressure not a disaster
Indeed managing drought properly requires early action and the flexibility to respond to a changing environment and the changing needs of pastoralists as drought progresses. The divide between emergency funding and development funding leaves a vulnerable gap in funding with little room for development agencies to react or manoeuvre in response to pastoralists needs. In the case of drought, where early warning systems are in place and its slow onset, predictable nature allows pre planning, early response should be possible. Thus, from a donor perspective at least there is a clear need to look at drought differently.

In much of the disaster literature, which goes on to inform policy and programme thinking, disaster management diagrams are often generalist, not differentiating between slow and rapid onset disasters. Whilst the principle behind each disaster may be the same with long term root causes, such as marginalisation in the pastoral community sense leaving communities vulnerable to disaster, the way in which response is given is different (Twigg, 2004). If a rapid onset disaster hits, such as an earthquake or flood, the effects are visible and funds can be released to finance emergency response. For drought the onset is much slower, and effects are less visible until food security is present and famine is imminent; yet this can be prevented. In diagrams which are influencing policy and disaster management thinking such as the PAR model, and the most recent resilience model influencing donors today, drought is placed next to other rapid onset disasters and often considered externally to the livelihood systems that people employ something to react to. Indeed in the PAR model (see fig 7) it is placed under the heading ‘hazard’. However, for pastoralists, who are used to existing with in cycles of wet and dry seasonality drought is something they have adapted their way of living to and it is a
condition they live within not one they come up against as such a diagram may suggest. Indeed during discussion on problems that pastoral communities faced, the people of Harakaoba did not list drought as one of their problems. When asked why it was not included they explained that whilst drought was a problem it was something that was always there, that only God could change and for them. For them it was something that they had to live within and cope with, which was made more difficult by a lack of other services such as; water, infrastructure and health services which were on the ranking list. Thus we need to see drought as more of a dynamic pressure that has the ability to create unsafe conditions, such as lack of water and pasture and rising food prices which decrease pastoralists’ ability to sustain their livelihood efficiently.

Indeed Levine et al (2011) offer similar revisions and recommendations for the drought cycle management systems. Advocating for a longer term approach arguing that preparedness needs to stretch wider than the alarm phase and that seasonality needs to become much more central in dealing with and responding to pastoralists in drought; a concept that is not currently fostered through the segmented diagram and system used today.

Such timeliness requires changes in the way governments and NGOs run their organisations. In order to respond to pastoralists needs effectively and help create resilient societies in the face of drought conditions actors need to begin to see drought differently; as a contextual pressure pastoralists live within rather than an external shock or stress they are unfamiliar with. In turn, such a shift will allow a more long term approach which itself is needed in order to strengthen indigenous systems that so they
are able to deal effectively with changes in seasonality, however extreme, in today’s changing ASAL environment.

A woman in Gosia prepares her camel for loading: The castrated male camels are the ‘loading’ camels and are used to carry water as well as the family house and belongings when on the move. Loading animals are thus essential for the mobility of pastoralists. If a family loses all their loading stock in a drought they are effectively stranded.
Chapter 6

Conclusions: Towards Building Resilience

Two women in Harakoba participate in a focus group
Conclusively research has shown that pastoralist’s vulnerability to drought in today’s context is largely due to long term challenges and problems of access to resources, as a result of years of marginalisation and underinvestment. Long term problems need long term solutions and indeed this is what is needed in order to build future resilience to drought among the pastoralists of Wajir.

What pastoralists need in order to survive and cope with drought is largely dictated by their indigenous coping mechanisms. Such coping mechanisms are the backbone of survival in the dry lands in Kenya and it is these systems that allow pastoralists to be productive in such arid environments. Thus; understanding what pastoralists need to ensure these systems work effectively and supporting them through these systems is what is needed to safeguard pastoralists against drought.

All of this requires considerable shifts in attitude and practice, from the way pastoralism is perceived to the way in which drought is approached. The following recommendations summarise the key points of the findings and look towards the future of responding to pastoralists in drought.

6.1 Recommendations for Practitioners

- As pastoralists needs are dictated by their coping strategies NGO’s need to address the way in which they work with pastoralists, engaging more directly with pastoralists so as to ensure a better understanding of pastoral livelihood systems (as well as pastoralism itself) practically and thus ensuring the response to their needs is complimentary to these systems not contradictory.
Mobile pastoral systems work on the essence of flexibility, movement allows them to react quickly in times of stress. However, the current response system for external actors is not so flexible and does not allow for an immediate response. In order for support pastoralists through livelihood initiatives the current system needs to be reviewed to ensure that the ‘window of opportunity’ to save livelihoods, and thus lives, in the early onset of droughts is capitalised upon.

6.2 Recommendations for Policy Makers

- In order for eternal actors to adjust their response system, the gap between long term development funding and emergency response funding must be closed. NGO’s require more flexibility from donors in terms of funding to allow them to address pastoralists’ needs appropriately throughout drought. Donors therefore need to adjust their thinking surrounding drought, and step away from approaching it as a disaster, which needs to be supplied with emergency funding, but rather a dynamic pressure to which pastoralists need to be supported to become resilient to. Furthermore more trust in early warning systems is needed to allow external actors to invest in drought responses earlier on.

- In terms of governmental policy, the field work has shown that much of what has been attributed to positive policy change has been due to the initiative of the Ministry for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. This Ministry’s effectiveness is contributed to largely by having the direction of a Minister who understands both the pastoralist livelihoods (having come from a pastoralist background in Wajir) as well as the developmental issues of the dry land areas
having previously worked in the NGO sector). The holistic understanding that this background creates allows for more focused, effective and empathetic approach to dry land development. The government need in future to understand the importance that such an approach brings and need to make a considered effort to foster learning in the dry land areas so that representation of the dry lands in the halls of power, by people from the dry lands, can be continued.

Overall a considered investment needs to be made by both practitioners and policy makers to address the long term marginalisation. Such marginalisation has undoubtedly has the largest impact on pastoralists ability to cope with drought through restricting access to their basic need and resources. NGOs need to engage more in advocacy and governance campaigns to counteract this marginalisation and the government need to begin to invest in infrastructure and basic services in the pastoral areas of Northern Kenya.

6.3 Recommendations for Further Research:

- More work needs to be done on the cost effectiveness of investing in long term measures and responding early to drought in order to provide a concrete advocacy tool for practitioners, so that they may advocate to donors for earlier response and increased flexibility in funding, which in turn will allow them to support the changing needs of pastoralists throughout the changing context of drought.

- Finally, more needs to be done in order to understand how new contexts and influences, such as commercialisation and natural resource drilling, are affecting
pastoralists' ability to access their needs, and as such investigate how these influences should be managed in order to ensure that they complement the pastoral livelihood systems, adding value rather than taking it away.
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Appendix 1
a) Map of Wajir Detailing Research Sites

Source: OCHA, Wajir Base Map, 2009

Gosia
Harakoba
b) Map of the Herding Movements among the sub clans of the Degodia in Wajir East (From Gosia Community Discussions on coping strategies)

= Ismail Sub Clan

= Hussein Sub Clan

= Omar Fai Sub Clan

= Farah Sub Clan

= Small Groups of individual Fai families

= Masare Sub Clan
c) Map of Movement during Drought: Harakoba
(From Harakoba Community Discussions on coping strategies)
Appendix 2
# Field Research Timetable

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<th>Research Group</th>
<th>Method</th>
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## Details of the Field Research Team and their Roles

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<td>Diyad Hujale</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>- Provided the offer of invitation to engage in field research with ALDEF</td>
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Appendix 4
The first day is an introduction, the first few days we will be together we will be dwelling very much on drought problem, individual impact, and did you manage to cope and respond to that drought. Again we will be talking of whether you received any aid – and if so from whom. In the few days we will together, we will not be the people from the organisation sitting far from you, and you will not be the people with the problems sitting far from us we will be interacting. We shouldn’t feel shy from one another. Most importantly, women should also participate, generally we are saying in a nut shell – everyone shall participate.

Man 1
Yes, okay – no problem, we have understood.

Kalil
We will also be using stone / sticks / papers to demonstrate issues / problems

Man 1
Laughs

Kalil
We will also be using the paper / sticks etc to demonstrate how near something / how accessible is to you. This just a demonstration of what is in your mind because you cannot read what is in your mind. When you display it here on the ground freely, that is when we can talk and analyse freely.

Man 1
Interrupts and want to raise a point

Kalil
Wait - let us first finish ours and then you can say yours. Our discussion is going to be surrounding the drought some 30yrs ago. We will also be discussing about the 2011 drought, and mostly we will be discussing 2011. Firstly we will be talking about the drought, what was the problem it caused to the individuals as well as the timeline. We will now be remembering the worst day, when you took the cattle to the water point and some of them could not leave etc

Man 1
Laughs

Kalil
Based on this sometimes we might go backwards and make a relationship between this drought and the former droughts. In terms of time, we might come and sped with you for some two days then break then come for another two days as we can keep you busy here for a whole 7 days straight. Day one, day two day three we will be doing but because now everybody is here for the first day. Some day we will be meeting with representatives – two three four of you who can talk well – don’t fear, because we want to hear your problems. We are your servants I am from ALDEF, this one is from ALDEF etc so you should not fear and be interactive.

We will also be talking to small children – of mixed gender who can remember the last drought very well, and can tell us their worst moment. Maybe the water didn’t come to them for the last three days – since their parents went to fetch it. We can ask this old man (Man 1 laughs) for the last 40yrs or so. Equally we can ask the youth for the last 15yrs or so. So we need also to ask the small kids for their input for the last year.

Man 1
Laughing at the idea of asking the kids on what was their worst day

Kalil
The last days we will maybe remain with small number that can be managed and so that every person can handle the papers that are represented in front of them. The first day is introduction. Then maybe three to four days are the days we are presenting ideas individually and in groups and then the final day is authentication of what you have said. We expect you to tell us this is what we have said / this is not what we have said as this is out of your mind. Tell us whether we are correct or not.

Group
Laughs - yes

Kalil
Sometime we will need to go to the pastoralists and represent them because
they might not come to this discussion so we need to question them and interview them where they are herding. We will go ourselves with a representative of people sitting here to lead us. If for example there is someone else that there is with the animals as they are resting and we can get that person in there homestead then no problem we can also get that person there. No problem we can interview them there in their home. We also need to interview two other types of pastoralists. One who has completely lost his animals following the drought and secondly, a person who has voluntarily sold everything after he had seen that the drought was finishing his animals off and he has seen that pastoralism is not sustainable anymore and his is no longer willing to be in pastoralism. Can we get those two types in this town.

Man 2
Yes we can get that

Man 4
Yes around these areas we can get it – within Wajir

Kalil
Not around these places – can we get these types in Harakoba?

Man 5
Yes we might not find somebody who completely sold everything but you will find everywhere someone who has almost completely lost everything.

Man 6
All we are telling you is that we settled here as a result of the predicament of what we have faced and there’s nobody who has completely sold it off and opted for another source of livelihood and completely sold it all their animals off.

Man 2
Uncle (Kalil) during the drought you will find somebody sold everything because of how the drought was serious and everything was bad so now you can find somebody who has sold everything. That’s why I’m here today as I am one of those people.

Kalil
We are asking these questions purposefully to understand drought management and problems raised by the drought and you should not understand it that we are bringing a new project or a new benefit to the town. This research will help institutions operating here like Oxfam, ALDEF, SCUK to use this report like a mirror to see what the real community water and whether they are dressing the real issue and the need of the people. Because aid has been tried, food aid, cash etc. maybe this time around they can help you employ people to herd you animals, maybe it is to introduce faming – to introduce something to address the real need of the people. So it will help.

This programme is not a follow up to any programme it is just a research so that we can know the real need of the people. Maybe this programme cash relief / food aid etc was researched long time ago then it can eventually. Similarly this research, although we know there is no programme coming directly after-perhaps it can be used to inform a new type or approach to aid. This research is independent from these institutions – if they are weak or they don’t perform well feel free to say everything well. Even though we are part of the intuitions you should see this research as a way / opportunity to correct them. Just say what ALDEF is – when you receive aid do they ask from bribes or what – feel free just say what you think. Tell us the true picture of these organisations.

This report we are preparing will be shared with save the children, Oxfam, Elmi (GoK) and ALDEF and even the institution where she (Hannah) comes from (Oxford Brookes University). Do you want know yourself to be quoted? Do you want us to put that this person said this and this with your name and your photo? Will you allow now all this information to be uploaded on the website of these institutions – including your name, photo and even your voice?
Man 3 You have photos, you have captured it now – you can use those. But sometimes it is possible we say something against and institution – so if our photos as well as our voice/name is captured then it may sometimes bring some bias. So please – use the photos – even the voice if you want – but not the name.

Man 1 You are one of us and anything you think that can bring a problem to us to not upload it on to the internet.

Kalil It is not all about problems we just want to capture exactly what you said and do what you are comfortable with.

Kalil Can we mention the site name?

All Yes, Yes its Harakoba!

Kalil We will now say “a resident of Harakoba said…..”

Community Yes – that’s okay

(some of the community left the venue – kalil asks where they are going – and they said they wanted to pray – kalil says; please no we are just finishing in 10 minutes and we will pray together bear with us)

Kalil Since we said we want to talk about past events including drought s of 30 years ago now what is the time and the day all people including children are available – that is convenient to you?

Man 3 Most probably the early part of the morning

Kalil Tell us exactly the time

Community Tomorrow at 10am

Kalil We will prepare everything this evening – and make it ready so that we come at the time you tell us to come

Hannah The same venue – where we are seated now?

Community Yes here

Kalil We are now through with today, so do you have any question so far? Not all about what we will ask you tomorrow – but so far what we have said?

Man 1 Laughs – we have not much questions yet because we have now just began exchanging some issues but we have not yet begun our interviews about drought – so we have no problem

(Man 1 clarified and supports Kalil’s point to the rest of the community)

Kalil Anytime feel free to ask any questions

Man 1 and Man 3 Okay no problem we will ask

Man 3 We you come to your office (ALDEFs) and asked you questions – so if you come to us here in our home then why should we fear to ask you questions?

(everybody laughs)

Kalil So tomorrow here at 10?

Community Inshallah (God Willing)
Appendix 5
Research Interview Questions

All interviews were conducted as Semi-Structured Interviews

Individual Interviews with Pastoralists

1. What is your name / how many people are there in your family?
2. Questions surrounding the drought of 2011
   a. How has it affected your life/livelihood?
   b. How did you cope with it?
   c. What made it difficult to cope in that period?
   d. What would have made it easier to cope?
3. How does this experience make you feel? How do you see your livelihood?
4. Imagine you are in charge of ALDEF or Oxfam. If you could plan for something to help pastoral communities like yours what would you plan?
5. What for you constitutes as food security?
6. Is there anything you would like to add that we have not covered?

Individual Interviews with Pastoralist Herding Children
(Asked alongside the daily schedule exercise)

1. Do you like herding?
2. Can you tell us about your day – tell us what you do in a day when times are good
3. How does this change in drought?
4. How do you feel in when a drought comes?
5. If you can, tell us about one of the most difficult times you can remember?
6. What would you like to be when you are big?

Individual Interviews with NGO Professionals and Policy Makers

1. What do you see as being the main issues for or challenges faced by pastoralists today?
2. What are the challenges of reaching pastoralists?
   a. How does your organisation engage with pastoralists?
3. In hindsight what do you see as the successes and challenges of the 2011 emergency drought response?
4. How do you see the link between drought management policy and practice and pastoralism itself?
5. What are your organisations plans for the future in terms of drought management?
6. Is there anything you would like to add that we have not covered?
Appendix 6
Sample Interview Transcript 1: Interview with Woman 1, Harakoba.

HK – Hussein Kalil (Interviewer)
Woman 1 – Older Mama from Harakoba

HK  We are starting – tell us your name?
Woman 1  (……)
HK  How many persons live in your house?
Woman 1  For now there are 5 persons in the house  Three children, and my husband – I have given birth to many but they have left
HK  How many children?
Woman 1  3 children – two girls and one boy
HK  How old are they?
Woman 1  10 and 15
HK  How old is the boy?
Woman 1  The boy is 20yrs (mean 19yrs…)
HK  How old are you?
Woman 1  61yrs
HK  How did the drought affect you?
Woman 1  There were many problems – the animals have changed shape. Before, we were able to take the animals for water – but during the drought we are zero grazing and are feeding and watering the animals at home. I was using a lot of energy to do that, then the animals themselves trekking to the water point – they were now relying on me. The burden animals – who I was depending on – and I were in the same position (both were stressed with the trekking distance) both ended up just being housed within the den. There was no pasture or fodder livestock died and perished due to a lack of nutrients – their bodies were emaciated
HK  Where are you getting the water from?
Woman 1  We are getting from water trucking (aid) and sometimes we were buying – from Kutulo borehole
HK  Whom were you buying the water from?
Woman 1  I don’t know – from Kutulo borehole
HK  Who is paying the cash?
Woman 1  My husband
HK  You got all this problems – you saw the drought – how did you cope?
Woman 1  It was brought by god – and there is nothing we can do about it  *(discussion between Kalil and the mama – over the question)*
HK  Is there a way that you cope with the problem of this livestock that you have mentioned during the drought?
Woman 1  There is no fodder, bark of the tree so we can’t do anything about it – all the opportunities to feed is over
HK  Now in your own household – the problem is there - how did you cope with it? Imagine there is nothing (no aid) how did you keep yourself alive.
Woman 1  The trees of god – I was milking them (I was collecting gum)
HK  Were you using gum (habaq haghar)?
Woman 1  We were selling the gum
HK  Last time when we were here we were asking whether gum was available in the drought you were telling us that no it wasn’t available but for you why are you talking of that?
Woman 1  Those people were here inDasheg – but for me I was in Kutulo. (jokes) you are inciting me against this lady …


HK What was the most pressing problem you faced during this period?
Woman 1 Lack of water – thirst and livestock were weak and they could not move so you have to give them water at their den. If the animals are weak and have perished and die – including the burden animals (donkey and he camel) I am economically worthless.

Meaning: animals = weak, you have dignity but if there is no animas / few numbers you are seen to be a pauper and people will not respect you.

When the animal became weak and they died I had nothing My children are also weak and emaciated – but god blessed us and gave us rain

HK Are there any other problems?
Woman 1 I am not having any insecurities (we are in peace) (once rain is there it is peaceful)

HK Shortage of water – and the burden animals are weak and the animals died could not use it - do you mean that even yourselves you have grown weak (La’if)?

Woman 1 After this happened – the animals could not move, they are weak they couldn’t do anything. We were forced to settle near Kutulo so that we could manually fetch water from the borehole.

HK What could solve this problem?
Woman 1 Rain could solve this, that will help to bring back pasture for the few animals that we are left with, life the goes on and starts afresh from there. After that rain – I was able to move to this site where I am now ...

HK Rain is god’s plan – it is a gift from god – as a human being what coping strategies could you adhere to resist the shock of drought?

Woman 1 I can get external help or get credit from those who are better off. I can get relief food – you survive through that.

HK What else – what other measure could you have undertaken other than this?
Woman 1 I haven’t /couldn’t receive any help that could make me comfortable (human help will not satisfy her)

HK How are you managing your family – how are you sustaining your family?
Woman 1 I was selling my livestock and getting income from there and buying other things according to my need. I was slaughtering them I was milking them …. Use this time this amount and later the rest – we do what you do and we know what you know (you are part of us, so we are the same) People of the town talk of saving i.e. let’s use this amount now and use the rest later. For us it’s the same with our animals we sell when there is need...

HK After you sold some animals what did you do?
Woman 1 I was just taking care of the other livestock – what I was doing before. I.e. the animals were the ones that benefited from this cash – your normal livestock keeping activities are not interrupted by other livelihoods

HK After selling what were you using the money for?
Woman 1 For food and clothing’s

HK How do you see this life of taking care of animals in this ‘Badia’?
Woman 1 I see it as good

HK Why is it good?
Woman 1 You people who live in towns – you want to eat meat – you want milk all those things are sourced from us.

HK During the drought and all of this? What is the goodness of it?
Woman 1 This problem was brought by god and it is god who can solve this problem. Human efforts are limited
HK | Any other thing?
Woman 1 | We are done ....
HK | If all those items you are supplying to settlement could fetch a good price – what would it change in your life?
HK | What else other than this milk, meat and the livestock themselves – what else can we get from you that can give you income that will help?
Woman 1 | God’s grace can solve that
HK | Any animal, the livestock themselves or their products – anything that you could invest in that could assist your livelihood and the pastoral communities?
Woman 1 | Rain, water is life
HK | What about skin or hide
Woman 1 | What will it help?? What about it?
HK | Maybe not you but the town – does it have an advantage – do you agree?
Woman 1 | Yes
HK | Imagine all this from agencies are not there (but they have been there for the last five years) what could you ask for to sustain yourself in 10 yrs. to come without their help?
Woman 1 | Animals / livestock (Hoola)
HK | Imagine you are restocked and drought comes and then what happens?
Woman 1 | That is god plan ... god has his own plan. What we can look after is animals – that’s what we know, that’s our everything and that is what we can look after, only. The only solution is animals
HK | How do you see your future here in Harakoba and your life etc your coming days?
Woman 1 | Its gods land
HK | (laughing)
Woman 1 | I settled in Harakoba because I wanted to get aid
HK | Do you see yourself as a nomadic person now you are here?
Woman 1 | Yes I am seeing myself as a nomadic household
HK | Are you able to do what you used to do what you used to do in the bush when you are here settled?
Woman 1 | No I am old now and I have no strength (so that’s why she has moved) to look after animals. I want livestock, animals I can take care of them as I was taking care of them in Badia (Arabic for bush)
HK | The young generation are embracing the town life how do you see that?
Woman 1 | For them they have opportunities in town they can get labour, the work they can do they have the strength – but for me the only thing I can do is look after animals
HK | How do you see these people, who are going to settle? Is it good?
Woman 1 | I see it as they are refusing the burden of looking after the animals, they want easy gains and not to struggle here in badia
HK | Do you think it is easy gains in town?
Woman 1 | Me I don’t want to know about town – all I am interested in is livestock
HK | Can you remember what you have before and what you have now?
Woman 1 | I have told you before – I told you I had 100 animals
HK | In the last drought how much did you have and how many did you remain with?
HK | I had 100 shoats, for now I have 20 and I have told you before – and you have put it in your reports. I have never had cattle. Camel 20 – now I have 7
HK | Do you still feel this is a good herd size?
Woman 1 | They are few a small size
HK | How many shoats can be herded do you think?
Woman 1 100+ camel 40 (but at least 20)
HK Why is the herd size you have now too small?
Woman 1 20 shoats is too small for me to sell, to slaughter and if drought just comes almost all will go. I will sell some, I will eat some and the rest will perish in the drought / flood
For a small heard of camel like I mentions- cattle takes too long to give birth, when will I enjoy its benefits – it takes 2 years for gestation (12/13months).
To Kaliil – just face me – stop facing this lady (Hannah)!
Of all these 7 camels there are several household surrounding me (i.e. dependant households on those livestock) (and out of that 7 maybe 3 will conceive?) I will get an inadequate quantity because we share.
HK When there is rain will there excess milk?
Woman 1 If every household milks one camel do you sell the excess milk
One camels per household will not yield extra milk – it will not be enough. Why are you asking me all these questions? I know your father has been in the pastoral life?
HK She (Hannah) wants to get from you and not form me
HK Any other thing?
Woman 1 I have nothing
Sample Interview Transcript 2: Interview with a Herding Boy, Gosia

DH – Diyad Hujale (Interviewer)
AAO – Ahmed Abdi Omar (Herding Boy Interviewee)

DH What’s your name
AAO Ahmed Abdi Omar
DH What do you do?
AAO I look after the Shoats
DH Is it the big shoats of the small kids?
AAO The big ones
DH For how long have you been herding?
AAO For sometimes
DH Did you do that this morning?
AAO This morning I looked after the small ones (the goat kids)
DH So you look after the young ones?
AAO Yes (replies with a clic, which means yes)
DH Did you head yesterday?
AAO Clic (yes)
DH When did you leave?
AAO In the morning
DH After you had taken tea?
AAO Clic (yes)
DH Why have you not gone today?
AAO Because the shoats have gone to water
DH Okay – when did you return back?
AAO At ‘hergel’ (Midday)
DH What time is ‘hergel’ to you?
AAO The middle of the day
DH When you return home what do you do? Are you fasting?
AAO No
DH So what do you do?
AAO I hang around and then I leave from 2pm to badia (the bush) to take the goats back to graze
DH So you go back at 2pm?
AAO Clic (yes)
DH Then...?
AAO I come back at sunset
DH Then after you come back?
AAO Then the kids (small goats) are released to their mums
DH Then...?
AAO We eat
DH Then...?
AAO We make stories
DH Do you make stories with the other children?
AAO Clic (yes)
DH With other boys?
AAO Clic (yes) (in a time of no stress – when there is pasture and milk the boys can go as far as 1am in the morning making stories. But when there is crisis or difficulty they sleep around 9pm)
DH Then...?
AAO  And then people sleep
DH   Then you wake up again?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   Do you know how to herd the big shoats?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   Is it good?
AAO  Yes
DH   Do you know the area? (the area in which the community live and herd)
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   What do you have to say about herding goats – is it good or bad?
AAO  Yes – I love it
DH   Why is it good?
AAO  It is just good
DH   Why do you love it?
AAO  I just love it!
DH   When you grow up what do you want to do?
AAO  I want to herd the animals
DH   The big goats?
AAO  Yes – the big goats and the camels
DH   Do you have goats?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   How many?
AAO  1 big one and its kid
DH   What is its name?
AAO  Bihii (so white or the whitest one)
DH   Does the small one have a name?
AAO  No not yet
DH   Who named it?
AAO  It already had that name before
   The group discuss the colour of the goats and Hannah – and suggest that they are the same
DH   Is it white?
AAO  Clic (yes)
   (the goats is described as another Hannah)
DH   Have you ever lost any animals?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   When?
AAO  One evening
DH   What happened?
AAO  It was running after the seed of the cashew
DH   Then...?
AAO  It went with the goats of our neighbour and others brought them back
DH   You lost them all or just some?
AAO  Yes, some small ones remained
DH   Then you received them back?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   How did you feel – did you panic?
AAO  Clic (yes)
DH   Why?
AAO  I lost the goats
DH   Did you look for them?
AAO  I went to look around for it
DH  Did you call for it?
AAO  No
DH  Was your goats among those that were lost?
AAO  Yes
DH  Who else knows how to herd?
AAO  Another two
DH  Do you all look after the goats together?
AAO  No
DH  So you go alone?
AAO  Clíc (yes)
DH  Are they girls?
AAO  Clíc (yes) called Mumina and Nuria
DH  Are they your sisters?
AAO  No
DH  Who’s daughters are they?
AAO  One is (fathers name) Noor and the other is Issa
DH  What are the girls to you?
AAO  I don’t know
*(it is discussed and it is discovered that the girls are cousins to Ahmed)*
DH  Thank you – do you know who we are? I am Diyad and this lady is Sharun and this lady is Hannah. Have you seen us around over the last few days?
AAO  Clíc (yes)
DH  We are relatives … Do you know about the last drought – can you tell us?
AAO  No – I don’t know
DH  How old are you?
AAO  10yrs (pastoral years’ work in 9 month cycles and go by the number of ears you have been alive – i.e. if you were born in December of 2011 by January of 2012 you would already be 1yr old – Ahmed is 9yrs and some months)
Appendix 7
a) Historical Timeline: Gosia

Prior to 1963

The Somali’s told the British colonial government that they should get out of the country and they would use spear and needle [whatever was necessary with whatever weapons they had] to get them out.

1963 - Kenyan Independence

During the night they brought the Kenyan Flag to Wajir and a black man with a big nose

1964 - ‘Emergency’ Period
(War between the Somali and the black man [New Kenyan Government])

A colonial soldier named Ali Hersi joined the ‘Shifta ‘war at Afad. But him, his troops and his camels were all killed and shot at Afad. The Kenyan government then made the decision to kill all the camels that were seen and rape all the women that were found. They killed the camel to weaken the pastoralists. It can sustain the pastoralists well (through its meat and milk) and it itself can go from around 50 days without water.

During this period Wajir town was fenced. Everyone was told to come inside the boundary, and if they did not they would be shot. Pastoralists could not come into town with their camels because there is no pasture for them there. There were many ‘doors’ into town but special branch were there guarding them. No one was allowed out with sugar as milk / milky tea is the main source of food security for pastoralists and this meal requires sugar.

Pastoralists got round the idea by using a small child to go into town and fetch the sugar for them using their small ‘dagatel’ (container) to buy from Arab Lalith. Only 1kg of sugar / 100g of tea leaves at a time were allowed to be bought from the trader. So the child’s clothes was changed and he was sent in again – this was repeated 20 or so times.

Many animals and people suffered during this time – including the government of Kenya themselves as the Somali Militia planted land mines. This fighting continues for two years.

1966 Koreha Haress (Return of Arms)

An amnesty between the Kenyan Government and the Ethnic Somali’s of the North Eastern province was called. People from town were sent to the ‘badia’ to collect the arms from their families there. Those people that ran away to Somalia in1964 to escape the fighting now returned. However, some could no longer understand the land of Kenya enough to be productive or had lost all their animals in Somali so some returned as refugees / farmers.

Ogaden and Degodia Inter Clan Fighting

When people returned there were inter-clan clashes between the Ogaden and Degodia clans. Not all the guns had been returned in the amnesty.
1969 – Daun (Cholera)

18 people, from the family in Gosia died during this outbreak and they are all buried in the same grave near Jaijai.

1970 – Abar Othi Kaweyn (Drought bigger than the elders)

This was one of the first droughts the group could remember. It was so great it was named bigger than the elders’ to reflect its greatness. The government did bring assistance, but not in the same way they do today. They cooked meals en mass in Tarbaj and everyone went there to collect their cup of maize. This drought might not have been as bad had there been more than one source of water. At this time the only source of water was Wajir.

People moved to Burmayo, but many lost everything. People then started to settle in El Ben and some began schooling (the group’s historian Adan Salat was among those who went). This was a landmark because traditionally people had not been going to school as it was too associated with Christianity. So in order to ensure children were sent to school the government fenced the water points and you were only able to access them if you sent your child to school.

1973  Eclipse

During this year the first borehole in Wajir East was opened. It was located in Dambas. The government drilled and found water but did not open it. The Fei community, the family resident in Wajir East, were forced to upper 60 bulls to the government so they would open it. The first Fei chief for the Government of Kenya said: “the roar of the boreholes engine is the roar of the 60 Fai bulls”. The borehole has now been open for 40 years.


1975  Lions Started Killing People, many die from attacks

1976  Abar Owswein (Drought with no grass)

1977  Abar Orohet Holon (Drought of the hot Season – where the sun was brought closer to the earth)

1984  Wagalla Massacre and El Herr (Closing of the wells)

“The worst Disaster we experienced”

Community members who had been in Ethiopia came harassing everyone. The government then accused communities in Wajir east of feeding the ‘shiftas’. As a punishment all the water pints were closed, and the engine was taken from the borehole in Dambas and well ropes were cut. Animals began to die because of thirst.

The men of the Degodia clan were rounded up by the Kenyan Government and were taken to Wagalla airstrip. Wagalla is a very hot place. Those who were there were allowed
no communication and it was so hot that people started to drink their own urine as they were denied water and could not call for any. After days in the hot sun the people in Wagalla were massacred en mass.

The only outsider allowed into Wagalla airstrip was an Italian sister who was allowed to go and collect the bodies and help the survivors. After that no one was allowed to speak of the event, it was an arrestable offence.

1988 Abar Sulfat (Drought of Restlessness)

This was the worst drought that happened during the sunny period; pasture was scattered so movement was high

First well at Sarman built

This was the first well in Sarman. It was hand dug by Mzee Gohat. People used to see him to be crazy, but they he found water after digging.

1991 San diig (Camel Disease – bleeding nose)

There was an outbreak of camel disease where the camels bled from the nose. They were aware that the community of Harakoba death with a similar thing although their camels suffered differently.

1993 Abar Benyagur (Drought when there was gum on trees)

This drought is known more widely as the drought of Quamithi. For the community in Gosia they coped with the drought by collecting the gum and selling it.

1994 Dud Bai (People dying)

There was a measles outbreak

Ahmed Ali’s (ALDEF staff member and member of the research team) brother is killed in Buna.

1995 Ajuran and Degodia Inter-clan Fighting

The Ajuran killed Omar Gumbi, a famous old man, when he was herding. Fighting between the two clans ensued.

1996 Hagaii Hergab (Camel Flu)

1997 Abar Dersaqir (Drought with Small Rains)

During this drought the community remembers food aid beginning in a small way.

1998 El Nino

Rains and floods came. There was good pasture before this but then the rains came. Animals died. Those that were pregnant (women and animals) miscarried – even the chickens. All the wild fruits disappeared and malaria and sickness were rife. 70 women
died. The flooding was so much that people were wrapped in plastic and had to be pushed into their grave under the water.

1999  Bush Fire outbreak at the end of the year

2000  Drought of Qajaja (they were residing there at the time of the drought)

Many people shifted to Ethiopia)

2006  Abar Ildun (Drought where the camel’s eyes collapse because of hunger)

2007  Fithig (Collapse)

The camels collapsed. No one could explain it, they were fat and healthy but they just began to collapse unexplainably. Whilst milking they would collapse just before you could take their milk.

2009  Abar Welathi

The community moved to Welathi for water tankering and pasture. People moved to Somalia and Ethiopia. This family in particular moved to Ethiopia.

2010  Still in Drought

2011  Rains came in October (short rain period)

People survived the drought by digging and eating tree roots.
b) Historical Timeline: Harakoba

1984 – Previous to this year the drought used to come every 10 – 15 years.

1975: Abar Orahmathobad (The drought of the black sun - Eclipse)

At this time the community were in Gubundonla. The climate was very hot and dry and there was no water. When men left the house to fetch water they were absent from the house for 4 days before they returned home again.

During this drought the community did not receive any interventions – recalling that there was no food aid or help from the Government of Kenya.

There was also an outbreak of disease among the human population of the community, and many became ill and died of diarrhoea.

Impact on the individual level in terms of livestock saw 40% of shoats and 90% of cattle as well as around 20 camels.

1984: Drought during the Wagalla Massacre

At this time the community were residing in Hamballash. They were making the 4 days trip to Lake Yahout on the outskirts of Wajir to water their animals when they heard that members of the government were forcefully rounding up members of their clan (Degodia) and transporting them to the airstrip in Wagalla for them to be killed in an act of massacre.

Due this the community had to retreat from town (as those who had arrived at Yahout previous to them had been taken to Wagalla) and as a result did not manage to reach the water at Yahout. They went 20 days without water, shelter and some of the small children under five died as a result.

The community stated that again the government had failed them in the drought and had this time gone even further to violently oppressing and murdering members of the Degodia clan.

In terms of livestock on an individual level all the cattle that had remained from the previous drought perished and only 5 shoats remained along with 10 camels.

1991: - Abar qamithi (Drought of the Soghourm – first drought with food aid)

- During this drought the community received their first batch of food aid which was brought to them by Oxfam GB. The food aid was distributed within the formal settlement and despite not being formally settled the community managed to get a share in this, even sending their children to stay in the settlement to ensure that they received Food Aid.

However many of the community became sick with diarrhoea as their bodies were not used to taking the cereals provided in the food aid, only a diet of meat and milk.
- There were also inter-clan clashes between the Degodia (the clan of the community) and the Ogaden around Leheley. 9 Degodia were killed during these clashes when watering their animals in land of the Ogaden and many others were killed during further continuing clashes.

1992 - Abar Deyu olei (The drought of the summer with war)

Dry spell which was complicated and intensified by clan clashes as water points were target areas for attacks. Many died.

Furthermore the interventions of 1991 were no longer available.

1999/00 - Drought of Kalalud (drought where everyone went their separate ways)

This period was classified by the community as a serious dry spell. Oxfam’s Food Aid distribution began again as well as water trucking through the same NGO given that the wells the community used for water had dried up.

Many animals perished.

The community split up, employing a variety of coping mechanism between them which caused them to diverge as a community.

2002 - Abar Hagay Hab

There was a small amount of rain, which provided animals with a small amount of pasture, but this was then followed by a serious drought.

Food Aid from Oxfam had been withdrawn at this time from this particular community although after a year or so aid began again.

2006 - Abar Indagur (Drought of the blind camels)

Disease spread during this drought within the camel population causing any of them to become blind.

During this drought there was minimal intervention from outside bodies so the community moved towards Ogaden land to secure pasture for their animals to graze on.

There was however, peace by now between the two clans and no war / conflict over resources was experienced.

2008/9 -

The community migrated far into the Ogaden land to a place called Welathi in order to find pasture. Those who remained behind perished whilst those who migrated managed to survive.

The community stated that there was no cash distributed but there was Water trucking (organised by Mohammed Elmi (MP for Wajir East and Minister for MDNKOAL)) took place here. ALDEF Kenya also distributed small dry rations as food aid.
The most recent drought “it was just yesterday”

Some of the community migrated to Kutulo and some even further .... Almost all the animals perished in this drought until the community were left with ‘nothing’, only some small shoats.

The community were only registered for food aid when they were in Harakoba so when the migrated they had to forego their food aid entitlement.

In October / November 2011 the rains came and the pasture was replenished. The community wanted to return to Harakoba but they were unable to since all but a few of the burden animals (both male camels and donkeys) had perished during the drought and there was no longer enough to transport the whole community back to Harakoba.

Donkey carts were borrowed along the way from communities and eventually the community managed to make it to Harakoba (which is where I and the team met with them to conduct this research)

However, by this time the food aid had been descaled – reducing the total number of beneficiaries receiving food and this downscale meant that the community were no longer included. Since they began to settle in Harakoba the only intervention that they have received is that of a nomadic education project in the form of a mobile school.

In March 2012 the community asked for more interventions from the two organisations (ALDEF and SCUK) assisting them with mobile schooling, however neither organisation could give them any further interventional support. Furthermore, there has been no cash or food aid at the site given that it is not (yet) a formal settlement. This also means that there is no form of access to a permanent and clean source of water at the site the pastoralists have decided to stay at; their only source of water comes from an informally dug shallow well, which is unclean.

Whilst the pastoral community could potentially move to a new site, it is not practically possible for them to do so since their burden animals have been lost and thus they have no means of transporting their belongings or the weak/vulnerable among them.

For the women – this drought of 2011 was the worst. They mentioned that those small animals that survived the drought were then washed away during the rains that followed in October/November 2011 due to their weak body condition. They also mentioned that the rain also took a lot of their cooking equipment and shelter material.

Finally, the herds visible around the bomas were explained as a collection of everyone’s animals. Perhaps 2 from each family etc would make up a herd size of what had once been, in number, the livestock holding of one man.


### c) Pastoralist Coping Strategies over Time – Plotted Historically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Harakoba</th>
<th>Gosia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1970 | – Family we split – those who were strong enough migrated, those who were not stayed  
  – Killed Camels in a ‘roundabout’ community operation. One family killed a camel every 30 days, each family taking it in turn to slaughter one of their camels to feed the whole community.  
  – Used burden (male) camels to fetch water which was far away  
  – Migrated to distant places to find pasture as far as Hambalash | – Killed Camels in a ‘roundabout’ community operation. One family killed a camel every 30 days, each family taking it in turn to slaughter one of their camels to feed the whole community.  
  – Migrated  
  – Roasted Skin to eat  
  – Used animal bones for soup  
  – Ate Wild Fruits  
  – Ate ‘Habaq’ (gum)  
  – Ate tubers (Sarsaq and Selemac) |
| 1976 | – Enlisted the help of the ‘Wabar’ (religious leaders from Ethiopia) to ask for rain and pasture from God. Sacrificed animals for the ‘Wabar’  
  – Prayed and read the Quran | – All water points were closed and guarded. This drought was man made but some families managed to access the wells when the guards took breaks. |
| 1984 | – Heavily relying on temporary wells | – Pasture was scattered as were rains so this drought saw high mobility as pastoralists ‘chased’ the rains and pasture. Only a little was available in each place so movement was constant. |
| 1988 | – Relied on some of the family members taking on manual labour jobs in town  
  – Killed some of their livestock for consumption  
  – Killed for sale at the market in order to generate income to be able to sustain both themselves and their remaining livestock through the drought. | – Harvesting of Chewing Gum; sold for 20 KSH per Kilo.  
  – Gum and Resin them disappeared  
  – Food Aid came in the form of Bulgar wheat. Distribution was in blanket form but they did not know how to prepare – no education was given. Many fell ill and died after taking it; women suffered the most. |
| 1991/1993 | – Coped with the Soghourm that came as relief from Oxfam (FIRST TIME TO GET RELIEF FOOD) but only came to | |
the formal settlements – not directly to them in Harakoba. They had to go and pick from Wajir town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>– Food aid from Oxfam</td>
<td>– Floods meant relief couldn’t reach them. Food Aid could not get further than 15km from Wajir. Had to take camels to Wajir and load what they could.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>– There was not much problem in this drought, there was milk and pasture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>– No means to deal with malaria, Tsetse fly and the disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999 -</td>
<td>Relief came again and they went to Wajir town to pick the relief and then brought it back to where they are settled</td>
<td>– Migration to Somalia</td>
<td>– Relied on Shallow wells at Quajaja-settlement began here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>– Sold animals</td>
<td></td>
<td>– Due to the extent of the drought animals were eating everything – even un-edible tings and feeding of each other whilst still alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Took up the alternative income generation strategy of collecting and selling firewood in Wajir town</td>
<td></td>
<td>– Because of this a NEW strategy of zero grazing was put in place and the community fed the animals maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 -</td>
<td>– Sold their animals at a good price</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>– Used some of the strategies they used in the previous drought</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Received Food Aid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– Education (listed as a coping strategy for those who are now growing up – it can give them a better chance of finding another source of living)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First time to see and M concerned with pastoralists (Hon. Mohamed Elmi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elmi went to Visit and brought water and food to Welathi where the pastoralists had migrated to for pasture.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d) Chapatti Diagrams: Harakoba

Chapatti Diagram (Men): Exploring the Importance of and Access to Key Livelihood Resources (Drought – Harakoba, before migrating / experienced by those who didn’t migrate)

- Water
- Firewood
- Market
- Peace
- Community of Harakoba
- Animals

Active Livelihoods supported by these resources:
- Animal rearing
- Animal trading
- Selling of firewood

Chapatti Diagram (Men): Exploring the Importance of and Access to Key Livelihood Resources (drought – experienced by those post migration to El Wali)

- Water
- Peace
- Community of Harakoba
- Animals
- Gum
- Pasture

Active Livelihoods supported by these resources:
- Animal rearing
- Animal trading
Timeline of the 2011 Drought (Harakoba)

Significant Events

- No Rain
- Drought Began
- Pasture Depleted
- Goat and Cattle began dying
- Diarrhea seen in the malnourished
- No Milk
- Burden animals (Donkeys and Camels) began to die
- Aged and Under fives Become Weak
- Only a small number of animals left
- Floods washed away surviving animals

Coping Mechanisms Used

- Began SELLING ANIMALS at a cheap price
- Began SELLING CAMELS in Wajir
- Slaughter Camels and weak animals
- Switched from Donkey carts to foot
- EWT (Private)
- EWT (Gok)
- Began selling goats in El Wak
- FOOD AID in El Wak

FAMILY SPLITTING: Pregnant and lactating women as well as those children and other community members that are too weak to travel stay in Harakoba

Some of the community (the men) MIGRATE to El Walk for pasture.

CONTINUAL MOVEMENT In and around El Walk

Some WOMEN MIGRATE to Kutulo

Gods Intervention

Women's Input

Men's Input

Neutral Information
Timeline of the 2011 Drought (Gosia Hills)

**Significant Events**

- **July**: Drought began
- **August**: No Rain
- **September**: Lack of Pasture
- **November**: No Milk
- **December**: Sheep began to die
- **February**: Burden animals become weak
- **March**: Had to leave Herd's (Shelter) when they group migrated
- **April**: Cattle started dying
- **May**: Camel started dying

**Coping Mechanisms Used**

- Took strong tea to survive without milk
- Fuel Subsidy Received
- Movement: From Dunto to Sarman (for market access)
- Buying CSB to replace the nutrition of the milk
- Selling gum and resin
- Borrowing of credit
- Began selling goats in El Wak
- Cutting Migege for the camels to eat
- Digging Tubers for the animals to eat

**Family Splitting**: Ageing members of the family reside in the nearest settlement (Sarman) as they can no longer exist comfortably within the highly mobile pastoral lifestyle.
Appendix 8
PRA Training PowerPoint

Delivered by the Author to the Rest of the Research Team on 10/07/2012

PRA Training

1. What is PRA
2. Features of PRA
3. Dangers of PRA
4. An overview of the Techniques
5. Some examples of PRA Methods

What is PRA?

- Participatory Rapid/Rural Appraisal
- Alternative / compliment to traditional surveys and questionnaires
- PRA is a way of learning from AND with community members
- It allows practitioners to investigate, analyse and evaluate issues / constraints / opportunities

The PRA Approach

- Aims to find out more of the context and complexities of the problem rather than generate specific statistics
- Its holistic – it takes data from all sources.
- Bottom-up approach as oppose to top down.
- It values what people attitudes and opinions (what people think and feel) and uses peoples own point of view as its data.
- Short duration allows it to be carried out in a series of smaller workshops which are much more easily digestible and focused than large long surveys or questionnaires.

Features

- Triangulation
- Multidisciplinary team
- Learning from within the community
- On the spot analysis
- Flexibility and informality
- PARTICIPATION

The Dangers of PRA

- Use of findings
- Availability of multi disciplinary team
- Time / project constraints
- Being mislead by myth and gossip
- Raising expectations
- Lecturing instead of listening
- Imposing ideas and values
- Male dominance of conversation – women becoming marginalised

"The right attitudes and behaviours are the key to success of PRA"

Attitudes ...

- Respect for the community
- Interest in what they know, say, show and do
- Patience, not rushing, and NOT interrupting
- Listening not lecturing
- HUMILITY
- Methods which empower the community to express share enhance and analyse their knowledge in the best and most comfortable way for them.
- Individual interviews: Useful for representing a group / cross referencing across age and gender.
Semi Structured Interviews

- It is a form of interviewing where only some of the interview questions are predetermined.
- NOT a formal questionnaire, but more of a guiding checklist.
- Questions that become irrelevant from the conversation flow can be skipped.
- Questions can also be generated from the surroundings as well as from other PRA exercises carried out.

Examples of PRA Techniques ...

Focus Groups

- Smaller homogenous groups (usually by gender and age set)
- Allow for more in depth discussion of topics
- Focus groups are representative of whole ‘sections’ of the population.

Timelines (Historical and Time trends)

- Capture the environment of the community over time
- Show changes in the environment
- Plot key important historical events that have affected the community – either in a positive or negative way

Venn Diagrams

- Venn Diagrams can be used to show the importance of a resource / institution / object in a community, as well as their access to it.
- Importance is shown by the largest of the circles and the access is shown by how close it is related to the image of the community.
- If the Venn diagram is being used to show the relationship between organisations then the size is shown by the importance of the organisation and the overlap showing them unconnected.
- Diagrams can be drawn anywhere - on paper / in the sand / using sticks and stones etc
- They are the most inventive, expressive and dynamic method in PRA.

Ranking / Proportional Piling

Ranking means placing something in order.

Uses: It can be used to find out basic information that can then be used to set the basis for prompting further questions.

It is often used to find preferences - questions can then be formulated to find out WHY these preferences are there.
References:

All information on PRA selected from sources:


Diagrams taken from:

Appendix 9
RESEARCH ETHICS FORM E1BE FOR STUDENTS ON TAUGHT COURSES

P a g e 119

Faculty Of Technology, Design & Environment, Oxford Brookes University
ARCHITECTURE / PLANNING / REAL ESTATE & CONSTRUCTION

Please read the Guidance Notes at www.brookes.ac.uk/res/ethics/forms

Section A - You & your project
What is your name?
First name: HANNAH
Surname: CURRIE

What is your student number?
11086955

What is your email address?
11086955@brookes.ac.uk

What is your supervisor's name?
First name: SUPRAVA
Surname: AKERKAR

What is your supervisor's email address?
sakerkar@brookes.ac.uk

In which Department are you studying?
- Architecture
- Planning
- REC

What course are you taking?
- DEVELOPMENT & EMERGENCY PRACTICE (DEP)

What is the topic area of your research?
- DROUGHT MANAGEMENT POLICY /
  PASTORALIST COMMUNITY NEEDS

On what kinds of topics will you be collecting data from the participants in the research?
- Experiences of drought
- Coping strategies etc.

Section B - Your participants

What kind of participants will be involved in your research? (Please tick one - if more than one, then complete a separate form)
- Professional/management group
- Members of the general public
- Vulnerable individuals

Briefly describe these participants
- members of pastoralist/ment workload children

How many participants will be involved?
40

How will the participants be selected?
- Through Alpine Kenya in relation to the research needs and security briefings

Section C - Your data collection

When is your data collection likely to start?
22/05/2012

What will be your method of data collection?
- In-depth interviews
- Telephone
- Face-to-face surveys
- Email
- Direct observation
- Post
- Other, please specify
  Focus groups using PRA

What kind of data will you be collecting?
- Quantitative/statistical/numerical
- Qualitative/written/text
- Images/drawings/maps

Will it be possible to avoid asking for personal data from the participants?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants are not being deceived in any way?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants remain completely anonymous?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants do not suffer any negative consequences?
- Yes
- No

Section D - Declaration

I declare that I will
- give all participants an information sheet
  conforming to university guidelines
- not contact any participant until my supervisor has approved my information
  sheet, research questions and methodology
- be sufficiently well-trained in necessary methods of data collection and analysis

Student signature

Supervisor signature

Module Leader signature

119 | P a g e
Faculty Of Technology, Design & Environment, Oxford Brookes University
ARCHITECTURE / PLANNING / REAL ESTATE & CONSTRUCTION

RESEARCH ETHICS FORM E1BE FOR STUDENTS ON TAUGHT COURSES
Please read the Guidance notes at www.brookes.ac.uk/res/ethics/forms

Section A - You & your project

What is your name?
First name: HANNAH
Surname: CURWEN

What is your student number?
11086955

What is your email address?
11086955@brookes.ac.uk

What is your supervisor’s name?
First name: SUPRIYA
Surname: AKERKAR

What is your supervisor’s email address?
sakerkar@brookes.ac.uk

In which Department are you studying?
- Architecture
- Planning
- REC

What course are you taking?
DEVELOPMENT & EMERGENCY
PRACTICE (DEC)

What is the topic area of your research?
DRUGHT MANAGEMENT POLICY

On what kinds of topics will you be collecting data from the participants in the research?
DRUGHT MANAGEMENT POLICY

Section B - Your participants

What kind of participants will be involved in your research? (Please tick one - if more than one, then complete a separate form)
- Professional/management group
- Members of the general public
- Vulnerable individuals

Briefly describe these participants:
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

How many participants will be involved?
Number of people: 2

How will the participants be selected?
THROUGH THE ADVICE OF THE RESEARCHERS CONTACT IN KENYA.

Section C - Your data collection

When is your data collection likely to start?
22/06/2012

What will be your method of data collection?
- In-depth interviews
- Telephone
- Face-to-face surveys
- Email
- Direct observation
- Post
- Other, please specify:

What kind of data will you be collecting?
- Quantitative/statistical/numerical
- Qualitative/written/text
- Images/drawings/maps

Will it be possible to avoid asking for personal data from the participants?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants are not being deceived in any way?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants remain completely anonymous?
- Yes
- No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants do not suffer any negative consequences?
- Yes
- No

Section D – Declaration

I declare that I will
- give all participants an information sheet conforming to university guidelines
- not contact any participant until my supervisor has approved my information sheet, research questions and methodology
- be sufficiently well-trained in necessary methods of data collection and analysis

Student signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12

Supervisor signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12

Module leader signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12
Section A - You & your project

What is your name?
First name: HANNAH
Surname: CUKWEN

What is your student number?
11086955

What is your email address?
11086955@brookes.ac.uk

What is your supervisor's name?
First name: SUPRIYA
Surname: AKERKAR

What is your supervisor's email address?
Sakerkar@brookes.ac.uk

In which Department are you studying?
✓ Architecture
Planning
REC

What course are you taking?
✓ DEVELOPMENT & EMERGENCY PRACTICE (D.E.P.)

What is the topic area of your research?
✓ DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT PRACTICE
FAST INDIAN COUNTRY STRATEGIC

Section B - Your participants

What kind of participants will be involved in your research? (Please tick one - if more than one, then complete a separate form)
✓ Professional/management group
Members of the general public
Vulnerable individuals

Briefly describe these participants
ADHOC STAFF OF THE UNIVERSITY WORKING IN INDIA

How many participants will be involved?
10

How will the participants be selected?
† BY THE RESEARCHER THROUGH CONTANTS FROM PREVIOUS EMAIL CONTACT IN KENYA

Section C - Your data collection

When is your data collection likely to start?
27/06/2012

What will be your method of data collection?
✓ In-depth interviews
Face-to-face surveys
Direct observation
Email
Post

Other, please specify

What kind of data will you be collecting?
✓ Quantitative/statistical/numerical
✓ Qualitative/ written text
Images/ drawings/ maps

Will it be possible to avoid asking for personal data from the participants?
✓ Yes ☐ No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants are not being deceived in any way?
✓ Yes ☐ No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants remain completely anonymous?
✓ Yes ☐ No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants do not suffer any negative consequences?
✓ Yes ☐ No

Section D – Declaration

I declare that I will

• give all participants an information sheet conforming to university guidelines
• not contact any participant until my supervisor has approved my information sheet, research questions and methodology
• be sufficiently well-trained in necessary methods of data collection and analysis

Student signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12

Supervisor signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12

Module Leader signature: [Signature]
Date: 20/6/12
Bibliography


