

**ANALYSIS OF THE EVOLUTION AND FUNCTIONALITY OF INCOME-
GENERATING PASTORAL COMMUNITY GROUPS IN NORTHERN KENYA**

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2020

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear wife the late Antoninah Amaret, my father the late John Arasio Anno, my beloved children Leone Doke and Vincent Mariaio and all those who provided tremendous support and encouragement during my study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIC	African Inland Church
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CAHW	Community-based Animal Health Worker
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc.
CCPP	Contagious Caprine Pleuro-pneumonia
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
FORCE	Farmer Organizations Reviewing Capacities and Entrepreneurship
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HPI	Heifer Project International
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGA	Income Generating Activity
IGG	Income Generating Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OPA	Organizational Performance Assessment
PARIMA	Pastoral Risk Management
PLMG	Pastoral Livestock Marketing Group
PPG	Pastoral Producer Group

RELOAD	Reduction of Post-Harvest Losses and Value Addition in East African Food Value Chains
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
S-C-P	Structure-Conduct-Performance
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank

ABSTRACT

Community groups have been shown to contribute to socio-economic development and poverty reduction, particularly in rural areas. Whereas there is abundance of information on community groups that engage in income generation in the rural agricultural and peri-urban areas, information on community groups in pastoral areas still remains scarce. Additionally, in pastoral areas, community groups (particularly externally initiated) have been reported to show mixed results/impact compared to other areas such as the rural areas where agriculture is practiced and in peri-urban areas. However, in northern Kenya, in the recent past, a growing trend of such groups has been observed in the pastoral areas. This study sought to better understand this development by analyzing how these income-generating pastoral community groups, particularly those involved in the marketing of sheep and goats evolved and function. This included understanding why some groups are succeeding while others are failing. The study was done in Marsabit County as an example of the vast dryland in Kenya facing the same problems of market access and sustainability of community groups, to: i) analyze the history, drivers of formation, and the activities of income-generating pastoral community groups in the study area; ii) analyze the social and governance characteristics of the well-functioning income-generating pastoral community groups and their socio-cultural context; and to iii) characterize group marketing of sheep and goats and analyze the marketing strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome challenges affecting their functionality. Mixed methods approach was used in data collection – that included survey, narrative interviews, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews and participatory Likert-type scale rating. The data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20.

The results revealed that, different entities played different roles over time in the formation and development of income-generating pastoral community groups and they included the church, government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community elites and leaders, and self-organization of groups by ordinary community members. Income-generating groups (IGGs) were first formed between the late 1970s and early 1980s, and their number increased substantially to four-fold between 1996 and 2015, with a remarkable increase over time in the self-initiated groups. The latter trend resulted from the weaknesses of the pre-dominantly externally supported older generation of groups that affected their sustainability, with the new generation of groups having different characteristics aimed towards sustainability. For

instance, whereas the older generation of groups were bigger, were formed based on blueprints by external agencies, and all group activities done by members together, the new generation of groups were small in membership, adapted their formation and governance to the socio-cultural organization of the community, and supported members through loans to undertake individual businesses.

Both factors external and internal to the community influenced the increasing emergence and evolution of groups. The five major factors included long distance to formal livestock and commodity markets, increasing household needs amid decreasing social support, labour constraints to diversify livelihoods individually, past experiences (positive and negative) of groups, and external support. Groups undertook a diversity of income-generating activities, with most groups (100 of the 153) practicing sheep and goats trade mainly in combination with the sale of household items and micro-credit schemes.

Groups' self-assessment of performance indicated that performance was influenced by the way the groups were formed, with self-initiated groups being significantly ($p < 0.001$) associated with excellent and good performance while externally supported groups were associated with fair and poor performance and dormancy. The analysis of social and governance factors contributing to successful functioning of groups revealed member characteristics associated with social factor age, gender, location of a household, clan, wealth, and education as important. These important member characteristics were both homogeneous and heterogeneous and their adoption had a link with the way the Rendille community is socio-culturally organized. With regard to group governance, good leadership, all-inclusive decision-making, existence of by-laws, and transparency and accountability were considered important for group functioning and their adoption had a link with the traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists. Groups also modified externally provided guidelines on governance to conform them to traditional governance practices and to suit the prevailing experiences.

The analysis of how group marketing of sheep and goats functioned showed that group marketing was mainly driven by potential economic benefits as well as labour, financial, and marketing information constraints associated with individual business undertaking. The majority of groups involved in sheep and goats trade were women's groups. The results also revealed the emergence of an approach where groups give loans to members to engage in sheep and goats trade individually. This was informed by the need to overcome some of the

bottlenecks of the whole group being in control of the trade as well as expedite benefits to members. A focus on well-functioning groups revealed existence of endogenous (initiated by groups themselves) mechanisms that they use to deal with organizational, governance, business management, and livestock marketing constraints. In order to minimize economic losses so to increase/stabilize profitability, well-functioning groups bought animals from primary markets more than other sources, sold animals more to foreign traders in the secondary market than to the local Rendille traders, secured supply contracts/tenders from NGOs and private companies, among other strategies.

These insights from history and functionality are important for promotion of sustainable income-generating pastoral community groups in general and group marketing of sheep and goats in particular, and have practical implications for practice and policy.

Keywords: Economic pastoral community groups; collective marketing of sheep and goats; sustainability; performance; northern Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) occupy 80% of the total land area in Kenya and are predominantly inhabited by pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities, which rely on extensive livestock production as the main source of livelihood. Pastoral livestock production makes use of the spatial and temporal variation in resource availability typical for ASAL areas. It is based on rearing indigenous livestock breeds that are well adapted to the semi-arid and arid range ecosystems (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2016; Kratli *et al.*, 2013). Over 50% of the livestock population in Kenya is based in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2010). With an estimated livestock resource base of 12 million heads of cattle, 30 million sheep and goats and 3 million camels (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2010), the livestock sector in Kenya contributes 10% of total National Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 30% of Agricultural GDP (ICPALD, 2013). Pastoral areas not only meet most of the domestic meat demand, but are also the main suppliers of livestock for export (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013).

Livestock production accounts for over 50% of the livelihood base of the population in the ASALs and livestock is a fundamental physical and financial capital of pastoralist livelihoods (Government of Kenya, 2019). Besides meeting their subsistence and socio-cultural obligations from livestock, pastoralists sell their livestock to obtain cash for food and other essential commodities and services such as for paying school fees for children and healthcare. Livestock production, in particular sheep and goats' rearing, offer a high rate of return on assets available to pastoralists (McPeak, 2005).

To realize these economic benefits and enhance pastoral livelihoods and resilience, pastoralists' access to livestock markets is essential (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013; Jahnke, 1982). However, ecological, social, economic, infrastructural, policy-related and institutional constraints undermine the pastoralists' desire and ability to exploit available and emerging market opportunities (Aklilu, 2008; Arasio, 2004; Pavanello, 2010). These constraints contribute to high economic losses and low returns to pastoral producers.

For nearly four decades, to minimize the impact of these constraints and improve access to livestock markets, government and donors have supported livestock marketing initiatives in pastoral areas putting a focus on establishing market infrastructure (holding grounds, sale yards, among others) (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013). These interventions have had little or no impact on pastoral producers and traders (Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Bekele and Aklilu, 2010) since facilities were often found unsuitable. Problems related to design of the facilities (poor, non-participatory and non-contextualized) and their management (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013; Bekele and Aklilu, 2010) and avoidance due to high taxes and fees (Aklilu and Catley, 2009) have characterized the new livestock markets. Up to now, strategies to support pastoral livestock marketing do not reflect contextual constraints in pastoral areas. Worse still, the government and donors are planning and implementing parallel programs and investments in pastoral areas (conservancies, large-scale irrigation, oil/mineral exploration and mining) that conflict, contradict and undermine the pastoral production system and livestock marketing (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013).

Consequently, conditions for livestock marketing are still difficult, not favoring the pastoral producers despite the various government and donor policies, goals, plans, and programs. This has triggered emergence of alternative bottom-up approaches where livestock producers in pastoral communities have organized around livestock marketing with the aim to increase

access to markets (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Coppock and Desta, 2013; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011).

Although this communal marketing in pastoral areas started in Kenya only recently (1990s), already since the 1970s, governments, donors, policy makers, development practitioners and researchers have widely advocated, recognized, supported, and popularized producer-marketing groups particularly among smallholder farmers as a valid strategy and meaningful way for market access (Shiferaw *et al.*, 2006).

These groups can enable smallholder farmers to access and exploit better existing and new market opportunities as well as deal with existing and new market challenges or barriers (Dorward *et al.*, 2005; Jayne *et al.*, 2002). The groups can also enable smallholder producers to increase and maintain their position and power in the market, bargain for better prices, increase incomes hence improve their food security and enhance sustainable livelihoods (Dorward *et al.*, 2005; Markelova *et al.*, 2009; Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008). At macro level, the groups can contribute to increased agricultural productivity hence enhanced agricultural development, food security, poverty reduction, and economic growth and development (Markelova *et al.*, 2009). Other benefits include promotion of coordination and leveraging of market functions (Coulter *et al.*, 1999; Obare *et al.*, 2006; Rondot and Collion, 1999).

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Despite the known roles and potential of groups, in pastoral areas, the few documented examples of particularly externally-initiated¹ community groups have been reported to show

¹ Although the government agencies also support these groups, a majority of them, especially in the drylands are supported by the NGOs and other development agencies.

mixed results (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011) compared to other areas. The trend is more worrying for pastoral areas because, already the government and donor efforts (development and policy) to improve livelihoods and livestock marketing for instance through market infrastructure development have yielded little impact (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Bekele and Aklilu, 2010). This implies that the situation of livelihoods and livestock marketing still remains difficult considering the many constraints surrounding pastoral livestock marketing – these constraints are ecological, social, economic, infrastructural, policy-related, and institutional (Aklilu, 2008; Arasio, 2004; Pavanello, 2010). In turn, pastoral producers continue to incur economic losses in the marketing of their livestock. The pastoral areas have limited social services and infrastructure necessary for meeting the immediate felt needs such as food, health care, veterinary care, and education of children (Arero, 2007; Kochore, 2016). Given these constraints, the high levels of poverty and food insecurity reported in pastoral areas (County Government of Marsabit, 2018; Government of Kenya, 1999; IFPRI, 2018) will persist.

To address the above livestock marketing constraints, livestock producers in the farming (Kyeyamwa *et al.*, 2008) and pastoral areas (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011) have resorted to or have been supported to work as groups. Producer groups have been promoted as a valid strategy for market access and have been shown to allow producers to negotiate for better prices, strengthen position in the market, among other roles.

1.3 Justification

Whereas groups provide a critical platform for collective action in pooling resources and bargaining for better terms of trade for members, they face a myriad of challenges that vary from one system/sector to the other. Drawing from experiences from various systems such as

agricultural marketing, the situation of mixed results of groups has been observed in the older generation of groups. In this domain, the mixed results were mainly attributed to the use of blue prints in the organization and governance of groups that ignored local specificities and perceptions – these led to collapse of groups once external support ended (Cleaver, 2005; Dequech, 2003; Porter and Lyon, 2006). However, functionality was seen to improve when the members of groups were given the responsibility to define how they want to set up and govern their groups. Whereas there is abundance of such information on community groups that engage in income generation in the rural agricultural and peri-urban areas, information on community groups in pastoral areas remains scarce. In this regard, it would be important to understand the dynamics of pastoral community groups in terms of their organization and governance in order to understand why some groups are succeeding while others are failing so to inform strategies to enhance their role and functionality/performance, as well as inform policy in pastoral areas.

Despite the mixed results, in northern Kenya, in the recent past, an increase in the number of income-generating pastoral community groups, particularly those involved in the marketing of sheep and goats has been observed in the pastoral areas, with self-initiated groups being reported. There is therefore the need to better understand this development by analyzing how these income-generating pastoral community groups evolved and function. This trend seems to override the preconception among some policy makers that, it is difficult to provide services to pastoralists or implement livelihood activities for instance those mediated through groups due to mobility and the lack of conducive or supportive environment (Hesse, 2006).

The information from well-functioning pastoral community groups can be used to improve the functioning of poorly performing groups as well as strengthen performance of better-functioning groups through peer-to-peer learning. Improved outcomes from groups would lead to improved household incomes and food security among group members. Well-functioning

groups would lead to increased sales and in turn revenue to government (county and national) through collections at the markets.

There are development agencies that are supporting or interested to support community groups in pastoral areas but they are in search of better ways to do so. These agencies will use the evidence from this study to revise or develop their strategies.

Findings from this study will contribute to the achievement of global policies such as the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – specifically, goal number 1 (end poverty) and number 2 (end hunger) (United Nations, 2016). There are continental/regional policies, for instance, Agenda 2063 (African Union, 2015), AU policy on pastoralism (African Union, 2010), and Malabo declaration (African Union, 2014), and national policies such as the ASAL policy (Government of Kenya, 2017), and sub-national/county policies such as the Marsabit County Integrated Development Plan (County Government of Marsabit, 2018) that are in support of pastoral collective livestock marketing but lack specificities on what (and how) can be done. It is important that strategies related to these policies are informed by local dynamics and preferences/perceptions – information from this study will guide development of context-specific strategies particularly for the pastoral northern Kenya,

The findings of this study will also contribute to scientific discourse by increasing an understanding of how income-generating pastoral community groups in general and group marketing of sheep and goats in particular evolves and functions in pastoral societies.

1.4 Research objectives

1.4.1 Broad objective

The overall objective of the study was to analyze the evolution and functionality of income-generating pastoral community groups, particularly those involved in the marketing of sheep and goats.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study were to:

1. Analyze the history, drivers of formation, and activities of income-generating pastoral community groups in the study area;
2. Analyze the social and governance characteristics of the well-functioning income-generating pastoral community groups and their socio-cultural context;
3. Characterize group marketing of sheep and goats and analyze the marketing strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome challenges affecting their functionality.

1.5 Research questions

1. Why and how have income-generating pastoral community groups emerged and evolved in the past four decades in Marsabit South District? What are the characteristics and income generating (economic) activities of the existing pastoral community groups?
2. What social and governance characteristics matter for the well-functioning of income-generating pastoral community groups? How are these characteristics relating to the way the community in the study area (Rendille community) is socio-culturally organized and governed?

3. How do groups undertake collective marketing of sheep and goats? I.e. which forms of marketing and which activities prevail? How do well-functioning groups overcome the various challenges that affect functionality of group marketing of sheep and goats? What strategies do well-functioning groups use to minimize economic losses so as to increase profitability of group marketing of sheep and goats?

1.6 The logical framework of the study

The framework presented in Figure 1.1 conceptualizes that what is learnt from the history and drivers of group formation and what makes some groups to function better than others in the same environment can be used as lessons and best practices for promotion of sustainable collective marketing of sheep and goats. It illustrates how the different study objectives are connected.

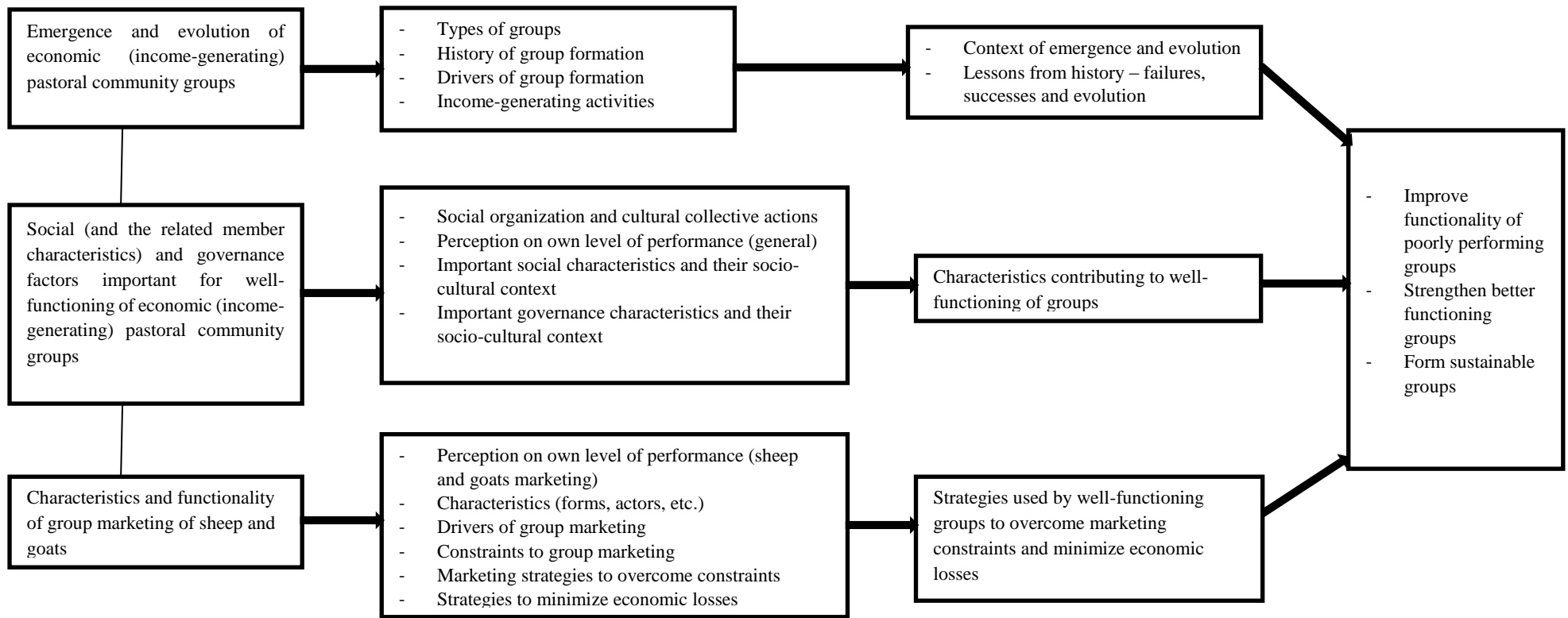


Figure 1.1: Evolution and functionality of income-generating pastoral community groups in the study area

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Collective action and community groups

2.1.1 Definitions

2.1.1.1 Collective action

Broadly, collective action may be defined as “action taken by a group (either directly or on its behalf through an organization) in pursuit of members’ perceived shared interest” (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Collective action occurs when individuals or local people voluntarily cooperate as a group and coordinate their behavior in solving a common problem (Scott and Marshall, 2009). The common problem can be social or economic (Grootaert, 2001). Other definitions exist (Ostrom, 1992) but the key elements in each of them are: involvement of a group of people; shared interest within the group; common action in pursuit of shared interest; should be voluntary; clearly-defined boundary (rules of exit and entry are defined) (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2004).

Collective action can occur spontaneously or through facilitation by an outsider. It can be a sporadic or one-time event (non-institutionalized) or long term (institutionalized). For one-time event such as responding to a disaster like floods, collective action may be created to serve a temporary need and therefore its dissolution, or lack of activity, may not be a bad thing or should not be misconstrued as failure (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2004). Institutionalization (formalization) of collective action depends on the objective. The advantage of institutionalization is that it reduces transaction costs of renegotiation as well as uncertainty

but it is also disadvantageous in the sense that it makes collective action less flexible and adaptable (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2004).

The level or social unit at which collective action takes place can be – group, community, inter-community, inter-group, multi-stakeholder process and national federation or cooperative (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2004). Based on levels, collective action can be one-tier (at group level), two-tier (at association level), or three or four-tier or multi-tiered (at federation or cooperative level) (Datta, 2007). Successful federations are formed by working only with strong associations and the groups in their membership. Each group is represented at the association and each association is represented at the federation by their respective leaders (Datta, 2007).

2.1.1.2 Community groups

A group is defined as an institution of collective action or a membership-based form of collective action. The term group suggests “a notion of togetherness: common aims and potential for concerted action” – that means people pooling and managing resources together to pursue an agreed objective (Porter and Lyon, 2006) or achieve a set of goals (Chen *et al.*, 2006). A group is a means of achieving what would otherwise not be achieved individually (Forsyth, 2006).

Several terminologies have been used in development studies literature to describe community groups. These include grass root organizations or community-based organizations (De Weerd, 2001), local development groups (Porter and Lyon, 2006), membership-based organizations (Chen *et al.*, 2006), community-based self-help groups (Desta *et al.*, 2006), among others. The contexts within which these terminologies are used or objectives are pursued differ (social advocacy, provision of services, income generation, among others) but the meaning of the different terminologies is the same – the use of group-based approach at community level to

undertake activities for the benefit of members and by extension the entire community. Community groups differ in objective from the informal non-membership socio-cultural collective actions or groupings within the community that form part of the pastoral culture whose purpose is to pool efforts to address challenges such as insecurity or pool labour for herding and watering of livestock and in cultural ceremonies, among other cultural uses (Coppock and Desta, 2013).

2.1.2 Roles or uses of community groups

Globally, there are documented experiences on the role and usefulness of community groups in various domains such as natural resource management – water (irrigation), forests, communal/rangeland grazing (Agrawal and Ostrom, 2001), and rural development projects (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001). Other activities where community groups have been used include crop agricultural practices² (Shiferaw *et al.*, 2006), dairy marketing (Holloway *et al.*, 2004; Staal *et al.*, 1997), livestock production (breeding) (Ahuya *et al.*, 2001), and livestock marketing (Kyeyamwa *et al.*, 2008). Self-help groups for income generation (including acquiring or running physical assets such as rental houses and vehicles for hire) and microcredit are common (Place *et al.*, 2004). Collective action has also been practiced for social support (for offsetting funeral and wedding expenses, for spiritual wellbeing, to assist members during hardships, for prayers) (Place *et al.*, 2004). Other roles include neighbourhood crime prevention, political action, social movements, among others. In all the above-mentioned uses, collective action plays a key role in developing institutions, mobilizing resources, information sharing, among others.

² Integrated pest management, horticulture, acquire farm inputs, crops processing and marketing, acquire information

In the pastoral areas of sub-Saharan Africa, there are a few documented examples of the use of community groups. Community groups have been used to mitigate the impacts of droughts, build the social, human, and economic capital of pastoral women (Coppock *et al.*, 2011), and promote income generation enterprises and saving and loans schemes (Nduma *et al.*, 2001; Smith, 1998). Other uses include management of resource-based conflict (Haro *et al.*, 2005), supply of veterinary inputs (Leyland *et al.*, 2014), livestock marketing (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Desta *et al.*, 2006; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011), and milk marketing (Aklilu *et al.*, 2013; Herren, 1990).

2.1.3 History and drivers of community groups

In the sub-Saharan Africa, the history of groups dates back to pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times and this is attributed to the efforts of the church, government and non-governmental organizations (Chitere, 1988; Coppock and Desta, 2013; Porter and Lyon, 2006). Several context-specific endogenous and exogenous factors (both at micro and macro level) influenced the emergence (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010; White and Runge, 1995).

Renewed interest in groups resurfaced in the late 1980s and early 1990s during the structural adjustment policies by the World Bank and other donors (Grootaert, 1998). This saw donors in collaboration with NGOs and local organizations funding and being pre-occupied with large projects aimed at group formation and development for different purposes such as socio-economic rural development (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001; Mutinda, 2017; Uphoff, 1993) and poverty reduction (Chen *et al.*, 2006), especially among the poor. One of the pioneer donor-funded activities through groups is the savings and credit schemes which were introduced using the Asian model for microcredit or operated as the Yunus Grameen-type groups (Khandker *et al.*, 1995). Besides donor-supported groups, households have been

observed to self-organize to solve certain problems at household or community level that require collective action (Collier, 1998; Narayan and Pritchett, 1999).

2.1.4 Organization of community groups

The elements commonly considered in the organization of a group are the member characteristics, structural aspects, and external environment, as described below. Characteristics associated with these elements are often used to classify groups. How these elements resonate in community groups may differ depending on context and the prevailing situation.

2.1.4.1 Member characteristics

Literature reveals member characteristics that are commonly considered in the formation of a group. They include member characteristics associated with social factors age, gender, education, location, wealth, religion, kinship or ethnicity, occupation, household size, marital status, previous active membership in groups, skills and abilities of members, among others (Adong *et al.*, 2013; Asante *et al.*, 2011; Bernard and Spielman, 2009; Fischer and Qaim, 2012; Kabugua, 2014; Koech, 2014; Mbogo, 2015; Meier zu Selhausen, 2015). The paragraphs below explain how the different social factors and the related member characteristics reverberate in groups and how they influence group functioning, as revealed by literature.

With regard to age, middle age is the most common and productive in groups (Koech, 2014; Mbogo, 2015). However, diverse age composition of group members has also been found to be important and positively influences group functioning (Place *et al.*, 2004).

Most groups are formed or dominated by women (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Meier zu Selhausen, 2015; Place *et al.*, 2004), with both married and widowed or divorced women participating in groups to access an alternative source of income to support their families (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Kabugua, 2014; Koech, 2014; Korir, 2013; Mbogo, 2015). This is partly attributed to external efforts to empower women socially and economically. However, men's groups and youth groups also exist, although it has been noted that men are not able to embrace the array of social and economic activities that women can do (Coppock and Desta, 2013).

Higher endowment with assets (being wealthier) positively influences group membership (Barham and Chitemi, 2009; Bernard and Spielman, 2009), with some groups being inclusive of the poor (Chen *et al.*, 2006; Coppock and Desta, 2013; Grootaert, 2001) while others do not (Bernard and Spielman, 2009). In some all-inclusive groups, the wealthier members reportedly contribute statutory fees for the poor (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016), an aspect that has been blamed for free riding (Baland and Platteau, 1998). Inequality in wealth has been found to have a non-linear or u-shaped relationship with collective action (Balasubramanian and Selvaraj, 2003). This means that participation in collective action, specifically contribution of labour, is significantly higher among the poor households compared to the rich.

It has been noted that, with better education, it is easy for a person to acquire skills, contribute to better management of groups and easily keep records. Education and literacy influence how groups can position themselves to access external support (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Kabugua, 2014; Korir, 2013; Makora, 2014) and better deal with complex tasks related to group work (Adong *et al.*, 2013; Bernard and Spielman, 2009; Fischer and Qaim, 2012; Wollni *et al.*, 2010).

Where other livelihood options (self or formal employment) are limited, studies have found that dependence on benefits from groups by households is more pronounced (Porter and Lyon, 2006). Opportunities such as off-farm occupations have been found to either burden (Adong *et al.*, 2013; Wollni *et al.*, 2010) or mutually reinforce group membership (Fischer and Qaim, 2012).

Due to the many responsibilities associated with a big household size, these households seek membership in groups to cater for them. The bigger household size also gives them the advantage of labour to pursue alternative livelihoods through groups (Bernard and Spielman, 2009; Koech, 2014).

Homogeneity of ethnicity facilitates collective action (Thorp *et al.*, 2005) while ethnic differences can impede development of trust or can be a source of misunderstanding, including exclusion of members of a certain ethnic group from benefits despite shared economic interests (Baland and Platteau, 1998; Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). Members of certain families or kinship ties can also be excluded from groups (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001).

Diversity in skills and capacities of members improves decision making towards better implementation of group activities (Harper, 1992; Place *et al.*, 2004). Previous membership in groups confers the capacity to envision and implement group activities in a better way and this plays a significant role in group performance (Korir, 2013; Makora, 2014; Mbogo, 2015).

2.1.4.1.1 Importance of homogeneity or heterogeneity of member characteristics

The characteristics of group members can be either homogeneous or heterogeneous (La Ferrara, 2002; Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). Association between homogeneity/heterogeneity of member characteristics and the level and impact of collective action is still contentious and

academic debates are on-going in many domains because of the variable causal relationships, non-uniform conceptualization and the mediating roles played by institutions (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). The absence of a consensus perpetuates the description of any collective dilemma as a tragedy of commons, public goods provision problem or prisoner's dilemma (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004), yet collective action contexts, situations, goods and services vary.

To illustrate polarization in arguments, pioneer studies on this subject (Oliver and Marwell, 1988; Olson, 1965) indicate that a higher degree of homogeneity is important for successful collective action. Commonality of characteristics (social, cultural or economic) increases predictability of cooperation thus facilitates collective action. These studies criticize heterogeneity as an impediment to development of trust, prevents cohesion and triggers conflict due to diverse interests.

However, recent studies of self-help groups (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016) and natural resource management projects (Baland and Platteau, 2007; Poteete and Ostrom, 2004; Varughese and Ostrom, 2001) have contested this view. According to these studies, groups can be homogeneous with regard to some member characteristics and heterogeneous on others but still perform well. Homogeneity or heterogeneity can either be a challenge or an opportunity for the group, thus should be viewed in context (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). The level and impact of homogeneity/heterogeneity on group performance differs depending on context and the type of collective good and service pursued – thus the importance of either homogeneity or heterogeneity can only be understood by seeking opinions or preferences of group members (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, in cases of problems resulting from heterogeneity, groups adopt certain actions or rules. This has been seen more in self-organized groups where members have the freedom to develop and modify their own rules depending on prevailing circumstances (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004).

2.1.4.2 Structural characteristics of community groups

Structural factors commonly considered in the formation of a group include group size, formalization/registration of the group, geographical location of the group (e.g. rural, urban), nature of objectives/activities, source of start-up capital e.g. entry fees, entity spearheading formation, seasonality or duration of cooperation, and the need for external support e.g. training. Studies suggest that, for better functionality of a group, the institutional or structural arrangements adopted should take into consideration the diversity of ecological conditions, socio-cultural values and norms, and local knowledge (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). Below is a description of how the different characteristics resonate in groups and how they influence group functioning, as revealed by literature.

Group size is still a controversial variable. Up to now, there is no consensus on “the turning point between small and large groups” (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). Some scholars argue for smaller groups. In their view, smaller groups are manageable (Koech, 2014; Muasya, 2013). Small group size increases the frequency of interaction, fosters higher levels of trust and thus increase prospects for successful collective action (Olson, 1965). However, other scholars have found that medium-sized groups perform better than either small or large groups (Agrawal and Goyal, 1997; Place *et al.*, 2004). Compared to smaller groups, larger groups may face higher transaction costs but can draw on more resources to engage in collective action especially in provision of public goods (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). In relation to performance, group size has been found to have a concave relationship (Agrawal and Goyal, 1997) or follows an inverted U-pattern (non-linear) or negatively correlated with collective action (Place *et al.*, 2004; Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). This means that the smaller the group, the higher the performance or level of collective action. To minimize polarized debates, studies suggest that, the influence of group size should be assessed and discussed in terms of context and the type of activity or resource around which collection action is organized (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004).

It has been noted that, it is easy for external agencies to recognize and work with formal or registered groups (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Porter and Lyon, 2006). They associate formalization and having a bank account with stability. Groups also see registration as a means to get external support such as funding and training (Coppock and Desta, 2013). However, according to Meinzen-Dick *et al.* (2004) “focusing only on formal organizations may miss the most important instances of collective action and may bias research, practice and policy towards communities or societies that are more likely to use formal organizations”. In addition, a range of informal groups have been found to exist and functioning well (Porter and Lyon, 2006).

Access to external training has been shown to facilitate access to information and allows a better understanding of importance of groups (Meier zu Selhausen, 2015) but can only be significant in group success if it is based on needs and the quality of the training is good (Makora, 2014; Muasya, 2013). Most capacity building efforts (training, study visits, coaching) by external agencies focus more on leaders than ordinary members (Coppock and Desta, 2013), an aspect that has been blamed for resentment (Datta, 2007). Additionally, external support, if not handled carefully, can lead to overdependence of groups on external agencies and in turn collapse of groups once support ends (Harper, 1992; Lyon, 2003).

A group having a specific purpose or objective enables setting up and prioritization of short and long-term investment plans. The group objective and the associated activities can either be social (support of needy members), for community support (e.g. building a school or a road, HIV/AIDS awareness) or economic (income generation) (Coppock and Desta, 2013). Community groups have either one or multiple objectives and activities. A group can start with one or multiple activities depending on capacity but it is recommended that, for manageability (Harper, 1992) and to optimize on synergy between activities (Chen *et al.*, 2006), a group should focus on one activity at the beginning and rope in other activities as it develops.

Furthermore, understanding seasonality of group activities is important in freeing up time for members to engage in household tasks (Lyon, 2003).

Studies have found that, multiple entities spearhead group formation. These include external agencies, community elites and leaders, and self-organization by members themselves (Coppock and Desta, 2013). Unlike externally-initiated groups that are formed based on blue prints, self-initiated groups resort to or utilize socio-cultural practices and norms in their formation and governance. They are in control of their operations and can easily shift membership, objectives, rules, and external alliances fairly rapidly in response to changing social, economic, and political conditions (De Weerd, 2001; Lyon, 2003). Self-initiated groups are reportedly often more successful than externally-initiated groups (Datta, 2007; Sondaal *et al.*, 2018).

2.1.4.3 Networking and linkages between groups and other stakeholders

A wider range of networks and linkages between peer groups at different levels (Coppock and Desta, 2013) and between groups and other stakeholders (state and private sectors) (Barham and Chitemi, 2009; Devaux *et al.*, 2009; Uphoff, 1993) have been associated with better outcomes. Networking, for instance, allows groups to access processes of innovation such as technology, an aspect that can enhance operationalization of group objectives (Devaux *et al.*, 2009; Uphoff and Wijayarathna, 2000). Particularly for marketing groups, their relations with external markets is important (Obare *et al.*, 2006). However, some external affiliations are detrimental. For example, political affiliations have been associated with collapse of many groups (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016; Harper, 1992; Ostrom, 1990).

2.1.5 Governance of community groups

Key elements commonly considered in the governance of groups include leadership, by-laws, decision-making, transparency and accountability including record keeping (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Muasya, 2013; Shiferaw *et al.*, 2006). Embedding these elements to the traditional governance structures and rules has been found to positively influence group performance (Agrawal, 2001). The importance of the different governance elements for group functioning and the forms of governance adopted or preferred by groups may differ depending on context and the prevailing situation. The paragraphs below explain how these elements play out in groups and how they influence group functioning, as revealed by literature.

With regard to leadership, effective leadership has been associated with success of community groups (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Forsyth, 2006; Kaganzi *et al.*, 2009) while poor leadership makes members lose trust in leaders and contributes to mismanagement or failure of the group (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Lyon, 2003). Effective leadership entails having processes and clear reasoning that define the leadership structure, tenure of officials, age and gender of officials, literacy of officials, past coordination and management experience of leaders, election procedures, and conflict resolution mechanisms adopted. For instance, some groups prefer female leaders as they are more sincere and less associated with corruption and other malpractices while other groups prefer male leaders as they can take risky decisions unlike female leaders (Datta, 2007). Experiences from past group activities particularly for leaders enhance the ability of a group to sustain action (Kaganzi *et al.*, 2009) and this has been found to positively correlate with performance (Lyon, 2003). Some groups prefer to choose leaders through elections as a sign of democracy (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Koech, 2014) while others prefer consultation and consensus based on a clearly defined criteria (Cleaver, 2002). Such criteria include social reputation and trustworthiness, among others. Some groups prefer to change leaders after a period (Koech, 2014) while others may prefer to

maintain their leaders for the whole duration of the group. It is important for a group to have mechanisms of intra-group conflict resolution (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009) but it is argued that the effectiveness of such mechanisms largely depends on how they are drawn from or adapted to that of traditional institutions (Lyon, 2003).

Existence of rules and sanctions has been shown to govern how members relate, thus the overall group behavior (Lyon, 2003; Thorp *et al.*, 2005) and performance (Muasya, 2013). Rules and sanctions are expressed in the form of procedures, roles and norms (Forsyth, 2006; Uphoff and Wijayaratra, 2000) and the way they are expressed varies spatially and between groups (Porter and Lyon, 2006). They are enforced either explicitly through applying penalties or through less overt ways such as peer pressure and shaming (Lyon, 2003). They play a role in enhancing transparency and accountability and an oversight committee (a self-monitoring mechanism) monitors adherence to them by members and officials (Lyon, 2003). For a group to function well, they are strictly applied (Abala, 2013; Harper, 1992) and their development and modification done by all members (Ostrom, 1990). However, whether these by-laws are memorized by members or written in a constitution depends on a number of factors. For example, external agencies demand a written constitution as a precondition for external support.

Success of groups has been associated with inclusiveness of all members in decision-making (Kaganzi *et al.*, 2009) and adaptation of decision-making processes to cultural forms (Lyon, 2003). All-inclusive decisions are commonly taken in regular group meetings (Koech, 2014). Inclusive decision-making enhances cohesion among members and positively influences performance (Muasya, 2013). On the other hand, leaders excluding other members from decision-making leads to mistrust and suspicion (Datta, 2007; Harper, 1992).

2.1.6 Socio-cultural embeddedness and local views on the formation and governance of community groups

Malfunctioning or collapse of many community groups in the rural Africa after external support has ended has been associated with the use/prescription of aspatial³ blueprints or uniform concepts or theories/principles of ideal institutions in their design, formation and governance (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016; Cleaver, 2002; Datta, 2007; Porter and Lyon, 2006; Sondaal *et al.*, 2018). Groups are formed with limited contextual and conceptual understanding of social capital factors that may either disfavor or favour group action or cooperation such as trust, sanctions and cultural norms. For instance, social factors associated with member characteristics such as wealth, level of education, and gender influence variation in the group norms (Poteete and Ostrom, 2004). Social and cultural norms differ within and between agro-ecological regions and communities (Cleaver, 2002; Porter and Lyon, 2006).

Furthermore, as vividly elaborated by Porter and Lyon (2006), external agencies rarely consult with potential beneficiaries in the introduction of groups even when it is glaring that socio-cultural and ecological differences exist. Experiences of grass-root development workers and local organizations are often ignored. Worse still, external agencies position programs to their discourse although impractical⁴ and focus more on rapid disbursement of funds and outputs such as the number of groups formed than on impact.⁵ The consequence of not respecting and supporting the views of local people is that communities become disillusioned and do not continue with groups once external support ends. Meaning that, development funds that were invested in the process have been wasted.

³ Do not take into consideration context in terms of culture, space and place. They ignore spatial differences or realities from the diverse nature of political, social and cultural contexts and geographical locations. It is a “one shoe fits all” approach yet reality may differ from design. Standardized institutional design principles are used yet what works well for one group may not work in others.

⁴ Discourse such as interest in only formal groups; focus more on capacity building of leaders than other members

⁵ Impacts such as welfare of members, spontaneous diffusion of group approach, build-up of social capital, etc.

As a remedy, studies have suggested that sustainability of groups and institutions can be increased if the way they are organized and governed is drawn from or adapted/embedded to traditional social life, culture, social organization and norms (Cleaver, 2002) and local people's views are respected (Datta, 2007; Porter and Lyon, 2006). Moreover, groups are embedded in the wider social structure and interactions that are traditionally inherent in a society (Forsyth, 2006) and the more their organization relate to this reality enhances their performance (Agrawal, 2001). Thus, the forms of collective action practiced as well as their functionality differs depending on the activity/domain and context (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010). These authors recommend that such contextual differences should be taken into consideration when promoting sustainable community groups.

Particularly in the traditional African setting, organizations that are similar to the contemporary collective-action groups have existed and functioned since time immemorial. These organizations have traditionally relied on kinship and other forms of reciprocal relationships (Gabre-Madhin, 2001). These traditional elements have been used to facilitate effective implementation and sustainability of contemporary collective action processes and interventions. For instance, among the Borana pastoralists of southern Ethiopia, the success of the savings and loans schemes was attributed to their adaptability to the local cultural practices on social support, resource management, and loaning and repaying of livestock. Success was also attributed to the deep rooted culture of reserving grazing, water and other essential resources for use in difficult times such as drought (Tezera *et al.*, 2008).

2.1.7 Limitations of application of group approach

Collective action is not panacea for every situation or a "one shoe fits all" approach. Its application may not be feasible or done in the same way for all products, activities and settings as demonstrated by the evidence below. However, donors and NGOs have used the group

approach to justify popular concepts such as participation and perpetuate global policies such as liberalization and structural adjustments in local development despite inappropriateness of the approach in certain contexts.

Experiences in crop agriculture reveal that collective action is necessary for certain products and is not feasible in some. For instance, it was found that collective action is more necessary for perishables than for staples due to the high risks associated with sophisticated and costly storage and transportation requirements (Kaganzi *et al.*, 2009; Schwentesius and Gómez, 2002; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003) as well as high capital and technical requirements (Markelova *et al.*, 2009), thus cannot be successfully marketed by individual producers.

Again, in agricultural marketing, pooling efforts or products for collective bargaining for better prices is difficult where every producer can easily sell individually. This is common in easier to reach local markets where there are smaller logistical hurdles and scale issues in accessing them (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010). Cooperation only becomes necessary and sustained when producers want to reach larger profitable high-end markets (urban domestic⁶, regional and international/export) where the need for organic products is high, marketing chains are longer and competition from domestic, regional and international producers, and companies is high (Barrett, H. *et al.*, 2001, 2002; Markelova *et al.*, 2009). High logistical issues and coordination costs, high certification, safety and quality standards, and the need to reach the necessary scale to supply the desired quantity of products also characterize these markets (Browne *et al.*, 2000; Kaganzi *et al.*, 2009; Narrod *et al.*, 2009; Okello *et al.*, 2007; Schwentesius and Gómez, 2002; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003) and push producers to organize around marketing.

⁶ These include supermarkets, restaurants, hotels

Another example is that, in Ghana, under a project to promote intermediate means of transport and agro-processing equipment, “people in four out of five villages were strongly in favour of individual than group activities” (Porter and Lyon, 2006). The view of the community was that individuals operated and maintained the equipment better than groups and group ownership of equipment was prone to disputes over the use. However, the project was implemented as a group activity despite resistance from potential beneficiaries, just because it was easy for external agencies to work with groups.

While working with groups in Ghana, Lyon (2003) found that the successful group activities were those where groups allowed or supported individual members to undertake own businesses and manage their own income and only come together for credit, training and marketing support/information. This means that collective action can take different forms in different contexts depending on the types of activities. The changing economic and social opportunities can also influence differences and changes in the forms.

As reported by Porter and Lyon (2006), group approach is difficult where it is difficult to build up trust and relationships, apply sanctions in case of default, where people have greater self-reliance (individualism), where there is bad history or experiences of group activity, and where members are highly mobile. Cooperation is more pronounced and strong in areas where local livelihood options are limited.

The foregoing implies that, prior to the launch of a collective action intervention, the necessity of collective action should be established through an assessment. Some of the elements to consider in the assessment include natural properties and market-related characteristics of the product, agro-ecology, availability of livelihood options, past experiences of group activities (successes and failures), and culture (Agrawal, 2001; Markelova and Mwangi, 2010; Porter and Lyon, 2006; Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995).

2.2 Collective action (community groups) and pastoral livestock marketing

2.2.1 Collective action in pastoral livestock marketing

Collective action in pastoral livestock marketing involves the use of organizations primarily formed by pastoral livestock producers for purposes of facilitating marketing of their livestock. In tandem with other producer marketing groups (Stockbridge *et al.*, 2003), these organizations are grounded on the principle of collective action among potential beneficiaries and are expected to perform diverse functions such as analysis, advocacy, economic (production and marketing), and local development.

Several terminologies have been used to define livestock marketing groups in pastoral areas – they include pastoral livestock marketing groups (PLMGs) (Aklilu, 2004), pastoral producer groups (PPGs) (Aklilu and Catley, 2009), and community-based livestock marketing organizations (Ngutu *et al.*, 2011). However, the terminology commonly used is the PLMG. In the Eastern and the Horn of Africa, few examples of particularly externally supported PLMGs have been reported in northern Kenya (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011), north-eastern Kenya (Aklilu and Catley, 2009), and the Borana Plateau of southern Ethiopia (Aklilu, 2004; Desta *et al.*, 2006).

2.2.2 Constraints to pastoral livestock marketing and the need for collective marketing

Extensive literature on pastoral livestock marketing reveals that pastoralists' desire to participate more actively or sustainably in livestock markets or respond most actively to market opportunities is hindered by social, economic, ecological (environmental), infrastructural, policy-related, and institutional constraints (Aklilu, 2008; Aklilu *et al.*, 2013; Arasio, 2004; McPeak, 2006; Pavanello, 2010).

Specifically, some of these constraints include fluctuation in demand (Roba *et al.*, 2017), high transportation and transaction costs (Barrett, C. *et al.*, 2005; Watson and Binsbergen, 2008),

unreliable market information (Bailey *et al.*, 1999; Roba *et al.*, 2018), high and multiple taxes, weak access to credit services, and poor road and communication infrastructure (Aklilu *et al.*, 2002). Others include low and unpredictable prices (Barrett, C. *et al.*, 2003; Little *et al.*, 2014), long distance to markets leading to death of animals and weight loss during transportation (Nunow, 2000), high costs of herding/holding animals, mortality due to diseases, predation, feed shortages, and long chains of brokers (Aklilu, 2008). Insecurity (Watson and Binsbergen, 2008) and droughts (Little *et al.*, 2014) are also common constraints.

These marketing risks lead to low annual sales, reduced period of operation in a year, tying of capital for longer periods, low commercial livestock off-take rates from pastoral areas, and low economic returns to pastoral producers (Aklilu *et al.*, 2002). Aklilu *et al.* (2013) reported the price to pastoral producers as 50% or less than the terminal market prices within the country, and considerably less for international markets. Overall, the resilience of pastoralists and the pastoral production system as well as pastoral livelihoods are undermined. As noted by Desta *et al.* (2006), such marketing risks combined can act to gradually and effectively sideline the pastoralists from active participation in the livestock marketing chain. These barriers are more pronounced in the remote pastoral areas where government service delivery is poor, supporting private institutions are lacking, and where there are feeble rural-urban linkages due to poor infrastructure (Aklilu *et al.*, 2002).

In spite of these challenges, pastoralists are regularly selling livestock, indicating the importance of livestock marketing to their livelihoods. Additionally, livestock trade in pastoral areas has continued to evolve for decades to suit the prevailing situations. Contrary to the past narratives that labelled pastoralists as either selling very few animals or are irrationally attached to livestock either for cultural status or other social commitments (Gulliver, 1958), there is an

increasing trend of commercialization/commoditization of livestock in pastoral areas (Nunow, 2000).

The impact of marketing constraints is also felt at the macro-economic level of the country. Aklilu *et al.* (2013) noted that, under the current level of marketing losses, Kenya may not be able to achieve its plans to increase domestic meat consumption, raise export revenues from domestic and export trade in live animals and meat products, and to boost economic growth and development, given that it is already 25-30% deficient in meat.

To deal with these barriers to market entry or market imperfections, livestock producers in the farming (Kyeyamwa *et al.*, 2008) and pastoral areas (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011) have resorted to or have been supported to work as groups. In the past four decades, development practitioners, donors, and policy makers have promoted producer organizations and collective action as a valid development strategy for market access (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010), but with more focus on poor small-scale farmers (Hernandez, 2009; Okello *et al.*, 2007). Producer groups have been shown to allow small-scale farmers to create economies of scale, strengthen negotiation power and position in the market, negotiate for better prices, and access lucrative markets and other services such as training, value addition, market intelligence/information, credit, among others (Schraeder, 2010).

2.2.3 The benefits of collective marketing

The type of benefits accrued from acting collectively can be specific to an activity or can cut across activities. Benefits can be realized at individual/household level, group level, or community level (Place *et al.*, 2004), and can be short or long term (Forsyth, 2006).

Benefits can be direct or indirect (Weinberger and Jutting, 2001). Both members and non-members can benefit from groups but not evenly, with members being given priority and higher benefits (Lyon, 2003). In cases where members' access to group resources is restricted for too

long, members gradually abandon groups and pursue personal aspirations. Members sometimes over-expect from groups but it is important to note that there is a limit to what collective action can achieve (Coppock and Desta, 2013).

2.2.3.1 Marketing collectively

Extensive studies in agricultural marketing have shown that there are advantages of marketing collectively. They include improved access to or participation in markets, increased bargaining power, reduced time and cost of marketing (Lyon, 2003), reduced vertical and horizontal transaction costs of market exchanges⁷ (Barrett, C., 2008; Key *et al.*, 2000). By acting collectively, smallholder farmers have accessed new technologies (Key *et al.*, 2000), obtained the necessary market information (Kruijssen *et al.*, 2009), secured access to high value markets (Stockbridge *et al.*, 2003), and have overcome coordination problems (Poulton and Lyne, 2009; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003). Through producer groups, small-scale farmers aggregate their surplus output and achieve economies of scale that enable them to overcome volume problems, bypass marketing intermediaries, and bargain for better terms of trade (Barrett, C., 2008; Shiferaw *et al.*, 2008). Overall, these lead to increased returns to producers.

Dynamics at global level such as the demand for higher value and processed products have presented farmers not only with new opportunities but also with challenges of participating in market exchanges (Gehlhar and Regmi, 2005). For instance, challenges relate to penetrating stringent food safety and quality standards and requirements for certification applied in the international markets (Markelova *et al.*, 2009; Okello *et al.*, 2007) and supply requirements in domestic supermarkets (Hernandez, 2009; Schwentesius and Gómez, 2002; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003). In these markets, small-scale farmers (groups) do not only compete with their

⁷ Cost of searching, negotiating and enforcing contacts

cohort (local) large and medium farmers but also with farmers from other countries and the big domestic, regional, and international companies (Schwentenius and Gómez, 2002). Organizing around marketing has enabled farmers to penetrate these high-end or high-value markets (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010).

2.2.3.2 Benefits of groups at household level

At micro level, several benefits have been associated with groups (Coppock *et al.*, 2011; Isangula, 2012; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011). These include improved welfare of members as a result of increased returns – i.e. improved status and quality of life with regard to increased incomes⁸ and savings, education of children, healthcare, food security, clean and safe water. Other welfare benefits include asset building for example through restocking, acquisition of household equipment and modern living houses or rental premises and land. Groups also confer benefits such as employment in a group business, access to credit/loans for emergencies and to start or expand individual businesses, income to invest in animal health, access to training and extension services. Spontaneous diffusion of collective action initiatives to people in the neighboring areas and women social and economic empowerment and shifting wealth classes e.g. from poor to middle class has also been reported. Particularly with regard to social empowerment of women, groups have been shown to increase their personal confidence, improve their physical well-being and that of their families, enhance mental health, and reduce likelihood of violence from husbands (Coppock *et al.*, 2011; Isangula, 2012). There are also social benefits and they include allowing members of a group to meet and discuss issues other than those directly related to the group (Porter and Lyon, 2006) and social support in

⁸ For example, in the farming systems of rural Tanzania, investment in social capital (group membership) was found to have a five to eight-fold greater effect on household income compared to investments in human capital (e.g. formal education) (Narayan and Pritchett, 1999).

circumstances/events such as giving birth, funerals and weddings, and helping the poor, the sick, and the disabled (Coppock and Desta, 2013).

2.2.3.3 Benefits of groups at meso and macro levels

At meso and macro levels, marketing groups have been shown to contribute to food security, poverty reduction, higher productivity and income growth (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010), rural employment and reduction in rural-urban migration (Lyon, 2003) and overall economic growth and development (Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008). Groups fill the gap brought about by the state or market failures to provide essential public goods (Shiferaw *et al.*, 2008). They are a safety or insurance against risk where private sector and government does not provide (Coppock *et al.*, 2011). In remote rural areas, groups contribute to community development by empowering people to determine their own priorities and have greater control of their own livelihoods (Lyon, 2003). Groups are useful in reducing the costs of and promoting participation in community development and livelihood projects and improve access to the rural poor (World Bank, 2002).

2.2.4 Constraints to collective marketing (agricultural produce and livestock)

Despite the benefits, collective marketing has its own challenges. For instance, in agricultural marketing, challenges to collective marketing have been reported as lack of conducive environment (Barrett, C., 2008; Dorward *et al.*, 2009; Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008), production problems (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010), and challenges of accessing profitable high-value markets (Barrett, H. *et al.*, 2001; King and Venturini, 2005). The required conducive environment relates to provision of necessary market and marketing infrastructure and input subsidies that allow markets to develop (Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008) and introduction of effective policies and programs by government and other institutions (Dorward *et al.*, 2009) including

development of a legal framework between value chain actors (Portes and Landolt, 2000). Increasingly unpredictable weather patterns negatively affect agricultural production (Dorward *et al.*, 2009; Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008).

The eleven sheep and goats pastoral marketing groups in southern Ethiopia that were linked to exporters reportedly experienced problems related to marketing and project design and implementation (Aklilu, 2004; Desta *et al.*, 2006). Design and implementation problems included non-harmonized approach, groups being moved to an activity they were not confident about and familiar with (sheep and goats trading and export markets), and inadequate technical and directional support. With regard to marketing, groups could not withstand stiff competition from individual traders and could not reliably supply the specific sizes of animals required. There was delayed collection of animals and payments without prior information, something that tied the small working capital for long. Export market dynamics led to sudden cancellation of some consignments, subjecting groups to losses due to decline in body condition and mortality of animals – an aspect that led to erosion of trust between groups and exporters. Losses also resulted from feed shortages, predators, diseases, unexpected price fluctuations, high and multiple taxes and levies imposed by local governments, lack of access to livestock market information, drought, and conflict. Despite reports that groups did well initially, they later succumbed to the various implementation weaknesses and marketing risks. Some groups, traders, and individual producers saw this livestock marketing chain as highly risky and switched to activities such as cattle trading in domestic markets that they were familiar with. In some of the groups, members fell out and engaged in individual businesses such as buying and fattening of immature cattle. Such reactions from groups have partly attracted narratives and conclusions such as “not easy to transform pastoral producers to traders” (Aklilu, 2004) and “gains achieved can be rapidly eroded”(Desta *et al.*, 2006). Another old narrative referred

to by Coppock (1994) is that pastoralists are perceived as “traditionally unwilling or unable to engage in large scale, commercialized livestock trade”.

A pastoral producer group (PPG) supported by CARE Kenya in north-eastern Kenya to buy animals from villages and rural markets and sell in secondary markets or fatten in ranches miserably failed (Aklilu and Catley, 2009). This was mainly blamed on drought but also on implementation weaknesses such as project’s direct involvement in livestock transactions, flaws in design and implementation modalities, and lack of understanding of the local trade and group dynamics. An evaluation of two groups undertaking sheep and goats marketing in northern Kenya revealed lack of banking services nearby and livestock diseases as major constraints to group marketing (Ngutu *et al.*, 2011).

The few pastoral livestock marketing groups reported above in southern Ethiopia, northeastern and northern Kenya were largely initiated by external agencies as pilot projects and mainly targeted the poor.

2.2.5 Strategies to overcome challenges in collective livestock marketing

The foregoing reveals a myriad of challenges that affect collective marketing. Several suggestions to overcome these challenges have been suggested by technocrats in various studies and evaluations. These include the need for rigorous capacity building in terms of training, mentoring, study visits outside their environment, high-quality technical support, close monitoring by third parties (Aklilu, 2004; Desta *et al.*, 2006), and provision of capital (Ngutu *et al.*, 2011), among others. Although these suggestions from technocrats are relatively useful, there is little understanding of group functioning from the perspective of members, particularly their own endogenous strategies to address marketing constraints. As suggested by various studies, the responsibility to define what is required for a group to succeed should first

be given to members themselves (Harper, 1992; Kaufmann and Hülsebusch, 2015; Markelova and Mwangi, 2010). Failure to follow these suggestions has in the past resulted to poor performance of groups. For example, top-down technocratic prescriptions were associated with poor performance of cooperatives in the 1970s (Akwabi-Ameyaw, 1997; Hussi *et al.*, 1993; Lele, 1981; Lele and Christiansen, 1989).

2.3 Measurement of performance of groups

2.3.1 Common measures of performance

The success or performance of a group is measured in terms of achieving its planned goals including empowering members both financially and socially and sustaining itself as an entity financially (Crowley *et al.*, 2005; Lyon, 2003). Success has also been defined in terms of longevity of the institution (Agrawal, 2001) although other scholars have argued that a group can be disbanded within a short time once it has achieved its goal. In this case, disbandment cannot be viewed as failure (Chen *et al.*, 2006).

Achieving group goals depends on how the group as an entity and the individual members combine the available capabilities and livelihood assets (human, financial, physical, natural, and social) (Scoones, 1998). In reciprocal, impact is seen to strengthen these forms of capital. For instance, enhanced access to funds through groups (financial capital) leads to investment in physical capital or assets such as housing, and investment in human capital such as health and education (Coppock and Desta, 2013).

2.3.2 Challenges in measuring performance of groups

There are still challenges in measuring achievements in groups in the farming systems and natural resource management projects because of their diversity and dynamic nature, a situation that could be worse where limited research has been done such as in group initiatives in pastoral areas. For example, in their study of groups in the Kenyan highlands, Place *et al.* (2004) faced great challenges in “assessing performance of groups whose tasks are diverse, whose outputs may be components of larger and/or longer term goals, and whose activities involve variable timing of contributions and benefits”. They also faced a challenge of quantifying intangible benefits and attributing benefits to a specific activity as some benefits cut across activities that are undertaken at the same time. Measuring impact at individual or household level was also difficult where an individual belonged to more than one group. Getting information on disbanded/failed groups was difficult as individuals were reluctant to provide information – they were suspicious of the motives of researchers. As experienced by Agrawal (2001), variables that explain performance are many and interlinked and some do not lend themselves to measurement or quantification on a continuous scale. As a remedy, some researchers have opted to focus on a few variables (Agrawal, 2001) and to focus measurement of performance to one particular activity at a time (Place *et al.*, 2004).

There is also the debate of who is better placed to define elements that are important to measure (elements related to impact and explanatory variables) – whether it is the group members themselves or technocrats (Place *et al.*, 2004). This has led to some scholars using organizational self-assessment tools to measure performance of groups and the contributing factors (Schrader, 2010).

2.3.3 Organizational self-assessment: benefits and challenges

Organizational self-assessment, commonly applied under the framework of organizational performance assessment (OPA), has been widely used to understand deeply the performance of profit and non-profit organizations (Lusthaus, 1999). This methodology has also been applied to livelihood groups such as microfinance groups, water users associations, farmer or producer organizations, and cooperatives (Schrader, 2010). It involves the use of members and leaders of the organization to analyze honestly their own individual performance and that of the organization as a baseline to monitor the change process at regular intervals as well as to strategically plan and adapt to changing conditions and environments in the short and long term (Lusthaus, 2002). Performance targets, goals, and priorities for improvement are set (Herbel, 2012).

However, organizational self-assessment tools for farmer groups such as FORCE (Schrader, 2010) are based on questionnaires with pre-formulated statements developed by outsiders. Additionally, performance standards and indicators to measure are pre-formulated by outsiders based on national or scientific guidelines or benchmarks of a similar organization. Such approach ignores variations related to context, which are important in explaining group functioning in a particular locality (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016; Harper, 1992; Kaufmann and Hülsebusch, 2015; Markelova and Mwangi, 2010).

Furthermore, some scholars have raised concerns related to the inflexibility, the limited value, and the high cost of questionnaires in collecting information (Catley, 1999). Other concerns are that, questionnaires do not allow immediate analysis, interpretation of results, and informed decision-making. They can only be filled by a literate respondent or administered to an illiterate respondent by an enumerator, and it is difficult to ask follow up questions. Generally, respondents are not in control of the process. As an alternative, participatory approaches and methods have been proposed and used especially in rural communities characterized by high

illiteracy rates (Catley, 1999; Chambers, 1994; Sondaal *et al.*, 2018). Participatory methods act as a mirror and enable communities to quickly map out, visualize, and analyze immediately the results of an assessment. Some of these participatory methods include interviewing methods (open semi-structured interviews), visualization methods (mapping, seasonal calendars, transects, venn diagrams, timelines), and ranking and scoring methods (pairwise ranking, simple ranking, matrix scoring, proportional piling) (Catley, 1999).

2.4 Policy provisions relevant to pastoral collective livestock marketing in Kenya

2.4.1 Global policies

Several global policies have influenced the emergence of collective marketing in Kenya. For instance, based on experiences with formal cooperatives in Europe and North America in the early 20th century (Tubin, 1912), state-sponsored cooperatives were introduced in the Kenyan highlands immediately after Kenyan independence. Their role was to enhance decentralized farmers' participation in agricultural credit, input and commodity markets. At this time, marketing groups in the farming areas were reorganized into cooperatives and associations in order to increase access to markets and market information, better access to services such as capital from commercial financial institutions and increase bargaining power and position in the trade (Akwabi-Ameyaw, 1997; Heyer, 1976; Hussi *et al.*, 1993; Lele, 1981; Lele and Christiansen, 1989). However, no information can be found about extension of these efforts to the pastoral areas in support of marketing of their main livelihood resource, livestock.

Another example of a global policy is where, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that aimed to cut public recurrent expenditures and encourage or support provision of goods and services by the private sector (Dorward *et al.*, 2005; Jayne *et al.*, 2002; Shiferaw *et*

al., 2006). Because of these policies, many sub-Saharan countries liberalized their economies and developed market-led poverty reduction strategies. In Kenya, livestock services were among the first services targeted for privatization under structural adjustment programs, including liberalization of livestock trade (Leyland *et al.*, 2014). However, it is difficult to find evidence of implementation and impact of these policies and programs in pastoral areas. In case something was done, the situation might have been similar to that in the rural farming areas where it was found that structural adjustment programs and trade liberalization did not substantially benefit the small scale-farmers far from markets (Barrett, C., 2008; Toenniessen *et al.*, 2008).

2.4.2 National and county policies

Over time, the Kenyan national government has developed policies for promotion and support of livestock marketing organizations including cooperative societies and producer/trader marketing groups in order to increase access to markets by pastoralists. These policies have been advanced in the recent past by devolved county governments.

For instance, section 185 and Article 43.1c of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 provides opportunities for exploitation of livestock resource for enhancing livelihoods and food security (Government of Kenya, 2013). The Marsabit County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) 2018-2022 plans to promote formation and strengthening of cooperatives and other marketing organizations to facilitate marketing of livestock and livestock products and improve producers' bargaining power (County Government of Marsabit, 2018). The National Livestock Policy (Sessional Paper No. 2 of 2008) and the draft revised livestock policy underscores the important role of marketing organizations including cooperative societies and other

producer/trader marketing groups in improving bargaining power (Government of Kenya, 2019).

The Kenya Veterinary Policy 2015 pledges support for regulation of sanitary, phytosanitary and traceability measures along the entire meat value chain to ensure safety of animal products (Government of Kenya, 2015). Chapter 4:4.4.2iv and chapter 5:5.4.3 of the Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 on the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands prioritizes investment in livestock production and marketing as a measure to strengthen climate resilience of arid and semi-arid communities (Government of Kenya, 2012a). Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, 2012 (Page 50) envisages the establishment of the Kenya Livestock Marketing Board (Government of Kenya, 2012b). Other supportive policies include the Livestock and Livestock Products Marketing Board Bill of 2019, Agriculture Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020, and the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands, 2017. However, there are weaknesses in these policy statements. Strategies therein are non-contextualized and less supported by specific evidence generated from consultations with stakeholders in the pastoral areas.

Such weaknesses in policy and strategies for improving pastoral collective livestock marketing have implications at different levels, and hence their impact on actual performance of the livestock sector. For example, under the current policy environment, the desired impact of collective livestock marketing in terms of reducing marketing losses and increasing returns to livestock producers may be less achieved. In addition, pastoral livestock marketing groups may not take advantage of the growing opportunities in the national, regional/continental, and international trade that require that they merge into cooperatives or associations to increase their bargaining power and penetration of markets. Policy interventions such as establishment of market infrastructure have been found to have little or no impact on pastoral producers'

participation in livestock markets and on commercial off-take levels (Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Bekele and Aklilu, 2010). An empirical gap exists in literature on the impact of most of the policy pronouncements. There is need therefore, to develop evidence-based context-specific strategies around policies for sustainable promotion of pastoral collective livestock marketing, particularly in consultation with actors in the livestock supply chain.

2.5 Theoretical background: concepts and theories of collective action

This study and the methodology adopted in the respective objectives derive their foundations and theoretical background from various theories and concepts that relate to collective action, as illustrated in the respective chapters of this thesis (Chapter 3 to 5). These include organizational theory, institutional theory, structure-conduct-performance concept, institutional bricolage/crafting concept, social capital concept, defiance theory, among others. Organizational theory primarily focuses on how groups are formed, governed, evolve and maintained (Olson, 1965; Ostrom, 1990, 1992) and is relevant to all the objectives of this study.

The second objective of this study is based on the institutional theory of organizations which stipulates how beliefs, rules, norms, and symbolic elements shape the establishment and spread of organizational forms, design features and practices (Berthod, 2016).

The Structure-Conduct-Performance (S-C-P) concept of the industrial organization theory introduced by Bain (1959) was used to construct the logical framework of this study. This concept postulates that relationship exists between structural characteristics of a market and the behaviour (conduct) of market participants and that their behaviour in turn influences the performance of the market. In relation to collective action, it means that several factors influence the structure of groups, which in turn influence the conduct of groups (the process of collective action) and hence performance outcomes (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2004).

Institutional bricolage implies how mechanisms for collective action are borrowed or constructed from existing institutions (including how they are socially organized and sanctioned), culture, norms, customs, social life/relationships and practices, traditions and styles of thinking (Cleaver, 2002). It involves drawing on or adapting these mechanisms to new purposes such as those mediated through groups. This leads to a blend of traditional and modern mechanisms resulting in “derived or mixed origin” institutions. This concept can be used to transform weak institutions into stronger ones through an active process of institutional crafting. Crafting is “a continuous evolutionary process” of developing an effective institution by drawing from culture, social structure and social capital (Cleaver, 2002). This concept together with the social capital concept described below informed the second objective of this study.

Social capital has been defined as “the shared knowledge, understanding, norms, rules and expectations about patterns of interactions that groups of individuals bring to a recurrent activity” (Ostrom, 2000:19). Social capital has several features that have been widely used to construct or craft effective and beneficial collective actions. These features are divided into two forms, structural (tangible) and cognitive (intangible) (Uphoff and Wijayaratna, 2000) and have been shown to differ depending on context (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001). They include social relations of trust, networks of reciprocity, beliefs, social and cultural norms and values, rules and enforcing sanctions, and social or kinship networks. Social capital concept also utilizes features such as traditional decision-making processes, division of traditional roles in a family or community and how traditional associational life takes place (e.g. singing at ceremonies, support at funerals, etc.).

Defiance theory states that similar sanctions have opposite or different effects in different social settings depending on the types of subjects and what they are involved in (Sherman, 1993). This theory helps to explain why, under the same conditions, some groups perform better (defy

the odds) while others perform poorly (succumb to the odds). The second and the third objective of the study borrowed ideas from this theory.

Collective action borrows concepts and methodologies from various disciplines and behavioural sciences such as psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, economics and political science (Nzuve, 1999).

CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF PASTORAL COMMUNITY GROUPS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT ACTORS IN NORTHERN KENYA

Abstract

Whereas there is abundance of information on community groups that engage in income generation in rural areas, where agriculture is practiced and in peri-urban areas, information on community groups in pastoral areas still remains scarce. However, in the recent past, a growing trend of income-generating groups has been observed in the pastoral areas in northern Kenya. This chapter therefore explored how these groups have emerged since Kenya's independence in 1963 to date, and which factors have contributed to their evolution. A full survey on 153 income-generating community groups was conducted and different types of interviews were used to elicit the perspectives of members of the community and external development actors. The findings on the history of group formation showed the roles played by different entities over time and reveal how and why various factors influenced group formation. The characterization of all the 153 income-generating groups found in Marsabit South District showed the diversity of the different group activities and yielded information on the reasons why groups usually engage in a combination of different income-generating activities. The collective group activities offer a possibility for income diversification for pastoralists despite labour constraints posed by key domestic and livestock-management tasks. The findings explain why community groups are increasingly gaining importance in pastoral areas, as a means to solve problems and fulfill diverse needs at household and community levels.

Keywords: community organizations, history of formation, income-generating activities, pastoralists, Kenya

3.1 Introduction

In sub-Saharan Africa, since the early 20th century, colonial governments (Hussi *et al.*, 1993; Lele, 1981; Lele and Christiansen, 1989; Porter and Lyon, 2006), African post-colonial governments (Hussi *et al.*, 1993; Lele and Christiansen, 1989) and donors such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Dorward *et al.*, 2005; Jayne *et al.*, 2002; Porter and Lyon, 2006; Shiferaw *et al.*, 2006) have promoted cooperatives, rural organizations and community groups as an option for socio-economic development particularly among the rural poor. Community groups have been variedly referred to in development studies literature as: membership-based organizations (Chen *et al.*, 2006), local development groups (Porter and Lyon, 2006), grass root organizations or community-based organizations (De Weerd, 2001). The objectives and contexts within which these terminologies are used differ (social advocacy, provision of services, income generation, among others) but the meaning of the different terminologies is the same – the use of group-based approach at community level to undertake activities for the benefit of members of a group and by extension the entire community.

Specific country examples indicate that in Ghana the history of community groups can be traced back to colonial times where traditional authorities and groups based on chieftaincy system were used to pursue commercial interests (Porter and Lyon, 2006). In Kenya, the history of community groups also dates back to colonial and post-colonial times (Bender, 1986; Chitere, 1988; Holmquist, 1984; Ngau, 1987; Thomas, 1988; Winans and Haugerud, 1977). The church, government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been instrumental in supporting the emergence and evolution of groups (Coppock and Desta, 2013). Groups are

formed for different purposes, for instance natural resource management (Kariuki and Place, 2005; Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2002; White and Runge, 1995), smallholder agricultural marketing (Adong *et al.*, 2013; Asante *et al.*, 2011; Bernard and Spielman, 2009; Coulter, 2007; Markelova and Mwangi, 2010; Meier zu Selhausen, 2015) and income generation (Gugerty, 2007), among others.

The emergence and evolution of community groups has been associated with various factors, which can be categorized as endogenous and exogenous factors, and have also been differentiated into micro (household) and macro (community) level factors (White and Runge, 1995). These factors are context-specific (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010) and have been studied in domains such as natural resource management (White and Runge, 1995) and smallholder agricultural marketing (Meier zu Selhausen, 2015). For community groups whose purpose is income generation, much information is available for the urban and/or peri-urban (Abala, 2013; Fafchamps and La Ferrara, 2012), rural and farming communities (Gugerty, 2007; Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Kabugua, 2014; Koech, 2014; Molesworth *et al.*, 2017; Place *et al.*, 2004; Shiferaw *et al.*, 2006).

In pastoral areas, substantial information can be found for community groups engaged in natural resource management in Mongolia (Schmidt, 2006; Undargaa, 2017) and in Africa (Nganga and Robinson, 2016). However, fewer examples are found for communal breeding (Ouma and Abdulai, 2009), animal health (Badejo *et al.*, 2017; Leyland *et al.*, 2014) or income generation. For the latter, there are a few such studies for southern Ethiopia (Aklilu, 2004; Coppock *et al.*, 2011; Coppock and Desta, 2013; Tezera *et al.*, 2008) and eastern Kenya (Mutinda, 2017). In northern Kenya, the first study on community groups in pastoral areas was conducted in the frame of the Pastoral Risk Management (PARIMA) project in 2006 (Coppock *et al.*, 2011; Coppock and Desta, 2013; Tezera *et al.*, 2008). Other than this, there is only the work of Ngutu *et al.* (2011), who studied livestock marketing activities of two community

groups in northern Kenya and the work of Aklilu and Catley (2009), who reviewed one pastoral livestock marketing group in north-eastern Kenya. These groups differ in objective from informal socio-cultural collective actions or groupings within the community that form part of the pastoral culture whose purpose is to pool efforts to address challenges such as insecurity or pool labour in cultural ceremonies, among other cultural uses.

Up to now, no comprehensive historical and situational analysis has been undertaken to understand the diversity and evolution of community groups in the pastoral areas of northern Kenya.

This study follows the conceptual framework used by White and Runge (1995) for understanding emergence and evolution of groups. Using a combination of different kinds of interviews, the study explores in detail why and how pastoral community groups emerge and evolve from the perspectives of the involved actors, i.e. group members and officials, community leaders, and staff of governmental and non-governmental organizations. It specifically analyses the history of group formation, establishes the prevalence and activities of existing groups and assesses factors influencing emergence and evolution of groups. An analysis of the history of groups and of the drivers of group formation serves as a starting point to understand the context within which groups emerged over time and to draw lessons from history for promotion of sustainable community groups in future.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Study area

This study was conducted in Marsabit South District of Laisamis sub-County, located to the south of the greater Marsabit County. Marsabit South District (Figure 3.1) is arid with an annual

average temperature of 20.1°C and average annual rainfall is around 200 mm (County Government of Marsabit, 2014). Laisamis sub-County has a land area of 20,290.5 km² and human population of 65,669 persons, predominantly Rendille/Ariaal pastoralists (County Government of Marsabit, 2014). Marsabit South District is prone to droughts and also characterised by high illiteracy and poverty levels, and poor infrastructure (roads, telecommunication, markets, water) (County Government of Marsabit, 2014). On account of the spatial and temporal variation in resources and unpredictable climatic conditions, pastoralism is the dominant livelihood activity and livestock production system in these areas (Kratli *et al.*, 2013). Pastoralists raise livestock for income through sale of livestock and livestock products, and for food (milk, meat), asset accumulation, and cultural obligations (Ministry of Livestock Development, 1991).

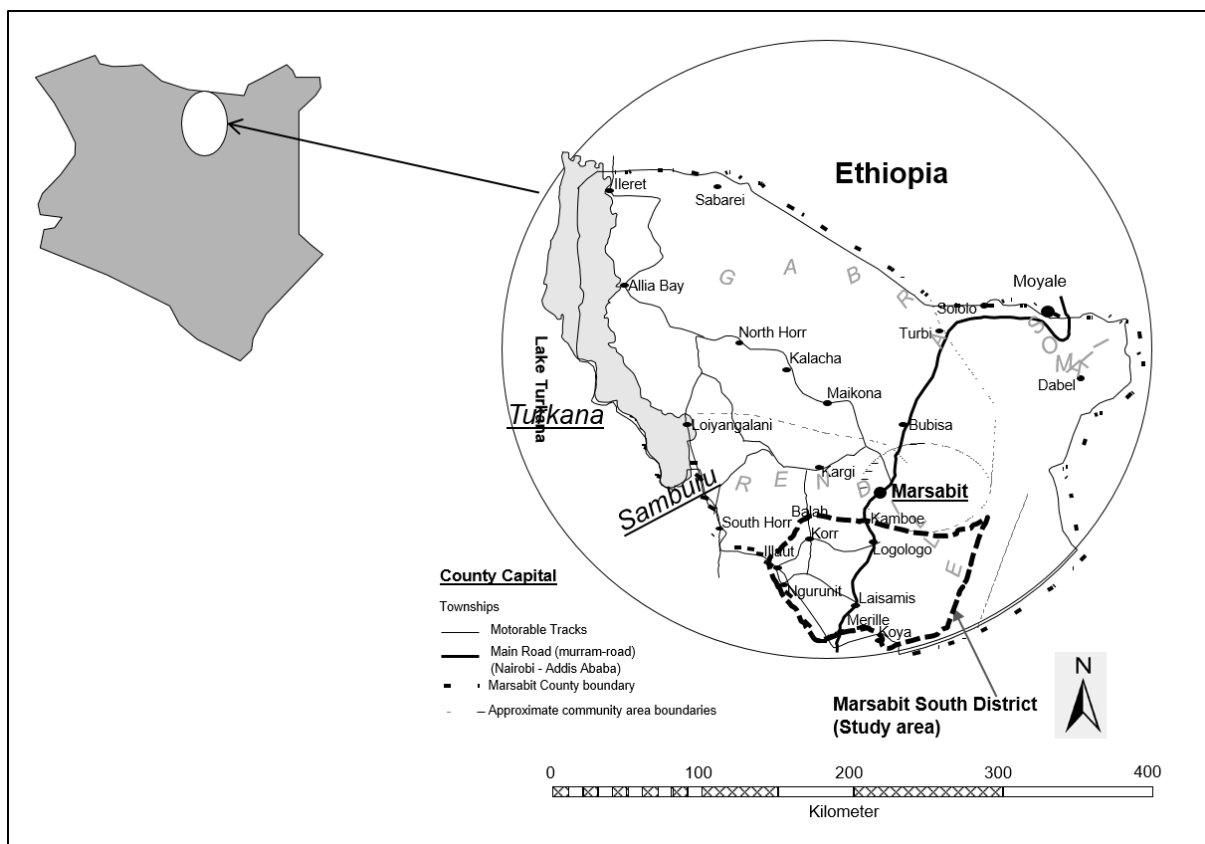


Figure 3.1: The study area (Marsabit South District)

3.2.2 Data collection

3.2.2.1 Group identification, survey, and selection for narrative interviews

Through a reconnaissance survey, a preliminary list of registered groups was obtained from the Department of Social Services at the sub-County and County headquarters. All the 10 chiefs and 24 sub-chiefs in Marsabit South District were consulted by the research team to get additional names (including contacts) of both formal and informal groups in their areas of jurisdiction. Staff of six government departments/ministries, four private sector groups, two church organizations and five NGOs that deal with groups in the study area were also consulted to get a list of groups they currently support or have supported in the past or that they know exist in the area. In this study, the term “NGO” includes also bilateral projects supported by governments of other countries e.g. German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ).

Using a snowball sampling approach, once a group was identified, its members were asked to identify other groups within and outside their area and for their contacts. Three livestock markets (Merille, Ilaut and Korr) were visited to identify existing groups operating in the markets. It was not possible to capture information on groups that were discontinued or collapsed. The records obtained from government and NGOs, did not show whether the groups were existent or not. Community members in particular were reluctant to disclose information on collapsed groups for fear of being labelled as traitors, as failure is associated with shame. Among the existing groups, the oldest were formed in the early 1980s.

The compiled list contained groups dealing with either community social-support activities only (these include activities such as environmental awareness/conservation, girl child education, campaigns against female genital mutilation, HIV/AIDS awareness, promotion of culture and heritage, hygiene and sanitation, and management of community water services),

income-generating activities (IGAs) only or both. A total of 153 groups that dealt with only income generation were identified.

A survey was conducted and in each of the 153 identified income-generating groups (IGGs), a group official was asked about the actors involved (men, women, etc.), gender composition of the group members, administrative division, geographical location, year of formation, entity involved in formation, registration status, size of membership disaggregated by gender, and types of activities undertaken.

3.2.2.2 Narrative interview with group officials

For narrative interviews, 10 groups were purposively selected from the 153 groups. The main selection criterion was their involvement in the trade of sheep and goats – this was due to the specific interest of the wider study in collective marketing of sheep and goats. Further selection criteria used yielded a sample covering different administrative divisions (Laisamis and Korr), geographical locations (urban, peri-urban and rural) and actors involved (women’s groups, mixed-gender groups, men-only groups, and youth groups). The profiles of selected groups are shown in Table 3.1.

In each group, the interview was done with a group official, either the chairperson or the secretary, to gather information on the history of group formation. Before starting the interview, the interviewee was asked consent for audio recording of the interview. The initial question asked was: “*Can you please give us the story of your group from the time you conceived the idea until now?*” Further steps of the interview were conducted according to Bauer (1996). The interviews took between 45 and 90 minutes.

Table 3.1: Profile of groups selected for narrative interviews.

Name of group	Division	Actor	Geographical location	Year of formation	Group size at the time of interview
Merille livestock traders group	Laisamis	Mixed	Urban	1998	17
Nairibi Morans	Laisamis	Youth	Rural	2012	20
Natala women's group	Laisamis	Women	Peri-urban	2009	14
Nkupulu women's group	Laisamis	Women	Rural	2009	19
Pambazuko women's group	Laisamis	Women	Rural	2005	15
Salamis women's group	Laisamis	Women	Peri-urban	2007	21
Balah self-help group	Korr	Mixed	Rural	2012	28
Jitto Jille women's group	Korr	Women	Rural	2011	30
Meriki women's group	Korr	Women	Rural	2014	10
Lorugo women's group	Korr	Women	Rural	2008	20

3.2.2.3 In-depth interviews with group officials

Using a guiding checklist, ten in-depth interviews were conducted with officials of the same groups involved in the narrative interviews to gather additional information on factors and key personalities/institutions that influenced the emergence and evolution of groups in the study area in the last 20 years. This was the time (between 1996 and 2015) that most of the existing groups were formed in the study area, including much involvement of NGOs, community elites/leaders and formation of self-initiated groups. For ease of recall of information, reference was made to a major event (the El Nino floods) that took place in the study area in 1997/98. In order to prevent potential response duplication, in each group, the interview was conducted with an official who had not participated in the narrative interview. Depending on the knowledge of a respondent, attempts were also made to gather information on group formation before the 1990s.

3.2.2.4 Key-informant interviews with other stakeholders

Nine chiefs, staff of six government departments/ministries and staff of eight NGOs, church organizations and members of the private sector dealing with livelihood groups in the study area were asked the same questions as in the in-depth interviews with group officials.

3.2.3 Data analysis

Qualitative content analysis was done for the narrative interviews, in-depth interviews and key-informant interviews (Mayring, 2014). The interviews were coded in a step-wise manner according to categories representing key themes (for instance, history of group emergence, drivers of group emergence) and sub-categories (for instance, for history: involvement of churches, for drivers: internal factors such as distance to markets). Data from the survey (on characteristics and activities of existing groups) and some data from in-depth and key-informant interviews (on drivers of emergence and types and weaknesses of external support) were entered into MS Excel and frequencies and proportions were generated.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 History of groups' emergence and evolution in Marsabit South District in northern Kenya

The analysis of the history of group formation provides a timeline entailing entities that have supported formation and development of groups in northern Kenya from the 1960s to the present day and the type of support provided. Characteristics of groups differ between older and new generation of groups in Marsabit South.

3.3.1.1 Involvement of churches

In northern Kenya, group formation started just after Kenyan independence in 1963 with first groups initiated by the Catholic Church (Table 3.2). The Catholic Church organized the Christian community into prayer groups, Catholic women's associations, adult literacy and choir groups with a membership of about 100 members each. These groups were composed mainly of poor households who settled around the Catholic chapels in pursuit of external aid and alternative livelihoods. In addition to evangelism, the Catholic Church provided relief assistance and social amenities (such as hospitals and schools) to these poorer households. Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, besides promotion of evangelical work through groups, the missionaries (mainly the Catholic nuns) also introduced and supported income-generating activities (IGAs) in these groups as a way to sustain evangelical connections. The first set of IGAs supported were the sale of traditional artefacts (beadwork) and micro-credit schemes (merry-go-round). Other churches such as the African Inland Church (AIC) started supporting IGGs in Marsabit South in the early 1990s.

3.3.1.2 Involvement of the Kenyan government

Kenyan government involvement in group development in Marsabit South District began in 1978. Riding on the precedent set by the Catholic Church as well as its own efforts to form groups, the government through the Department of Social Services began to formally register groups as a way to attract and maintain recognition by external agencies (churches, government, NGOs and private sector).

Table 3.2: Historical trends in emergence of and institutional support to pastoral community groups in Marsabit South District (1963-2015).

Institutions and personalities	Type of support to groups	Starting period¹
Catholic Church	Evangelical services to prayer groups at chapels	1963–1965
	Income generation	1976–1980
African Inland Church	Income generation	1991–1995
Government	Registration of groups in Marsabit town	1981–1985
	Formation of groups	1981–1985
	Women Enterprise Fund; Youth Fund	2002
	Financial support: Uwezo Fund	2013
	Transfer of registration to Marsabit South	2009
Non-governmental organisations	Humanitarian aid; income generation	1991–1995
Community elites	Formation; funding	1991–1995
Ordinary community members	Formation of self-initiated groups; income generation	1996–2000

¹All types of institutional support persist until present

Source: Narrative and in-depth interviews (n=10); key informant interviews (n=23)

Between the early 1980s and 2008, registration of groups by the government was centralized at the headquarters of the parent district (Marsabit town in the then greater Marsabit District). Registration of groups was moved to Marsabit South District (now part of Laisamis Sub-County) headquarters only in 2009, when the new district was created, but still as a national government function. At the beginning, the government's roles through the Department of Social Services were confined to registration and training in group dynamics and development. Other services such as financial support to groups in the form of loans and grants began in 2002, with priority given to women's groups (Women Enterprise Fund) and youth groups (Youth Fund), and scaled up from 2013 to have one fund that supports women's groups, youth groups and groups of disabled persons (*Uwezo* fund).

3.3.1.3 Support by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and bilateral projects

In Marsabit South District, various NGOs and bilateral projects supported different livelihood activities through groups since the early 1990s but with mixed outcomes. Some of the earlier projects and the group activities they supported include activities on environmental management and sheep and goats trade supported by the German Development Cooperation (formerly GTZ, now GIZ), Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) (goat restocking) and Heifer Project International (HPI) (camel restocking). These organizations and projects supported large groups of about 100 members each so as to spread benefits to a wider spectrum of the community. They also targeted mainly the poor and women, with a precondition that all activities must be done collectively by members. Emergence of groups was further influenced by the precondition that any outside support to livelihood activities can only be undertaken through an organized group.

In common with church-supported and government-supported groups, most NGO/project-supported groups malfunctioned soon after external support ended. The malfunctioning was mainly attributed to large size of groups, mismanagement, and inconsistent benefits. Some groups adjusted their names, number of members, and objectives just to take advantage of the prevailing opportunities of working with an external agency, as illustrated by the following narrative from a government administrator:

In this Ngurunit area, St. Mary's women's group and Umoja women's group initially supported by the Catholic Church and the African Inland Church (AIC) respectively changed their names to Salama, Saidia, and Salato women's groups to target camel restocking supported by the HPI (Chief, Ngurunit Location, 11 July 2015).

Learning from weaknesses of externally supported groups, some of this older generation of groups were later (in the late 2000s) reorganized by members themselves into small

manageable groups of 10–20 people, with a focus on immediate benefits for members. Additionally, these groups adapted their organizational and governance features to the community's socio-cultural norms and practices such as belonging to the same clan, village and age-set, trust and behaviour/conduct of a community member. Instead of group members doing group activities collectively, some groups opted for group loans to support individual members' businesses. Another interesting case is where, contrary to the guideline that women's groups should include only women, some women's groups innovatively co-opted one to three men for difficult tasks such as trekking animals to the market.

3.3.1.4 Community elites' and leaders' involvement

From the 1990s, having seen the importance of groups, community elites – for instance, some specific primary school leavers, secondary school leavers, primary school teachers, and adult literacy teachers – started guiding the community in the formation of groups and fundraising for them. Local political leaders were particularly involved in fundraising for these groups. Groups formed through guidance of community elites/leaders were small (composed of 15–30 members) and according to group officials performed fairly well compared to the older generation of groups.

3.3.1.5 Self-initiated groups

Learning from organizational and governance weaknesses of externally supported groups, in the past two decades, fully self-initiated groups were formed. Usually this process has been started by a potential group initiator acquiring information from neighbouring existing groups, relatives or friends. The information gathered includes group formation process, activities and implementation procedures, group size, performance, benefits and challenges of group work,

among others. The idea to form a group is first shared with close friends to check its utility and then spread to the rest of the community members. Potential members are gradually mobilized under an agreed common felt need until the desired membership size is attained (10–20 members). After formation, the new groups continue to consult with older groups until they are able to stand on their own. Although formed on their own, some of the groups later develop relationships with external agencies mainly for training support. However, in the absence of opportunities for external training, groups seek advice from well-functioning groups (peers) and community elites in case of need. Some community members have a long experience and knowledge of undertaking some of the activities e.g. livestock trade hence are a source of knowledge for groups. In most cases, the person who initiates the group ends up being the chairperson. These self-initiated groups take advantage of the socio-cultural fabric and dynamics of the community to organize themselves and set up their governance structures. Moreover, they take into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of existing groups to guide their path towards a conceivably better-functioning model.

3.3.1.6 Income-generating groups established between 1981 and 2015

The records from the Department of Social Services as well as the survey of groups conducted in the study area showed that, by 2015, a total of 300 groups in a population of approximately 12,000 households had been established, out of which 153 participated in diverse IGAs. These groups were formed between 1981 and 2015.

Generally, there is an increasing trend of IGGs, with the majority being women's groups (Figure 3.2). A remarkable increase over time is seen in groups supported by community elites and leaders, and in self-initiated groups.

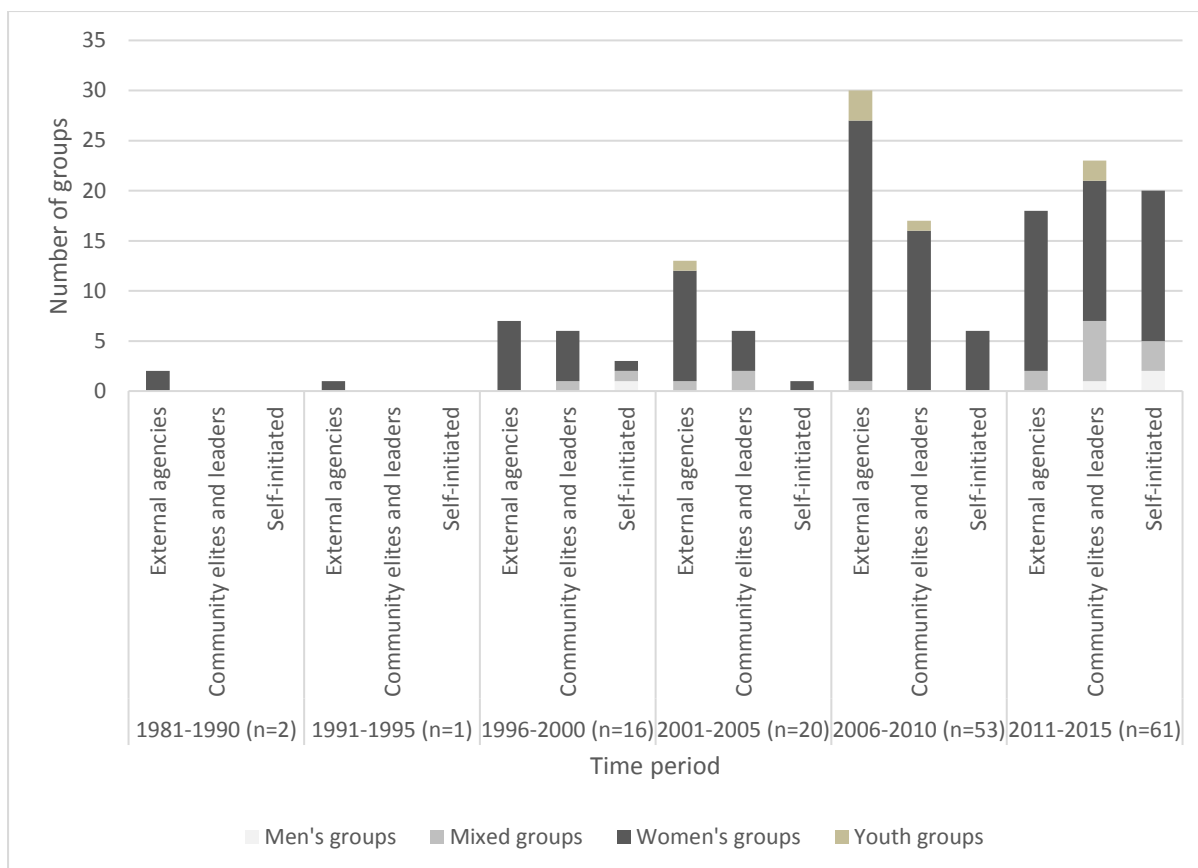


Figure 3.2: Period of formation of community groups in the study area between 1981 and 2015.

Source: Survey (n=153).

3.3.2 Existing income-generating groups and their activities

Most of the surveyed IGGs were registered (130 out of 153), and more than half were found in *Manyattas* (clan-based “villages”) (86 out of 153) with the majority being women’s groups (69 out of 86). The most common group size was 11–20 members (85 out of 153) with a few cases of groups (7 out of 153) with more than 40 members, indicating a shift towards smaller groups.

These groups undertake two categories of IGAs, i.e. livestock-related and non-livestock activities (Table 3.3). Overall, most groups practiced trade in sheep and goats and in combination with other activities, majorly sale of household items, micro-credit schemes, skins

trade and cattle trade. With regard to micro-credit schemes, through further probing of group officials, the groups that did not mention it as an activity (n=121) said that, though they did not practice it in a structured manner, group members and other community members could still ask for loans from the groups.

Reasons for practicing a combination of different IGAs were to enhance income generation, to insure against business risks, and to achieve sustainability of the group, as group officials explained. For example, groups commonly use part of income from the sale of household items to buy sheep and goats for trade. They do this as a strategy to stock their cash in the absence of formal banking systems and as they wait to replenish stocks of household items. Furthermore, profits from these businesses are often moved to the micro-credit scheme to allow group members and the rest of the community better access to loans on interest. Hence, an important objective of engaging in IGAs including trade in sheep and goats is to generate money to facilitate (emergency) loans for members and the rest of the community.

Several factors determine the choice of business activities undertaken by groups or the shift from one business activity to the other. These include profitability, the need to fill the commodity supply gap in the community, seasonality of demand, challenges such as debts, and advice from an external agency.

Table 3.3: Activities undertaken by income-generating groups.

Non-livestock business activities		Livestock-based business activities	
Type of business (n=18)	No. of practicing groups (out of 153 groups)	Type of business (n=13)	No. of practicing groups (out of 153 groups)
Sale of household items (food and non-food items)	89	Sheep and goat trade	100
Micro-credit	32	Skins trade	27
Beadwork	25	Cattle trade	15
Vegetables	15	Veterinary medicines	9
Rental premises	8	Meat trade (butchery)	8
Honey trade	4	Camel trade	4
Water kiosk	3	Goat breeding	4
Tailoring	2	Milk trade	3
Natural forest products: gums and resin	2	Poultry production	3
Motor vehicle repair (garage)	2	Meat processing	2
Tree nurseries (seedlings)	2	Camel breeding	2
Bread making	2	Fodder production	2
Others: mill (2), fuel (1), gravel/ballast (1), khat/miraa (1), blacksmith (1), motor cycle hire (1)		Leather processing	1

Source: Survey (n=153)

3.3.3 Drivers of emergence of income-generating groups

It was established from community members (group members and officials, and chiefs) and external agencies (staff of government departments, NGOs, church organizations, and private sector) that both factors external and internal to the community have influenced the emergence of the existing groups over time (Figure 3.3). Community members provided more factors than the external agencies and indicated the different factors more often: five factors were mentioned by more than 50% of the community members. The community members explained

why and how these factors influenced group emergence and continuation, as outlined in the paragraphs below.

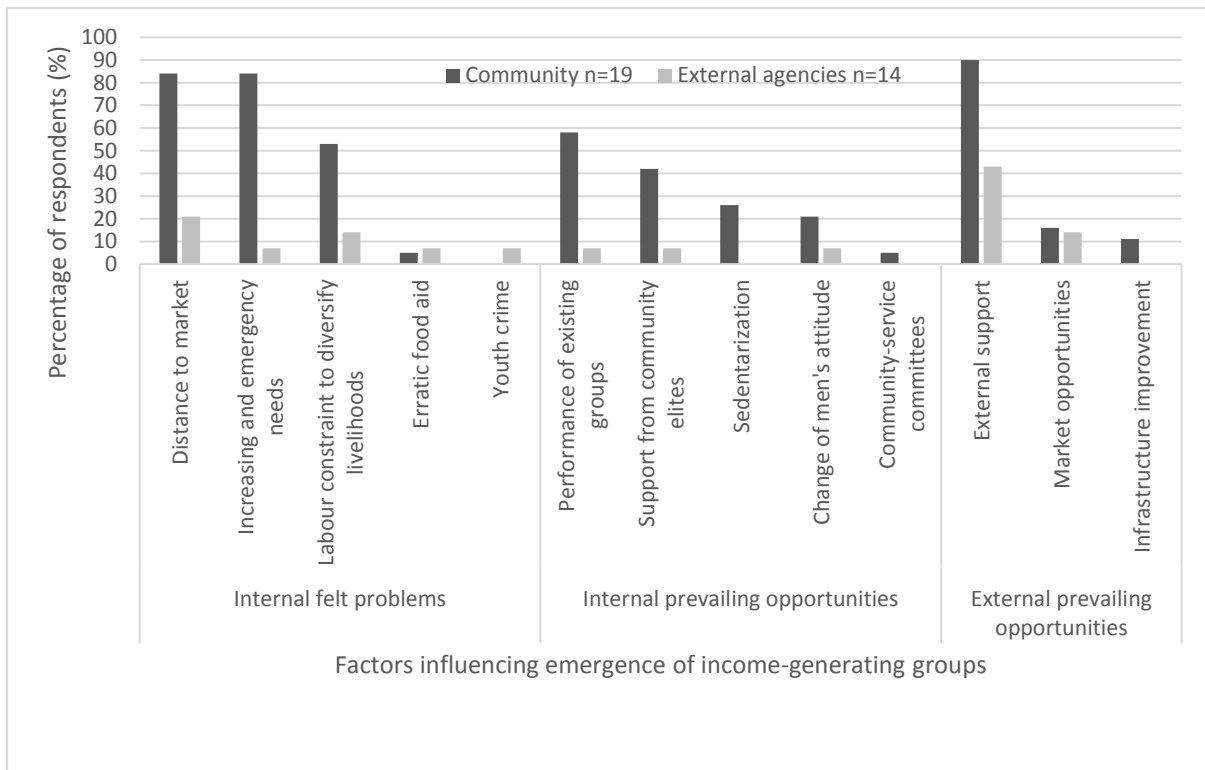


Figure 3.3: Factors that influence emergence of income-generating groups.

Source: In-depth and key informant interviews (for community members n=19; for external agencies n=14)

Distance to the market: In the 1990s, formal livestock and commodity markets were fewer or non-existent in Marsabit South and people moved long distances (>100 km) to access livestock markets and purchase household items. On account of high transport costs and high capital outlays, it was challenging to acquire household commodities that were highly demanded, particularly in rural villages. In places where formal markets (able to attract many buyers) did not exist and the dominant buyers of livestock were either restaurants in town centres, mobile itinerant traders or rural shopkeepers, groups were formed to increase access to distant markets. As access to distant livestock and commodity markets was costly in terms of time and transport,

people pooled human and financial resources together to bring services, goods and market outlets closer to the village. However, distance to livestock and commodity markets has reduced in the recent past as a result of the establishment of formal markets in settlements within the community area such as those in Korr and Ilaut, which operate on a weekly (every Saturday) and bi-weekly (on Tuesdays) basis, respectively.

Increasing and emergency needs amid decreasing social support: Droughts, livestock diseases, and increasing household needs are putting pressure on the available livestock resources. This makes it increasingly difficult to get emergency support from neighbours, relatives or friends. The situation is especially difficult for single-parent families (widows, divorcees).

Among others, one of the priority needs was (and is) payment of school fees and other school-related expenses because of the increasing number of school-going children. Consequently, parents moved long distances, mainly between villages and town centres, to seek loans from distant traders or relatives to cater for school needs. However, there was no guarantee that the required support would be availed. This situation compelled households to form groups at the village level to access emergency loans for school fees, among other benefits.

Women were (and are) more involved in the search for money to educate children, particularly through groups. Compared to pastoralist men who still prefer that children take up livestock-management roles, women have complied more with the government's advice to take children to school. Other motivating/driving factors include seeing families with educated children leading a better life and the wish to be able to cover the increasing household needs. Single-parent families (for instance widows), particularly those with limited or no support from relatives, have to struggle for the education of their children. Although nowadays there are

clan-based education funds, they cater only for some of the school needs for secondary and tertiary education; thus parents still struggle to cover the remaining costs.

Labour constraint to diversify livelihoods individually: Pastoral livestock-management and domestic tasks require keen attention from household members. Household participation in additional livelihood activities such as an additional business put a strain on the available labour and time, particularly in labour-deficient households. Furthermore, some of these additional livelihood activities are difficult to undertake individually. For instance, the nature of livestock trade makes it difficult to effectively organise the activities (buying, trekking and selling), particularly when source and destination markets are far apart. Being in a group enables the households to more easily combine business and domestic tasks. The pooling of labour by households to diversify livelihoods becomes particularly useful in the dry season and during droughts, when livestock-management tasks increase, yet household needs such as provision of food are critical and need concerted attention at the same time. During the dry season, livestock are away from home for a longer period and are not easily accessible for sale (i.e. income generation); thus the group becomes a strategic alternative to cover food and cash needs through loans.

Performance of existing groups: Positive experiences of existing groups including accruing benefits to members and the entire community, and good cooperation between members and officials of a group can influence other people to form or join a group. Other positive experiences include recognition by government through representation and praise at public gatherings as well as winning tenders to supply goods and do construction works. Such positive experiences can also influence a poorly performing group (poorly performing due to

misunderstanding, unmanageable large size, little benefits, poor management) to be reorganized into an outfit in which members have more influence on leadership, activities and outcomes.

External support: External agencies prefer to use groups to deliver livelihood-support interventions so to spread the benefits to the wider community. External support ranges from mere awareness about the group approach to direct support. The types of external support mentioned by chiefs, government staff, staff of NGOs and church organizations, and members of the private sector are shown in Table 3.4.

When asked what they see as shortfalls of external support provided by their peers, government staff and staff of NGOs, church organizations and the private sector gave their views as shown in Table 3.4. In addition, community members criticized external support, particularly expressing that they found the training and mentoring inadequate either because the content did not respond to their training needs or because the duration was too short for them to develop the respective capacities. They also pointed to the lack of attention to adult literacy. Groups were divided over the need for external funding – a majority of them approved of it while two of the ten interviewed said it is not necessary. Groups that were against external funding referred to cases of groups that malfunctioned once external funding ended. IGGs were also not spared in the criticism – staff of NGOs (including bilateral projects) in particular complained of vested interests and lack of seriousness of some groups to put external funding to the right use.

Table 3.4: Types and weaknesses of external support.

Types of external support		Weaknesses of external support				
Type	Frequency (n=23)	Type of respondents*	Weakness	Frequency (n=33)	Type of respondents*	
Training	23	9 chiefs, 6 Govt, 8 NGO	Inadequate training and mentorship	19	10 IGG , 4 chiefs, 2 Govt, 3 NGO	
Funding	23	9 chiefs, 6 Govt, 8 NGO	Inadequate funding	10	8 IGG , 1 chief, 1 Govt	
Material inputs	5	4 chiefs, 1 Govt	Encourage vested interests and dependency of beneficiaries	4	2 chiefs, 2 NGO	
Monitoring/follow-up	4	2 chiefs, 1 Govt, 1 NGO	Inadequate monitoring	11	5 chiefs, 3 Govt, 3 NGO	
Link to other service providers	4	4 Govt	Wrong selection of beneficiary groups	8	2 chiefs, 4 Govt, 2 NGO	
Registration of groups	2	1 chief, 1 Govt	External agencies prioritizing own interests	4	1 chief, 1 Govt, 2 NGO	
Infrastructure development	2	2 Govt	Less attention to adult literacy education	2	2 IGG	
Commodity supply contracts	1	1 chief	Inadequate stakeholder participation and coordination	4	2 chiefs, 1 Govt, 1 NGO	
Humanitarian assistance during disasters	1	1 chief	Short project duration and poor exit strategies	3	2 chiefs, 1 Govt	
Funding proposal development	1	1 Govt	Inappropriateness of some interventions	3	2 Chiefs, 1 Govt	
Link to markets	1	1 NGO	Less attention to thorough feasibility studies	3	1 chief, 1 Govt, 1 NGO	

*IGG: officials and members of income-generating groups; Govt: government staff; NGO: staff of non-governmental organizations, bilateral projects and church organizations, and private sector

Source: In-depth and key informant interviews (n=23 for types- 9 chiefs, 6 Govt and 8 NGO; n=33 for weaknesses- 10 IGG, 9 chiefs, 6 Govt and 8 NGO)

External agencies use certain criteria to select groups for support. Over 20% of interviewed external agencies mentioned the following as important criteria: registration status, interest of

external agency, vulnerability of potential beneficiaries, gender composition of a group, history of a group handling grants as well as its current performance, and the geographical location of interest to an external agency. Other criteria mentioned include records of business and financial transactions, results of site verification, size of membership, business acumen and interest of the group, duration of the group and the specific activities, religious affiliation, and having a written proposal. Some of these criteria such as group records and written proposals were viewed by government officials (n=3) as strict and therefore need to be reconsidered given the high rate of illiteracy among the pastoralists.

3.4 Discussion

In this chapter, the results show from the perspectives of community group officials and other relevant stakeholders why and how pastoral community groups for income generation emerged and evolved in northern Kenya. The chapter focused particularly on the history of group formation, prevalence of existing group activities, and factors influencing emergence and evolution of such groups.

The detailed examination of IGGs revealed that the emergence of groups was initially externally supported. It was only from the late 1990s onwards that self-initiated groups were formed. The Catholic Church was instrumental in the formation of the first groups in Marsabit South District and this illustrates their involvement in social and economic development in pastoral areas. The Kenyan government's involvement in group affairs in Marsabit South District started only two decades after independence, which is late considering that cooperatives and rural organizations in other parts of Kenya were promoted by the government since colonial times (Chitere, 1988; Thomas, 1988). NGOs used group formation as a strategy

to implement their livelihood support programs from early 1990s onwards. However, many of those groups malfunctioned after external support ended, as was also observed in Ghana by Porter and Lyon (2006). The malfunctioning was mainly attributed to organizational and governance weaknesses. Interestingly, these weaknesses of externally supported groups informed the formation of self-organized groups with modified characteristics, such as favouring small group sizes of 10–20 people for effective management and adapting their organizational and governance features to the socio-cultural norms and practices in cultural collective activities and the way the Rendille community is socio-culturally organized and governed. These characteristics and the process followed in group formation distinguish self-initiated groups from older generations of groups, particularly the externally supported groups. The shift towards self-initiated groups was also noted among community groups in Haiti (White and Runge, 1995), in Tanzania (De Weerd, 2001), and in Ghana (Porter and Lyon, 2006).

This chapter also attempted a full survey on community groups that exist in Marsabit South District and contacted 300 groups to learn about their activities. Out of them, 153 IGGs were identified and characterized to get an overview of their distribution by size, gender composition and location as well as a detailed list of their activities. More than 80% of the groups were found to be women's groups. This is particularly notable given that in pastoral areas activities such as livestock trade are reportedly male dominated. Women being the majority and pioneers of IGGs has also been commonly reported in Kenyan agricultural areas in the highlands (Place *et al.*, 2004) and in urban slum areas (Abala, 2013; Fafchamps and La Ferrara, 2012). More than 50% of the groups were found in *manyattas* (clan-based "villages") in the rural areas, indicating that pastoralists see IGGs as a livelihood option complementing livestock husbandry, which is their main livelihood activity. Here, groups were valued for their services with regard to providing greater ease to reach livestock and commodity markets, and loans for

emergency needs and for supporting individual members' businesses. Often, these three activities were practiced in combination. This was attributed to the potential of this particular combination of activities to: 1) boost income generation for the group, 2) stabilize income in the different seasons, 3) make use of synergies between the activities and 4) reduce business risks. Synergistic effects between livestock and non-livestock business activities have also been reported in other studies (Chen *et al.*, 2006; Coppock and Desta, 2013). The diversity and complementarity of group activities can be related to the common practice among the pastoralists of diversifying livestock herds and species (camels, cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys) to obtain diverse benefits, adapt to variability, and cope with droughts (Campbell, 1999; Desta and Coppock, 2004; Little *et al.*, 2001; McPeak, 2005; Sato, 1997). These findings on the benefits of a diversity of group activities should inform development efforts and strategies.

Dating back five decades, micro-credit schemes were found to be the earliest group activity in Marsabit South District. This can be understood as an effort to complement the traditional social security system among the Rendille community, called the *Maal* system, which consists of animal loans and mutual help (Ministry of Livestock Development, 1991; Sato, 1997; Schlee, 1991). The main source of the capital used to support emergency and common felt needs of group members and non-members through micro-credit schemes was the profits from the sheep and goat trade. This indicates that the main objective of collective livestock marketing is to build capital for loans and not necessarily to pool surplus animals from members' herds in order to collectively negotiate for better terms of trade. This link between livestock marketing and group loan systems in pastoral areas has to our knowledge not been documented before.

The emergence of the above-mentioned group activities was driven mainly by internally felt problems, such as distance to markets, increasing monetary needs, labour constraints to

diversify livelihoods in individual households, and erratic food aid. Especially during dry seasons, when livestock is kept far away from homes and labour is needed critically for livestock management, members profit from the groups as they can cover food and cash needs through loans.

In indicating the factors that influenced the emergence of IGGs, the community members were more outspoken, meaning that they are more concerned and knowledgeable of their own situation than the external agencies. Among the factors, external support was mentioned most often both by community members and external agencies. Although important, external support was equally criticized by most actors interviewed, mainly because of inadequate training, funding and monitoring. Groups were divided over the need for external funding. While external development actors identified a wide range of areas in external support that require improvement, community groups were particularly interested in training that responded to their needs. The criteria used to select groups for support such as the obligation to present written records and submit written proposals were criticized as they do not take into account the high illiteracy rate among the population, a pattern that is common among Kenyan pastoralists (Orodho *et al.*, 2013). In rural Ghana, formal requirements such as the obligation to operate a bank account were seen as a hindrance to enlisting potential beneficiaries for external support (Porter and Lyon, 2006). These criteria as well as vested interests of individual government and NGO staff were seen as the origin of improper selection of beneficiary groups by external agencies.

3.5 Conclusions and recommendations

External support, particularly from the faith-based organizations, has been instrumental in the development of community groups in the pastoral areas of northern Kenya. In the past three decades, a four-fold increase in the number of groups formed was observed, and this was

accompanied by an increase in self-organized groups. The latter trend resulted from the weaknesses of externally supported groups, which affected their sustainability. The new generation of groups (mainly self-initiated) has different characteristics geared towards sustainability. Internal felt problems at household and community level as well as supportive external and internal (to community) opportunities influence community members to form groups. Groups undertake a diversity of income generating activities but prefer a particular combination comprised of sheep and goat trade, micro-credit schemes, and sale of household items.

From the foregoing, community groups are increasingly becoming important in solving felt needs of pastoralists and thus require policy attention. Efforts to promote sustainable community groups should take into consideration lessons learned from the history of group formation as well as insights from the different actors, foremost the views from the community group members.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND GOVERNANCE FOUNDATIONS OF SUCCESSFUL INCOME-GENERATING GROUPS IN PASTORAL SOCIETIES: EVIDENCE FROM NORTHERN KENYA

Abstract

Many community groups in rural Africa malfunction or collapse after external support has ended. The use of non-consultative and non-contextual approaches in the establishment and evaluation of community groups has been associated with limited understanding of group functionality. This chapter uses the perspectives of group members to identify social and governance factors contributing to the performance of pastoral income-generating groups. Self-assessment of performance was done with 153 groups followed by 18 semi-structured and 10 to 18 in-depth interviews with well-functioning groups.

The results explain and contextualize the importance of specific member characteristics with regard to combining skills, capabilities and resources to increase collective action options of the groups. Group members modified externally provided guidelines on group governance to conform them to traditional governance practices. These insights emphasize the importance of knowledge on socio-cultural norms and practices, and the consideration of experiences and perceptions of community members when establishing community groups.

Keywords: pastoral community groups, socio-cultural embeddedness, self-assessment, pastoralists, northern Kenya.

4.1 Introduction

Since the late 1980s, donors, non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations and governments have promoted the formation of community groups in sub-Saharan Africa as a means to enhance rural development. Community groups have been shown to have beneficial effects on poverty reduction (Bernard and Spielman, 2009; Chen *et al.*, 2006; Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001) and other aspects of social and economic development (Lyon, 2003; Mutinda, 2017), particularly in rural areas.

However, many community groups reportedly malfunction, are inactive or even collapse once external support ends. A range of studies on community groups, for instance in Ghana (Porter and Lyon, 2006), Lesotho (Kadozo, 2009), Tanzania (de Haan, 2001), and Kenya (Mutungi, 2015) have raised concerns about the way groups are formed and evaluated. A major shortcoming is seen in the widespread use of blueprints⁹ as a conventional guide on the formation, governance, and evaluation of groups in a manner that ignores local specificities in terms of values, associational dynamics, and culture (Cleaver, 2005; Dequech, 2003; Granovetter, 1985; Porter and Lyon, 2006).

Furthermore, top-down evaluations, commonly conducted using structured questionnaires and interpreted by outsiders, have been associated with limited insights on why and how certain factors and the related group characteristics are important for group functioning (Cleaver, 2002; Eversole, 2012; Porter and Lyon, 2006). In addition, organizational self-assessment tools for farmer groups such as FORCE (Schrader, 2010) are based on questionnaires with pre-formulated statements developed by outsiders. Yet, as stated by Harper (1992 p.6), “the ultimate responsibility for group success or failure and indeed for defining what successes or failures are, rest not with outside advisors or trainers [...] but with the members themselves,

⁹ Defined according to Porter and Lyon (2006) as: “Standard” guidelines for formation and development of community groups as prescribed by external agencies.

who will have to pay the penalty of failure, and who, we hope, will enjoy the benefits of success”. Moreover, as stated by Markelova and Mwangi (2010), those factors that contribute to group functioning are context-dependent. As relevant factors from the context are experienced by actors in the system (Kaufmann and Hülsebusch, 2015), in this case group members, they can best be revealed by investigating the perception and opinions of group members themselves (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016) and by drawing from their socio-cultural norms and practices (Cleaver, 2002).

In order to achieve this, the current study aims to reveal the perception and opinions of group members on factors contributing to the well-functioning of pastoral community groups. Specifically, it aims to: i) identify social and governance factors that contribute to successful functioning of groups and the reasons for their importance, and ii) assess the contextual link between the factors identified as important and the socio-cultural setup of the Rendille pastoralist society. The analysis benefits from an interweaving of three concepts - organizational self-assessment (Schrader, 2010), participatory approaches and methods (Chambers, 1994; Sondaal *et al.*, 2018), and socio-cultural embeddedness (Cleaver, 2002). This information is essential for understanding characteristics that enable some pastoral community groups to function well and can guide development partners and policy makers when promoting the sustainability of community groups.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Study area

The study covered Marsabit South District of Laisamis sub-County in the arid northern Kenya (County Government of Marsabit, 2014). Rendille pastoralists are the predominant inhabitants of Laisamis sub-County. At the southern border of the area, intermarriages between Rendille and Samburu pastoralists are common, giving rise to Ariaal pastoralists (Schlee, 1991). The

Rendille and the Ariaal pastoralists live in clan-based villages called *manyattas*. Each *manyatta* has a governance unit called the *Naabo* that is central in making major decisions, administering justice, and directing the affairs of the clan.

Livestock production is the backbone of their economy – they mainly keep sheep, goats and camels. The area is remote and characterized by average poverty levels estimated at 88%, food insecurity (65% of population is food insecure) (County Government of Marsabit, 2014), poor infrastructure in terms of services, communication and transport (Arero, 2007; Kochore, 2016). Due to limited social services necessary for meeting the immediate felt needs, the community is compelled to seek alternatives, for instance through community groups. In Marsabit South District, a four-fold increase in the number of groups has been observed in the last three decades. These groups were formed for different reasons including to solve problems and fulfil diverse needs at household and community level (Arasio *et al.*, 2018).

4.2.2 Data collection

Data for this study were collected using a mixed methods approach that included participatory Likert-type scale rating, and semi-structured, in-depth, and key informant interviews. In the first phase of fieldwork (May to September 2015), participatory Likert-type scale-rating exercises were conducted with all the 153 identified income-generating groups (IGGs) to assess their perceptions on their own level of performance. In the second phase of fieldwork (February to May 2016), 18 well-functioning groups were selected for semi-structured and in-depth interviews. In order to answer the first specific research question on social factors and the associated member characteristics that influence group functioning, semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials of 18 IGGs. In addition, information on governance factors was gathered using semi-structured interviews with group officials of 10 of the 18 selected IGGs.

To answer the second specific research question on linkages between group characteristics and the socio-cultural setup of the community, in-depth interviews were conducted with officials of the groups involved in the semi-structured interviews, supplemented with key informant interviews with 9 community leaders (chiefs). This served to gather information on cultural collective actions, the socio-cultural organization and governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists, and how they are linked with the social and governance characteristics perceived to be important for group functioning.

The number of officials (chairperson, secretary, and treasurer) per group that participated in the semi-structured and in-depth interviews varied depending on their availability – in 1 group, 1 official was interviewed; in 4 groups, 2 officials were interviewed; and in 13 groups, 3 officials were interviewed. Groups where 1-2 officials were interviewed were mainly men's, mixed, and youth groups. Men and youth were less available due to livestock-management tasks, particularly herding away from the dwelling areas (*manyattas*). All the groups where 3 officials were interviewed were women's groups – they were more easily found in the villages at the time of the study (rainy season). In 10 out of 13 women's groups, ordinary members, although uninvited, joined the discussions. The number of ordinary members per group that participated in the discussions ranged from 3 to 5 (all were women).

The study team noted that the discussions tended to be richer the more people participated. In total, 48 group officials (10 males and 38 females) participated in the semi-structured and in-depth interviews on social factors. Except for 4 youth (defined in the Rendille community as those who are yet to marry), the rest were of middle age (defined as those who are married and actively involved in own household and community tasks). Girls married before the age of 18 years or at the youthful age (conventionally given as 18-34 years) were by this definition lumped as middle-aged women. Similarly, groups regarded boys who got married at the

youthful age of 18-34 years as middle-aged men. For semi-structured and in-depth interviews on governance factors, 26 middle-aged group officials (5 males and 21 females) participated.

The different methods used in the study are described in detail below.

4.2.2.1 Participatory Likert-type scale rating of performance of groups

During the first fieldwork phase (May to September 2015), a full survey on pastoral community groups in Marsabit South District was conducted and 153 income-generating groups (IGGs) were identified, out of which it was noted that 100 groups trade in sheep and goats. They were categorized into mixed, women's, men's, and youth groups as well as into groups formed by external agencies, through support of community elites and leaders, and self-initiated.

Participatory Likert-type scale rating exercises were conducted with all the 153 IGGs to assess their perception on their own level of performance. For each IGG, a small focus group of 3 to 5 people comprising group officials and members was interviewed. To elaborate and stimulate discussion on group performance, an analogy was used about the different health conditions of animals. Five levels of health conditions were discussed and agreed upon with groups, these were entitled: very healthy, moderately healthy, fairly healthy, poor health, and dead. This was likened to group performance and groups agreed that the respective five levels are excellent, good, fair, poor and dormant. The levels were illustrated using one lying and four standing sticks of different lengths – shortest to the longest, or symbolized using parts of human body at different heights (foot, knee, waist, chest, and head) (Table 4.1). Local names were used for the different levels of performance – excellent (*Weiti-endelea/kesupat weeleng*), good (*Keisupat*), fair (*Maratorno*), poor (*Pipidii maraa/nkinni neisumunye*), and dormant (*Keilura*)

Table 4.1: List of how different levels of group performance were interpreted by the groups in the participatory Likert-type scale rating exercise.

Performance level	Further explanations by use of sticks or parts of human body
Excellent	Longest stick or operating at head level - performs to full expectation
Good	Length between the half and the longest stick or operating at chest level - only a small proportion remaining to reach full expected level of performance
Fair	Half of the longest stick or operating at waist level – performs at half the expected level
Poor	Shorter stick or operating at knee level – performs at very low level
Dormant	Lying stick or at foot level - no activity (not operational)

Key indicators mentioned for excellent performance were on-going business activities, which were physically seen by the entire community, benefits enjoyed by group members, and the realization of business targets in the form of sales and profits as conceived at the time the group was formed.

For each group, participants were asked to discuss and agree among themselves on the level of functioning at the time of the study. Participants were further probed on details of why these levels were chosen. It is worth noting that, this assessment of general group performance was undertaken after conducting similar exercises for individual income generating activities of the group. This enabled the research team to cross-check and discover any inconsistencies, and seek clarification from the group.

4.2.2.2 Selection of groups for semi-structured and in-depth interviews

In the second phase of field work, from February to May 2016, out of the 100 groups that were involved in sheep and goat trade, eighteen groups that were functioning without external support for over a year prior to data collection were purposively selected from the well-

functioning groups: excellent (3), good (14), and fair (1)¹⁰ for semi-structured and in-depth interviews. The selection proportionally considered the frequency of women's groups, men's groups, mixed groups, and youth groups found in the area. Other factors considered in the selection include location, entity that formed, and whether the group received external support or not in its development (Table 4.2).

4.2.2.3 Semi-structured interviews

To understand social and governance factors contributing to the well-functioning of groups, semi-structured interviews with 1 to 3 group officials (chairperson, secretary, and treasurer – knowledgeable about their groups) were conducted. With regard to social factors and the associated member characteristics, first, a list of relevant member characteristics was generated from factors mentioned in previous studies. Those considered in the interviews included: age, gender, location (*manyatta*), clan, education, wealth status, marital status, sex of household head, ethnicity, religion, and main occupation. Thereafter, semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials of 18 IGGs. For each characteristic of members, group officials were asked to indicate: (a) the number of members in the group that belonged to a certain category at the beginning of the group (e.g. for age, the categories were young, middle aged and old), (b) reasons for a pattern of a characteristic revealed (e.g. when asking about age as a factor, the officials were asked why a greater proportion of members belong to a particular age group), (c) whether the factor and the associated member characteristics were considered in the admission of members to the group or just coincidental, and (d) if considered, why? – Whether it is important for the functioning of the group and why/how.

¹⁰ Fair groups were selected when no better functioning groups were available, this occurred mainly for youth groups.

Table 4.2: Overview of the eighteen well-functioning groups selected for semi-structured and in-depth interviews.

Performance	Name of group	Type of group	Location	Entity that formed	Year of formation	Received external support e.g. grants, training, mentorship*	Type of data gathered	Number of group officials interviewed
Excellent	Loruguchu	Men's	Rural village	Self-initiated	2014	No	Social and governance factors	1 man- official
Excellent	Meriki	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2014	No	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Excellent	Saramba	Women's - co-opt men	Rural town	Self-initiated	2006	No	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Nairibi Youth	Youth	Rural village	Community elites/leaders	2012	No	Social factors	1 woman and 1 man-officials
Good	Isgargaro	Men's	Rural town	Self-initiated	2012	No	Social and governance factors	2 men- officials
Good	Balah Saleh	Mixed	Rural village	Self-initiated	2012	Yes	Social and governance factors	1 man and 2 women officials
Good	Merille livestock traders	Mixed	Urban	Self-initiated	1998	Yes	Social and governance factors	1 man and 1 woman-officials
Good	Jitto Jille	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2011	Yes	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Eween	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2012	No	Social factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Nkiyapu	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2008	Yes	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Lorugo	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	Self-initiated	2008	No	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Nkupulu	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	Self-initiated	2009	Yes	Social and governance factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Ilaut water	Women's - co-opt men	Rural town	Self-initiated	2011	Yes	Social factors	1 man and 2 women officials
Good	Nkapirook	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	Community elites/leaders	2000	Yes	Social factors	1 man and 2 women officials
Good	Kiseryan	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	Community elites/leaders	2010	Yes	Social factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Akita Matenyok	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	External agencies	2010	Yes	Social factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Good	Neingeto	Women's - co-opt men	Rural village	Community elites/leaders	2012	Yes	Social factors	3 women officials (+O.M)
Fair	Maligit Youth	Youth	Rural village	Community elites/leaders	2010	Yes	Social factors	2 male youth officials

*If they received external support during formation or development but more than a year ago; (+O.M)= plus ordinary members

Information on governance factors, i.e. on leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability was gathered using semi-structured interviews with officials of 10 of the 18 selected IGGs. For each governance factor, group officials were asked to indicate: (a) if they practice it or not, (b) the origin of the form of governance they practiced, (c) how they practice it, and (d) whether it is important for the functioning of the group and why. This was followed by a checklist of other questions on the four governance factors mentioned above. The interviews on both social and governance factors took 2 to 3 hours per group.

4.2.2.4 In-depth and key informant interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted to gather information on social organization, cultural collective actions, and traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists and their relationship with community groups, particularly in the way they are organized and governed. By using a checklist, reference was made to social and governance factors perceived to be important for group functioning. These interviews were done with officials of the selected 10 to 18 IGGs. Key informant interviews were done with nine community leaders (chiefs), each from an administrative location of Marsabit South District (the specific study area) only to gather information on the social organization, cultural collective actions, and traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists. All the chiefs interviewed were males – 7 were of middle age while 2 were elderly (the chiefs for Ngurunit and Korr locations).

4.2.3 Data analysis

Data from participatory Likert-type scale rating was entered into Microsoft Excel and then exported to Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS®) Version 20. Association between different categories of groups and performance was computed using Chi-square test. Data from

semi-structured interviews on social and governance factors and data from in-depth interviews with group officials and key informant interviews with chiefs on social-cultural organization, traditional governance practices and cultural collective actions, and how they link with community groups were analyzed qualitatively using content analysis. Content analysis involved coding the data into categories that represent key themes and into sub-categories that represent sub-themes.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Social organization and cultural collective actions among the Rendille pastoral community in Marsabit South, Kenya

In common with other pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa, a strong social organization and a clan-based governance system characterizes the Rendille community. In this study, we assess how the Rendille pastoralists embed the formation and governance of community groups within their socio-cultural structures and practices so to function better. Prior to contextualizing the social and governance factors perceived to be important for group functioning, below we provide a short description of the social organization and cultural collective actions of the Rendille pastoralists.

4.3.1.1 Social organization

All group officials and community leaders (chiefs) interviewed gave similar narrations on how the Rendille community is socio-culturally organized. As explained by them, the Rendille community regards itself as a group or one people, unified by common culture (customs, rituals, traditions, and symbols) and language, so individuals act as part of or for the larger community. The Rendille community is organized into 12 different clans, grouped into two

major phratries (the Dubsahay and the Saale). People from the same clan spread all over the community area. However, in one village (*manyatta*) all the male household heads belong to the same clan. For the Rendille, communal governance and decision-making is very important – this can be seen from the fact that each *manyatta* has a governance unit composed of elders called the *Naabo* that is central in making major decisions, administering justice, and directing the affairs of the clan. The male community members organize themselves into age sets according to the year in which they were circumcised or became traditional warriors. Clans, clan-based villages, *Naabo*, and age-sets inform the organization and governance of community groups for income generation as will be shown in the sections on social and governance factors further below.

4.3.1.2 Cultural collective actions

As explained by group officials and community leaders, acting together or as part of a community is an inherent feature of the Rendille pastoralist community and this is expressed in ceremonies, social support, and collective activities. Examples of these collective actions are described in the paragraphs below. Group officials and community leaders gave similar information unless otherwise stated.

Ceremonies: These can be categorized into those connected to rituals (sacrifices), those connected to transition of classes/age sets (rites of passage), and those connected to celebrations. Ceremonies connected to rituals include *Sorio*, *Almatho*, *Guram*, and *Orr*, while those linked to celebrations include weddings, *Lopiro*, and *Hay*. On the other hand, ceremonies linked to transition of classes include *Lmuget*, *Khandi*, and *Sabade*. For instance, *Sorio* is a sacrificial ritual done four times a year to cleanse livestock. Both women and men participate in these events.

Social support: The Rendille pastoralists have a strong social support system. The community mobilizes social support when a certain household is in need. This includes contributing food and livestock to families impoverished by a disaster or to the poor in the community and taking a child of a poor family to assist in herding and paid with goats, cattle or a camel heifer. Other forms of support include lending a milking camel to a household short of milk (*Kalaksime*), and loan of an animal based on the community trust system (*Maal*).

Collective activities: It is common for the community to pool resources or collaborate. Notably, as explained by all group officials and community leaders, community members collaborate in the provision of security, when digging water wells in the dry season, or when looking for a lost child. A common example of pooling resources expressed only by female officials in groups is whereby women from a *manyatta* organize themselves in order to harvest sisal in far-away areas for thatching the roofs of their houses. They either pool money and hire a vehicle or ask a community leader to pay for a vehicle. As they harvest sisal, men provide security.

The community also practices collective action for upcoming needs. An example mentioned by three groups (1 in Ngurunit and 2 in Korr locations) and one chief (in Korr location) is the recent emergence of prosperous clan-based education funds. Households belonging to a clan conduct annual fundraising to support the education of children, particularly those in secondary schools and colleges.

These collective actions imply solidarity and cooperation hence behaviours that are instrumental for the well-functioning of community groups as will be outlined further below.

4.3.2 Functioning and performance of income-generating groups

Among the Rendille community, IGGs were first formed between the late 1970s and early 1980s and their number increased substantially between 1996 and 2015 (Arasio *et al.*, 2018). In the year 2015, 153 IGGs were asked to rate their current level of performance (see Table 4.1). Out of the 153 groups, 7 rated themselves as excellent, 39 as good, 55 as fair, 26 as poor, and 26 as dormant (Figure 4.1). The results showed that the mode of formation of groups influenced their performance. In this regard, self-initiated groups were significantly ($p < 0.001$) associated with excellent and good performance while groups that were entirely supported by external agencies either performed fairly or poorly, while some became dormant (Figure 4.1).

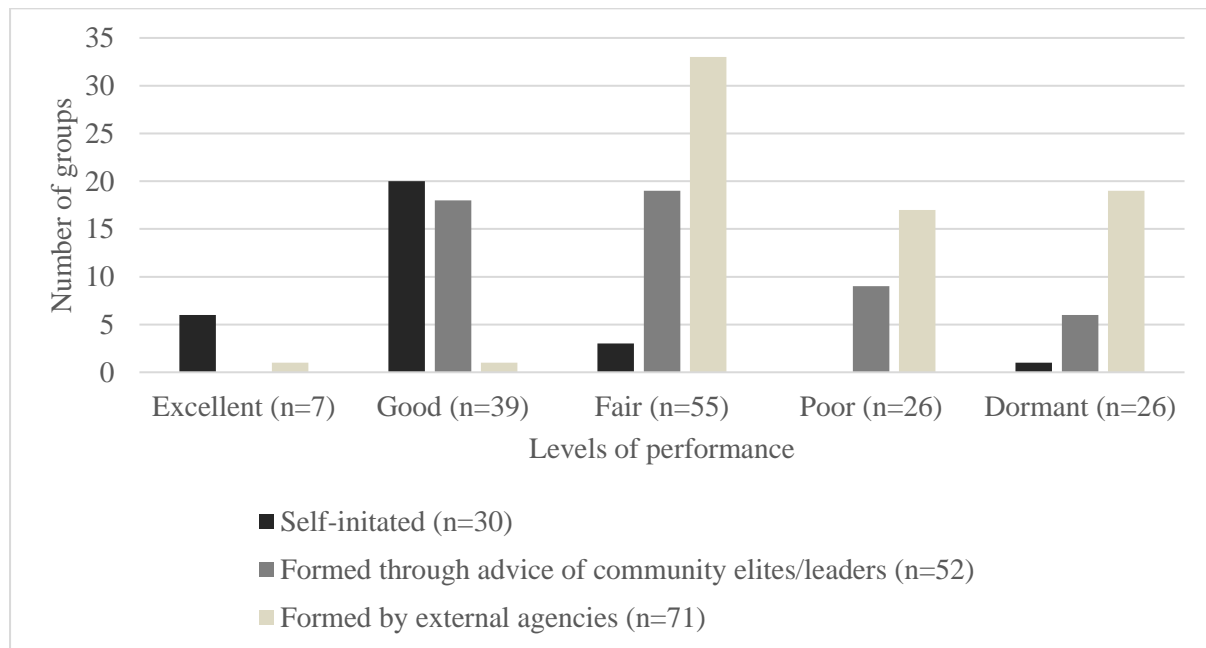


Figure 4.1: Levels of performance of income-generating groups as defined by the participatory Likert-type scale rating exercise (n=153)

4.3.3 Important social factors for group functioning and their socio-cultural context

Among the member characteristics that are reflected in social factors that are described in literature as important for the functioning of groups, the study revealed two categories of

member characteristics – those that were heterogeneous or homogeneous¹¹ by design and those that were heterogeneous or homogeneous by chance (default). The group officials considered the former in the admission of members to a group or during group formation and they regarded this category of member characteristics (consisting of age, gender, location of a household, clan, wealth, and education) as important for group functioning (Table 4.3). They explained that, among these important factors, only education was not considered in the admission but only later as the groups developed.

In the interviews, group officials explained why the member characteristics associated with age, gender, location, clan, education, and wealth were important for group functioning. These reasons and their socio-cultural embeddedness are explained in the paragraphs below.

Age: Most well-functioning groups (14 out of 18) included different age groups because of the different roles they play and the interest to join the group, but still over 50% of members in these groups were middle aged. These groups valued the middle-aged people that often form the majority in groups for their energy and better reasoning, the old for their wisdom although not actively involved in group work, and the youth for their flexibility and ability to do physically demanding work. This resonates with the role of the different age groups in the society, as explained further by officials of 12 groups (9 women's, 2 mixed and 1 youth group). They explained that middle-aged adults form the majority of players in communal activities, elders make decisions and direct the affairs of the community, youth are involved in physically demanding responsibilities such as security, and the elderly pass knowledge to the younger generations.

¹¹ A group is homogeneous in one social factor when it is composed of members with the same expression of a characteristic (i.e. all female gender) while it is heterogeneous when it is composed of members with different expressions of a characteristic (i.e. female and male gender). Groups can be homogeneous in one characteristic and heterogeneous in other characteristics.

Table 4.3: Characteristics of group members as perceived by group officials

Social factor	Characteristics of group members	Groups expressing characteristic (n=18)	Whether considered in the admission of a member or during formation of the groups
Age	Only middle aged (homogeneous)	4	Considered
	All age groups - but over 50% are of middle age (heterogeneous)	14	Considered
Gender	Women only (homogeneous)	4	Considered
	Men only (homogeneous)	2	Considered particularly by an age-set
	Mixed gender (heterogeneous)	5	Considered
	Women groups co-opting 1-3 men (heterogeneous)	7	Considered - co-opted men at the beginning (2/7); co-opted men later (5/7)
Location	Members reside in one <i>manyatta</i> (homogenous)	11	Considered
	Members reside in different <i>manyattas</i> (heterogeneous)	7	Considered, with rules and regulations attached
Clan	Members of the same clan (homogenous)	8	Considered
	Members of different clans (heterogeneous) but over 50% from same clan	10	Considered
Education	All illiterate (homogenous)	4	All groups considered
	All illiterate except 1-3 individuals (heterogeneous)	14	Co-opted literate people at the beginning (2/14); co-opted later (12/14)
Wealth	All members of middle class (homogeneous)	1	Just happened by chance in one men's group
	Members of different wealth classes (heterogeneous)	17	Considered so to tap the different competencies
Marital status	All married (homogeneous)	3	Just happened by chance (JHBC)*
	A mix of married and widows (heterogeneous)	15	JHBC
Sex of household head	All heads are male (homogeneous)	3	JHBC
	A mix of male and female heads (heterogeneous)	15	JHBC
Tribe/ethnicity	Same tribe (homogeneous)	18	JHBC, by virtue of ethnic setting
Religion	All members of African Traditional Religion (ATR) (homogeneous)	11	JHBC
	Mix of ATR and Christians (heterogeneous)	7	JHBC
Main occupation/source of livelihood	All livestock keepers (homogeneous)	18	JHBC, by virtue of pastoral setting
Type of family	Mix of monogamous and polygamous families (heterogeneous)	18	JHBC
Household size	Mix of families with less than six, and more than 6 family members (heterogeneous)	18	JHBC

Source: Semi-structured interviews with the officials of selected income-generating groups (n=18)

*Just happened by chance (JHBC) – this is a pattern of a characteristic that was not considered during admission

Gender: Besides the common categories of groups based on gender (women's, men's, and mixed (including youth groups)), this study found additionally, women's groups that co-opt 1-3 men. The gender-based grouping resonates with the gender-based tasks and roles in the traditional collective actions. The majority of all the IGGs in the Rendille area were women's groups (125 out of 153, with 80 of the 125 being women-only groups and 45 of the 125 being women's groups that have co-opted 1-3 men). Officials of the 13 women's groups interviewed associated this high prevalence mainly with the increasing role that women play for the economic support to the family.

As expressed by officials of four women-only groups, women preferred to have such groups in order to have the freedom to speak, reason, interact, and work together. They do not want to have male members because of, first, men's domineering attitude. Second, men tend to engage in leisure activities such as chewing of *Khat*, which can drain a group's resources through frequent and unpaid loans. Third, men are often away due to livestock-management tasks and thus not always available for group work. Fourth, other commitments such as wage employment as well as community tasks such as being committee members of community projects are mostly taken up by men, constraining their time. These officials of women-only groups regarded these aspects as reasons for poor performance of most groups composed of only men. Nevertheless, as revealed by the participatory self-assessment of group performance, well-functioning men-only groups do exist (2 of the 4 men's groups studied). They consist of men that were circumcised and became traditional warriors the same year (hence belonging to the same Rendille age-set) which eases bonding, reasoning, and working together.

However, due to the nature of certain business activities, a mix of gender has advantages. The eight women's groups that co-opted 1-3 men and the two mixed groups that were interviewed explained the importance of having some men in groups. First, men are good price negotiators in the trade of sheep and goats and preferred in transactions with long-distance large-scale

traders who are usually also male, often found in secondary markets. Second, men can better endure travel over long distances thus are tasked to move animals from villages and mobile livestock camps to the distant destination markets. Third, in the insecure and remote areas with poor road and transport infrastructure, women said that they need men to escort them to purchase retail goods from distant town centres. Fourth, men assist to relay group issues that require intervention of elders' "traditional parliament" (*Naabo*) such as recovery of debts from "stubborn" community members especially the male debtors. Fifth, as illiteracy is still high among women, literate men were co-opted for secretarial duties as well as to guide or translate for the group officials in public events, offices and markets. However, men that were co-opted by women's groups were thoroughly screened and only admitted if they were respectful, respected by other men, supportive of the women's group's ideas, honest, a husband of a member of the group, and willing to pay the required registration and monthly fees.

Location: For better functioning, most groups preferred to have members that reside in the same *manyatta* (11 out of 18 groups). However, there were circumstances where it was inevitable to have members from different *manyattas* (7 out of 18 groups). In this case, rules and regulations were set out to minimize the impact of distance on group functioning.

Officials from groups in which members resided in the same *manyatta* explained that group members residing in one *manyatta* ensured that people admitted into groups were well known in terms of their lineage background and character. Coordinating and monitoring group business activities was easier when all members were in the same *manyatta*. Groups convened meetings on short notice and even at night. Night meetings were particularly preferred during the dry season and droughts. During these periods, time for meetings was short and groups did

not hold meetings during the day, as people were preoccupied with increased livestock-management tasks.

On the other hand, officials from groups in which members were from different *manyattas* gave circumstances that contributed to this phenomenon. First, when the interest of a person to join a group was considered more important than the location of their residence, particularly if they were of the same clan. Secondly, when a group starts with all members from one *manyatta*, but over time, the *manyatta* grows until the elders decide to split it into more than one *manyatta*, and group members end up living in separate *manyattas*. This situation was however according to these group officials advantageous with regard to livestock trade as through the coverage of several *manyattas*, a group could accumulate the required number of trade animals within a short time.

Clan: Clan is an integral part of the socio-cultural organization of the Rendille community. Members of a clan spread all over the community but live in clan-based *manyattas*. Generally, all the eighteen well-functioning groups interviewed preferred to have members from the same clan because members know each other well and can easily work together. However, due to community marriage customs and residence practices, groups composed of members from different clans inevitably existed. This was common in women's groups, as explained by officials of groups that were heterogeneous with regard to clan. In the Rendille community, all men in one *manyatta* are from the same clan. Customs forbid men from marrying women from the same clan and therefore have to marry women from other clans and relocate them to their original *manyatta*. Consequently, women from different clans find themselves in one *manyatta*. Although heterogeneity by clan is encouraged by marriage customs and residence practices (5 of the 11 women's groups), women's groups still pursued homogeneity (6 of the 11 women's

groups) for ease of bonding. This was achieved when women from the same clan that lived in one *manyatta* or different nearby *manyattas* formed a group.

Level of education: Due to the past limited opportunities for education in pastoral areas, the adult generation present in the community is largely illiterate and does not speak Kiswahili or English, the languages commonly spoken in Kenya. In all the interviewed groups, the majority of members were illiterate, and this, according to group officials, impeded them from performing certain group functions. To bridge this gap, fourteen out of the eighteen groups interviewed either co-opted 1-2 literate people at the start of the group (2 of the 14 groups) or later as the group developed (12 of the 14 groups). However, officials of the fourteen groups that co-opted literate people cautioned that, due to the fear of educated people for their domineering and superiority attitude, they ensured that those co-opted were thoroughly screened and only admitted if they had good ideas, were of good character (e.g. honest), and had respect for the illiterate people. Due to fear of the educated people, two groups did not co-opt them and preferred to pursue opportunities for basic literacy for their members.

All the groups attached a high value to literacy for purposes of being able to keep records, write proposals, or communicate in public offices/forums/trainings, and when purchasing retail items in major towns, or when selling livestock in major markets dominated by non-native traders. Therefore, they expressed the interest to have all their members attain basic literacy (numeracy and foreign languages such as Kiswahili) but opportunities for adult education were lacking.

Wealth status: Whilst knowing the importance of wealth in paying the statutory registration and monthly fees¹² required by the group, people were not discriminated against joining groups based on wealth. All groups greatly acknowledged the traditional interdependence between wealth groups that has contributed to the well-functioning of this pastoral society and by extension, community groups. Group officials stated that, all wealth groups are an asset to society and community groups. For instance, in livestock management, the poor provide labour for the rich and the rich reciprocate by paying them with milk or animals or provide social support at the time of crises such as droughts. With regard to community groups, in spite of the challenge of paying statutory fees, the different groups expressed that the poor were more committed and had more time for group activities compared to the middle and rich classes, who were often preoccupied by livestock-management tasks.

Personal character as decisive/final criteria for admission: Besides the above-mentioned important social factors and the associated member characteristics, the officials of the eighteen well-functioning groups interviewed stated that, most importantly they finally selected and admitted to a group only those people who had the preferred personal character features, and showed interest and readiness to cooperate. This extra screening helped to filter people to a number required by the group, especially if there are many applicants. They further expressed that, they evaluated the level of cooperation expected of group members in terms of active participation and dedication to group activities, attendance and active contributions during meetings, prompt payment of required fees and repayment of loans/credits, respect for others, social support to other members at times of need, and abiding with the group by-laws. Personal

¹² The registration fee paid by members varied across groups and ranged from Ksh. 200 (USD 2) to Ksh. 1000 (USD 10). Monthly contributions also varied across groups and ranged from Ksh. 50 (USD 0.5) to Ksh. 200 (USD 2). Group members of the poor class particularly widows and separated families often delayed contributing the required amounts as compared to members from the rich and middle classes.

character features mentioned by all groups included being trustworthy, tolerant, responsible, known for good behaviour and character, while only three groups (2 women's and 1 men's group) additionally mentioned sharing the same vision of solving a problem through collective action, and possessing good ideas. Furthermore, particularly female group officials emphasized that people known for spreading lies, gossiping, unnecessary incitement to violence, being quarrelsome, involved in crime, drunkenness, and being mentally challenged were not admitted into groups. Having lived together for long and in close vicinity, the different group officials mentioned that, it was easy for the groups to identify these characteristics in a potential member.

4.3.4 Important governance factors for group functioning and their socio-cultural context

As explained above, officials of 10 well-functioning groups were interviewed regarding the importance of governance factors for group functioning. All mentioned leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability as important and incorporated the respective procedures or practices in group management. The results show that well-functioning groups either used i) governance ideas that came from external agencies but were deemed useful and adaptable to the local context (represented by “a”); or ii) governance ideas that originated from the groups themselves, based on prevailing experiences and traditional practices (fit in the prevailing circumstances and adapted to local context) (represented by “b”) (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Governance practices related to leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability as perceived by group officials.

Factor	Forms of governance practiced*	Origin of form practiced**	Groups that practiced (n=10)
Governance practices related to leadership			
Leadership structure	Number and type of officials	a	10
Tenure of officials	2 to 3 terms of 2 years each	a	5
	Limitless tenure	b	5
Oversight committee (OC)	1 oversight committee	a	8
	More than 1 oversight committee	b	2
Election procedures	Only consultation and consensus	b	5
	Both voting and consultation	a	5
Governance practices related to decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability			
Involvement in decision making	All members	b	10
Frequency of meetings	Weekly	a	5
	Bi-weekly (1), monthly (4)	b	5
Existence of by-laws	Exist but not documented	b	10
	Records	Documentation seen (3); claimed to document but not seen (5)	a
Storage of business money	Do not exist	b	2
	Mixed for all businesses	b	8
	Separated per business	b	2

Source: Semi-structured interviews with the officials of selected income-generating groups (n=10)

* Numbers in parentheses represent the number of groups practicing a certain form of governance, when more than one form is practiced; ** **a**: governance ideas from external agencies but useful and adapted to a group's context; **b**: governance ideas from the groups.

4.3.4.1 Leadership

With regard to leadership, well-functioning groups differed in how they elected officials and in the length of time officials could hold office. The explanations below capture why a certain leadership factor is important for group functioning and the reasons groups gave for the choice of a certain form of leadership.

Leadership structure and tenure of officials: All the ten groups interviewed preferred to have a small team of group officials comprising of the chairperson, secretary, treasurer, and opted against deputies in the leadership structure as they were rarely active. This differs from the set-

up often proposed by external agencies whereby deputies are part of the leadership structure. With regard to tenure, half of the groups used the traditional practices of timeless tenure whereby leaders are only replaced for gross misconduct, death, or change of location. The other half opted for 2 to 3 terms of 2 years each. This idea is of external agency origin and these groups found it useful because rotation of leadership positions introduces all members to leadership experience.

Oversight committees: Although the idea of oversight committees (composed of 2 to 4 members) was introduced by external agencies, all the groups strongly appreciated the role they play in the management and performance of groups. Group officials likened these committees to the criminal investigation department (CID) in the Kenyan government and *Naabo* in a *manyatta*. They found the oversight committees instrumental in monitoring group activities, overseeing implementation of decisions made, compliance with by-laws, and overseeing transparency and accountability by group officials and members. The committee also investigates a suspected offence, summons group officials and members in cases of misconduct, and resolves any conflict between group officials and members. Officials of eight groups (1 men's, 6 women's and 1 mixed group) emphasized that, for effective oversight, the members of this committee were exclusively drawn from ordinary group members. Furthermore, officials of three women's groups said that people appointed to this committee were those that were not easily manipulated, were of an advanced age so as to command respect from other members and officials, and were not known for gossiping so that other members can believe in what they are reporting. Where group activities were many, groups opted for more than one oversight committee (2 of the 10 groups interviewed).

Selection of officials and election procedures: All groups reiterated that electing the right people into positions of leadership was crucial for group functioning. However, with regard to the criteria considered in selecting officials, some groups mentioned more qualities than others did. All groups mentioned good conduct, tolerance, trustworthiness and being respectful, and respected by the community. Officials of nine groups additionally mentioned conflict-resolution skills, five groups mentioned good oratory skills, three mentioned being hardworking and responsible and one mentioned being intelligent and visionary. Officials of eight groups further explained that the fact that the people in a *manyatta* had lived in close proximity to each other and had known each other for a long time, made it easy for the different qualities to be identified in the potential officials. These groups reported that the community uses the same qualities to select a clan or *manyatta* leader.

All groups underscored the importance of having an educated secretary for purposes of record keeping, writing proposals, and communication with outsiders but differed on the need to have a literate treasurer. Officials of the seven groups that were not in favour of a literate treasurer expressed the opinion that there are more important qualities required of a treasurer than education and these include being strict, intelligent, wealthy and preferably a woman, as they are considered to be more honest. Furthermore, the treasurer does not necessarily have to be educated if the secretary is literate and can assist the treasurer in financial documentation. In the absence of a literate secretary, priority for the position of a treasurer goes to an eligible member who has school-going children who can assist in financial record keeping.

When electing group officials, half of the groups (1 men's and 4 women's groups) followed the procedure practiced traditionally when selecting a *manyatta* or clan leader whereby the community selected a leader after consultation and reaching consensus. The other half of the groups practiced a combination of consultation and voting (queuing and acclamation). These

groups practiced voting to accommodate views of co-opted elites in the group, but it followed consultation to reach consensus.

4.3.4.2 Decision-making and accountability

Also with regard to decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability, well-functioning groups either followed governance procedures that had originated from external agencies and were found useful and adaptable to context, or procedures that originated from the groups themselves based on experiences and practices in their community governance (Table 4.5).

Decision-making and frequency of meetings: All groups followed the rule that all group members participate in decision-making. As stated by group officials, leaving decision-making to group officials alone leads to suspicion and misunderstanding. Group officials solely make a decision only on rare occasions, such as when a group member urgently needs a loan for a medical emergency, but even then, within prescribed rules and procedures, including informing all members later.

Well-functioning groups chose to hold meetings either on weekly, bi-weekly or monthly basis for certain reasons. Half of the groups (all were women's groups) held meetings on weekly basis as they found them useful for regular sharing of information especially given the high illiteracy among members, an aspect that hinders record keeping. The other half of groups considered the time they needed for domestic and livestock-management tasks and preferred either bi-weekly or monthly meetings.

By-laws: Generally, all groups reported that by-laws and the penalties applied in case of default were important in ensuring cooperation and participation of members in group activities as well as transparency and accountability by group officials and members. However, groups differed in the number of by-laws they practiced (Table 4.5). Whereas external agencies often require that by-laws be written down as a prerequisite for external support, on account of high illiteracy, in all groups, members opted to memorize by-laws just as they traditionally do with important information, such as the family lineages of their animals. The groups generated these by-laws from their own experiences and that of other groups.

Record keeping as a tool for transparency and accountability: External agencies largely promoted record keeping as evidence for transparency and accountability and for lobbying for external support. However, groups are gradually recognizing the importance of record keeping but challenged by the high illiteracy of members. The few groups that kept records (3 out of 10) and those that claimed to have records (5 of the 10 groups) underscored its importance as it eases: i) tracking of progress of the many businesses undertaken and managed by different group members; ii) tracking of monthly contributions; iii) tracking over time the numerous loan disbursements and repayments. According to these groups, the need for record keeping was felt more in the savings and loans scheme because of the high number of transactions and because members frequently requested these records. Furthermore, they find savings and loans records easy to keep. Where record keeping was not practiced (in 2 of the 10 groups), sharing of information in regular meetings was upheld.

When a group engaged in 1-3 businesses with low capital flow, they usually kept the money from all the businesses together (8 of the 10 groups). The remaining groups undertook more than three businesses and kept the money separately per business. For groups in the remote

areas (8 of the 10 groups out of which 2 engaged in more than 3 businesses), this money was stored in private houses as the groups were too far from the banks. Furthermore, lack of or limited mobile phone communication network hindered use of the mobile phone money transfer system used in Kenya, the *MPesa*.

Table 4.5: By-laws on cooperation, transparency and accountability as perceived by group officials.

Category	By-laws	Number of groups that practiced/mentioned (n=10)
Cooperation	Timely payment of monthly contribution	10
	Members maintain high levels of discipline, cohesion and respect for each other	10
	Any dissatisfaction by a member is shared in the group and not with outsiders	10
	All members participate in all group meetings	9
	The chairperson is present at all group meetings	9
	Teams of group members participate in all business activities on a rotational basis and the group pays an incentive for services rendered	9
	No leaking of group secrets to people outside the group	7
Transparency and accountability in management of group businesses e.g. sheep and goats trade	Business progress is discussed during all regular meetings	10
	At regular group meetings, officials openly go through overall transactions undertaken (income, expenses)	10
	All group business decisions (on transactions such as deposits, withdrawals, expenditures, new business) are made and approved in the presence of all members	10
	All cash at hand (including loan repayments and member contributions for the current month) is physically counted during regular meetings in the presence of all members	10
	Records are kept and presented at the regular group meetings	9
	All group goats are branded the same day they are bought (with group brand) before distribution to members in equal numbers to rear before sale or a hired herder is assigned the duty.	7
	Unjustified business losses are borne by members on duty at that time	5
Transparency and accountability in disbursement and repayment of loans	Where record keeping is difficult, money is separated by business activity and kept by different treasurers	2
	All loans are approved in the presence of all members	10
	Timely repayment of loans by members and non-members	6
	Where documentation is possible, proper records are shared by group officials	3

Source: Semi-structured interviews with the officials of selected income-generating groups (n=10)

4.4 Discussion

For pastoral societies in Kenya, socio-cultural systems, social structure, collective ritual practices and norms are well documented, e.g. for the Rendille (Sato, 1992; Schlee, 1991; Spencer, 1965), the Turkana (Gulliver, 1955 cited in (Spencer, 1965), the Samburu (Spencer, 1965) and the Gabra (Tablino, 1999). This study brings this type of anthropological insight in dialogue with rural development efforts to contextualize the social and governance factors influencing the functioning of community groups among the Rendille pastoralists. It therefore has commonalities with studies in the field of “anthropology of development” (Olivier de Sardan, 2005), as it focused on understanding the conceptions and practices of the “grass roots” actors within their cultural and institutional context. The results reveal the “local knowledge” held by group officials by showing how groups made use of community’s socio-cultural organizational features (such as clan) and traditional governance practices (such as consultation and consensus) to set up and govern their groups, respectively. This also demonstrates the level of attachment of pastoral communities to their culture such that they draw on it when making use of new livelihood strategies such as those mediated through group formation. The results also show how groups made use of external knowledge when they found it appropriate to improve their functionality, such as in the case of adopting oversight committees, as proposed in blueprint guidelines for group formation.

We used a participatory self-assessment methodology that combined participatory Likert-type scale rating, semi-structured and in-depth interviews to assess how community groups perceived their functioning and factors contributing to it. The Likert-type scale rating in particular acted as a mirror to the groups and enabled them to visualize and discuss immediately the results of the self-assessment. This methodology has implications for research and practice particularly in rural communities where the level of illiteracy is high.

The self-assessed group performance differed strongly between self-initiated and externally initiated groups, whereby excellent and good performance was predominantly found in self-initiated groups. These groups had full control over their set-up and governance. This means that they had the freedom and flexibility to decide about the characteristics of group members and group governance mechanisms. This was not the case for groups introduced by external agencies – an observation that is associated with their poor performance or dormancy (Clever, 2002; Datta, 2007; Porter and Lyon, 2006; Sondaal *et al.*, 2018). A reason for the poor performance could also lie in the fact that in externally initiated groups, group members did not have enough room to make use of their local knowledge to enhance group functionality. They opted rather to make use of the principle of side tracking, which means that they exploit opportunities (e.g. short term external funding of group activities) while being aware of long-term group viability (Olivier de Sardan, 2005).

Group functionality depends on multiple factors, with an emphasis placed in the literature on member characteristics. Among the different member characteristics¹³ that influence group functioning, (Adong *et al.*, 2013; Asante *et al.*, 2011; Fernandez, 2016; Fischer and Qaim, 2012; Meier zu Selhausen, 2015; Place *et al.*, 2004), in the Rendille community groups, only those related to age, gender, location of a household, clan, education and wealth status mattered. Whereas gender and age are commonly used as categorizing variables for women, men, mixed groups, and youth groups respectively, in addition to clan and location of a household, they play an important role in the organization of groups. Wealth and age are used to allocate specific tasks to members with the required skills and capacities. With regard to education, the mostly illiterate group members initially objected to inclusion of educated people due to hierarchical problems. Nevertheless, when the groups developed, a majority of

¹³ These characteristics include age, gender, location, clan, education, wealth, marital status, sex of household head, tribe/ethnicity, religion, main occupation, type of family and household size

groups opted to strategically include a literate person for instance for the position of the secretary whereby they took care that the person has the desired personal character characteristics such as respect for the illiterate. With regard to these member characteristics, groups were homogeneous in some and heterogeneous in others. This implies that, rather than discussing the importance of heterogeneity and homogeneity as a simple dichotomy as seen in some studies (Oliver and Marwell, 1988; Olson, 1965), we argue that their importance can only be assessed in context. In the present study, the way the Rendille community is socio-culturally organized, the traditional interdependence of wealth groups, and the nature of the business activities undertaken, among other factors, explain why groups display or prefer either heterogeneity or homogeneity of member characteristics.

For example, the traditional interdependence between wealth classes among the Rendille pastoralists (Sato, 1992; Schlee, 1991) is similarly reflected in groups. Every wealth class is regarded as an asset to the community and the group. While the poorer class may have problems paying the statutory monthly remittances as compared to their wealthier counterparts, they are nonetheless seen to be more dedicated to group activities. To motivate them, those with difficulties to pay statutory fees are sometimes paid for by the wealthier members as also noted in India (Bharamappanavara *et al.*, 2016). This contrasts with the findings of studies in Ethiopia where poorer individuals were excluded from rural producer organizations (Bernard and Spielman, 2009) and in Tanzania where the poor were socially excluded from the natural resource management groups (Cleaver, 2002). On the other hand, external agencies have been reported to promote groups composed of only the poor (Chen *et al.*, 2006; Csáki and Haan, 2003). In a pastoral society like the Rendille and others like the Turkana (Opiyo *et al.*, 2015) who value the interdependence of wealth groups, such efforts would be discriminatory and infringe on the traditional social support system.

Even women's groups that are by definition gender homogeneous co-opt men for tasks gendered as male, such as trekking of animals to the market and providing security. Such flexible adjustments might get in the way of regulations set by external agencies that promote homogeneity of certain social factors in groups. However, inclusion of men is looked at with reservations because of their dominance. Before co-opting, their behaviour such as respect and honesty is checked retrospectively.

Women-only groups also co-opt literate men to assist the group. One of the reasons is the high illiteracy rate among women. While routine activities at household and community level do not require literacy, literacy is gaining importance in groups, particularly with regard to record keeping and communication with outsiders. Studies of groups within the Kenyan farming communities have also underlined the importance of literacy among group members with regard to improving a group's ability to keep records and to voice concerns and attract external support (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Kabugua, 2014; Korir, 2013; Muasya, 2013). Other reasons for the importance of education include the ability to increase acquisition of training and skills, increase access to other business opportunities, better management of group operations, and the ability to deal with complex tasks related to groups.

Personal character features such as being trustworthy, tolerant, and responsible are important for the functioning of groups. Besides being considered in the admission of a member into a group, these features become even more important in the selection of group officials, oversight committee members, and in the men co-opted by women's groups. People known for bad character traits such as gossiping are not admitted in to groups.

Governance factors gauged to be important by group officials were leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability. Other studies also underscored the

importance of these factors for group functioning (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Datta, 2007; Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Koech, 2014; Muasya, 2013; Sseguya *et al.*, 2015).

With regard to the method of selecting group officials, this study showed that groups chose or purposely combined governance methods. Most groups followed their customary practices of selecting clan leaders, which is done through consultation until consensus is reached. Nevertheless, in some groups, the co-opted literate members proposed the use of methods prescribed by external agencies such as majority vote through queuing. To accommodate these requests, groups combined methods by first reaching consensus that was then formally followed by majority vote, which shows their strong adherence to clan governance practices. This is different from groups in the Kenyan farming and urban communities who prefer majority vote through secret ballot for democratic reasons (Jivetti and Edwards, 2009; Koech, 2014). These groups follow the modern, global practice of the winner emerging through a popular vote from those who have “stronger and better” arguments in the discussions. Pastoralists instead favour consensus which is an outcome of a dialogue not aimed at winning the argument but getting the reasons why different people are eligible for certain positions (Bohm, 1997). Dialogue is also practiced in pastoral community meetings for resolving conflict where the aim is to ensure that the views of the dissenting voices are also heard and their assent secured (Cleaver, 2002).

The results show that transparency and accountability especially with regard to money is of high importance. This can be seen in the by-laws, e.g. in the rule that decisions are taken together with all members (on approval of loans and expenditures), that they have oversight committees to oversee implementation of by-laws, that records have to be kept or they hold regular meetings to discuss transactions in groups with high illiteracy rates. These results showed how pastoralists use their experiences to modify the “standard” prescriptions on group

governance in the blue prints to what works best in their own environment and to what conform to their traditional governance features to enhance group performance and sustainability.

4.5 Conclusions and recommendations

Community groups play an important role in rural development in Africa, However, externally initiated groups often collapse after external funding ceases. There is therefore considerable interest to understand factors that really matter in the functioning of groups. The current study used an actor-oriented approach to reveal the perspectives and knowledge of officials of well-functioning pastoral community groups through initiating a self-evaluation and reflection process. Apart from merely identifying important member characteristics and governance practices, the results of this study reveal the reasons why group officials perceive these factors as important. The study contextualizes group formation practices and shows that practices that are found beneficial by the community in other spheres, such as the interdependence of the different wealth classes, are also used to enhance group functioning. This shows that well-functioning groups build on the knowledge that underlies socio-cultural practices when going for new development opportunities such as those offered by income-generating groups. However, the study also showed that groups are open to adopt external knowledge (i.e. ideas introduced by external agencies) when it helps them to improve their practices.

With regard to membership characteristics, the study revealed the importance that is placed on personal character features when admitting members to a group and when selecting group officials. Member characteristics associated with the social factors age, gender, location, clan, education and wealth are perceived to be important but not sufficient so to ensure the functioning of groups, unless the preferred personal character features, interest and willingness of a member to cooperate are also considered. These character features have up to now not received a lot of attention in literature on group functioning, which might be due to the fact that

– while they are quite easy to be determined by community members – they are rather difficult to assess in a standardized manner by outsiders.

With regard to good governance of pastoral community groups, pastoralists favour practices that work best in their own environment and that conform to the traditional governance practices of the community. When they have the freedom to decide about group formation and governance, well-functioning groups consider gender roles and gendered tasks, build on the organization of traditional collective actions and make ample use of their social capital.

These insights point to the need that community development practitioners have to recognize the importance of learning about local knowledge of socio-cultural norms and practices and of considering experiences and perceptions of community members when establishing sustainable community groups. The contextual understanding gained also facilitates the identification of the kinds of groups that are likely to succeed without external funding, or are likely to continue to function when external support is withdrawn – issues that are of both scholarly interest and practical importance for development. When development practitioners initiate community groups, they often focus their attention on the particular technical and economic aspects of the groups and overlook that communities possess the necessary competencies and skills for sustainable social organization and governance that they can draw on in the development process. Having exemplified this, the current study provides arguments to enhance communities' roles and decision power when it comes to initiating sustainable development processes.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONALITY OF GROUP MARKETING OF SHEEP AND GOATS IN THE PASTORAL NORTHERN KENYA

Abstract

Producer marketing groups have been advocated as a valid strategy that enables producers to deal with marketing constraints and improve access to markets. Whereas there is wealth of information on how producer-marketing groups work in crop agriculture, information on how they function in pastoral areas to facilitate the marketing of livestock remains scarce. Using a combination of a survey (n=100 groups), participatory Likert-type scale rating exercises with groups (n=100), in-depth (n=10), and key informant interviews (n=5), this chapter explores how group marketing of sheep and goats functions in Marsabit South District of Marsabit County in northern Kenya. Specifically, it analyses the forms practiced, drivers, challenges, and strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome prevailing challenges as well as reduce economic losses.

The results show that group marketing was driven by potential economic benefits and by constraints to undertake the business individually. The majority (81%) of groups involved in the sheep and goats trade were women's groups. The study revealed an emerging approach where groups give loans to members to engage in sheep and goats trade individually. The emergence of this approach was due to some weaknesses in the group-controlled trading and due to the need to expedite benefits to members. Groups that functioned well had own mechanisms that they used to deal with the common marketing constraints and to minimize economic losses so to increase/stabilize profitability. This analysis of characteristics and

functionality offers insights for sustainable promotion of group marketing of sheep and goats by groups themselves as well as by development practitioners and policy makers.

Keywords: performance; livestock; collective marketing; pastoralists; Rendille; Kenya

5.1 Introduction

In the past four decades, development practitioners, donors, and policy makers have widely advocated and promoted producer organizations and collective action as a valid strategy for improved market access (Markelova and Mwangi, 2010). In crop agricultural marketing, producer groups have been shown to allow small-scale farmers to strengthen negotiation power and position in the market (Lyon, 2003). Through producer groups, small-scale farmers have accessed lucrative or high value markets (Stockbridge *et al.*, 2003) and other services such as training and market information (Kruijssen *et al.*, 2009). Farmers aggregate their surplus output and achieve/create economies of scale that enable them to overcome volume problems, by-pass marketing intermediaries, and bargain for better terms of trade (Barrett, C., 2008). Livestock marketing groups among rural farmers have also been reported (Kyeyamwa *et al.*, 2008) but with limited information on how they conduct marketing operations.

Conversely, in pastoral areas, only few examples of particularly externally supported livestock marketing groups have been reported in northern Kenya (Coppock and Desta, 2013; Ngutu *et al.*, 2011), north-eastern Kenya (Aklilu and Catley, 2009), and the Borana Plateau of southern Ethiopia (Aklilu, 2004; Desta *et al.*, 2006). Rather than on groups, most previous studies on pastoral livestock marketing focused more on producer (household) marketing behaviour (Bailey *et al.*, 1999; Barrett, C. *et al.*, 2005; Watson and Binsbergen, 2008). In addition, past studies concentrated on trader operations (Little *et al.*, 2014; Mahmoud, 2008; Roba *et al.*, 2017, 2018, 2019) and analysis of markets (Barrett, C. and Reardon, 2007; Chabari and Njoroge, 2015; Roba *et al.*, 2017).

Despite the potential, the sustainability of the few examples of groups reported in pastoral areas was affected by project design and implementation weaknesses (Aklilu, 2004; Aklilu and Catley, 2009; Desta *et al.*, 2006), and risks of accessing export (Desta *et al.*, 2006) and domestic markets (Aklilu and Catley, 2009). That means, the conditions of livestock marketing and livelihoods still remain difficult in pastoral areas given the myriad of challenges surrounding livestock marketing.

However, in the recent past, in northern Kenya, an increase in the number of groups involved in the marketing of sheep and goats has been observed, with self-initiated groups being reported (Arasio *et al.*, 2018). This study sought to understand this development by analyzing the characteristics of these groups and how they function. Specifically, using the perspectives of group members, the study aims to: a) assess the forms, drivers, and challenges of group marketing of sheep and goats; b) analyze strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome the common challenges as well as minimize economic losses so to increase or stabilize profitability.

Information from this chapter contributes to an understanding of how group marketing of livestock functions in pastoral areas and reveal why in the same context and prevailing circumstances, some groups are performing poorly while others are performing well. Information on how well-functioning groups deal with marketing challenges will serve as a first line of remedy in improving livestock marketing in pastoral areas. In particular, this information can be used to strengthen the functionality of better-performing groups, improve performance of poorly performing groups through peer-to-peer learning, and can provide critical (and practical) insights to policy makers and development practitioners who are interested in strengthening the local capacity for effective functioning of collective marketing of livestock in pastoral areas.

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1 Study area

This study was conducted in Marsabit South District of Laisamis sub-County, located to the south of Marsabit County. Marsabit County is located in the arid northern Kenya where pastoral livestock production is the main means of livelihood for about 80% of the population (County Government of Marsabit, 2018). Rendille pastoralists predominantly inhabit Laisamis sub-County and keep camels, cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys (County Government of Marsabit, 2018). The pastoralists raise livestock for income through sale of livestock and livestock products, and for food (milk, meat), asset accumulation, and cultural obligations (Ministry of Livestock Development, 1991). Over 65% of the population is food insecure (IFPRI, 2012) with an average poverty levels estimated at 88% (Government of Kenya, 1999).

Laisamis sub-County is characterised by frequent droughts (Chabari and Njoroge, 2015), inadequate social services, and poor communication and transport infrastructure (Arero, 2007; Kochore, 2016) but its proximity to the recently tarmacked Moyale-Isiolo highway presents an opportunity for easy connection to outside markets. The sub-county has proportionally a higher number of sheep and goats (458,172) compared to the other three sub-counties in Marsabit County (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2010) and have organized local markets, with sheep and goats being predominantly sold (Roba *et al.*, 2017) and contributing highly to household incomes and food security (Orre, 2003). Other actors in the marketing chain such as traders, brokers and transporters also accrue income from sheep and goats' trade (Roba *et al.*, 2017). Besides other actors such as individual producers and traders, groups are reportedly involved in the marketing of sheep and goats, and in the recent past, an increase in the number of these groups has been reported (Arasio *et al.*, 2018).

5.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Data for this study was collected using mixed methods approach that included a survey, participatory Likert-type scale rating, in-depth, and key informant interviews. A survey on all the 100 groups undertaking marketing of sheep and goats in Marsabit South District was conducted to characterize group marketing of sheep and goats with regard to forms of group trading practiced, actors, geographical locations of groups, and classes of animals traded.

Participatory Likert-type scale rating exercises were conducted with all the 100 groups undertaking sheep and goats' marketing to assess their performance as perceived by group members. For each group, a small focus group of 3 to 5 people comprising group officials and members were interviewed. The initial steps followed in the exercises are as described in the methods section of chapter 4. The last step was that, for each group, rather than asking about general performance, participants were asked to discuss and agree among themselves, the level of performance of group marketing of sheep and goats at the time of the study. Participants were further probed on reasons for the level chosen. After providing reasons for the level chosen, further questions were asked in the opposite. For instance, a group that chose poor performance was asked if there is something or a practice (with regard to the organization and governance of the group, or management of the livestock trade, or marketing of sheep and goats) that they are implementing and are happy about despite the inherent challenges. A group that chose excellent performance was asked if they have encountered any challenges (with regard to the organization and governance of the group, or management of the livestock trade, or marketing of sheep and goats) that seem to dilute or undermine the efforts they are making to perform better.

In-depth interviews were conducted with officials of 10 well-functioning groups to gather information on drivers of group marketing of sheep and goats, how group marketing is undertaken (activities in the marketing process), and why a group prefers a certain form of

group trading and prefers trading in a certain class of animals. Other information gathered using in-depth interviews include why many women/women's groups are getting involved in group marketing of sheep and goats, strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome the various challenges in the marketing chain as well as minimize economic losses so to increase profitability. Particularly with regard to strategies used to overcome marketing challenges, the interviewed group officials were first asked about the constraints they faced in the different stages in the marketing chain (purchasing, rearing before sale, transport to the market, selling), followed by how they overcame the different challenges. Table 5.1 shows the characteristics of the ten well-functioning groups selected for in-depth interviews.

Key informant interviews were undertaken with five male individual livestock traders that collaborated with groups so to gather information on what they think are the major weaknesses of group marketing of sheep and goats. Traders were also asked how they manage to combine livestock trading with livestock management given that in pastoral societies, livestock management requires more attention of men.

Data from the survey and from the participatory Likert-type scale rating on performance were entered into Microsoft Excel and then exported to Statistical Package for Social Sciences Version 20. The association between the different characteristics of group trading (forms, actors, geographical location, and categories of animals sold) was computed using Chi-square test. Data on factors that contributed to the different levels of performance, data from in-depth interviews with group officials, and key informant interviews with traders were analyzed qualitatively using content analysis.

Table 5.1: Overview of the ten well-functioning groups selected for in-depth interviews.

Performance	Name of group	Type of group	Location	Entity that formed	Year of formation
Excellent	Loruguchu	Men's	Rural village	Self-initiated	2014
Excellent	Meriki	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2014
Excellent	Saramba	Women's (co-opting men)	Rural town	Self-initiated	2006
Good	Isgargaro	Men's	Rural town	Self-initiated	2012
Good	Balah Saleh	Mixed	Rural village	Self-initiated	2012
Good	Merille Livestock traders	Mixed	Urban	Self-initiated	1998
Good	Jitto Jille	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2011
Good	Eween	Women only	Rural village	Self-initiated	2012
Good	Lorugo	Women's (co-opting men)	Rural village	Self-initiated	2008
Good	Nkupulu	Women's (co-opting men)	Rural village	Self-initiated	2009

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Characteristics of group marketing of sheep and goats

5.3.1.1 Forms of group trading

Groups practiced different forms of trading either solely or in combination (Figure 5.1). Group-controlled trading is where members did all the trading activities from purchasing to rearing before sale and to selling collectively. At purchase and sale, a team of 3-4 members was involved. The involved members shared the purchase and sale activities, for instance as some members do the purchases, others guard the purchased animals. Members also consulted on purchase/sale prices. The groups also used a team of members so to ensure transparency in the transactions. The members involved in purchases and sales were facilitated and given an incentive for their work. Meetings to make business decisions were convened four times in the

course of one business trip – before¹⁴ and after¹⁵ purchases, and before¹⁶ and after¹⁷ sales. Before sale, animals were distributed to group members to rear and an oversight committee regularly checked how they were being managed (health, losses, etc.). This approach was common among groups in rural villages (65 of the 100 groups) and rural towns (16 of the 100 groups).

Group loans for individual trading is where groups supported members through loans to start or expand individual businesses, foremost trade in sheep and goats. In this approach, individual members were in control of business decisions and income from the business. The approach was only practiced in five groups out of which four were located in peri-urban areas (more involved in the approach ($p < 0.001$)) that were close to the only weekly secondary market (Merille market) in the study area. Due to proximity, on a market day, individual members were able to buy and sell animals two to three times, a business strategy that earned them the name *Tutunyates* (“brokers”). One group in a rural village also practiced this approach. Proceeds from individual businesses were used to meet immediate household needs¹⁸ as well as acquire household assets, for instance livestock through restocking. In all the interviewed groups, members paid an interest of 10% on loans.

According to group officials, group loans for individual trading emerged recently. This was informed by the need to complement or deal with some bottlenecks of group-controlled trading. For instance, in group-controlled trading, it took a longer time before members shared benefits. Losses discouraged members leading to misunderstandings and resentment. Decision-making

¹⁴ A meeting before purchase- to decide on who to go and buy, sizes and number of animal to buy, estimates of purchase prices, amount of money to be used.

¹⁵ A meeting after purchase- to debrief on purchases (sizes and number of animals purchased, amount used and balances, if there is need to purchase more animals), distribute to members to herd before sale.

¹⁶ A meeting before sale- to share information on locations of group animals, to decide who to gather if scattered for instance in mobile camps, who to go and sell and their facilitation, selling price expectations.

¹⁷ A meeting after sale- to debrief all members on the sales (number of animals sold, revenue, profit/loss).

¹⁸ These household needs include food, medical care, veterinary care and education of children

was sometimes protracted especially in the dry season or drought when members are scattered due to the demands of livestock management.

Some groups practiced only group loans for individual trading while others combined group-controlled trading with group loans for individual trading. Groups that combined explained the benefits of complementarity of the two approaches as follows. Proceeds from group-controlled trading were used to build capital for loans that individual members could borrow to start or expand their businesses. In cases of emergencies (e.g. for medical care and school fees) members turned to loans from the group rather than spend money from their businesses. Members also turned to the group for loans when the individual business slumped (the group is an insurance). Members running individual businesses could still access the group for capacity building through in-group sharing of business information and through support from external agencies.

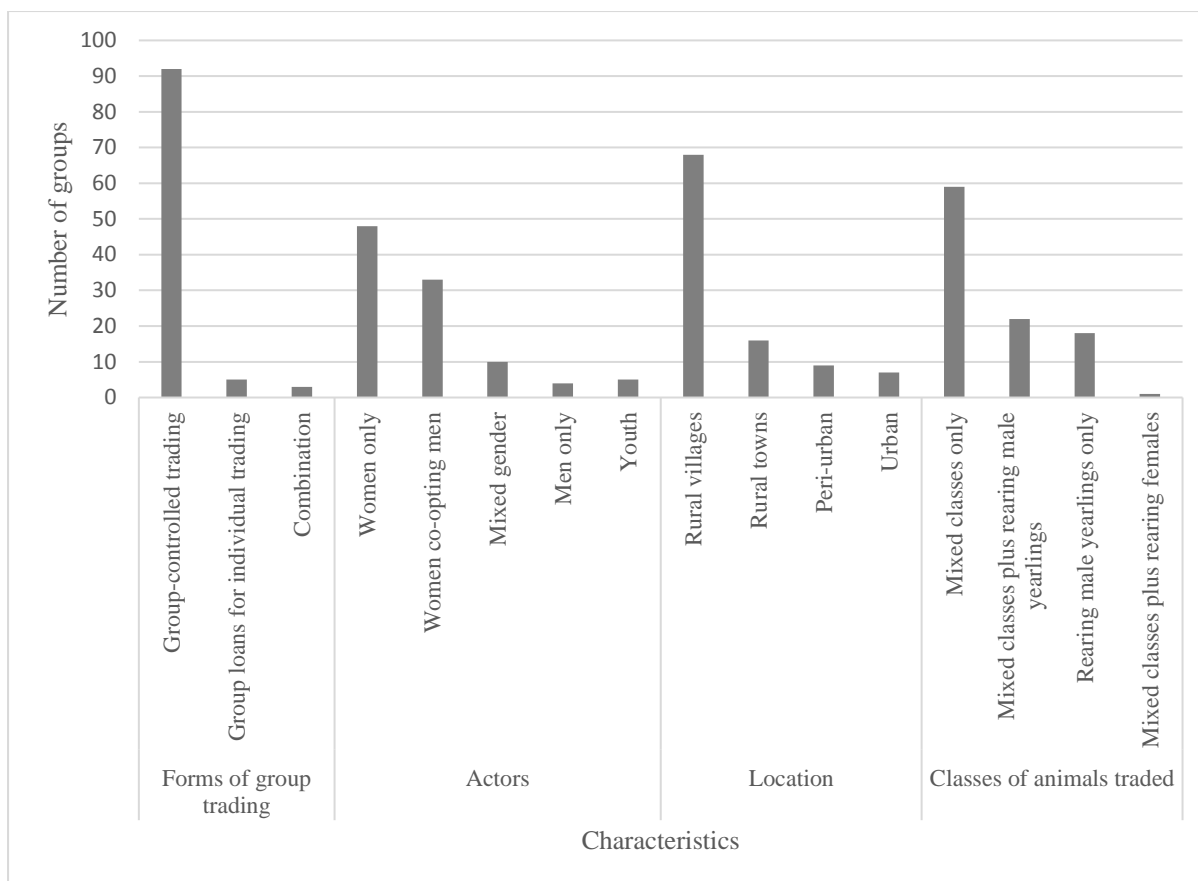


Figure 5.1: Forms of trading, actors, location and classes of animals traded by groups.

5.3.1.2 Actors and geographical locations involved

Contrary to the common narrative that livestock trade is a men’s activity, out of the assessed groups (n=100) the majority of groups studied and therefore also formed the majority of those that traded in sheep and goats were women’s groups (81%), with only few being mixed groups (10%), youth groups (5%), and men’s groups (4%) (Figure 5.1). Most of those women’s groups were from rural villages (54 of the 81 women’s groups) and rural towns (12 of the 81 women’s groups). However, women’s groups co-opted men for roles gendered as male such as trekking animals to the market (33 of the 81 women’s groups).

In-depth interviews with group officials revealed that women easily engaged in sheep and goats trade relative to trade in other livestock species for the following reasons: sheep and goats are easy to rear before and handle during marketing; low capital requirements; easy to combine with domestic and livestock-management tasks; high potential to build capital and expand the business. Production and market-related factors also catalyzed women's involvement in sheep and goats trade. These factors included sheep and goats being kept and sold by community in large numbers, not so susceptible to drought and diseases like cattle, high market demand and reliable markets. Some sheep and goats remain around homesteads in the dry season when the rest move to mobile camps thus easy to purchase. The groups could easily compensate for losses in case they occur so long as it is not a major disaster. The need for women to support their husbands (or support themselves in case of single parents such as widows) to provide for the family also contributed to this trend.

5.3.1.3 Age-sex categories of animals traded

Groups traded the different classes of animals. These included trading mixed classes, rearing of male yearlings for a period of 6 months to 1 year to produce grade 1 or 2 castrates, and rearing of female goats (having a group's herd) to produce males for sale at maturity (Figure 5.1). The majority of groups traded mixed classes of animals (59 out of 100 groups). Mixed classes entailed different sex and grades/ages of sheep and goats¹⁹. Another common practice was to combine trading in mixed classes of animals with rearing of male yearlings (22 out of 100 groups) and rearing only male yearlings (18 out of 100 groups). A special form of trading

¹⁹ The majority of these animals were males and comprised of yearlings (*Lkibote-rege/Karaat/El panya*), uncastrated males of more than 2 years (grade 3 males) (*Orgeei*), castrates of 2 to 3 years (grade 2 males) (*Lkiine Le Ntaare Aare*) and castrates over 3 years (grade 1 males) (*Lkiine Le Laache*). Uncastrated males of 1 to 2 years and grade 2 castrates were highly demanded by traders as well as highly traded by groups. For traders, these categories of male goats were cheaper, have tender meat and can withstand transport stress. For groups, these categories of goats were profitable. Grade 1 castrates were less demanded by traders due to high price and less traded by groups because of frequent negative returns.

livestock practiced by only one group in a rural village was whereby the group had its own herd and traded male animals at maturity.

In-depth interviews revealed the reasons why a group as outlined below preferred a certain practice or combined the different practices related to classes of animals traded. Unpredictability of market supply (groups cannot predict categories of animals that sellers will offer in the next market) and unpredictability of market demand (groups cannot predict how demand in terms of categories of animals and prices in the next market day will look like) influenced the practice of trading in mixed classes of animals. A category of animals that happened to be at high demand (or sold at better prices) at that time buffered the rest in terms of profitability. The groups claimed that mixed classes were sold sooner after purchase, resulting in higher sales turnover and a higher cumulative profit per period. Additionally, due to immediate sales, losses resulting from diseases, predators and drought/dry season were minimized.

With regard to trade in rearing of male yearlings (*El panya*) to maturity, the groups said that male yearlings formed the highest proportion of sheep and goats sold by producers thus available for purchase. They were cheaper than grade 1 and 2 sheep and goats. Rearing them ensured that the group sold mature ones for which prices were higher. The sale price was often two to three times the buying price. It made it easy for group members especially those in rural villages (33 of the 40 groups that practiced) to combine group and domestic and livestock-management tasks; this also sufficed for rearing female goats (the one group that practiced this approach was from a rural village).

Male offsprings from the female goats were sold at maturity, a strategy that assisted groups to boost the business at that point in time. Female offsprings were used to build the group's herd.

A member who reared group animals benefited from milk and eventually owned some of the adult female goats after producing several offsprings for the group.

5.3.2 Drivers of group marketing of sheep and goats

A number of factors influenced the pastoralists in Marsabit South District to sell sheep and goats as groups. All groups interviewed (n=10) mentioned labour constraints to undertake the business individually, financial constraints to start the business individually, and potential benefits in group marketing while three of the 10 groups interviewed mentioned the need to minimize transaction costs related to gathering market information individually. Below is a description of the different drivers and how acting together is beneficial, as explained by group officials.

5.3.2.1 Potential economic benefits of group marketing

Groups reiterated several economic benefits associated with group marketing of sheep and goats. First, through trading, groups use profits from sheep and goats to build capital that members (and even non-members) can borrow for immediate (emergency) needs such as food, medical care, veterinary care, and education of children and to start or expand individual businesses. Profits are also used to build capital for sheep and goats trade and to capitalize other group businesses.

Second, the group is a market. Groups provide market for sheep and goats for both members and non-members at village level – closer, reliable and “emergency-sale” market – especially where formal markets are far or non-existent in the area. The groups were further probed on whether, as a market, they offer higher prices and buy more livestock from members. With

regard to pricing, the groups revealed that they are trading for profit. They have to negotiate for lower buying prices and aim at a higher profit margin when they sell. They therefore offer same buying prices to members and non-members. With regard to off-takes, although groups would prefer to buy more animals from members, they end up buying more from non-members. Non-members are many and purchasing from them helps the group to meet purchase targets faster. In addition, group members do not necessarily have to sell animals through groups but are free to explore other market outlets. Members do not sell frequently (can postpone sales) because groups offer loans for immediate needs as well as offer other benefits such as compensation for their labour when involved in the purchase and sale of group animals.

Third, when they access group loans for immediate needs, members are able to postpone sale of livestock from own herds especially when prices are low and when animals are far in the mobile camps especially in the dry season. They sell when animals return to the villages in the wet season and when prices are better. They then repay the loan and use the balance of the money for other household needs.

Fourth, there are potential beneficial collaborations between groups and between members of a group (s) who have been supported to trade individually when they are buying and selling animals in the primary and secondary markets. In the primary and secondary markets, they consult on prices and occasionally sell their animals together to be able to negotiate collectively for better prices from a buyer. When accessing external markets, they collaborate among themselves and with individual traders by sharing transport costs and by entrusting one or two of their members to go and sell animals on behalf of the rest so to reduce the costs of upkeep.

5.3.2.2 Labour constraints associated with individual business undertaking

As explained by group officials, different household members perform different roles related to livestock management. Men are involved in herding, watering, and security. Women are involved in the management of small stock, constructing enclosures for animals, and in domestic chores. Youth are more pre-occupied with herding. These tasks constrain household members from undertaking the livestock business (and even other businesses) individually, with men and youth being more affected. There are also multiple labour demands (related to purchasing, selling, rearing before sale) in sheep and goats trade that cannot be handled easily by an individual. Even people who undertake individual trade either seek collaborations with peers or hire temporarily a trustable person to assist in the market, herding or trekking of animals.

When they act as a group, people are able to share responsibilities. This allows them to balance between group activities and household domestic and livestock-management tasks, especially during drought when livestock management becomes demanding. In the absence of a member due to understandable reasons such as sickness or baby care, other members continue with group activities and the absent member is assured of benefits. When a member is away from home due to group activities, other members take up her/his household responsibilities. Female group members also arrange with their husbands, mature children, and co-wives for replacement in domestic and livestock-management tasks at the time of absence. The youth rarely have mature children to replace them in domestic tasks while away – their parents and spouses sometimes represent them in group meetings but not in actual group business activities.

Male individual livestock traders that collaborate with groups were also asked how they managed trading activities amid livestock-management tasks that require them (men) more than women. The traders said that, besides collaborations or partnerships with fellow traders, they have their own arrangements at family level. Wives and mature children need to be brave

and hardworking to effectively take up livestock-management tasks. They regularly share information about the business especially the benefits with family members so to convince them to focus on livestock-management in the absence of the household head. As they move around buying and selling animals, they survey areas with enough pasture and inform the family members to move there. They also arrange with brothers/relatives to support the family members in livestock management in return of incentives such as food, clothes, veterinary medicines, and livestock donations. In the absence of supportive relatives, they hire a male herder for a period they are away although it is sometimes difficult to get someone. When they hire a herder, they attach to him an own child to keep watch as the household head makes regular visits to check the condition of animals. Despite all these arrangements, the traders however admitted that, livestock management in the dry season and drought is overwhelming, a situation that compels them to stop trading temporarily and shift efforts to livestock management.

5.3.2.3 Financial constraints related to starting individual business

Women in particular expressed that they do not have full control of household (livestock) assets. Therefore, they cannot easily convert them into financial assets and have sufficient money to start a business individually. They depend mainly on the good will of the husbands. Where the husbands do not respond to their request to support payment of statutory fees, they have to save money from household expenditures and channel it to the group. People pool the little financial resources together to start a business activity.

5.3.2.4 High cost of gathering market information individually

Groups claimed that gathering market information, for example on prices is costly in terms of time and money if done individually. This includes making several market visits and calls. In groups, various members gather this information as they go about their daily endeavors and it is shared in regular group meetings. This information assists the group to trade favorably, for instance when negotiating for purchase and sale price, and when making timely decisions on when to sell.

5.3.3 Participatory analysis of factors influencing functionality of group marketing of sheep and goats

5.3.3.1 Constraints

Multiple constraints affected group marketing of sheep and goats. These included a combination of market-related, organizational, governance and business-management factors. The influence, strength or relative importance of the different constraints²⁰ is shown in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4. All these categories of constraints predominantly affected poorly performing or dormant groups. However, some of these factors affected even the well-functioning groups; these were mainly market-related constraints. In-depth interviews with group officials particularly on the market-related constraints revealed that these constraints occurred at one, two, three or all the four stages in the marketing chain (Table 5.2). Interviews with five local individual traders collaborating with groups revealed more reasons why group marketing is challenging. The reasons included protracted decision-making, fear of losses due to common-pool property, and fear of alternative (external) markets due to inherent challenges despite

²⁰ A higher average score and the number of groups that mentioned a factor shows that a factor has a high influence on performance.

efforts by individual traders to connect them to these markets. The traders concurred that, a resolve by some groups to support individual member trading is a step in the right direction in terms of overcoming these challenges.

Table 5.2: Stages in the marketing chain at which marketing constraints occur

Marketing constraint	Where it occurs in the marketing chain	Description
High marketing costs	I, II, III, IV	Cost of facilitating group members to purchase and sell animals; fees at primary and secondary markets; fees to brokers; fees en-route and in external markets
Lack of market information	I, IV	Type of information needed for both local and external markets– prices; type of animals in demand; availability of buyers; volume of animals in the market; alternative markets; security en-route to markets;
Poor or fluctuating market prices and demand	IV	Type of information needed for external markets only – police road blocks; movement restrictions due to disease quarantines; travel time Occurs when markets are flooded with animals, when buyers are few (collude to offer lower prices), and in the dry season when animals are weak. There are also unexplained price drops when they are expected to be higher.
Inadequate water and pasture in the dry season/drought	II, III	Animals lose body condition; some animals die
Livestock diseases	I, II, III, IV	Purchase of animals with asymptomatic forms such as <i>Coenurosis (Sirgo)</i> ; spread of common diseases such as Contagious Caprine Pleuropneumonia (CCPP).
Competing domestic and livestock-management tasks	I, II, III, IV	Affect all the activities in the livestock marketing chain
Animals getting lost or predated	I, II, III, IV	Getting lost – during herding; stray to other herds in the market; stolen en-route and in the market; some members cheat about losses (rare)
		Predation – by wild animals during herding and movement to the market

I=At purchase; II=At herding/rearing before sale; III=During transport/movement to the market; IV=At sale in the market

Table 5.3: Organizational, governance and business management constraints mentioned by at least 3% of groups

Factor category and averages of responses (strength of a factor category)	Sub-factors	Excellent (n=2)	Good (n=32)	Fair (n=21)	Poor (n=18)	Dormant (n=27)
Structural (Av=6.25) ²¹	Village split and distant villages by design (n=5)	0	0	0	1	4
	Members moved to other towns (n=4)	0	0	0	1	3
	Expected external support (n=15)	0	0	3	4	8
Member characteristics (Av=3) ²²	Many old members (n=4)	0	0	0	2	2
Cooperation (ns) (Av=7) ²³	Delayed loan repayments (n=16)	0	2	4	4	6
	Low and delayed monthly contribution (n=7)	0	2	0	1	4
	Quarrels due to high expectations (n=3)	0	0	2	0	1
Benefits related (Av=3) ²⁴	Frequent generous contribution to members especially the poor and to clan fundraising (n=4)	0	0	0	0	4
	Non-dedicated officials (n=3)	0	0	0	0	3
Governance (Av=2) ²⁵ Business management and acumen (Av=6.6)	Shifted capital to other businesses and to registration of the group (n=7)	0	0	1	1	5
	Lack of transparency and accountability in financial management (n=6)	0	0	1	0	5
	Just started (Little experience) (n=3)	0	0	0	3	0
	Low capital (n=14)	0	0	5	3	6
	Limited business skills e.g. how to manage losses (n=3)	0	1	0	0	2
	Domestic and livestock-management tasks (n=33)	0	9	13	7	4
Household and livestock management factors (Av=17) ²⁶						

n=number of groups; Av=average number of groups that mentioned the factor category - this is calculated by summing up responses under the specific factors and dividing by the number of specific factors under a factor category

²¹ Other factors mentioned – big group size (n=1)

²² Other factors mentioned – high illiteracy of members (n=2)

²³ Other factors mentioned – lack of trust (n=2)

²⁴ Other factors mentioned - no benefits to members (n=2)

²⁵ Other factors mentioned – secretary left (n=1)

²⁶ Other factors mentioned – uncooperative husbands (n=1)

Table 5.4: Marketing constraints mentioned by at least 3% of groups

Factor category and averages of responses (strength of a factor category)	Sub-factors	Excellent (n=2)	Good (n=32)	Fair (n=21)	Poor (n=18)	Dormant (n=27)	Performance level that it affects
Form of group trading (Av=3)	Members' opposition to entirely doing business as a group (prefer group loans for individual businesses) (n=3)	0	0	0	2	1	A
Production related factors (Av=19) ²⁷	Drought (dry season) (n=44)	2	9	12	10	11	B
	Livestock diseases (n=33)	1	10	10	6	6	B
	Predators (n=16)	0	6	2	4	4	B
Purchase and supply factors (Av=4) ²⁸	High buying price (n=4)	0	0	1	1	2	A
	Infrequent sales (n=9)	0	1	4	4	0	A
Moving animals to markets (Av=8.3)	Theft of animals en-route (n=4)	2	0	0	2	0	B
	Death of animals en-route (n=3)	0	1	1	0	1	B
	High trekking/transportation (marketing) costs to secondary market (n=18)	0	3	5	2	8	A
Markets and marketing infrastructure (Av=10.5) ²⁹	Long distance to secondary and external markets (n=20)	0	4	6	2	8	B
Market demand and linkages (Av=16.7) ³⁰	Poor/fluctuating prices (n=46)	0	14	12	9	11	B
	Lack of market information (n=3)	0	0	1	0	2	A

n=number of groups; A=contribute more to poor performance and dormancy of groups; B= affect both poorly (poor to dormant) and better (fair to excellent) performing groups at almost equal measure; Av=average number of groups that mentioned the factor category - this is calculated by summing up responses under the specific factors and dividing by the number of specific factors under a factor category

²⁷ Other factors mentioned – lost during herding (n=1); floods (n=1)

²⁸ Other factors mentioned – low supply from producers (n=2); competition from large-scale traders (n=1)

²⁹ Other factors mentioned – theft in the market (n=1)

³⁰ Other factors mentioned – unpredictable demand (n=1)

Table 5.5: Organizational, governance and business management strategies mentioned by at least 3% of groups

Factor category and averages of responses (strength of a factor category)	Sub-factors	Excellent (n=2)	Good (n=32)	Fair (n=21)	Poor (n=18)	Dormant (n=27)
Structural (Av=10)	Few members (n=8)	0	4	3	1	0
	External training (n=12)	2	6	1	0	3
Member characteristics (Av=2.7) ³¹	Members from same village (n=5)	0	2	1	2	0
	Trust (n=40)	1	21	11	5	2
Cooperation and personal character features (Av=15.8) ³²	Respect (n=37)	1	20	9	5	2
	Active participation in group activities (n=40)	1	21	11	5	2
	Resolve not to return to problems they faced before forming a group (n=4)	0	2	2	0	0
	High transparency and accountability (n=3)	0	1	1	1	0
Governance (Av=5.5) ³³	Compliance with by-laws (n=17)	0	11	4	1	1
	Members benefiting from loans (n=12)	1	6	4	1	0
Benefits (Av=12)	Limit giving credit (n=3)	0	1	1	1	0
	Members bailing the business (n=6)	0	3	3	0	0
	Operate debt-free business e.g. sheep and goat trade (n=3)	0	2	0	1	0
	Long experience (n=3)	2	1	0	0	0
Business management and acumen (Av=2.4) ³⁴						
n=number of groups; Av=average number of groups that mentioned the factor category - this is calculated by summing up responses under the specific factors and dividing by the number of specific factors under a factor category.						

³¹ Other strategies mentioned - members of the same age (middle age) (n=1); members from the same clan (n=2); good support from husbands (n=1)

³² Other strategies mentioned - unity (n=1); no alcoholism (n=1); no rumour-mongering (n=1); having a vision (n=2)

³³ Other strategies mentioned - all-inclusive decision-making (n=1); replace bad officials (n=1); avoid political interference (n=1)

³⁴ Other strategies mentioned - save excess profit (n=2); stick to business plans (n=1); operate more than one business (n=2); designate business management to one or few members in the dry season (n=1); shift to other business if current one is incurring much losses (n=1)

Table 5.6: Marketing strategies mentioned by at least 3% of groups

Factor category and averages of responses (strength of a factor category)	Sub-factors	Excellent (n=2)	Good (n=32)	Fair (n=21)	Poor (n=18)	Dormant (n=27)
Mode of group trading (Av=6)	Support individual member trade (n=6)	2	4	0	0	0
Production and external factors (Av=2) ³⁵	Stop trade in the dry season (n=3)	0	3	0	0	0
Purchase and supply factors (Av=3.7) ³⁶	Good link with sellers (n=8)	2	6	0	0	0
Moving animals to markets (Av=13)	Low marketing (trekking) costs (n=13)	2	10	0	1	0
Markets and marketing infrastructure (Av=7.3)	Access to internal markets (primary and secondary) (n=13)	2	10	0	1	0
	Close to the main road (n=3)	2	1	0	0	0
	Available communication infrastructure (n=6)	2	3	1	0	0
Market demand and linkages (Av=6.7)	Collaborate with other groups (n=7)	0	5	2	0	0
	Collaborate with individual traders (n=6)	0	6	0	0	0
	Good relationship with buyers including credit sale of animals to traders (n=10)	2	8	0	0	0
	Direct link with final buyers - contract/tender with road construction companies; sell to restaurants and NGOs; also do slaughtering (n=7)	0	4	2	0	1
	Access to market information (n=7)	2	4	1	0	0
	Access to external markets (n=3)	2	1	0	0	0

n=number of groups; Av=average number of groups that mentioned the factor category - this is calculated by summing up responses under the specific factors and dividing by the number of specific factors under a factor category.

³⁵ Other strategies mentioned – slaughter coenurosis (*Sirgo*) animals (n=1);

³⁶ Other strategies mentioned – village located along livestock trade route (n=2); buying animals at a lower price (n=1)

5.3.3.2 Strategies to overcome the constraints

The results revealed that the opportunity to overcome constraints affecting group trading of sheep and goats was seen by some groups more than others did. Those that saw the opportunities and applied them performed better (Table 5.5 and Table 5.6). However, there were also attempts by some poorly performing groups to deal with organizational, governance and business management challenges. The bigger challenge for the poorly performing groups were the market-related constraints. Despite the fact that the well-functioning groups had endogenous strategies to deal with market-related constraints, some of these constraints remained a challenge even to them. These included drought, livestock diseases, predators, theft and death of animals en-route to markets, long distance to secondary and external markets, and poor/fluctuating market prices.

In-depth interviews with officials of well-functioning groups revealed how they were able to deal with the most problematic category of constraints – the market-related constraints, as described in the paragraphs below. The fractions in brackets indicate the number of groups that practised or mentioned a strategy out of the 10 well-functioning groups that were interviewed.

High marketing costs – To minimize costs, group members involved in the purchase and sale of animals were convinced to accept minimal payment for upkeep, as they will also enjoy other benefits later. Hiring of non-members was minimized as it was costly (10/10). Costs of rearing and veterinary medicines were minimized by evenly distributing animals to members to rear before sale (10/10). Instead of returning home the unsold animals and incur additional costs of trekking and trekking stress on the animals, groups from distant places left the remaining animals with relatives/friends living near the secondary market until the next market day (8/10). Collaboration with individual traders with whom they share villages and ethnic identity were

pursued so as to share transport cost as well as to learn tricks of dealing with challenges en-route and in markets (6/10).

Lack of market information – As reiterated by interviewed group officials, in the past, groups acquired information only when they get to the market. Nowadays, they have devised a range of mechanisms of gathering information prior to purchases and sales as outlined below. However, the information is gathered when they are almost ready to purchase or sell so that it does not “expire” before actual transactions are undertaken. As explained by group officials, all members met before and after purchases and sales to share information they have gathered from the different sources (9/10). Members who do individual trading as well as individual traders that collaborated with groups were a good source of diverse information because of their frequent visits to markets than groups (7/10). Groups called brokers and traders with whom they already established relationship with, as individual members called their relatives that stay near the secondary market (7/10). Community members and other groups who participated in the recent market day were contacted for information (6/10). Groups listened to or called Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) radio programme on Monday and Saturday between 12 noon and 2 pm (time allocated to the Rendille community) to inquire about information in the different markets (1/10).

Poor or fluctuating market prices – To minimize the effect of this constraint, all groups interviewed invested more in gathering information prior to sales. With this information, they adopted a variety of sale options depending on prevailing circumstances. The choice of an option was also aided by trading in mixed classes of animals. Option 1 was to only sell at wholesale the categories of animals (by age-sex, size) that fetched better prices at that time and

return the rest home. Option 2 was to categorize (grade) animals according to species (sheep, goats), age, sex and size/body condition, and sell every sub-category separately at wholesale price. Option 3 was to sell all animals presented to the market irrespective of age, sex, and size at wholesale and at a better total gross margin compared to retail sales. Wholesaling contributed to more and quicker sales at a point in time compared to retail sales. Groups minimized trading in grade 1 sheep and goats because of high purchase prices, low profit margins, and sometimes losses. Some groups had good relations with certain buyers and could negotiate for relatively better prices (3/10). Trust between certain buyers and groups allowed groups to give them animals on credit at an agreed price (1/10). Buyers in turn sent money to groups through the mobile money transfer system commonly used in Kenya (the *MPesa*).

Inadequate water and pasture in the dry season and drought – Groups evenly distributed animals to members to minimize the risk (10/10) and members managed animals through the traditional mobility and supplementary feeding of home-based animals with acacia pods. Supplementary feeding with maize purchased from the market was also done (1/10). All male animals were castrated to withstand such stressful conditions (10/10). During drought, the family head concentrated on livestock management and this benefited even group animals (10/10). Groups engaged actively in livestock trade in the wet season and reduced the activity in the dry season to avoid trading in weak animals (4/10) or temporarily stopped the activity (6/10). As an alternative in the dry season, some groups (7/10) focused more on other businesses such as sale of household items whereby foodstuffs were mainly given on credit and payment done in-kind through goats (more profitable to the group) in the next rainy season. According to these groups, this was an indirect way of continuing with sheep and goats trade. Some groups (1/10) bought camel calves, reared and sold later or bartered them with goats for

sale – camels are more resistant to drought. Some groups (1/10) shifted to slaughter of rams as their fat is highly demanded in the dry season for feeding young children especially toddlers.

When trekking animals to the market in the dry season, all groups interviewed mentioned that trekking starts some days before the market day so that animals are driven slowly to allow enough time for grazing, watering, and rest. This way, they reached the market in good body condition. Animals were moved only in the night and early morning hours to avoid heat stress. Trekking routes with sufficient water and pasture were used.

Livestock diseases – To ease compensation later, especially for animals that later show acute signs of *Coenurosis*, groups in rural areas bought animals from people they know. Alternatively, groups slaughtered animals that later show signs of *Coenurosis* and meat sold to salvage some value (9/10). Careful health check of the animals was done before purchase (10/10). The group member who herds group animals took care of veterinary services – in case of difficulty, they consulted the whole group for support (10/10). Group members trained as community-based animal health workers (CAHWs) were useful in managing diseases that affected group animals (1/10). Group members trekking animals to the market carried veterinary medicines, especially for the common diseases such as CCPP (2/10). In case an animal died en-route to the market, group members assigned to take animals to the market consumed the meat and paid for the value of the animal (1/10).

Competing domestic and livestock-management tasks – All groups interviewed expressed that purchase and sale of animals was rotated among members. Animals were distributed to members to rear before sale. When a member is away from home due to group activities such

as purchase and sale of animals, other group members took up her/his household tasks. Some groups (5/10) adopted alternative trade practices such as rearing male yearlings to maturity so to allow members time for domestic and livestock-management tasks.

Animals getting lost or being predated – All groups interviewed explained that, to minimize animals getting lost during purchase and sale, a team of 2-3 group members was involved. During purchase, one person guards purchased animals as others purchase more. During sale, one person guards and the others look for buyers or negotiate for prices. Groups collaborated in the market by keeping their animals in one place. This included being keen on who stands around to avoid animals being unknowingly sold by conmen. Purchased animals were branded with a unique mark for ease of traceability.

To minimize losses during herding/rearing, group members instructed the herders to be more keen on group animals as they also do close monitoring. Good herders were incentivized by the group by buying for them bead ware, clothes and shoes. Groups minimized trading in big goats (grade 1) – this grade is expensive and can be a big loss if it gets lost, predated, or die. The group oversight committee did regular monitoring to curb cheating (on losses) by members. Predation and theft en-route to the market was curbed by strong fencing and guarding of animals at night by co-opted or hired men. This was much easier when several groups and individuals trekked animals together.

5.3.3.3 Strategies used to minimize economic losses in group marketing of sheep and goats

Besides dealing with marketing constraints, groups also employed a number of other strategies to minimize economic losses so to increase or stabilize profitability as described below. The fractions in brackets indicate the number of groups that practiced or mentioned a strategy out of the 10 well-functioning groups that were interviewed.

Buying more from primary markets than other sources (10/10) - The groups did not buy animals from producers and traders in the secondary market because of higher prices. Itinerant/mobile traders and other marketing groups were also trading for profit thus groups could not buy from them. Buying from the villages was a good option for groups but producers expected higher prices, making negotiation time longer and resulted in purchase of fewer animals. Due to challenges encountered in the other channels, primary markets became a better resort for groups because prices were always relatively low owing to the large number of animals presented by livestock producers on a market day. The large number of animals sold also enabled groups to buy many animals at once hence save members the time for other commitments. In case purchase prices at primary markets were found to be higher, groups postponed purchases. As they purchased animals from the primary markets, groups also gathered market information about prices of livestock in the destination markets (secondary and terminal markets). The primary markets in the study area that were accessed by groups include Ilaut (organized fortnightly – every first Tuesday) and Korr (organized every Saturday of the week).

Selling more to foreign/external (non-Rendille) traders in the secondary market than to the local Rendille traders (10/10) – Only one secondary market exists in the study area, that is the Merille market situated in Merille town and operated on weekly basis (every Tuesday). Groups preferred to sell animals to foreign traders in the secondary market rather than to local Rendille traders because they offered better prices and bought many animals at once. However, foreign traders were faulted for rarely disclosing information about prices and livestock demand in terminal markets and being rarely found in the primary markets.

The local Rendille traders were commonly found in the primary and secondary markets but they bought fewer animals and at lower prices (because they also traded for profit), and often colluded to offer lower prices. Groups could not sell animals to itinerant traders (Rendille) and other marketing groups (composed of the Rendille) because they expected lower purchase prices. Brokers in the markets were not buying animals but connected groups with external traders as well as did translation during price negotiation. Brokers also sold animals on behalf of groups at a fee.

Selling to external markets (4/10) – The regional and terminal markets mainly accessed by groups are located south of the study area and included regional markets such as Isiolo and Archers Post while the terminal market was in Nairobi. In spite of groups selling animals at relatively better prices and within a shorter time, access to these markets was largely constrained by long distances (Isiolo and Archers Post markets were 150-170 Km while Nairobi market was 500-600 Km from most groups), higher marketing costs, and unpredictable/fluctuating prices. This was exacerbated by low working capital and fewer animals traded by groups. Groups were unfamiliar with dynamics en-route and at the terminal markets including how to manoeuvre life in urban centers where these markets are located and

communication (language) problems. These constraints partly explain why in the last one year, only 11% and 6% of the total studied groups sold animals to regional markets and Nairobi markets, respectively. To minimize losses related to access to these markets, groups collaborated with individual male traders with whom they shared villages, ethnic identity, and for some, group membership. However, according to individual traders, groups were not risk-averse – they feared losses because of the business being a common-pool property; they also feared venturing into external markets due to limited knowledge of how to manoeuvre the associated challenges. Another weakness highlighted by traders was protracted decisions related to purchases and sales. Because of these challenges, some groups discontinued trading in terminal markets after 1 to 3 attempts.

Taking advantage of price differential between the market and the villages (2/10) – The groups took advantage of the differences in market prices of large stock (camels, cattle and donkeys) and the high value accrued by bartering them with goats in the villages. For instance, a camel heifer and a mature female donkey bought from the market is exchanged with 30 goats and 12 goats, respectively. The goats when sold fetched about two times more money than the market value of the large animal.

Securing supply contracts/tenders from NGOs/companies (1/10) – This happened occasionally when road construction companies were present and when NGOs were conducting workshops in an area. This trading channel was said to be profitable but groups admitted that they were sometimes unable to maintain the supply frequency, quantity, and quality required due to limited capital and dry season effects (animals move far – few found in the villages and the nearby primary markets).

Responding to business slump (7/10) – Only seven of the interviewed groups mentioned this strategy and reiterated that the slump sometimes occurred due to limited capital, drought, and delayed repayment of credits and loans that tied the working capital. To respond to these circumstances, group members made additional contributions both in cash and in kind. Some profit from other businesses such as sale of household items was used to boost sheep and goats trade. With regard to delayed repayment of loans, groups applied tough penalties on defaulters. Additionally, the traditional village governance unit (the *Naabo*) assisted to recover loans from stubborn defaulters, especially men.

5.4 Discussion

This study provides an understanding of how group marketing of sheep and goats functions among the Rendille pastoralists of Marsabit County, northern Kenya. The way groups undertake activities related to group marketing of sheep and goats differs with how it is done in crop agricultural marketing. In crop agricultural marketing, small-scale farmers aggregate their surplus output and achieve economies of scale that enable them to overcome volume problems, bypass marketing intermediaries and bargain for better terms of trade (Barrett, C., 2008; Shiferaw *et al.*, 2008). However, in the group marketing of sheep and goats, groups are not pooling together surplus animals from members' herds but they purchase, aggregate and sell animals for profit. This practice was also documented among pastoral livestock marketing groups (PLMGs) in the Borana plateau of southern Ethiopia that were connected to exporters (Aklilu, 2004; Desta *et al.*, 2006) and among PLMGs in northern Kenya (Ngutu *et al.*, 2011) and northeastern Kenya (Aklilu and Catley, 2009) that were connected to local/domestic markets. This difference in the operations of group marketing of crops in farming areas and that of sheep and goats in pastoral areas is in tandem with the assertion of Markelova and

Mwangi (2010) that how collective marketing works may differ depending on the product, context and the prevailing situation.

The common definition connotes group marketing as where members undertake all the marketing activities collectively. This is also true for group marketing of sheep and goats but with an additional form where groups support members through loans to undertake individual businesses. This latter form emerged as a result of weaknesses in the group approach which delayed benefits to members. This indicates the ability of groups in pastoral areas to innovate on their own and evolve towards approaches that make them perform better under the prevailing circumstances. A similar approach where groups supported members to undertake own businesses, control their own income, and only come together for credit, training and marketing support was also noted in Ghana (Lyon, 2003). This means that collective marketing can take different forms in different contexts depending on the type of activities and the prevailing situation or opportunities.

Contrary to the wider assumption that livestock trade is the domain of men, in this study, the majority of groups involved in the marketing of sheep and goats were women's groups. This was attributed to several factors. Besides the increasing need for women to provide for the families, sheep and goats trade was also seen to be easy for women to undertake. This indicates that group marketing of sheep and goats offers greater opportunities for women to diversify livelihoods despite the competing needs for time and labour for domestic and livestock-management tasks. In addition, a majority of these women were from the remoter rural areas. These rural women could be embracing groups in such areas where local livelihood options are limited, an aspect that was also observed among groups in the rural Ghana (Porter and Lyon, 2006).

Pastoral livestock production is the main means of livelihood in pastoral areas. In support of this system, members of a household perform different roles related to livestock management, and these efforts are needed more in the dry season and during drought when herd mobility increases in order to exploit the variable rangeland resources. Due to this competing need for time and labour, mobility has been labelled as a hindrance to group approach in pastoral areas. However, this study reveals the opposite. Groups have enabled pastoralists to diversify livelihoods while attending to their domestic and livestock-management tasks, something that would have been difficult to achieve individually. This has been made possible by endogenous strategies by the pastoralists themselves. For instance, pastoralists in groups share business tasks as well as replace in domestic tasks those that are out of their homes due to group-related activities. Additionally, through groups, individual pastoralists have been able to pool financial resources in order to exploit the benefits of group marketing. These benefits include loans for emergency needs, a group as a closer, reliable and “emergency-sale” market, and loan/credit support which enables postponement of sale of own animals when the market situation is unfavourable. However, it is worth noting that mobility could still affect men’s and youth groups compared to women’s groups. Less involvement of pastoral women in the management of mobile herds makes it conducive for them to get more involved in group work compared to men and youth.

The study provides evidence as to why, in the same environment and prevailing conditions, some marketing groups perform better while others perform poorly or dormant. The study shows that some groups see opportunities in solving the prevailing constraints more than others hence perform better. The common constraints relate to the organization and governance of groups, business management and marketing of sheep and goats. However, some of these constraints, particularly those related to marketing, remain a challenge even to well-functioning groups, thus require concerted efforts. Most of the marketing constraints are typical of the

general constraints affecting livestock marketing in pastoral areas. For instance, the constraints to regional and terminal markets such as high marketing costs and unpredictable/fluctuating prices are similar to those encountered by local traders (Roba *et al.*, 2017) but with local traders being more of risk takers than groups. The participatory Likert-type scale rating methodology used to gather this information through group self-assessment of performance has implications for research and practice particularly in rural communities where the level of illiteracy is high.

Some of the recommendations by technocrats to improve livestock marketing include the need for groups to be taken for study visits outside their environment and provision of a high technical support. Although these recommendations are to some extent useful, this study reveals the existence of endogenous strategies applied by some groups in order to perform better. This means, rather than always thinking of better solutions to come from outside, this study reveals that some solutions can be found from within. This provides an opportunity to combine both external and emic ideas. Furthermore, external ideas should build on endogenous strategies. The first line of action should be to encourage or support groups to make use of endogenous strategies by learning from each other through peer-to-peer learning. This includes encouraging groups to utilize the on-going collaborations between them, individual members, and between groups and other traders as learning platforms. If possible, these collaborations can be formalized through an association, but groups should be given the freedom to decide how they want this form of collective action or learning platform to look like and work. Such kind of collaborative learning and other benefits from group marketing illustrated in the previous paragraphs explain the advantages of group trading over individual trading, and places groups in a better position to deal with some of the marketing constraints. Another notable advantage is the ability of groups to capitalize own businesses and that of individual members from savings mobilized internally, a sustainability approach that external lending institutions such as banks can build on. However, borrowing from the views of individual traders

interviewed in this study, these advantages can be of much value if groups take the risk to venture into lucrative markets, an aspect that seems to be currently retarding the potential of group marketing.

Informally, local traders in the study area also apply some of the endogenous strategies applied by well-functioning groups. The common strategies include harnessing social relations with other actors in the supply chain in order to deal with the variable and uncertain supply and demand, taking advantage of price differentials between the village and local markets by buying cattle and camels and later bartering with sheep and goats, and rearing immatures (Roba *et al.*, 2017). Traders sell animals directly to Burji traders (non-Rendille) that they have had relations for long and trade in a mix of different types of animals to buffer them against losses and the limited information about demand specifications and market prices. Through trust-based collaborations and partnerships with others that they share ethnic identity and villages, traders share the cost of hiring casual workers, trekking animals to the market and transport to external markets. They also have common Nairobi-based brokers that assist them to sell animals. Local traders share market information, strategically sell animals together to increase bargaining power and mentor new traders (Roba *et al.*, 2017). Similar studies in West and East Africa have also documented these forms of collaboration between traders and between traders and other actors (Van Ufford and Zaal, 2004).

The major difference in strategies between individual traders and groups in the study area is the level of risk taking. Traders are in control of own business decisions and therefore able to take risk while groups are managing a common-pool property and fear the backlash that would result from losses. Traders manage risks by utilizing their partnerships and relationships with other actors in the supply chain (Roba *et al.*, 2017), an aspect that could be emphasized to groups given that collaboration between groups and between group members already exist. This is more important for groups in rural areas that still favour group-controlled trading.

However, in peri-urban areas close to the secondary market, groups have already moved the risk of trading to members by giving them loans to undertake individual businesses. Capitalizing business through group loans is something that local traders could also learn from groups and possibly formalize it by joining existing groups or form their own.

5.5 Conclusions and recommendations

Pastoral community groups undertaking marketing of sheep and goats trade for profit in order to provide income diversification opportunities particularly for rural women despite the competing domestic and livestock management tasks. They assist pastoral households to achieve diversification of livelihoods that is difficult to achieve individually. Through groups, community members are able to accrue benefits such as access to loans for immediate needs – these loans enable them to postpone sale of livestock when market prices are poor.

In addition to the commonly practiced group-controlled trading, collective marketing has evolved in some cases into an approach where groups support members through loans to undertake businesses individually as a way to expedite benefits to members. Group marketing of sheep and goats has its own multiple challenges and this includes a combination of market-related, organizational, governance and business-management constraints. However, in the pastoral areas, groups that function well have their own strategies to overcome them, including ways to minimize economic losses. This demonstrates existence of local knowledge that could be tapped to improve functionality of groups through peer-to-peer learning. Nonetheless, there are constraints that remain a challenge even to well-functioning groups especially marketing constraints – these require concerted efforts.

Collaboration between groups (and group members that trade individually) in the marketing of sheep and goats is a potential recipe for a second-level form of collective marketing that can boost their bargaining power, for instance, by forming an association.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 General discussion

In the following, the general discussion and conclusions are given in relation to the three specific objectives that focused on i) the analysis of the history, drivers of formation, and activities of income-generating pastoral community groups, ii) the analysis of the social and governance characteristics of the well-functioning income-generating pastoral community groups and their socio-cultural context, and iii) the characterization of group marketing of sheep and goats and the analysis of the marketing strategies used by well-functioning groups to overcome challenges affecting their functionality.

6.1.1 Emergence and evolution of pastoral community groups

In the pastoral areas of Marsabit County, different entities played different roles over time in the formation and development of income-generating pastoral community groups. These included the Church, government, non-governmental organizations, community elites and leaders, and self-organization of groups by ordinary community members. In the past three decades, a remarkable (four-fold) increase in the number of groups formed was observed, and this included an increase in self-organized groups. This emergence and increase in self-initiated groups was associated with the weaknesses of the older generation of groups that were mainly externally initiated, of which most of them collapsed or were inactive after external support.

The new generation of groups had different characteristics aimed towards sustainability, for instance small membership, focus on immediate benefits for members through group-based

loans for individual members, and adapting their organization and governance to socio-cultural norms and practices such as same clan, same village, and same age-set.

Emergence and evolution of these groups were driven by factors that were both internal and external to the community. The major factors included long distance to formal livestock and commodity markets, increasing household needs amid decreasing social support, labour constraints to diversify livelihoods individually, past experiences (learning from negative as well as positive examples), and the prevailing market opportunities. Out of the many activities, these groups preferred a particular combination of income-generating activities comprising of sheep and goats' trade, sale of household items, and microcredit schemes. These activities were said to be synergistic, complementary and reciprocal, and contribute to sustainability of groups by stabilizing income in the different seasons. The results show that pastoral income-generating groups are evolving towards better functioning models. The new generation of groups have the freedom to decide how they want to look like, for example adapt their socio-cultural and governance practices to the way they are organized and governed.

6.1.2 Socio-cultural and governance foundations of successful income-generating groups

This study identified member characteristics and governance practices that contribute to the well-functioning of pastoral income-generating groups and explains their socio-cultural embeddedness. Member characteristics associated with the social factors age, gender, location, clan, education, and wealth were perceived to be the important but not sufficient so to ensure well-functioning of groups, unless the preferred personal character features, interest, and willingness of a member to cooperate are also considered. For group officials or other group members that take up specific tasks, personal character also mattered a lot. Personal character features as a final determinant of admission into a group has however not been given adequate

consideration as a criteria for admission of individuals into groups by external agencies. Additionally, external agencies have been using visible social categories such as age, gender, and wealth to standardize group membership, while ignoring personal characteristics that are well-known by community members and are essential to successful group functioning, but are not known by external agents.

The important member characteristics were both homogeneous and heterogeneous – this finding sets a middle ground and provides a new thinking into the on-going academic debates where there are polarized discussions on the importance of heterogeneity or homogeneity.

With regard to good governance of pastoral community groups, pastoralists favoured practices that work best in their own environment and what conforms to the traditional governance practices of the community. This implies that, for better functioning, pastoral income-generating groups draw on their (self) experiences and socio-cultural norms and governance practices. This result illustrates culturally specific factors that are important for group functioning yet are often ignored by external agencies when promoting community groups or regarded as attempts by communities to resist change or new ideas. However, pastoralists are also open to adopt external knowledge (i.e. ideas introduced by external agencies) when they find that it conforms to the traditional practices of the community and when it helps them to improve their group practices. Contextualization of functionality of income-generating pastoral community groups and therefore the results of this study is an original contribution to existing literature.

6.1.3 Characteristics and functionality of group marketing of sheep and goats

This study revealed that, group marketing of sheep and goats was mainly driven by potential benefits, constraints for herding and trekking, as well as financial and marketing information

constraints associated with individual business undertaking. Groups enable pastoral households (particularly rural women) to achieve diversification of livelihoods despite the competing domestic and livestock-management tasks, which would otherwise be difficult to achieve individually. For instance, pastoralists in groups share business tasks as well as replace in domestic tasks those members that are out of their homes due to group-related activities. Through groups, community members are able to accrue benefits such as access to loans for immediate needs and therefore enabling them to postpone sale of livestock when market prices are poor. Additionally, groups enable them to invest in the pastoral production system by using the proceeds to restock their herds, buy veterinary medicines and feed supplements such as cereals and acacia pods, and to support herders and other family members. This indicates that success of groups is one way of sustaining pastoralism as a way of life.

Whereas agricultural groups are known for providing opportunities for members to pool surplus output for marketing, the results of this study revealed a significant departure from this, as the main objective of pastoral marketing groups was to trade for profit and use the profits mainly to build capital for loans.

A majority of sheep and goat trading groups were mainly comprised of women, which is contrary to the held opinion that livestock trade is the domain of men. Additionally, most of these women's groups were found in *manyattas* (clan-based villages) in rural areas. This indicates that pastoralists are embracing income-generating groups as a livelihood strategy. Furthermore, this contrasts the held opinion that it is difficult to promote livelihood groups in pastoral areas due to pastoral mobility. However, it is worth noting that the studied pastoral community was transhumant – perhaps, the said difficulties could still be found in highly nomadic communities.

Groups practiced a combination of both group and individual member trading (members used group loans). This shows that collective livestock marketing has evolved in some cases into an approach where groups support members through loans to undertake businesses individually as a way to expedite benefits to members and to improve performance of group trading. These two approaches were intrinsically reciprocal and synergistic, for instance groups were a source of loans for individual members as well as a source of training and insurance against business collapse. The interest from loans was then used by groups to build their capital. Whereas emphasis is always placed on access to external credit, the link between livestock marketing and group-based loans system in pastoral areas, as exemplified in this study, needs to be leveraged by external agencies.

Besides the commonly traded categories of sheep and goats (mixed classes in terms of age and sex), groups dealt with two special categories of animals, i) male yearlings (reared for a period of six months to one year to produce grade 1 or 2 castrates for sale), ii) own herd of females – to produce males for sale at maturity and use female offsprings to build the herd. This finding has implications for improvement of collective livestock marketing in pastoral areas.

This study revealed why under the same prevailing conditions, some marketing groups were functioning well while others were performing poorly. The opportunities/mechanisms to improve performance or overcome constraints affecting group trading of sheep and goats (organizational, governance, business management, and livestock marketing constraints) were practiced by some groups more than others did. Groups that saw/practiced those opportunities performed well. The well-functioning groups were able to endogenously (using local knowledge) deal quite well with the organizational, governance, and business management challenges, but a considerable number of livestock marketing constraints remained a challenge even to them despite the efforts. The most problematic marketing constraints were drought,

livestock diseases, predators, theft, long distance to secondary markets, and poor/fluctuating prices.

Also notable in this study was the collaboration between groups (and group members that trade individually) in the marketing of sheep and goats. This is a potential recipe for a second-level form of collective marketing that can boost their bargaining power, for instance, by forming an association. The association could also serve as a collaborative learning platform for groups.

6.2 Conclusions

1. Pastoral income-generating groups (IGGs) are evolving towards better functioning models, particularly in the marketing of sheep and goats. There is an emergence of a new generation of groups that has the freedom to decide on how they should be organized and governed. Groups also use their experiences or learn from each other to evolve new approaches to marketing of sheep and goats such as group-based loans for individual member businesses, rearing of male yearlings, and group's herd of female sheep and goats.
2. Externally initiated groups were flawed and local people took over the general idea but modified/reshaped it to their needs. This also demonstrates an interplay between external agency and endogenous change.
3. Pastoral community groups provide income diversification opportunities particularly for rural women despite the competing domestic and livestock-management tasks. In addition, pastoralists use part of the proceeds from groups to sustain the pastoral production system.
4. Pastoralists draw on their experiences and on their socio-cultural organization and traditional governance practices when setting up well-functioning IGGs. This shows

compatibility and synergy between traditional community practices, cultural collective actions, and IGGs.

5. Group marketing of sheep and goats has its own challenges but groups that function well have their own endogenous strategies to overcome them or minimize their effect, including ways to maximize profits. However, some marketing constraints still remain problematic even to the well-functioning groups.
6. Sheep and goat marketing groups are trading groups - they mainly trade for profit. Collective action is mainly required for trekking animals to the market and bargaining for favourable prices at the market.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Recommendations for development and policy implications of the research findings

1. Efforts by development practitioners to form or promote sustainable community groups should first take into consideration lessons learned from the history of group formation so to learn from past weaknesses, successes, and transformations over time, foremost learn from the views of community members.
2. Actors (development agencies, government) interested in strengthening local capacity for effective community group functioning should work with and consider experiences and perceptions of community members as well as their socio-cultural norms and practices in identification of what matters for a group to perform better without external support.
3. External efforts by development agencies and government aimed to improve access to livestock markets should first build on endogenous strategies of communities and encourage groups to learn from each other through peer-to-peer learning before thinking of learning

opportunities outside, while consulting them on efforts required to deal with marketing constraints that remain a challenge even to well-functioning groups.

4. Government and other external agencies should take advantage of or leverage on the community innovations such as group-based loans for individual trading, rearing male immatures, and having a group's herd of female goats so to initiate development interventions.

5. Any efforts by external agencies to promote formation of livestock marketing associations in pastoral areas should be informed by groups' views on reasons for forming the association, and how they want the association to look like (in terms of organization and governance) and function.

6.3.2 Areas for further research

- The impact (benefits) of group marketing of sheep and goats to group members compared to non-members.
- Factors influencing profitability of the different forms of group marketing of sheep and goats including strategies used by groups to minimize losses so as to increase or stabilize profitability.
- The possibility of groups to form an association and penetrate niche markets for organic products such as for livestock from pastoral areas. In this regard, groups must be given the liberty to suggest how they want this kind of association or collective marketing to look like or function. This should also be informed by a thorough analysis of the relationships between groups and between groups and other actors with a focus on both potential benefits as well as risks.
- Analysis of the necessity of external support to groups to identify elements that are really critical and enhance sustainability vis-à-vis those with potential to jeopardize sustainability.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview guide for survey and identification of groups

- a. Department of Social Services at the sub-County and County headquarters, chiefs and sub-chiefs in the study area, Non-governmental organizations, other technical government departments/ministries, private sector organizations, churches
 - i. List of groups that you support currently or you have supported in the past or that you know to exist in your area of jurisdiction (for chiefs) or area of work (for NGOs, technical departments, private sector, churches) or in Laisamis South District (for Department of Social Services). The groups can be for social, community projects or economic purposes. For each group, please specify or give an indication of:
 - Name of the group;
 - Contact person – name and telephone number;
 - Location – where it is located (village, sub-location, location).

- b. Groups – snow ball approach – interview guide
 - i. Kindly give us information about any groups that you know exist in your village and the neighbouring villages. The groups can be for social, community projects or economic purposes. For each group, please specify or give an indication of the:
 - Name of the group;
 - Contact person (name and telephone number);
 - Location (village, sub-location, location).

- c. Livestock market visits – interview groups as they operate in the market – interview guide
 - i. Kindly give us information about any groups that you know exist in your village and the neighbouring villages. The groups can be for social, community projects or economic purposes. For each group, please specify or give an indication of the:
 - Name of the group;
 - Contact person (name and telephone number);
 - Location (village, sub-location, location)

Appendix 2: Interview guide for characterization of groups

Please provide the following information about your group

1. Name of the group

2. Location of the group: specify the name of the village Sub-Location
Location Division

3. Geographical setting of the group:
 - a) Setting where the group resides: rural village []; rural town []; peri-urban []; urban []
 - b) How many villages does your group cover? Why that number of villages – explain circumstances, advantages and disadvantages.

4. The type of the group and the number of groups that members belong (or past experience in group work):
 - a) Actors: women-only []; women group co-opting men []; men’s group []; youth group []; mixed group []
 - b) Why women only or women co-opting men or men-only or mixed or youth group?
 - c) Do members (including officials) belong to this group alone or to other groups as well? If only to this group, why? If to other groups as well, why?
 - d) Is belonging to other groups in the past or now beneficial to the group? How?

5. Number (group size) and gender of members:
 - a) Total number []; specify the number of males []; specify the number of females []
 - b) What was the number at the beginning of the group? Did it change (increase/reduce) in the course of group development and why?
 - c) Why and how did you decide on that group size? Or, are you comfortable with that group size and why?
 - d) Generally, what are the advantages and disadvantages of smaller or bigger group size?
 - e) From your experience, what is the manageable group size?

6. Year of formation (duration of the group)
 - a) When was the group formed or for how long has it existed?
 - b) What determines how long the group should exist?

7. Registration:
 - a) Registration status: not registered/informal []; registered/formal []
 - b) If registered, why did you decide so? What were the requirements for registration? How often do you renew registration?
 - c) If not registered, why did you decide so?

8. Closed or open group
 - a) If group is closed, why?

b) If group is open, why?

9. Entity involved in formation:

a) Indicate the entity that spearheaded or led formation of your group:

- i) External agency []; for external agency, specify the agency: NGO []; private company []; church []
- ii) Community elite/leader []; for community elite/leader, specify the level of education; primary []; secondary []; tertiary college []; University []
- iii) Self-organized (formed by an ordinary member) []; for self-organized, explain the process that you went through to form the group.

b) For groups initiated by external agencies,

- i) The kind of external support they received, from who and when
- ii) Their views of that external support. Good or bad? Strengths and weaknesses. E.g. for training – was it adequate? Were the contents relevant? Who provided?

c) For groups formed through support of community elites/leaders:

- i) The support they received from elites/leaders – the type of support, strengths and weaknesses
- ii) Ask if they have ever received external support in their development; Yes []; No []
- iii) If yes, specify the type of external support and the time (year) received e.g. training, funding, mentorship
- iv) Who provided the different types of support?
- v) Their views of that external support. Good or bad? Strengths and weaknesses. E.g. for training – was it adequate? Were the contents relevant? Who provided?

d) For self-initiated groups:

- i) Ask if they have ever received external support in their development: Yes []; No [].
- ii) If yes, specify the type of external support and the time (year) received e.g. training, funding, mentorship
- iii) Who provided the different types of support?
- iv) Their views of that external support. Good or bad? Strengths and weaknesses. E.g. for training – was it adequate? Were the contents relevant? Who provided?

10. Objectives of the group (what the group intended to achieve): please list the objectives. This can be social, for community projects or economic.

a) What (benefits) did you want to achieve for the members? Any targets set? To what extent/level have you achieved and why?

- b) What assets did you want to achieve for the group? Any targets set? To what extent/level have you achieved and why?
- c) What did you want to achieve for the entire community? Any targets set? To what extent/level have you achieved and why?

11. Type and number of activities undertaken in order to achieve group objectives

- a) For the wider community (social/community projects) – list the activities. Why that number of activities? Which activity did you start with, followed by which one and why?
- b) For the economic benefit of members. For this category, list:
 - i) Livestock-related business activities Why that number of activities? Which activity did you start with, followed by which one and why?
 - ii) Non-livestock business activities Why that number of activities? Which activity did you start with, followed by which one and why?

12. Specifically for group marketing of sheep and goats, provide the following information:

- a) The form of group marketing practised: group-controlled trade []; group loan-based individual trading []; If you practise both, tick the two
- b) The type of animals traded: mixed classes (different age-sex categories) []; rearing male yearlings/immatures to maturity []; keeping a herd of females to produce males for sale at maturity []. If you trade in two or all of these classes of animals, tick appropriately.
- c) The type of the group: women-only []; women group co-opting men []; men's group []; youth group []; mixed group []. **Please note that this information is also gathered up there. Do not answer this question here.**
- d) Geographical setting of the group: rural village []; rural town []; peri-urban []; urban []. **Please note that this information is also gathered up there. Do not answer this question here.**
- e) Linkages/collaboration with other groups or stakeholders (in the marketing of sheep and goats or for other purposes)
 - i) Any collaboration (do business together or share information) with other groups?
 - ii) If yes, what stimulated/encouraged you to collaborate with them? Or, what kind of groups do you prefer to collaborate with?- mention their characteristics
 - iii) How does collaboration take place?
 - iv) Where there is collaboration, any weaknesses?
 - v) If no collaboration, why?
- f) Umbrella association (for marketing of sheep and goats or other purposes)

- i) Is the group a member of an umbrella association? What is the name of the association?
- ii) How does the umbrella association operate i.e. membership, objectives, activities, etc.?
- iii) What benefits does the group get from the umbrella association?
- iv) Any weaknesses in the operation of the umbrella association?

Appendix 3: Interview guide for gathering information on the history and drivers of group formation

1. Narrative interview with a group official
 - a) Can you please give us the story of your group from the time you conceived the idea until now
 - b) Probing – from your narration, you mentioned about XX. Please tell me more about it.
 - c) Are there cases where a group emerged due to poor performance or failure of the previous one? Explain.

2. In-depth interviews with group officials (other officials not involved in the narrative interview) – checklist
 - a) From your experience, what entities/personalities have influenced (took lead or guided) emergence of groups (your group) in this area in the last 20 years (emphasise on income-generating groups as they were not in the community in the old past)? Refer to a major event that took place in the study area 20 years ago e.g. the El nino of 1997/98. Depending on the knowledge of the respondent, ask about the entities before the 1990s (e.g. from Kenyan independence)

 - b) From your experience, what factors (driving forces/circumstances) have influenced emergence of groups in this area in the last 20 years (emphasise on income-generating groups as they were not in the community in the old past)? Refer to a major event that took place in the study area 20 years ago e.g. the El nino of 1997/98. Depending on the knowledge of the respondent, ask about the factors before the 1990s (e.g. from Kenyan independence).

 - c) Ask about their view of external support:
 - i) What are the common types of external support?
 - ii) How do you perceive external support – strengths and weaknesses? Do groups take external support seriously or not seriously? What is good about external support? What is bad about external support?

- iii) What do you advise external agencies in order to make their support more beneficial?
 - iv) List institutions (NGOs, Government, private, churches) that support groups in the area?
3. Key informant interviews with other stakeholders (chiefs, government departments/ministries, NGOs, churches, private sector)
- a) Ask the same questions as in the in-depth interviews with group officials
 - b) In addition, ask the following questions to other stakeholders except chiefs:
 - i) What kind of support do you give to groups and to which type of groups (based on their objective, actors etc.)?
 - ii) For how long have you supported groups in the study area?
 - iii) Do groups take your support seriously to achieve their intended objectives?
 - iv) What criteria do you use to select the groups to support?
 - v) Any weaknesses in the way external agencies (your peers) provide support to groups.
 - vi) Any policies and laws regarding groups' approach?
 - vii) How do you monitor groups? Any ideas for better monitoring of groups?
 - viii) Livestock population per location – ask the department of livestock production
 - ix) Provide us with existing literature on groups – training manuals, progress reports, etc.

Appendix 4: Participatory Likert-type scale rating tool for self-assessment of group performance

- The detailed description of the methodology is in the methods section of Chapter 4 of the thesis. It mainly captures the general performance of income-generating groups.

Appendix 5: Interview guide for gathering information on social organization, cultural collective actions and traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists

- 1. Interviews with group officials
 - a) Social organization, cultural collective actions and traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists
 - i) How is the Rendille community organized socially e.g. into clans, age-sets, etc.?
 - ii) What governance systems or structures exist in the Rendille community?
 - iii) What kind of cultural activities do community members perform together? Alternatively, what kind of circumstances/things make the community to act

together? How do they act collectively in each of the cultural activity/circumstance?

- b) The link between the social and governance factors perceived to be important for group functioning and the way the Rendille community is socio-culturally organized and governed
 - i) Do you see a link between the way your community is organized and the way you are forming community groups e.g. in relation to clan, village, inclusion of different wealth groups? Please compare the two, citing similarities and differences.
 - ii) Do you see a link between the way the community performs cultural collective activities and the way you perform your group activities e.g. who is involved? Please compare the two, citing similarities and differences.
 - iii) Do you see a link between the way the community is governed and the way you govern your group e.g. leadership structure, selection of leaders? Please compare the two, citing similarities and differences.

2. Key informant interviews with community leaders (chiefs)

- a. Social organization, cultural collective actions and traditional governance practices of the Rendille pastoralists
 - i) How is the Rendille community organized socially e.g. into clans, age-sets, etc.?
 - ii) What governance systems or structures exist in the Rendille community?
 - iii) What kind of cultural activities do community members perform together? Alternatively, what kind of circumstances/things make the community to act together? How do they act collectively in each of the cultural activity/circumstance?

Appendix 6: Interview guide for gathering information on social factors (characteristics of members)

- Factors to consider – age, gender, location/village, clan, education, wealth status, marital status, sex of the household head, ethnicity, religion, main occupation

- 1. Name of the group: _____
- 2. Location: _____
- 3. Sub-location: _____
- 4. Date of Interview: _____
- 5. Number of members in the group: _____

6. Please provide the following information with regard to number of members of your group in the following categories:

6.1 Age of members:

- a) Youth (*Lehero*) (18-35 years) _____
- b) Middle aged (*Katikati*) (36-55 years) _____
- c) Old (*Eween*) (above 55 years) _____
- d) How does the Rendille community define age groups?

6.2 Gender of members

- a) Male _____
- b) Female _____

6.3 Marital status of members

- a) Married _____
- b) Widows (women) _____
- c) Widowers (men) _____
- d) Divorced (separated) _____

6.4 Sex of household head

- a) Male headed households _____
- b) Female headed households _____

6.5 Level of education

- a) Illiterate _____
- b) Primary education _____
- c) Secondary education _____
- d) Post-secondary education _____

6.6 Wealth status

- a) Poor _____
- b) Middle class _____
- c) Rich _____
- d) How does the Rendille community define wealth groups?

6.7 Tribe/ethnicity

- a) Rendille/Ariaal _____
- b) Others (specify) _____

6.8 Clans of members

Clan	Number of members
------	-------------------

6.9 Religion

- a) Christian _____
- b) Muslim _____
- c) African traditional religion _____

6.10 Residence/village

- a) How many villages does the group cover? _____
- b) Number of members in the village where the chairperson stays _____
- c) Number of members in other villages _____

6.11 Profession of members

- a) Livestock keepers _____
- b) Others (specify) _____

6.12 Where members are located

- a) Rural villages _____
- b) Rural towns (e.g. Ilaut, Korr, Ngurunit) _____
- c) Urban centre (e.g. Merille, Laisamis, Logologo) _____
- d) Peri-urban area (e.g. around Merille, Laisamis, Logololo) _____

6.13 Number of groups joined by members

- a) Number of members in 1 group _____
- b) Number of members in 2 groups _____
- c) Number of members in more than 2 groups _____

6.14 Number of wives in members' families

- a) Member families with 1 wife (monogamous family) _____
- b) Member families with 2 wives and above (polygamous family) _____

6.15 Household size of members' families

- a) Number of member families with 6 or less household members _____
- b) Number of member families with more than 6 household members _____

6.16 Does the secretary know how to read and write? A) Yes ____; B) No ____

6.17 Does the treasurer know how to read and write? A) Yes ____; B) No _____

7. For each social factor (from 6.1 to 6.15), ask:
 - a) Whether the factor and the associated member characteristics were considered in the admission of members to the group (or as the group developed) or just coincidental.
 - b) Reasons for a pattern of the member characteristic revealed (e.g. when asking about age as a factor, ask why a greater proportion of members belong to a particular age group), and
 - c) Whether the social factor and the resultant patterns/member characteristics are important for the functioning of the group and why.
 - d) Besides the above factors, ask if there are other factors important for the functioning of the group e.g. interest and willingness to cooperate. How do you evaluate the willingness of a member to cooperate? What qualities/criteria do you consider in selecting and admitting a potential member?
 - e) Any link between the important social factors and the way the community is socio-culturally organized. **See Appendix 2b.**

Appendix 7: Interview guide for gathering information on governance factors

- Factors to consider – leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability
- 1. For each of these factors (leadership, decision-making, by-laws, transparency and accountability), ask:
 - a. If they practice it or not
 - b. The origin of the form of governance they practiced (external agencies, own group idea)
 - c. How they practice it
 - d. Whether it is important for the functioning of the group and why.

Further questions to follow in No. 2 to 5.

2. Leadership structure
 - a. How does the structure of group leadership look like? If full, why? If partial, why? Any relationship with the leadership structure in traditional institutions?
 - b. What qualities do you consider when electing officials? Any link with the way you select traditional leaders?
 - c. What are the roles and responsibilities of the different officials?
 - d. What is the tenure of officials? Is it renewable and for how long (maximum number of terms)? Any link with tenure of traditional leaders?
 - e. What does it mean when officials stay in the office for the entire period of the group? Has the group ever fired any of the group official? If yes, why?

- f. How do you elect an official (the procedure followed)?
 - i) Why did you chose the election system you adopt?
 - ii) Any link with traditional procedures? If yes, how? If not, why?
 - g. How does the oversight committee work? How is it elected? Any link with traditional systems in the community?
3. Decision making in the group
- a. What are the most important decisions that a group makes? Which ones can the officials/oversight committees alone make and which ones require the whole group?
 - b. In case of an issue that requires a decision to be made, what steps are undertaken until a decision is reached? Are the decisions documented?
 - c. In which group forums are decisions made? – weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly, and why?
 - d. How is implementation of decisions executed and monitored?
 - e. What are the similarities and differences in traditional decision making in groupings Vs IGGs' decision-making?
4. Constitution/by-laws
- a. Does the group have a constitution/by-laws? Are they written? If yes, why? If not, why?
 - b. What are the contents of constitution/by-laws? Show me your constitution.
 - c. How was the constitution/by-laws developed? Are they ever revised? When?
 - d. What are the group issues (offenses) that require by-laws? What by-laws correspond to the various issues/offenses?
 - e. Have there been cases of offenses committed by members and officials in your group? How many cases in each offense? What actions were taken?
 - f. How are by-laws enforced and monitored?
 - g. Any link with community by-laws for different purposes?
5. Transparency and accountability mechanisms
- a. What mechanisms have you put in place to ensure that there is transparency and accountability in the group? Why do you put them in place?
 - b. Are these mechanisms implemented as required? If not, why?
 - c. How do you enforce and monitor implementation of these mechanisms?
 - d. How often are you expected to hold group-wide progress meetings? How many have you held in the last 1 year?
 - e. Does your group keep records? What type of records/documents? Who keeps them e.g. registration certificate? Can I see?
 - i) Do you see records as important to the group? How? If not, why?
 - ii) Which records are easy to keep and which ones are difficult to keep and why?

- iii) What are the possible remedies to improve record keeping?
- iv) Any traditional forms of record keeping?
- f. What are the similarities and differences between transparency and accountability mechanisms of traditional groupings (if any) and that of IGGs?

Appendix 8: Interview guide for a survey on characterization of group marketing of sheep and goats

- Refer to the information in Appendix 1b (12)

Appendix 9: Participatory Likert-type scale rating tool for self-assessment of performance of group marketing of sheep and goats using

- The detailed description of the methodology is in the methods section of Chapter 6 of the thesis.

Appendix 10: Interview guide for in-depth interviews with group officials of well-functioning groups on collective marketing of sheep and goats

1. The roles of household members (men, youth- boys and girls, women) in livestock management and other domestic tasks and how they affect group work. Why are men and youth less involved in group work? Timeline of annual community events (e.g. ceremonies, migrations) and how they affect group work.
2. Drivers of group marketing – why do you form a group to sell sheep and goats rather than do it individually?
3. Why does your group practice/prefer a certain form of group trading e.g. group-controlled trading, group loan-based individual?
4. Why does your group practice/prefer trading in a certain class of animals e.g. mixed classes?
5. Why are many women/women’s groups getting involved in the marketing of sheep and goats compared to trade in other species of livestock?
6. How does your group undertake activities in the marketing process – buying, selling, and rearing before sale? Combine this with some bit of narrative interviews and ask the following questions:
 - a) Can you please tell me (or recall) about the recent (or last) shoats marketing activity and tell me about the whole process or what happened right from purchasing to final selling, OR

- b) Can you please tell me (or recall) about your recent (or last) shoats marketing activity that went well and tell me the whole process or what happened right from purchasing to final selling, OR
- c) Can you please tell me (or recall) about your recent (or last) shoats marketing activity that didn't go well and tell me the whole process or what happened right from purchasing to final selling
- d) Probing – in your narration, you mentioned about XX. Please tell me more about it.

7. Marketing process – alternative questions:

a. Purchasing

- i) Sources of animals (places of purchase e.g. villages, watering points), proportion from each source and why
- ii) From who animals are purchased, proportion from each seller and why- producers (members of group) in villages, mobile camps and watering points; producers (non-members) in villages, mobile camps and watering points; itinerant traders in the villages and en-route to markets; producers and local traders in the primary and secondary markets
- iii) Who in the group (number of people) does the purchases and why the type and number of people?
- iv) Who makes a decision on what has to be purchased (money to be used, number and type of animals to buy, etc.)?
- v) Any financial facilitation for those doing purchases? How much for various purchase places?

b. Rearing before sell

- i) How are animals reared before sell and why?
- ii) Who takes care of rearing costs and why? What are the types of costs?
- iii) What are the rearing periods and why?
- iv) Any incentive to those who do herding (group members or their herders)?

c. Selling

- i) Who makes decision on who (people and their facilitation), when and where to sell group animals and what is considered?
- ii) Who in the group (number of people) does the sales and why the type and number of people?
- iii) Places where groups sell their animals, proportion sold to each place and why- internal primary markets; internal secondary markets; markets outside the County; supply contracts with NGOs, Govt, Companies, big hotels, etc; barter exchanges at villages; group slaughters;

- iv) Buyers utilized by groups, proportion commonly utilized and why- local traders in internal primary markets; local traders in internal secondary markets; external traders in internal primary markets; external traders in internal secondary markets; NGOs/Govt/Companies/big hotels; itinerant traders in villages; brokers in markets
 - v) Any facilitation for those doing sales? How much for various selling places?
8. Does your group face any constraints/challenges at the different stages of the marketing chain – purchasing, rearing before sale, transport to the market, and selling?
 9. What strategies does your group use to overcome the different challenges at every marketing stage – refer to number 8?
 10. What strategies does your group use to minimize economic losses (including physical and quality losses) so to increase profitability?

Appendix 11: Interview guide for key informant interviews with male livestock traders

1. From your observation, what do you think are the major weaknesses of group marketing of sheep and goats?
2. How do you manage to combine livestock trading with livestock management given that in a pastoral society like the Rendille, livestock management requires more attention of men?