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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

TOPIC:

IMPACT OF FAMINE RELIEF FOOD AID ON THE GABBRA PASTORALISTS
OF MARSABIT DISTRICT: CASE STUDY OF MAIKONA LOCATION

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

PRESENTED

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DECLARATION

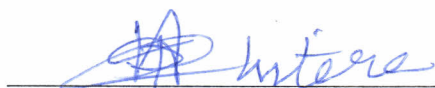
This research project proposal is my original work and has not been presented for any degree in any other university.



Date 31st October, 2003

This research project proposal has been submitted for the examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

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CHAPTER 1.0: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

About 80% of land area in Kenya falls within Arid and Semi-Arid lands (ASALs). Drought is a common feature in the Northern and North Eastern part, Coast and Eastern Region of Kenya. The impact of drought is felt a lot in pastoralists' areas in that it affects people's lives and livelihoods leading to destitution and poverty. Pastoralism is however the most efficient way of utilizing resources of these areas.

The Government of Kenya, in liaison with other International Agencies, Donors, and Non-Governmental Organizations mount famine relief programs to ease the pain of hunger during drought. Such Programs involve broad objectives like saving lives and reducing mortality risk; supporting and strengthening livelihoods; local capacity building and programs that build on social organization and take account of the needs of marginalized groups, particularly women (OXFAM, 1997).

In the early 1960's, Missionaries settled in Maikona and attracted communities that came to water points to settle by giving food aid. This settlement led to the formation of urban centres and the more destitute people were motivated to these centres for food. Other social facilities such as primary schools and dispensaries were also put up. This encouraged further settlement.

UN World Food Program started food aid work in Kenya first in 1979. The main target groups of WFP food aid are (i) the poorest people (ii) neediest countries, (iii) communities emerging from disasters, (iv) continuing efforts in disaster mitigation preparedness. WFP channels

roughly 70% of its resources for emergency relief. In addition to such relief efforts, it also uses food aid to encourage economic and social development with the intention of enabling communities to be as sustainable as possible with minimal dependence on outside food aid as a long-term solution. It is, expected for instance, that children would go to school if saved from gathering food for the family. Food security would also allow women to devote to farming and craft skills, improve literacy and support development activities.

According to World Food Program, the leading food aid agency in the World, its ultimate objective is the “elimination of the need for food aid”. The core policies and strategies that govern its activities are to provide food aid to save lives in emergency situation; improve the nutrition and quality of life of the most vulnerable population like children and expectant and nursing mothers; and to build assets and promote self-reliance of the poor through labour – intensive works programs (food-for-work).

World Bank sees food security as “Access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life”. Pastoralists do not have enough food most times going by this definition and food relief cannot fulfil this requirement since it is not available all the time. Pastoralists cannot afford a meal three times a day as in normal food secure homes. On the other hand food relief is never nutritious since it is not balanced in many cases.

1.2. Problem statement

Due to constant famines and droughts, the pastoralists in Marsabit, like all others in the Country, have been facing hunger and malnutrition over the years. This

situation has led the Government and other Aid Organizations to work hand in hand in order to save lives through distribution of food.

Despite the efforts of food agencies and the government's effort to turn food aid into development, more need for food aid is observed over the years. The overall aim of food aid to provide self-reliance seems to be undermined by the negative effects on local production, consumption patterns and dependency on food aid. Death of livestock, the sole means of livelihood for pastoralists leads to their dropping out of their production system and settling in the trading centre mainly as destitute, solely depending on food aid (Fratkin, 1991).

According to Sen (1981), people do not usually starve because of insufficient supply of food but because they have insufficient resources, including money "entitlement" to acquire it. Access to food due to lack of money to buy it is the problem for the pastoralists of Marsabit.

Donated food aid especially by the missionaries and the Government was lacking in nutrition leading to greater malnutrition. Long-term blanket distribution did not help the situation. Food insecurity has contributed to the marginalization of the communities of Northern Kenya in that aid agencies and the Government use resources in providing food aid to alleviate hunger but contribute very little towards development.

The droughts of the 1970's and 1980's had forced many pastoralists into search for food aid from Christian missionaries forcing them to settle down in trading centres, abandoning their pastoral way of life. This increased poverty despite availability of famine relief and as Fratkin (1991) says of the aarial community in Marsabit, this development was not the choice of the pastoralists. In the settlement village of Laisamis in Marsabit District, alcoholism and prostitution was

rampant due to poverty. Among the settled population, despite the availability of food aid, men left homes to look for wage labour in distant areas thereby causing family separation.

According to WFP Relief Program, 83% of Marsabit District population is covered by food aid, which shows the poverty level of the population to be quite high. The Kenya Food Security Steering Group (KFSSG) Assessment Report of 1999 – 2001 shows some of the following problems associated with food aid:

- (i) Response to food aid assistance sought was not seen as situation – specific and did not incorporate multi-sectoral and multi-agency approach;
- (ii) The community's coping strategies were not taken into account. Livestock mobility was hampered by sedentarization of the pastoralists occasioned by limited food distribution centres.
- (iii) Lack of coordination between the various stakeholders; Government, aid agencies and the community interfered with effective implementation of food distribution causing delay, inadequate supply or oversupply of food. This increased destitution and vulnerability; hence the community took long to recover leading to vicious cycle of poverty.
- (iv) Loss of livestock and poor stock recovery undermined households social standing in society, destroying capacities based on livestock ownership. Food aid interventions ignored traditional and religious values embedded in the institutions of pastoralism.
- (v) Unavailability of funding allocation has delayed response in many instances causing serious setback in handling the emergency and recovery. The Government delay in declaring disaster leads to delay in donor funding.

- (vi) Participation of the local people has been ignored in many food aid intervention, which then makes it hard for the people to internalise the projects and own them. This leads to projects collapsing when donors leave.
- (vii) Political interference destabilizes food aid interventions. For WFP to get food from donors, the Government has to declare disaster, which it delays to do in many instances. This leads to mistrust and misunderstanding, which hampers prompt food aid interventions to save lives and livelihoods.
- (viii) Policy on pastoralism is lacking currently such that livestock rearing and marketing are left at the mercy of the pastoralists who get marginalized by this situation by the day.
- (ix) Physical infrastructure is lacking. This includes roads, telephone and electricity services, water, health care, schools, and abattoirs. This worsens the already poor situation of the pastoralists who believe the Government is deliberately marginalizing them.

FAO sees that the World Food Summit (WFS) held in Rome in 1996 had a plan of Action of reducing the number of undernourished people to half of their present level by 2015, but this is now said not to be possible until 2030. The commitments of World Food Summit of improving food security are not achievable unless poverty eradication takes top priority in all countries to permanently decrease hunger. These commitments include:

- (1) Creating an enabling environment, which allows families to move out of cycle of poverty through participatory approaches and programs to target the neediest.
- (2) Improving access to food by assisting families preserve their assets.
- (3) Encouraging the sustainable use of resources, enabling long-term production and protecting environment.
- (4) Developing markets so that

products can fill local economic niches. (5) Disaster mitigation, which calls for extensive pre-planning and coordinating relief and development. (6) Facilitating investment in marginal areas, encouraging partnerships, and adopting the technology. (7) Finally, encompassing relief and development efforts by pursuing partnerships with national authorities and private or civil organizations. All these commitments contribute to providing the framework for UN food security policy making.

The general criticism is that food aid seen as a tool for alleviating a specific crisis (drought), has now become a means of livelihood for pastoralists without the governments and the donors intention.

Finally, poor early warning system has led to food aid being distributed during rainy seasons when there is no need. Poor planning and coordination has also led to duplication of food aid distribution by several agencies causing oversupply and wastage. Overindulgence in food aid at the expense of development has led to dependency on food aid. Top-bottom planning in implementation of food aid affected community participation in self-development thereby leading to long-term dependency on food aid.

1.3. Research Questions

Q1. Does food aid affect the social economic status and characteristics of the pastoralists' households in their traditional settings?

Q2. Have the food aid agencies and church missions that are the key players in the food aid activities developed mechanisms to deal with the frequency of food crisis caused by the repeated drought in the area?

Q3. How has the food aid distribution impacted on the community's methods of coping with drought?

Q4. Is the community participating in designing and implementing of development projects in order to build its capacity towards preventing food aid dependency?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The research involves studying the impact of food aid on the pastoralists. The main focus is on the extent of food aid use and how sustainable it could be in alleviating hunger and destitution amongst the pastoralists. Its extent on pastoralist production would also be viewed. The overall goal of this study will aim at establishing the various issues that will help in how food aid impacts on changes in the livelihood of the pastoralists and its implication on the general development of the community. Specifically the study seeks to:

- (i) Identify how food aid has influenced the status of lives and livelihoods of the pastoralist households;
- (ii) Identify development needs and priorities of the pastoralists and show potential of food aid for ensuring sustainable development of the area;
- (iii) Identify the kinds of interventions used by food aid agencies among the pastoralists and their impact on the development of the area;
- (iv) Identify the extent of food aid use and its implication on the communities' own coping methods in a bid to face the frequent drought in the area.

1.5. Justification of the Study

Kenya Humanitarian update Issue No 8, August 2001 had indicated that there is an urgent need to address chronic food insecurity in the region by continuing humanitarian support for the most needy but also to veer away from a continued culture of dependency in favour of developing

longer-term sustainable initiatives. “Pastoralists have become dependent on relief food as never before during the past two years” (FEWSNET 2001).

Dependency on food aid is a cause of concern among African Countries. It is believed that Africa has enough capacities for self-sufficiency hence government policies should aim at looking for alternatives to food aid. Information is therefore required on the existing situation. This study would help towards getting such information, which policy makers could use, in creating future development programmes to achieve food security, which is the aim of all governments in the developing countries. Basically, past studies concentrate on causes of drought, its effects on people and environment but gaps are seen in areas of solutions to those effects. This study will attempt to fill this gap.

In short, food aid is an underlying factor in the pastoral economy and the magnitude is increasing due to the food insecurity experienced by the pastoralists. All studies seem to concentrate on causes of food insecurity and its effect. This study would enhance understanding of food aid as a tool to address food insecurity and how it impacts on pastoralists’ means of production.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the extent to which food aid has influenced the lives and livelihoods of the pastoralists. It concentrates on finding out how development agencies’ efforts in linking relief and development have impacted on community development. It further aims at bringing out how and to what extent the attitudes of development agencies and their approaches have influenced the participation of the communities in development activities, and how that has affected pastoralists’ coping methods in the face of droughts. In fact, the main area of interest is the effect

of food aid on community organization and its implication for self-reliant development now and in the future.

Due to limitations on time and funds, the whole of Marsabit District population cannot be studied but the field study on the one location can give information on the impact of food aid on the general population, especially as regards the pastoralists of Northern Kenya. In this study, the researcher is also likely to encounter difficulties during interview due to low awareness level of the community members who do not generally understand the going on around their environment. To overcome the above problem, the researcher will expect to spend much time with the respondents in discussing the various aspects touching on food aid in the area.

CHAPTER 2.0: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses various materials collected on food aid as it affects pastoralists in general and those in Northern Kenya in particular. The general view is the large extent to which food aid is used to support lives and livelihoods of the communities in the short term during drought and underlines the efforts by the development agencies to achieve a sustainable development to overcome persistent food crisis in these areas.

2.2. Historical Background

Marsabit District like all parts of Northern Kenya has experienced droughts and famines over many years. From the early 1960s, famine relief had been used to save lives in times of severe droughts. Pastoralist populations have continuously benefited from famine relief handouts from both the government and the missionaries. Many people were forced to settle in urban and mission centres during the drought of 1970s and 1980s in order to receive famine relief after losing all their livestock. Such settlement still continues as people abandon Pastoralism to settle near food distribution centres (Fratkin, 1991).

The Christian Missionaries settled people in order to discourage pastoralism and to Christianise the population. However, this has increased poverty despite the availability of famine relief. This settlement as seen in Sambamba villages of Laisamis, in Marsabit, for example, has led to a situation of social deviancy such as alcoholism and prostitution. Furthermore, livestock production is seriously undermined in these urban areas since the environment around town cannot sustain the number of stock of the settled population.

The Catholic Missions, which opened in 1960's, gave long-term wholesale distribution of famine relief food with or without a crisis with an aim of settling people down in urban centres to benefit from education, health care and be taught religion. This led to the formation of permanent dependent populations. Donated grains meant to be food supplements quickly became primary food source for settled population replacing local food production and ultimately leading to greater malnutrition. However, the Missions have now changed this to only times of crisis. By the 1980s, the government had also discovered dependency of the population and started to put food policies in place to address food problems.

In the 1970s and 1980s, international organisations like IPAL and UNESCO supported the settlement of people in urban centres in order to control environmental degradation. Their efforts to encourage petty trade by selling attractive foods like sugar, tea, and flour did not bear fruit as pastoralists refused to sell their livestock since they valued them more. The monied group like wage labourers in fact sold off old and infirm stock and bought steers to increase the number. The ones with fewer animals got poorer because they sold off their few stocks in exchange for cash and then settled down for food aid handouts.

In the Kenya National Food Policy Sessional Paper No 4 of 1981, the government's objectives were to ensure adequate food supply to all people through proper productions and planning. It was observed that oversupply of relief food kills initiative and therefore the government should look for alternatives to relief food for the pastoralists. Some recommendations included giving credit facilities, trading, community mobilisation for self-initiative trading, and addressing the problem of improper management of food production, supply and distribution.

The year 1990s to date has seen more and more pastoralists depending on famine relief throughout the year. WFP Relief Program says Marsabit District's 83% of the population now depend on food aid. More and more populations are now settling down for the sole purpose of receiving food aid. Development programs intended to help the population have been on limited scale and not had any impact. Pastoralists are now getting more and more marginalized due to serious food crisis worsened by recurrent droughts and loss of their only source of livelihood and livestock.

2.3. Types of food relief

WFP points out three types of food relief. There is food-for-work which involves people undertaking projects like roads and dam repairs and getting paid in food. According to Marsabit Development Program, out of the total District population of about 120,000 people as per 1999 census, only 10,000 individuals were supported through food for work. This accounts for only 8.3% of the total population benefiting. Further, the labour intensiveness of the task prevents the old, the weak women and children from participating effectively. Food for work project is used to develop infrastructure like building roads, dams, schools, digging wells.

WFP also talks of food transfers. This is free food given to special groups, disadvantaged groups like nomadic herders, elderly, handicapped, women headed households with small children, while other interventions are being organized. The pastoralists move to feeding centres in small towns to get it. Some remain there permanently in anticipation of more aid. Cash/food transfers are also used as incentive for training people. The Turkana have benefited from such camps over the years.

Food for growth is another type of food relief. This is a school-feeding project mainly used by WFP. It involves giving households with school going children food in exchange for the child to attend school. School feeding programs help children stick in the school even during drought since food is also provided to schools so that nomads do not pull children out of school. Children are also relieved of burden of housework like fetching water, firewood and herding. WFP applies this a lot in Mozambique (WFP 2000).

From the nature of food relief, it is observed that the pastoralist's population are becoming more and more dependent on food aid due to destitution. Increasing poverty is also seen amongst the population caused by death of livestock due to constant droughts. Food insecurity is also worsened by insecurity, poor infrastructure, lack of effective livestock marketing and lack of general preparedness for drought.

It is commonly believed that the distribution of food aid, mainly done in towns, has encouraged settlement of the pastoralists in urban centres thereby undermining their coping mechanisms of moving about with their livestock. This contributes to overgrazing and therefore leads to environmental degradation, which is a serious cause of concern in the Semi-desert areas. It is also notable that while food aid is appreciated for alleviating death during crisis, its management and sustainability has been an issue of discussion in many quarters in the recent past.

2.4. Linking food aid and development

Development is defined as intervening at policy level in communities to make long-term changes, for instance, by promoting greater self-reliance, building sustainable community structures and increasing economic productivity. While food aid is used to avert crisis, other projects instituted after the crisis is over are for purposes of development.

Donors are keen in funding emergency food aid but are slow at funding development projects Government's are expected to do that for them. Political misunderstandings also undermine development projects funding. Relief provides resources in emergency settings to return communities to pre-emergency conditions. Although donor-funding cycle limits opportunities to do long-term programs in relief settings, interventions can be designed to build a foundation for long-term development. This is well illustrated by an example of an Angolan crisis whereby one worker distributed seeds of fruit tree in his spare time and a total of 67 families got about 30,000 trees. Five years later, there was a sustainable income from sales of fruits (USAID, 1998).

According to Kenya Food Security Steering Group (2001) evaluation report, linking relief to development depended on the strategy the implementing agencies used in delivery intervention. Those that recognized community capacities and utilized these in planning and implementation stood a better chance. Livestock losses reduce income and food security since it takes long to rebuild herds. If emergencies delay, people lose livelihoods and become more vulnerable, thereby hampering development.

Problems of linking relief and development are observed many times. An ideal model is where relief and development interventions are implemented harmoniously to provide poor people with secure livelihoods and efficient safety nets mitigating the frequency and impact of shocks and easing rehabilitations (Buchanan et. al, 1993).

European Commission (1995b) believes that a better development can reduce the need for emergency relief; a better relief can contribute to development while a better rehabilitation can ease the transition between the two. However, recurrent emergencies undermine development

since funding is diverted and people's lives interfered with. There is a need for harmony but many obstacles are faced on conceptual economic, political and social aspects.

2.5. Social Impact

It is believed that production practices determine cultural developments and social structures. Food determines how a human being believes. While food is seen as keeping body and soul together, lack of it brutalizes a human being. It says, that human being goes back to nature and begins to obey basic instincts of mere survival that leads him to unsocial acts and is likely to steal, fight, and kill for food (NCCCK, 1985).

2.5.1. Social aspects of food

According to Tablino (1999), the pastoralists have coping strategies that they consider very important to survive the drought and severe food shortages they experience. Among the Gabbra pastoralists of Marsabit, sharing is considered very important. This involves clansmen lending livestock to one's poor kinsman for unspecified period. During losses experienced in conflicts or drought, clansmen give livestock to one hit hard by loss of livestock to allow him regain his livelihood and dignity and save him from poverty and destitution.

Bridge (1995) states that gender contribution to household food security needs to be paid attention to. Women are central to food security because they play a central role in the family; participate in small trade and do active Pastoralism like herding livestock. This is in addition to their normal household tasks of taking care of children, cooking, fetching water and firewood. They suffer most of malnutrition during pregnancy and lactation. Women heading households face even tougher task of doing male work.

Food availability makes man remain sociable. This could then help pastoralists against migrating and pulling families apart in search of pasture for their animals and stop raids for livestock. This enhances their coping strategies of food transfers and lending and borrowing of stock to the disadvantaged in their communities. At national level, availability of food is essential for internal stability, political independence and national dignity. In fact, there is no social and economic development without food. The pastoralists therefore require long-term self-reliance rather than dependency on food aid to develop.

2.5.2. Building Community Capacity

Community capacity is built on community participation. Thus, participation is a way of building community knowledge. It is a key to self-sufficiency and it involves a deliberate attempt to assist individuals and communities to strengthen their ability to prevent and mitigate emergencies.

According to Buchanan Smith et.al (1999), relief and development should be separated in terms of funds and personnel. These authors emphasize on the difference between relief planning and longer-term food security planning. To them, relief operations are driven by a sense of emergency that tends to form top-down, donor-dependent. They are also driven by a sense of expatriate-run operations, relevant on a narrow range of indicators. But integration of development requires a fuller understanding and more bottom-up, participatory methods, which involve the project beneficiaries when this project gets started. Agencies with small interventions are more successful than those with too many. Multi-agency, multi-sectoral interventions and situation specific involvement have proved effective and should be used more in management of interventions.

In serious and threatening emergencies, people may respond by creating informal cooperatives to help manage risk. Thus, capacity building can strengthen that ability and restore it. This means local empowerment, which involves amassing existing knowledge and abilities, are complemented with outsiders' expertise. To achieve sustainable development, political commitment is seen as very important, coupled with multi-sectoral, multi-agency approach, which would allow a comprehensive response to food insecurity in the Country (USAID, 1998).

2.5.3. Community Participation

In terms of community participation, the participation may be very limited hence the beneficiaries may not benefit as expected. In such situation, the poorest, elderly, women headed households, children and the sick may be ignored due to this emergency. The expertise required in development programs may be also left out especially in the technical line. Therefore, where emergencies are too recurrent, like the droughts in the North, development is bound to suffer since attention is given mostly to alleviation of the crisis of hunger. Here, participation of the community, particularly women's participation becomes less.

The limited or lack of participation leads to project failures when the donors leave because of the less community involvement. The ownership aspects is questionable, hence building local capacity is greatly affected. It is important to involve beneficiaries in the management of their affairs, which could reduce the vulnerabilities to future disasters. It increases accountability to beneficiaries and setting right the dignity of disaster victims.

The commander of Southern Sudanese People's Liberation Movement, once said, "relief aid without human empowerment towards self sustenance is disarming the people". So participatory

process should be done by involving community in proposed activities and allow effectiveness of staff, and timeliness of planning process so that interventions are sustainable and community owned. Try to change culture slowly by involving women as well.

Food aid Agency believes in involving women in all aspects of development and particularly in food distribution. This is to build their capacity, as their access to resources and operations is very limited. The women's conditions are improved through strengthening their opportunities and options that is the key to the solutions of the problems of hunger and poverty.

According to Baden as quoted by (Bridge 1995), men and women have differing vulnerabilities to crises as well as different capacities and coping strategies. He warns all those involved in developing communities as a whole to look at unequal power relations underlying social institutions and structures to ensure that women are not further marginalized by relief interventions.

Women have fewer coping options and so ill-equipped for survival strategies, which increase their vulnerability in the long-term. This is much observed in female-headed household. Thus, modifying existing development programs using early warning systems to signal the need for adaptation may best do supporting coping strategies.

In a crisis situation, women participation is increased in the absence of men but this is at a limited pace due to time limit. In fact, in such a situation, acceptable behaviour change is also seen in division of labour. Some of these changes allow women therefore to gain new skills and increased autonomy translated through women groups for food distribution.

Further, in terms of social impact, coping strategies like processes of decision-making and negotiation within the household are affected in crisis situation. There is a fallback in the position of some household members that may be reduced more rapidly than that of others, resulting to their reduced bargaining power. This also leads to family break up whereby women, children and elderly are abandoned. Social impact of food aid interventions therefore manifests itself in various ways as it is outlined.

2.6. Economic Impact

Emergency food aid is known to help the population survive the crisis by averting malnutrition (WFP 2001). However WFP also provides non-food items necessary for recovery purpose. These include water, medicines for both man and livestock, seeds, sanitation services and livestock. WFP observes that funding for non-food sectors is very important for re-establishing livelihoods as part of a recovery project. All these are considered to be valuable for long-term development of the community and for food security, which is the ultimate goal of the aid agencies, the Government and the community.

Basically, there are few alternative food production systems possible in the arid regions besides livestock Pastoralism and for this reason, many urge the government to seriously address the pastoral economy which involves providing livestock services like veterinary services, provide water and manage the environment. Livestock marketing is very important for purposes of economic development.

According to Fratkin (1991), the settlement of pastoralists by missions which was supported by International Organizations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and Integrated Project in Arid Lands (IPAL) was ill-informed because

majority of people living there are quite poor, many having been driven to settle there by loss of livestock in the droughts of 1970's and 1980's. Such settlement still continues. While a few Well-to- do manage livestock marketing and petty trade, the vast majority own very few stocks and usually lose even those. The towns have continued to encourage more and more settlement of the poor, who when they lose all livestock, come to settle in towns to depend on famine relief food aid over the years. Usually the poorest are the ones who live in towns.

In the interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2000-2003, the Kenya Government says that the poor must be provided with the means to help themselves through income earning opportunities. This poor must also be provided with ready access to means of production and affordable basic services and protection by the law. PRSP appreciates that this will not be achieved through temporary relief programs but "only through" deliberate and long-term policy to increase equity of opportunity and to ensure that all members of our society can participate fully in the socio-economic development of Kenya. For the ASAL regions, water is seen as the main constraint to development. Income generation and food security and the Government proposes construction of these facilities in partnership with the communities, on contract with the private sector and range management agent to avoid environmental degradation.

In the Seminar on Food Crisis and National Development organized by National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) in 1985, it was recommended that communities' projects should be self-sustaining, job-creating and investment oriented through use of local resources, local talents and funds. People should also be educated to accept themselves, their resources, environment, products, commodities as well as their own traditions and should be instilled with self-respect

that aims at eradicating dependency on food aid. The above indicates that economic empowerment occur if people are conscious of their capacities and mainly resources

2.6.1. Attitudes of organization involved in empowering pastoralists in Marsabit

2.6.1. 1. Church Organization

According to Fratkin (1991), Christian Missions, like the Catholic Church and Africa Inland Church (AIC) share a commitment with Kenya Government to settling pastoralists around the growing towns. They share views that Pastoralism is primitive and irrational, and they hold paternalistic attitude towards the pastoralists. Catholics built schools with boarding facilities that would remove African youths from their traditional social environments, incubating them with the structure of customs of the church. These youths today have no jobs, cannot go back to Pastoralism, and so are getting wasted in urban centres getting involved in drunkenness and prostitution. This has had a negative effect since pastoralists do not want to take kids out of Pastoralism to schools that they believe make their kids useless.

Catholic Missionary concentrated on spreading religion but contributed little to helping pastoralists improve their livelihood to feed themselves. They did not venture into any area of livestock production to improve their economy; rather people were enticed by food handouts and clothes to be baptized. This created so much dependency which later frustrated missionaries and forced them to cut down on handouts, which are now not easy to get from any missionaries in the Region. These left many destitute. The Catholic Mission is self-critical and now gives famine relief only in times of crisis and only to the most destitute people. They have developed education, health care and religious services but not so livestock and grazing management.

The African Inland Church (AIC) missionaries were more technical and concentrated on digging wells, mechanizing water pumps and building roads alongside their missionary work. On their part, the AIC display a classic Protestant Ethic and believe pastoralists should pay a token fee for services like medicine so that the people appreciate and get willingness to work for goods and services rather than expecting handouts. AIC is only marginally involved in famine relief distribution donated by other aid agencies like World Vision since most of this work is done by the Catholic Mission in liaison with Kenya Government. Here the differences in famine relief policy also flow from ideological differences between the two Missions.

Among the pastoralists, the very poor families, with few stocks to preserve and few assets to sell, tend to migrate to towns so that the earning capacities for both men and women could be utilized. However, the situation becomes put when options are not provided; families break down, fathers migrate to towns for labour, kids drop out of school and some go into the streets.

Fratkin concludes that there are no grazing resolutions in or of themselves as a solution but allowing herds to disperse over wide areas away from urban centres would allow environmental preservation. Policy on water development and security could also do that. Livestock mobility should be encouraged rather than discouraged like IPAL and UNESCO did in the 70's and 80's through false pretext of range management. Limiting livestock without developing any strategy would lead to poverty since no other production system can be practiced in arid areas.

2.6.1.2. Integrated Projects in Arid lands (IPAL) Project

This was a project concerned with environmental resource management in Marsabit District in 1970s and 1980s. In IPAL's resource management project plan, concern was raised that improvement in veterinary care would lead to increased herd size which was feared to lead to environmental degradation. Therefore livestock sale was promoted in order to relieve pressure

on land, improve pastoralists' standard of living through cash economy, integrate the area into national economy and get meat protein into other areas of Kenya. Hence, mobile shops selling tea, sugar, grain, tobacco, cloth, shoes, pots were sold from village to village. However, the Rendille pastoralists of Marsabit community rejected livestock auctions claiming the price was too low. Even those employed in the IPAL project were using their salary to rebuild their herds. So the destocking actually failed.

Fratkin (1991) says that IPAL failed to grasp the importance of livestock to the people of the area, that animals are not only the basis of survival, but also the medium of social relations that holds pastoralists together. Actually pastoralists sold the older stock and infirm steers to buy young steers and heifers with an aim to increasing their livestock. Sales were made to rejuvenate the herd not to accumulate cash. During drought the poor got poorer because he had to sell more stock to buy grain and other goods since the prices were very low. Drought depleted the stock increasing people's vulnerability.

The IPAL team was more concerned with degradation than the pastoralists' welfare so there was conflict. This was a development plan that did not involve the people but ignored their culture, economy and their input. This led to conflict and failure of the project. Pastoralism was seen as an economy to produce regular supply of food for human herders and not as commercial livestock production espoused by the IPAL project. This is translated through the government in which only the rich entrepreneurs benefited at the expense of the majority of subsistence pastoralists. The IPAL never worked in partnership with the pastoralists.

The Aarial community of Marsabit was seen as objects to be changed and developed by the development agencies. They were seen as irrational, childish and ignorant. In short, they were

seen as people who had no purpose or vision of their own that was worth knowing or understanding. The Rendille and Aarial clans understood this paternalistic attitude and so there was no cooperation between them and the Missionaries. The pastoralists felt that they knew better how to manage their environment by taking stock far from the urban centres during dry season and only bring them when it is wet and there is green grass. Therefore, they would rather veterinary medicines be given to them to improve their stock and not limit their production. (Fratkin 1991)

Many pastoralists including the Maasai, Turkana, Rendille, and the Gabbra have lost their economy because they are forced to settle in town by government policies and this encourages dependency on famine relief food aid. Restriction on the herding range is disruptive to pastoral economy. Fratkin sees that it's future lies into what degree Pastoralism is aided, or conversely to what degree it is disrupted, by the development efforts of the missions and international donor agencies.

2.6.1.3. Oxfam and WFP as leading food aid agencies

Oxfam concentrates on assisting people to feed themselves by providing low-cost technical assistance, improving traditional food production techniques and searching for alternatives to the traditional food. Other Aid Agencies in Marsabit District like GTZ, AIC, World Vision and Food for Hungry International are now helping in providing technical assistance to local pastoralists in water development. They recently began to provide veterinary care and training in livestock production system. Today, this has little impact. Development Agencies need to concentrate their efforts on animal production just like they do in agricultural production. Veterinary services to animals and health care to humans is important.

In avoiding dependency, WFP offers food only in emergency situations to avoid food distribution on long-term period. In other situations, food aid is linked to labour on works project or to children that attend school. This is expected not to stop family from continuing with its production efforts. However, WFP espouses that food aid allows for long term sustainability in situations like education. A child fed using nutritious food is bound to finish education and do well hence be of benefit to his family and the community (WFP Report 2001).

WFP strategy for achieving sustainable living situations for poor families is to enable them to gain and maintain assets and invest in their economic futures using short-term assistance. It is believed that this would provide long-term solutions to increase self-sustainability among the poor and decrease their dependence upon food aid. The organization seeks to assist people in coping with natural disasters in two ways: the first way is disaster prevention that provides aid for disaster mitigation activities to decrease the impact of natural disasters when they do strike. Second way, consists of protecting and preserving assets. It assists disaster victims by having pre-planned protocol to help people through crises.

2.7. Disaster Management

Drought must be monitored and assessed such that emergency interventions are prompt in minimizing nutritional risk, saving lives, and supporting livelihoods to save on livestock decimation. This would include decisions like whether food assistance is needed; how much and what types of food is needed; who needs assistance and why; for how long is food required and/or at what point must the situation be reviewed; locally available resources and capacities to transport, store and distribute food.

2.7.1. Nature of interventions

The Kenya government plays a major role in emergency interventions and for this reason, there is a department of Drought Recovery in the Office of the President that handles such crisis. It participates at both national and district levels. This brings together all relevant ministries like that of Health, Water, Education, Agriculture and Livestock who plan interventions in liaison with aid agencies. Their aim is to create food security both in the short-term and long-term.

Emergencies are handled speedily. However, this speed affects registering of beneficiaries targeting of aid and delivery mechanisms. It is in this speed of emergencies the poorest households could be ignored and political or administrative biases could likely occur. As a result of such speed, women and children especially in single households could be left out. Moreover, wisdom of the elderly and aged could be overlooked in managing the coping strategies and rehabilitation.

In their intervention process, culture could also be ignored. This is well understood through the Oxfam food distribution exercise in 1990/1994 in Turkana. Women, because of participation in food aid distribution, became increasingly important part of the households. This increased their authority. Oxfam found that some men felt that their powers were temporarily eroded. Oxfam had taken over the role of men to find food for households. According to women, Oxfam was seen as their husbands because it fed them (OXFAM 1995). This feeling is usually seen among most pastoralists where male authority is supposed to be paramount. Men feel threatened and this could lead to family break up.

On the other hand the culture of feeding males first and females later affects the very weak people in the community in general and particularly children, pregnant, lactating and sick mothers in the homes. It also adds a burden to women who are not only queuing for long hours which takes them away from their other work, but also become exhausted.

2.7.2. Important factors for an effective disaster management

Disaster Management depends on several factors. Political will is an important one because sometimes the government denies the occurrence of hunger until crisis is alarming. African News Service of 8/31/2000 reported that: "The Office of the President and the Ministry of Agriculture were long warned of the drought and poor weather but took no precautions."

Security is also a factor that interferes with food monitors. For example, UN Personnel requires an escort to go to Northern Kenya and this is costly. It is also scaring in that UN Experts cannot stay and do their work comfortably. They don't have enough time to acclimatize and familiarize with local people, hence mistrust occurs and this leads to lack of cooperation especially in information giving (Chambers, 1983).

Donor response is very vital in disaster prevention and mitigation. Lack of ready funds has been blamed for inability of food aid agencies to assist promptly in crisis. Reuters reported in September 2000 "Kenya Dries Up but so does aid" ... and continues. "A severe drought has left millions of Kenyans hungry or destitute but the response of the International Community is unenthusiastic". UN Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa said this. This affects the process of food aid.

Planning, designing, and implementation are very crucial factors in disaster management. Long term funding, flexible budget and quick disbursement is ideal in averting crisis though this has not been achievable. Community participation, targeting and distribution are important for success of programs. Multi-agency approach would allow for wider intervention and cover more areas of need.

Contingency planning is very important to avoid “eleventh hour syndrome” in disaster management. Relief programs shouldn’t be managed by crisis and adhoc implementation of short-term relief measures but proper planning be done in non-crisis times (Bridge 1995).

Weather forecasting systems need improvement. Sometimes it rains when aid has arrived and food aid has to be given even when the community does not need. Storage is usually a big problem, so excess food is just wasted.

Another important factor is transportation network. Poor road network especially in this pastoralists’ areas increase the costs of transporting food and goods, hence hindering relief and recovery process. Other aspects of infrastructure like health, education, telephone, electricity and water are also very necessary for disaster management.

2.7.3. Early warning to avert crisis

This involves collection of baseline data on the physical impact of drought on man and animals in order to inform on severity or otherwise of drought. This will help guide on kinds and times of interventions. Early warning preparedness and capacity building become very important at the intervention level. Early warning systems are very crucial to avoid severe crisis of destitution and to save some coping strategies, which can be used for rehabilitation and development. In some areas, local level systems are used. Action Aid Organization uses Community Based

Monitoring Systems (CBMS). This involves ongoing collection of pre-arranged and locally relevant indicators, such as market prices, school dropouts, uptake of coping strategies as well as other qualitative indicators. The disadvantage of these systems is their dependence on local knowledge to interpret them. Thus, they are vulnerable to being neglected or misinterpreted.

The Kenya government established an inter-ministerial committee on drought and food security in 1999 to handle food security and drought management issues. Arid Land Resource Management Program (ALRMP) in the office of the president coordinates government's and aid agencies' efforts in managing early warning systems used to collect, analyse, and disseminate early warning information in dry areas. This has been however quite challenging and has not been effective due to involvement of several agencies, which sometimes produce conflicting reports.

Corbett (1988) however finds that preservation of assets takes priority over meeting immediate food needs until the point of destitution, when all options have been exhausted. This encourages destitution and leads to crisis that then calls for food relief interventions. The level of desperation creates food dependency and lengthens the emergency making it difficult for donors to cope with relief and development hand in hand. It also takes long to rehabilitate the community and put it back to a level of food independence which is hardly ever arrived at due to the cycle of droughts that hit pastoralists land quite often. This is what calls for effective early warning systems to help save the pastoralists from destitution. Food security at household level is wanting among pastoralists. Policy need pay attention to the most vulnerable groups at community and household levels and initiate plan of action based on providing equality in access to resources both, material and social.

Early warning is a very important aspect for fostering self-sufficiency and productivity. It helps retain essential assets and limit the need for irreversible decisions. Once pastoralists sell off everything, they migrate to towns and this makes it more difficult to return to their normal livelihoods since some of them may settle in town permanently. This has serious consequences as the labour moves out too and it reduces quality and quantity of labour found in the market thereby leaving only elderly, sick, and disabled people in respective settings. Families receiving the migrating communities are faced with many problems such as cultural conflicts, burden in caring for relatives; pasture depletion as well as other resources. Medical and educational services are also overburdened by the migrants, leading to extreme poverty. Early warning would help alleviate these since agencies would intervene early to forestall displacement and destitution.

Intervention to discourage migration or provide relief to migrants must reflect the dynamics of migration and address the benefits and costs. This is because the provision of food aid may increase benefits in crisis and encourage others to migrate and discourage repatriation.

2.7.4. Coping strategies

Coping mechanisms are responses of an individual, group or community to challenging situations to minimize risk or loss. Davies as quoted by Young (1998) cautions that coping strategies can be destructive to long term livelihoods and are not necessarily developmental in that they do not always increase long-term productivity or survival. He further sees coping strategies as destructive, leading to the depletion of natural resources. While helpful to short-term survival, they could increase long-term vulnerability. This may occur particularly if what was a coping strategy gradually becomes an adaptive strategy used on a more every day basis.

This involves things like reducing one's meals to cope with shortage. Early response on intervention is very important in strengthening coping mechanisms. It is notable that intervention fails if not built on people's existing capacities and their traditional coping methods.

Corbett (1988) says, that people's priorities in times of stress are often trade-off whereby preservation of "productive assets" frequently takes priority over meeting immediate food needs. That is, people choose to go hungry by feeding less or switching to cheaper, less nutritious and reduced number or size of meals eaten to save their livestock number. Corbett also talks of famine and household coping strategy, a strategy that could lead to under nourishment. The cost of coping could be great including deteriorating in health, loss of livelihood, breakdown of family and community structures and personal indignity.

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In some cases, individual may be forced into strategies, which transgress social norms, and women particularly risk losing social approval and support not just temporarily but permanently. This is likely to occur when women enter prostitution or opt for divorce as matrimonial status.

In crisis men could lose their identities as family providers and be dependent on others even on their wives for support, which is culturally unacceptable and demoralizing. Their skills may be devalued when they find their roles taken by women doing men's jobs. This frustration leads to violence, and dependence on alcohol making children to often suffer. Depending on the level of crisis, less familiar survival coping strategies may be used exposing more to vulnerability by selling of assets, household goods and borrowing. This is why long-term development and early response to disaster should go hand in hand with relief every time such that people's coping

capacities are not wiped out in future emergencies. Options for coping are determined by their relative access to resources of their belief when the crisis strikes.

Coping strategies impacts on drought mitigation. This is a measure to minimize impact of drought on production systems and livelihoods, such as emergency livestock off-take, conflict management options, curtailing direct control of stocking rates, zoning of rangelands, and swift emergency interventions. Traditional mechanisms like borrowing and donating of livestock to clansmen is valued to help in coping. Mobility with animals the main coping method, is usually hampered by security and water problems in pastoral areas. The strategies therefore require strengthening through policies to enhance self-reliance for pastoralists production systems.

2.7.5. Food Aid Distribution

According to various food aid agencies, selection and targeting of the beneficiaries during food distribution is a very important factor in disaster management. Local personnel, including women should be involved in beneficiary listing and distribution of rations. Buchanan et al (1999) observes that in food ration distribution, it is difficult for the agency to know whether the most needy have been covered since, many times, the poorest, the weakest, the sick, the aged and the children are missed out. This occurs especially in food-for-work and cash-for-work projects. The listing of names is done by the local committees, which must involve women in order for them to participate in decision-making.

Food distribution interferes with Pastoralism production systems. If food is distributed in towns, pastoralists are pulled to the towns permanently leading to dependency on food aid. In Wajir, Buchanan et al (1999) says in the year 1992/93 food aid distribution period, the population of

Wajir town increased at least four-fold from about 15,000 in 1990. This increment was attributed to the food distribution. Food distribution delays cause destitution while over-supply and supply to the not needy leads to wastage.

Food aid distribution has a negative impact on the local economy due to non-buying from shops and food kiosks, and non-buying of cereals. This happens especially when delayed, distribution coincides with a bumper harvest like in Somalia as reported in New York Times (1993). Monitoring through early warning systems, proper planning and designing of programs are therefore very crucial to avoid these negative aspects of aid distribution.

2.8. Recovery and Rehabilitation After Crisis

Recovery Programs are aimed at accelerating return to normalcy as after the drought. Restocking, vaccination, food-for-work projects, cash-for-work, rehabilitation of dams and pans, natural resource management, and conflict management are some of these efforts. They are also referred to as development programs.

FAO believes that for pastoralists, recovery intervention should restore and improve the potential for Pastoralism, which is the most viable economic activity. It notes that there are no livestock emergency intervention policies existing in Kenya. This results in a poor livestock emergency strategy, absence of clear contingency plans, and a poor and late response of the donor community.

To FAO, rehabilitation activities include encouraging re-establishment of market for improving livelihoods; such as creating barter shops and cooperatives, repairing roads, introducing appropriate technology like the cattle supplement feeds, improving training, involving civilians in decision-making and resource allocation. FAO says maintenance of community structures is

very important because it is a source of hope for future and provides an opportunity for capacity building among these resilient people.

During crisis, social networks and family values are affected by family break-ups, due to separation, and migration, which breaks links with extended family. Emerging social networks like Non-Governmental Organizations, churches, mosques could lead to conflict in culture causing sometimes agency staff to be rejected. New networks may be developed, based on political alliances in place of traditional economic and social interdependence. In these, new leaders emerge, who may be less accountable and their power comes from external. The constant changing social and political arena coupled with government inability to provide basic structures in the ASAL like roads, transport, health facilities, proper administration and communication, is increasing the context of current emergencies. This situation complicates interventions both relief and development, and so obstructs long-term development and recovery (Young H. 1998).

Among the pastoralists communities, the clan family is more significant. It is the highest organizational symbolic entity, whose members are united by a common corporate history and a sense of being the descents of a remote ancestor. Clan is most significant patrilineal descent unit. Unlike the clan, family act as a political unit if circumstances demand, especially when it's common interests need the collective resource of its members (Lewis, 1961). This is a factor that helps in decision-making, which is important for rehabilitation and general recovery, required after coming out of crisis and for long-term development.

Based on the foregoing literature, it is notable that food aid has different impacts depending on differing circumstances. Historically, the attitudes of missions were to settle the communities, feed them, and then christianise them. On the other hand, food aid agents had interest in saving people in times of hunger caused by drought by providing food. The aim was to help the community develop towards self-reliance. It is however observable that the result of food aid distribution was not necessarily positive all the time. The food aid did not lead to sustainable development as expected by all stakeholders.

2.9. Theoretical Framework

2.9.1. Dependency Theory

The dependency theory is another theory that would lead to the research. Bates as quoted by Mertz (1997) explains that people quickly incorporate cheap or free food into their domestic economy, soon becoming dependent and losing their traditional self-sufficiency. This theory is also supported by Fratkin (1991) in the study of Aarial who, faced with the choice between residing in a settlement to receive free food handouts or continuing demanding work of herding, many have naturally chosen to settle.

Many pastoralists even in Marsabit have done the same considering that even those who have livestock choose to graze around the settlement areas than move away. Once situation forces them to move away, some members, especially women and children are left behind as a link with the towns while men take livestock to graze in far away areas.

According to Bates as quoted by Mertz (1997), welfare payments whether in form of money, food or medicine, dramatically alter the people's initiative such that individual interest to work and earn are diminished. As a result, individual's habits and behaviour change and independence

and productivity all too often replaced by dependence and passivity. In Wajir, Oxfam observed that with availability of food aid, farmers refused to plant farms. This could explain why the pastoralists are said to feel marginalized by governments who have no policies for their only means of livelihood, Pastoralism. After all, both the Government and the Missionaries demanded pastoralists' settlement for purposes of easy control and management in their own ways.

Cato Handbook as quoted by Mertz (1997) states that children raised in families on welfare are seven times more likely to become dependant upon welfare than are other children. The best Governments are therefore seen as those that encourage private entrepreneurship and self-reliance not one that gives welfare. It is believed that Americans living in poverty is still greater than 30 million after more than 30 years of Government programs for the poor.

Mertz adds that dependence on welfare undermines confidence in one's own abilities in the workplace and one's self-respect and pride is eroded. Besides, the social cost to such, dependence is usually high but more appalling is the destitution to pride, self-respect, and the moral lives of countless individuals living in poverty. Aristotle in Mertz (1997) says that politicians form habits in people through legislation, which has terrible impact on the people they profess to help. He says genuine politicians, should dismantle welfare in favour of capitalist economy and be rights respecting. This would most likely reduce poverty in society better than the welfare they give.

2.9.2. Participatory Perspective

Chambers (1983) enriches the conceptual aspect of this study. He says that academic researchers, through their choices of topics and of methods to investigate them, can illuminate processes of

enrichment and impoverishment, the patterns of power, ignorance and prejudice, the nature of rural deprivation, successes and failures in rural development.

For Chambers, the analysis and action of new professionals pass the boundaries of disciplines to find new opportunities for the poor. They test their policies and action to see who gains and who loses. They recognize small farmers, artisans and labourers as fellow professionals and set out to learn from them. He further says that rural development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of development. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants, and the landless.

The initiative to rural development starts with outsiders but the aim is to transfer more and more power and control to the poor. Chambers (1983) also says that rural development involves inquiring and reflecting upon what poor people themselves want and thereby learning from them and setting directions on what to do to help them. This is because without this, outsiders' interventions are too easily propelled by paternalism in directions, which leave people worse off in their own eyes than they were before. He observes that giving basic goods and services, may only come second to subsistence and security.

UNRISD as quoted by Chambers (1983) notes, a plate of basic needs does not wet the appetite while the prospect of a secure and plentiful livelihood according to familiar pattern is an everyday motivation. The poor do not consider livelihood and basic needs as everything. They care also about quality of living and experience. The value people set on the familiar, on being

needed, on a purpose and role to life, on love, on religious observations, on dancing and song, festivals and ceremonies, on things in their seasons. and buying in the harvest, in full enjoyment of these secure and decent livelihoods may be necessary but not sufficient on their own.

Chambers cautions all workers in the field of intervention to work side by side, each contributing something of his own expertise to create positive change. Those who work in aid agencies can argue and work for programs and projects, which help the poor, and against programs and projects that harm the poor. He agrees that professionals see the rural poor as ignorant, backward, primitive and as people who have only themselves to blame for their poverty and also that they are used to it and they like life their way. However, this shows how the professionals do not know the rural realities. Actually, outsiders have three things in common. First, they come from urban areas, they want to find something out but they are short of time. When visitors come they only see what they are shown. The village prepares its special face and display programs that have worked well. The poor people who live in remote and unreachable places, further from roads and town centres tend not to be seen, far less to be met on such visits. Visitors come to town centres and talk to influential "elite" who are progressive farmers, village leaders, teachers, paraprofessionals, religious leaders, traders when gathering information. The poor may be inconspicuous, inarticulate and unorganised and their voices may not be heard. They talk more to those who participated in projects in one-way or other and ignore those who never had the opportunity. Hence males are interviewed while women are ignored. Thus, the too poor, or too powerless, generally, the inactive to be involved by the community influential are not heard at all. The poor are little seen and even less understood in their level of poverty.

According to Chambers, narrow professionalism of whatever persuasion leads to diagnoses and prescriptions, which underestimate deprivation by recognizing and confronting only a part of the problem. Most of the people working on development projects are not professionals in the given lines of specialization. This is observed in many NGOs, which do not even ask for qualification from whoever works with them. Mostly, the few professionals look at simple surface symptoms of causes. They know about rural poor through hurried visits with set minds on what they choose to see, hear and/or do. It is believed that the community does less than it could sometimes out of selfishness and sometimes out of ignorance.

2.9.3. The Empowerment Approach

This is another approach, which will guide this study. This approach is an attempt in social transformation. According to Paulo Freire (1974), in the empowerment model, the problem of peasant communities is seen as caused by exploitation, domination, and oppression accompanied with inadequate structures. The goals are to challenge and overcome exploitative structures, build new ones, economic, political, legal, and educational. This approach puts little faith in development initiated by the leadership of society whether that leadership as politically left or right.

The proponents of this model stress the need for political action and that such action should be controlled by the people at the local level among the traditionally powerless. The strategy of this approach is ultimately to help generate new frameworks which might emerge out of new consciousness of the people and which is rooted in a deepened awareness of their capacities and rights. Those capacities and rights cannot simply be given from the outside, they must emerge from the inside of individuals and groups and they can evolve only in dialectical relation between collective actions.

In this approach, the study of peasant communities and their knowledge require a commitment of the researcher too. Freire puts it as follows “the fundamental role of those committed to cultural actions for conscientisation is not properly speaking to fabricate the liberating ideas but to invite the people to grasp with their minds, the truth of their reality”.

Activities in this approach therefore would include conscientisation, group formation for claim-making and possibly cooperative projects. The main ideology here is the social political transformation and is process-oriented.

2.10. Hypotheses of the Research

This study’s aim is to bring out the influence of food aid on socio-economic development of the pastoralists. The following Hypotheses are presented to explain this:

H1. Food aid distribution, which is intended to prevent destitution in lives and livelihoods of the pastoralists, has little impact on building community self-reliance.

H2. The top-down approach in which the pastoralists communities are organised undermines the participation of the community members in decision-making on food aid activities.

H3. The approaches used by the aid agencies and church missions have paid less attention to the traditional coping strategies of the pastoralists in dealing with food insecurity and preventing dependency.

2.11. Operationalisation of Key Variables

The following terms were defined in the way they were used in this research.

2.11.1. Food aid/famine Relief

This refers to food donated to the population by the government and other outside bodies to help alleviate food needs during drought crisis. The cost of purchase and distribution falls on the shoulder of the donor. Other items could include medicines, cash, water and sanitation.

2.11.2. Destitution

This refers to loss of all means of livelihood, which in this case means livestock loss, and lack of any other source of food to fall back on.

2.11.3. Sedentarization

This term refers to permanent settlement of the population in a given area mainly in trading centres. Most of the sedentarized populations are those who have lost their livestock and now depend on food aid as a source of their food. Those who get livestock back could end sedentarization and resume Pastoralism if they so wish.

2.11.4. Poor

WFP (2001) defines the poor as those who earn less than the equivalent of one dollar a day or who allocate majority of their household budget to food. All these are said to be the neediest people.

2.11.5. Coping Mechanisms

Young (1998) defines this as responses of an individual, group or community to challenging situations to minimize risk or loss. Among the Gabbra pastoralists this involves selling of livestock to avert loss from death, migration to distant lands, reducing on food intake, borrowing and donating livestock to clan members who lose their stock to drought or raids.

2.11.6. Food insecurity

This refers to lack of food and absence of permanent source of income to buy food. The food insecure households are the poor and the destitute that gets affected by drought repeatedly.

2.11.7. Community Organization

This refers to the social and economic set up of the population of the area. The pastoralists are organized along clan membership and the family is the central organ. The community leader makes decision. For purposes of food aid distribution, committees are set up which include opinion leaders. Women are also involved to a small extent. In other words, it refers to community capacity to solve its own problems.

2.11.8. Community Self-reliance

This is defined as the ability of the community members to depend on themselves for most of their needs and requirements socially and economically.

2.11.9. Dependency

It refers to reliance on handouts by the community members to address their social and economic problems especially as regards food. Pastoralists who lose their livestock during drought repeatedly fall back on food aid as the only source of livelihood.

2.11.10. Community participation

Participation in this study refers to community involvement in food activities and decision-making.

2.11.11. Pastoralists

This term is used to describe communities who practice livestock keeping as their main source of livelihood. They mainly live in arid and semi-arid areas of northern Kenya.

CHAPTER 3.0: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter tackles the methodology of study that fit to be used in surveying a given population in order to bring out socio economic implications of food aid.

This study chose Maikona Location of Marsabit District and used cluster sampling to concentrate on the subject of interest that is, impact of food aid on pastoralists. It is anticipated that the observation in the case study will inform on the other areas in relation to food aid and its impact.

3.2. Site Description

Marsabit District has a large population of the poor. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) ranks Marsabit first with 88% in overall poverty levels compared to Samburu 84%, Isiolo 82%, and Makueni 76%. World Food Program (WFP), the main food aid agency in Kenya since 1979 has ranked Marsabit as one of the food insecure Districts of Kenya whose majority of people depend on less than one US dollar a day. Food aid is intended to encourage economic and social development with the intention of enabling communities to be self-reliant.

Marsabit District is grouped amongst the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) of Kenya. These lands have harsh climatic conditions with very hot temperatures throughout the year, barren infertile sandy soils with unreliable rainfall patterns. Vegetation is scarce with shrubby and rocky features in many areas.

Tablino (1999) reports that droughts are a frequent occurrence in the area reporting recent droughts in 1973, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1991, and 1996. In the years 1999 to 2001 serious droughts

were experienced as a result of La-nino weather phenomenon. Median annual rainfall is below 300 mm per year for the vast majority of the rangeland area. Such weather does not allow cultivation of rain-fed crops. Thus Pastoralism is the only means of livelihood for the people in the arid lands. However, livestock keeping is also affected by lack of pasture and water during the constant droughts leading to its deaths and destitution of households. This has called for distribution of food aid, which is increasing by the years around the pastoralists' areas of Marsabit.

This study as earlier said will cover Maikona Location of Maikona Division. This area covers about 5,058 km². The location has an estimated population of about 5,830 people with 3,229 females and 2,601 males as per 1999 population census. Maikona location lies in Kenya lowlands called Golbo and Chalbi with Lake Turkana to the west and Marsabit Mountain to the south. It is situated 98 Kms North of Marsabit headquarters en route to Lake Turkana.

The researcher selected Maikona Location considered as the area with more watering facilities in terms of number of wells situated here. This has naturally attracted a large settled population and also mobile pastoralists from various pasture zones in "chalbi" who come for watering their animals in those wells. The location has also the oldest Catholic Mission Church in the Gabbra land, which is the main actor in food aid. The researcher therefore believes that the outcome of the findings will give a general picture of the area on the subject of study.

3.3. Population Sampling

The ethnic community in Maikona is mainly the Gabbra. Gabbra raise their animals on the most arid rangelands in East Africa (FAO 1971). The Gabbra move with their animals in search of pasture to 'Borana' water points in Ethiopia. Highlands and Waso plains of Isiolo District of

Kenya. The community is marginalized because it is seen not to respect borders hence the authorities are ambivalent towards them. They are seen as backward people with little to contribute to national economy.

3.4. Sampling Method

According to Singleton (1988), clusters generally consist of natural groupings such as geographic units, census tracts, and blocks. In a cluster sampling, the population is broken down into groups of cases called clusters and a sample of clusters is selected randomly. He further says that researchers use sampling methods in order to draw inferences on all the units based on a relatively small number of units.

In this study, it is not possible to study the whole of the population of Marsabit District but a sample is picked from Maikona Location. The sampling method to be used is cluster sampling. The whole idea behind grouping is to seek knowledge or information about a whole class of similar objects or events usually called a population, observe some of these elements, and extend findings to the entire class (Ibid. 1988).

Villages and Households Selection

In drawing the cluster sample, a two-stage procedure will be used. Non-probability sampling will be used to select clusters under study. This involves four villages that will be selected purposely whereby two (2) villages are from the settled population and two (2) others from those who practice active Pastoralism.

The second stage will involve the use of probability sampling in picking eighty (80) households using the techniques of selecting randomly twenty (20) households per village. At this stage, the researcher will use a list of villages before getting into the details about the population frame. The list will be easily obtained from the administration. The next step in our sampling will be to

draw random sample of elements within each selected clusters. Cluster sampling usually helps reduce the cost of data collection in form of time and money by allowing lists to be compiled only for selected clusters rather than for the entire population.

Schutt (1996) supports the above design and adds that the sample will be closer to the true population value if the researcher maximizes the number of clusters selected and minimizes the number of individuals within each cluster. He also says that the more homogenous the cluster, the fewer cases needed per cluster and the more clusters, the lesser the sampling error. This statement implies that we can understand and predict our environment from various experiences we encounter in our daily living. This study is exploratory in nature because the researcher is touching on a subject, which is not much studied. The purpose is to come up with recommendations that would lead to the eradication of food relief. A case study is picked to allow for concentration on a limited area but which represents the larger area of study.

3.5. Data Collection, Processing and Analysis

3.5.1. Secondary Data

The study on the impact of food aid in the pastoralists region involves an intensive literature review whereby records from various NGOs involved in food distribution are being used. This secondary source of data will be complemented by information that the researcher will primarily collect from the field. The researcher will also use government documents about food aid that include papers, magazine, publications, newspapers in order to find out strategies taken by different stakeholders in an attempt to address the food crisis as observed in the semi-arid areas for many years.

As mentioned earlier, little work has been done in line of linking food aid to the social economic development of pastoralists; hence the researcher will complement the secondary source of data with direct information from the field. The fieldwork will focus on the sampled pastoralists and other key informants whereby a structured interview and group discussion will be used to get more and relevant information about the issue this paper is intending to discuss.

The fieldwork is done by collecting information through structured interviews using questionnaires, discussions and direct observations. Field assistants are used where necessary with guided instructions on how to collect data. Visiting of the households is the key method of meeting the interviewees and answers to the questions are recorded on the spot.

3.5.2. Structured interview

An interview schedule is prepared according to the themes of research; that is the socio-economic background, the income generating activity mainly based on livestock and the assessment of requirement of support expected, and future needs. Interviews will be conducted in the homes of the respective respondents or at their place of grazing/water points. The aim of this interview is to collect facts from people and also get their opinion on the subject of study. Others like local leaders and NGOs workers could also be contacted in form of interviews. Household heads or their representatives will be targeted for household interviews.

3.5.3. Observation

Observation is another method of research to be used by the researcher on all issues that she believes will complement and validate data. This method involves observing and discussing informally with villagers, community leaders, government officials, NGOs members, and elders. The researcher needs also to observe the physical facilities on the ground to corroborate what she sees with the primary data on hand; for instance, availability of wells, schools, Mission centres,

medical facilities would be ascertained. The information from the above key informants coupled with respondents' information and the researchers' personal accounts would add towards the knowledge sought.

3.5.4. Data processing and analysis

Data processing and analysis involves editing, coding and frequency tabulation. Questionnaires will be edited after they have been filled. This aims at ensuring that answers are accurate, consistent, complete, and legible. Answers will be classified into meaningful categories before tabulation. After tabulation, totals and percentages will be calculated. Generally, analysis aims at corroborating answers to the questions on the questionnaires and the research objectives. The researcher will interpret the findings after classification and tabulation and present her findings with the intention of informing on the subject of study.

CHAPTER 4.0: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings of the research work. Data is shown as got from the field and answers to the questions are analyzed and interpreted.

Field work involved interacting with household heads, herein termed as respondents and their information recorded directly as given.

The questionnaire was divided into 6 sections. Each section aimed at informing on the following:

- Section I: Personal information of the respondents;
- Section II: Livestock keeping profile of the households;
- Section III: Socio-economic profile;
- Section IV: Food aid status in the case study;
- Section V: Decision making and participation;
- Section VI: Coping strategies

A total of 80 questionnaires were sent out but 78, which are 98% of the total were returned. The research used a structured questionnaire as shown in Appendix 3. The data was displayed in table form according to the questions asked and relative frequencies used in analyzing it.

The information gathered above was expected to inform on the socio-economic impact of food aid on the Gabbra pastoralists of Marsabit District. The findings are expected to be generalized in a way to inform on all other pastoralists in Northern Kenya accordingly.

SECTION 1.0: PERSONAL INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

The respondents in this study had their ages running between 15 and 89 years as displayed on the table 1.1 below. About 59% fall in the active category of between ages 15 and 47 years. These groups can actively get involved in pastoralism includes herding livestock in distant areas which even children up to 7 years old participate in under supervision of grown ups. The majority of the respondents are therefore strong enough to undertake any other form of production activity.

Table 1.1. Distribution of household respondents according to age

Years	Number	Percent
15 – 25	6	8
26 – 36	19	24
37 – 47	21	27
48 – 58	10	13
59 – 69	7	9
70 – 80	11	14
81 - 91	4	5
Total	78	100

The table below shows that respondents composed of 54% male household heads and 46% female. It is observable in this study that women headed households are quite large. The assumption here is that the male are away to take care of livestock in distant areas thus in their absence, women run the affairs of the family. The implication is that for any meaningful development to take place, women must actively participate in development activities.

Table 1.2. Distribution of household respondents according to sex

Sex	Number	Percent
Male	42	54
Female	36	46
Total	78	100

Close to 74% of the respondents are married as shown in the table below. About 19% are widows. The study did not single out any case of widowers. This is because men married very first once widowed while women, especially the older ones remained unmarried. This falls in the category of the vulnerable members of the community, considering that they take full responsibility in managing their homes especially if there are no other clan members in the same area to turn to. The study points out about 4% of respondent household heads that are polygamous discounting the popular belief that pastoralists usually marry many wives. However, the prestige associated with many wives by the rich livestock owners of the past may now have been destroyed by reduced livestock ownership status.

The only 3% single heads are divorced women of a different community. Generally, among the Gabbra pastoralists, there is no divorce. A run-away woman would be considered to belong to the husband's clan and taken care of accordingly, and would therefore consider herself married all the time.

Table 1.3. Distribution of household respondents according to marital status

Marital status	Number	Percent
Single	2	3
Married	58	74
Polygamous	3	4
Widow/widower	15	19
Total	78	100

Table 1.4 depicts that the majority of the respondents, about 83% are illiterate. The most educated only completed primary schools education and is 8%. The 5% who have completed secondary, college level education mainly work as teachers or with NGOs. The low literacy level affects awareness level of the community and need to be paid attention to by interventionists.

Table 1.4. Distribution of household respondents according to level of Education

Level of Education	Number	Percent
Illiterate	65	83
Completed Primary School	6	8
Completed Secondary School	1	1
College/University Level	3	4
Other (adult education and below Primary)	3	4
Total	78	100

On table 1.5, the average number of household members in one family is 5 persons. This is a benefit of the long-breastfeeding tradition among the Gabbra pastoralists. It could also be attributed to the absence of many male partners as earlier observed.

Table 1.5. Distribution of household respondents according to number of household members

Number of Household members	Frequency	Percentage
1-3	19	24.3
4-7	46	59
8-11	12	15.4
12-15	1	1.3
Total	78	100

SECTION 2.0: LIVESTOCK KEEPING PROFILE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

A question was set up to find out number of livestock owned by the respondents. About 51% own 21 and below number of shoats (goats and sheep) while 12.8% own 100 and over as shown on table 2.1. Cattle are owned only by a few because the environment is not conducive to keeping a large number. Virtually all respondents own shoats because it is cheaper to get and to maintain.

This aims at shedding light on the level of livestock ownership which clearly shows that the majority own very few livestock, if any, although they practice pastoralism as their main

economic activity. It is interesting to note that camels and cattle are the ones one gets through borrowing from relatives and clan members. The loanee for good keeps the male offspring while the female offspring are returnable to the owner at any time that he demands it back. Such communal sharing is widely practiced and helps the lesser members of the community. The researcher cautions that some respondents may not have given true information on actual number owned for fear of losing out on free distribution of livestock occasionally given by some NGOs to those who have few or none.

Table 2.1. Distribution of household respondents according to number of livestock kept

Number of shoats (goats and sheep)	Number	Percent
<21	40	51
22-43	9	11.5
44-65	10	12.8
66-87	7	9
88-109	2	3
110-131	10	12.8
Total	78	100

The study reveals on table 2.2 that about 56% of the respondents mainly acquire livestock through purchasing and borrowing. The money to do this transaction is got through petty trade but the main purchasing is through barter trade, which involves exchange of one livestock type with another. For instance, one camel head can fetch 10 to 18 goats depending on its age and size.

Borrowing involves being loaned livestock especially camels and cattle (*dabare*) for use for an unspecified time. The main traditional method of acquisition, heritage accounts for 26%. Mostly, only first born male child qualifies for inheritance. The 14% who acquire livestock as gift mainly get the small stock (shoats) from relatives and friends. Sometimes they are loaned out for a period of time for milking (*kallassime*) to one who does not have his own, returnable to the owner when the milk dries up. This communal practice is traditionally accepted and it helps the less fortunate members. It is a repeated process and any person can benefit from the other as long

as he has a need. On the other hand, it is compulsory for one's clan members to contribute livestock heads for those who lose all livestock through raids or droughts.

Table 2.2. Distribution of household respondents according to livestock acquisition methods

Ways of acquisition	Number	Percent
Heritage	20	26
Purchasing and borrowing	44	56
Gifts from relatives and friends	11	14
Others (dowry and raids)	3	4
Total	78	100

Questions were set up to find out the nature of the respondents grazing land and their satisfaction with its quality. The Gabbra of Maikona location graze their livestock in a communal land, which is a government trust land. Table 2.3 indicates that majority, 94% respondents are satisfied with the quality while 6% are not. The reasons for satisfaction are, the saline water unique to this area, which make livestock healthy and its meat sweet and the shrubby pasture seen good for their type of animals, that is, shoats and camels. The vastness of the free grazing land is also an attraction despite little pasture during dry seasons. These findings imply that the respondents do not mind the harsh environment for purposes of practicing nomadism, if only development agents helped in easing the effects of drought. Digging wells in many places so that proper range management can be practiced can do this.

Table 2.3. Distribution of household respondents according to their satisfaction with the quality of the grazing land

Level of satisfaction	Number	Percent
Satisfied	73	94
Not satisfied	5	6
Total	78	100

On table 2.4 what is shown is the migration habit of the respondents to new grazing lands. This is meant to find out whether they move into other pasture zones outside their area in order to find

out how sustaining the Maikona area is. About 94% respondents migrate during drought, which implies that the area can sustain their livestock number well only during the rainy season. What is of importance here is that chances of the migrants missing out on food relief distribution is very high considering that relief is distributed mainly at specific locations near the trading centers. Such migration need be taken into account when distributing aid to pastoralists to avoid pull effect that leads to overcrowding of livestock near the trading centers.

Table 2.4. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they migrate to new grazing lands and how often they do

Items	Number	Percent
Once a year	5	6
Twice a year	-	-
During drought	73	94
Total	78	100

Table 2.5 indicates that about 90% of respondents have enough water for their livestock while only 10% say they do not have enough. Enough water is got in the Maikona grazing zone since many wells have been dug by development agencies due to high water table in the area. During drought, livestock, which is taken far off for pasture, are brought for watering to Maikona, taking even upto a week to travel to the watering points. Therefore, there is a need to protect water catchment areas and improve on wells and dams in other areas to take pressure off this zone.

Table 2.5. Distribution of household respondents according to the availability of enough water for their livestock

Response	Number	Percent
Yes	70	90
No	8	10
Total	78	100

Many livestock, about 76%, take 12 hours or less to get to the nearest water points (wells) as shown on the following table. This usually happens when there is enough pasture in the area. It

implies that respondents concentrate livestock in the same pasture zone within Maikona location. Some critics oppose the digging of too many wells in one area since it encourages overgrazing and puts pressure on pastureland leading to depletion of pasture, which is hazardous to the environment.

Table 2.6. Distribution of household respondents according to the length of time livestock are taken to the nearest wells

Time taken (in hours)	Number	Percent
<12	59	76
13-25	-	-
26-38	13	17
39-51	-	-
52-64	5	6
65-77	1	1
Total	78	100

The main factors leading to the loss of livestock of the respondents is shown on table 2.7. The study reveals that drought and disease are the main causes of death as expressed by 80% of the respondents. About 14% lose them through selling. Raid accounts for 6% loss. This happens mainly when they get close to the Ethiopian borders. The above explains the precarious state of the pastoralists livelihood leading to the repeated need for food aid.

Early warning and disaster preparedness would allow for prompt intervention to forestall some of the above losses especially death of animals, by selling them early. Livestock restocking programs during the rainy seasons could also allow for recovery of the destitute members of the community. Disease management is equally crucial to avoid decimation of the people's livelihood.

Table 2.7. Distribution of household respondents according to the main factors leading to the loss of livestock

Factor	Number	Percent
Drought	39	50
Disease and drought	23	30
Selling	11	14
Raids	5	6
Total	78	100

A question was also set up in a bid to find out from the respondents whether they would like more livestock in their household. All express the wish to have more. The question is meant to find out whether they are interested in retaining their way of life (pastoralism). They say that is what they can best do and their land can sustain. Besides, they feel happy about the vast communal land available to their stock with no competition from other sectors like agriculture.

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) supports the idea that livestock is the most viable economic activity in the Arid areas. It sees lack of livestock emergency intervention policies in Kenya as a disaster in these areas.

Table 2.8.1 highlights the type of livestock the respondents best prefer to keep. Nearly 42% prefer shoats and camels and 33% shoats alone. About 21% prefer shoats and cattle while 4% would like all the above. The main problem in pastoral areas is lack of market for livestock. Middlemen take advantage of the sellers by paying too little to the owners while getting high profits themselves. It is important for policy makers to address this problem seriously for future development of the area.

Table 2.8.1. Distribution of household respondents according to the type of livestock they would prefer to have

Types preferred	Number	Percent
Shoats (goat and sheep)	26	33
Shoats and cattle	16	21
Shoats and camels	33	42
All the above	3	4
Total	78	100

The two tables 2.8.2 (A and B) depict the reasons for the preferences for the specific type of livestock. Cattle and shoats are preferred mainly for its rapid reproduction that favors its use for commercial purposes as expressed by 73% of the respondents. Both cattle and shoats meat is popular to all people unlike camel meat which is eaten only by pastoralists. Camels are preferred mainly for round the year milk and meat availability in all weather conditions and for transportation of goods and people. Adaptability to drought is the other motivator for wanting camels. This information is valuable for any NGO that may be interested in restocking programs in the Maikona area.

Table 2.8.2. Distribution of household respondents according to the reasons of preference for specific types of livestock

(A)

Reasons for shoats and cattle	Number	Percent
Milk and meat	10	13
Commercial purpose (easy to sell)	35	45
Rapid reproduction	22	28
Easy management due to adoption to drought	8	10
Medicinal value (cattle milk for sore tongue)	3	4
Total	78	100

(B)

Reasons for camel	Number	Percent
All season milk and meat	7	9
Better adoptability/drought resistance	19	24
Disease resistance	3	4
Social and ceremonial purpose (dowry, communal borrowing, and libation pouring)	5	6
Don't want	30	38
Transportation of people and goods	14	18
Total	78	100

SECTION 3.0: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

The study reveals the number of years the respondents have settled in Maikona area as shown on table 3.1.1 most, 41% have been settled for 8 years or less. In fact, the majorities have come to this area less than 2 years ago. This shows there is a substantial movement of new people into the area. The number of respondents who have been in the area between 20 to 51 years accounts for 38.6% which shows that there is a preference for permanence by the respondents in this area. This supports the satisfaction earlier expressed with quality of grazing land coupled with availability of water. This is a very popular area for livestock especially during dry seasons. There is however danger of overgrazing due to livestock concentration as earlier pointed out.

Table 3.1.1. Distribution of household respondents according to the length of stay in the area

Duration in the area	Number	Percent
< 8 (less than a year)	32	41
9 – 17	16	20.5
18 – 26	13	17
27 – 35	10	12.8
36 – 44	4	5
45 - 53	3	3.8
Total	78	100

The reasons that prompt respondents to settle in Maikona location are shown on table 3.1.2. Favorable pastures and water sources in the area attract 45%. Substantial number, 24% have settled here due to lack of pack camels to carry their household goods. Most of these have settled in temporary structures around the water wells and say they could start moving if given pack camels. Restocking programs would have assisted this lot to resume active pastoralism. Most of those who move around do so within the Maikona pasture zone.

An interesting observation is also recorded in that 18% are settling here because of schooling and employment. Many settle around the trading centers to allow their children get education. This is because they cannot afford boarding fees, which would allow them to move away at will once the children are in school. It is obvious to the researcher that modern town life is appealing to this category of the respondents including, trading and eating modern foods. Food aid is known to assist these groups a lot when it is available.

Table 3.1.2. Distribution of household respondents according to what prompted their settlement

Reasons for settlement	Number	Percent
Lack of pack camels	19	24
Schooling and employment	14	18
Favorable pasture and water sources	35	45
Security and petty business	6	8
Health and disabilities	4	5
Total	78	100

The respondents, almost all, have the interest to remain in Maikona location, but a few could move away any time. Table 3.1.3 shows the reasons why the respondents desire to remain in this area. Reliable water and pastures attract 40%. About 31% consider infrastructure important to them. This includes interest in health facilities, schools, roads and trading centers. Other reasons include trading and security. Lack of livestock (pack camels) accounts for 9%. If the trend of settlement and the reasons given are any thing to go by, this area is bound to experience further influx of population endangering the ecosystem. It is common knowledge, though not mentioned

by the respondents, that food relief, mainly distributed at the trading centers also attracts people, especially the very poor to settle near the trading centers as indicated in the literature.

The study reveals that 8% respondents would wish to move away. Reasons given for such move are: moving with their livestock for fear of disease, lack of manpower to herd their livestock for them and dependence on livestock for their food. Among the Gabbra pastoralists, ones livestock can be taken care of by household members themselves or by other relatives. Those who do not have such help move with theirs all the time and so are frequently mobile.

Table 3.1.3 Distribution of household respondents according to their intention and reasons to remain in Maikona

Reasons put forward	Number	Percent
Reliable communal water and pastures	31	40
Social and economic reasons (trade, family)	5	6
Security	5	6
Infrastructures (health, schools, and roads)	24	31
Lack of livestock (pack camels and others)	7	9
Not to remain	6	8
Total	78	100

Table 3.2 shows the respondents accessibility to socio-economic facilities. Time used range from 29 minutes and below to about 3 hours. It is observed that several wells have been dug in the area. Naturally, the villagers have clustered around them and people have easy access. Trading centers have also mushroomed in the villages. Schools and dispensary also serve the villages from a near distance for pupils and the sick respectively. The slight difference in the percentages in time taken just indicates the difference in individual speed respondents take to get to the socio-economic facilities. These factors contribute a lot to attraction for more settlement.

Table 3.2. Distribution of household respondents according to time used to attend socio-economic facilities

TIME USED (in minutes)	SCHOOLS		DISPENSARY		WATER SOURCES		TRADING CENTRE	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<29	21	26.9%	23	29.5%	22	28.2%	20	25.6%
30-59	17	21.8%	15	19.2%	18	23.1%	21	26.9%
60-89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
90-119	20	25.6%	18	23.1%	18	23.1%	20	25.6%
120-149	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
150-179	20	25.6%	22	28.2%	20	25.6%	17	22.0%
Total	78	100%	78	100%	78	100%	78	100%

The frequency of the livestock sale profile is depicted on table 3.3. The big majority, 82% of respondents, sells their livestock occasionally. It is observed that sale is mainly done when there is a need in the household. There is no established market for livestock sale purpose but traders come from far and wide to buy stock at the watering points. Barter trade is also practiced whereby goods are exchanged with livestock or one livestock type exchanged with another. The remaining 18% of respondents are those who sell annually or every six months during the time livestock is back to the villages. This happens mostly during the rainy seasons.

Table 3.3. Distribution of household respondents according to livestock sale profile

Sale Frequency	Number	Percent
Every six months	3	4
Annually	11	14
Occasionally	64	82
Total	78	100

Table 3.4.1 shows the livestock sale structure last year, 2002. A half of the respondents sold up to 8 shoats in the respective year. These stock types are the most kept and so usually it is turned

to for sale for all needs in the households. The other 18% who sold 18 to 50 shoats mainly did it for trading purposes. A few respondents only sold cattle.

Cattle are mainly valued for big markets outside the area since they can be sold handsomely at Marsabit and beyond. It is seen to have better returns, even though the environment does not allow for big herds to be kept due to lack of range grass, which is the vegetation favorable to it. It is notable that all the respondents sold one or more shoats, which supports their desire to get more shoats if they could to add to their stock. It's fast rate of reproduction and easy maintenance is highly valued as earlier mentioned and is favorable for large-scale commercial purpose if only markets were available.

Table 3.4.1. Distribution of household respondents according to livestock sale last year

Shoats sold	Number	Percent
< 8	39	50
9 – 17	22	28
18 – 26	5	6.4
27 – 35	5	6.4
36 – 44	3	4
45 - 53	1	1.3
Sold none	3	4
Total	78	100

The main reasons why respondents sold livestock last year are highlighted on the table 3.4.2. This question aims at establishing the main need of the studied population. About 45% sold their livestock for purposes of food and payment of school fees while 33% sold it for food and other commodities such as clothing and household goods.

The researcher observes that livestock sale cannot be ignored as the main source of livelihood. The study records that about 18% sold livestock for fear of them dying from severe drought. About 4% respondents sold no livestock.

The biggest requirement leading to sale of livestock was for purposes of food and school fees. The indication is that whether slaughtered for meat or sold for cash, livestock is used mainly for

immediate basic needs of the household members. This coping strategy must be strengthened during drought through effective destocking programs. This would involve selling animals before they die or slaughtering them for meat for sale or household use to prevent livestock decimation and destitution of the population.

Table 3.4.2. Distribution of household respondents according to the main reasons for sale of livestock last year

Main Reasons	Number	Percent
Food and other commodities	26	33
Food and fees	35	45
drought	14	18
Not sold any	3	4
Total	78	100

This question is intended to find out what other sources of income the respondents have when there is no livestock sale. As shown on table 3.5, about 40% have no other source of income while 54% get it from petty trade and paid labor. Petty trade involves sale of palm mats, brooms, saline salt (for livestock licking) and small kiosks for foodstuff sale. The returns on these products are so little that sometimes return on one item cannot be used to buy even one meal. A mat, the most costly costs Kshs. 300 while a broom costs Kshs.10 and a kilo of salt costs Kshs. 20. The only market outlet is Marsabit town and if you include cost of travel and food, the return is miserable, not to forget the low market for the goods. Those who depend on employed relatives and others to give them assistance in times of need are about 6%.

Income generation is therefore very critical in this area if development is to be realized in line with the government policy of poverty reduction. Livestock sale cannot be ignored as the main source of income. Besides, the cutting of palm trees for weaving mats, baskets and brooms for sale is greatly endangering the environment already and so cannot be a sustainable business.

Table 3.5. Distribution of household respondents according to other sources of income they have in exclusion of livestock sale

Source of income	Number	Percent
Petty trade	29	37
Paid labor	13	17
None	31	40
Employment and relatives	5	6
Total	78	100

SECTION 4.0: FOOD AID STATUS IN THE CASE STUDY

Table 4.1 illustrates the respondents' awareness of the NGO presence in the area. The researcher wanted to find out whether the respondents were aware about who gives them the food aid. Only about 23% of respondents know WFP (World Food Program) presence and 23% know Religious Organizations and GTZ as being present. However, the majorities 54%, do not know any NGO presence in the area. The latter know food is being given to them but do not know who gives it to them. This reflects a low awareness level of the respondents indicating NGOs are not making their presence known to most respondents. Capacity building is therefore very important for meaningful rural development to be realized through participatory approach.

Table 4.1. Distribution of household respondents according to awareness of the NGO presence in the area

NGOs present	Frequency	Percentage
World Food Program (WFP)	18	23
Religious organization	6	8
GTZ	12	15
Don't know	42	54
Total	78	100

Table 4.2 shows the dates from when the respondents started to receive food aid. The dates run from 1960's to the year 2000. A proportion of 15% of the respondents begun receiving aid the

first two decades from 1960, while 85% begun getting it in the last two decades from the 1980's. The respondents appreciate food given to them in 1984 and 1992 as much more sufficient in quantity than any other time before or after.

In critically analyzing the figures, the researcher observes that the number of people assisted with food aid has kept on increasing. Thus, serious measures need to be taken in curbing the dependency on food relief by building self-reliance among the pastoralist communities.

Table 4.2. Distribution of household respondents according to commencement of food aid distribution

Year receive	Number	Percent
1960-1970	5	6
1971-1980	7	9
1981-1990	35	45
1991-2000	31	40
Total	78	100

Table 4.3 shows the methods through which respondents get their food aid whereby 77% get it through free general distribution. This involves giving free rations to all households. The remaining 23% of respondents get their ration through food-for-work programs where individuals are allocated some work to do in exchange for a given amount of food. Usually only the young and able bodied manage to do this work because it is manual work that involves building roads and digging the wells. The sick, the old, and breastfeeding mothers find it hard to participate in such activities. For women in general, it becomes an extra burden on their usual heavy housework schedules and leads to weaknesses in their health.

Table 4.3. Distribution of household respondents according to the methods through which they get food aid

Methods	Number	Percent
Through general food distribution	60	77
Through food for work programs	18	23
Total	78	100

The information laid out on the table 4.4 is to portray how reliable food aid distribution is to the respondents. Important proportions of 72% do not get food aid when they need it. Supplies are erratic and without clear schedule. Requests from administration mostly fall on deaf ears since donors are the ones to give the food aid. Respondents, in such circumstances experience desperation because livestock get decimated either through sale or slaughter to save them from death by drought. Surprisingly 28% receive food aid when they need it.

The researcher observes that some in the latter group are mainly the ones with a sizeable number of livestock and are not that desperate for relief. Anytime it arrives is welcome as a saving on their other resources. The fact is supply is unreliable. Sometimes it is delayed while other times it is brought during the rainy season when it is not needed. Disaster preparedness could forestall such situations both to save on waste and to relieve people out of desperation through timely interventions.

Table 4.4. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they get food aid when they need it

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	22	28
No	56	72
Total	78	100

One question is set up to find out how far the respondents could rely on food aid supply. All the respondents say there is no specified time schedule for aid distribution. The researcher learnt that food aid mainly meant to be received during severe drought is not always available when they expect it. This supports the aid agencies woes of getting donors on time or getting government to declare disaster in good time in order to save lives and livelihoods. The respondents add that sometimes delayed distribution makes aid be received during the rainy season when food aid is not required due to availability of plenty of milk and meat from livestock. In such instances, food goes to waste due to lack of storage facilities. However, when aid arrives on time, distribution is done weekly or monthly depending on the availability of stock.

On table 4.5, the respondents are required to inform on the types of food ration received. Almost all, 94% receive yellow maize, beans and oil, while 6% receive unimix and milk powder meant for children and the aged. The respondents however clarify that oil is rarely given while beans are also not given all the time. The main ration is therefore yellow maize but other foods like peas, dried meat and vegetables are also given once in a while.

Table 4.5. Distribution of household respondents according to types of food received

Food Received	Number	Percent
Maize, beans and oil	73	94
Others (unimix, peas, powdered milk)	5	6
Total	78	100

A question is asked to find out whether the respondents are happy with the food that they receive. Shown on table 4.6, about 62% find both quality and quantity satisfying while 38% do not find it so. The main reasons for dissatisfaction are contaminated food and poor storage leading to weevils, rot and cobweb seen in the ration, small quantity of food, dishonesty and unfairness in ration provision and untimely schedule for food distribution. There are some that complain about imbalanced diet that contains no milk or meat while others consider food aid unfit for the vulnerable people such as children and the aged. The dissatisfied respondents also express fears that the food could be expired since no label is indicated on the packages.

Due to the fact that food ration is not enough for the needy population all the time, equal amount given both to the rich and the poor raises serious dissatisfaction. Food is distributed equally to all households, even where some families are larger than others are. Stealing and selling, and favoritism and discrimination are some of the negative experiences cited. The weak and the old feel ignored by the aid distributors both in allocation of ration and the quality of food given to them.

The respondents who feel satisfied with quality and quantity appreciate the food because it is free food supplement and is better than nothing. Some of these are the very poor. Others appreciate it because they sell or slaughter less livestock when there is free food. These feelings

lead to dependency. To avoid this, free food distribution should be limited to only the times of unpredictable food crisis.

4.6. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they are satisfied with quality and quantity of food received

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	48	62
No	30	38
Total	78	100

Table 4.7 illustrates the respondents' preference for other foods. About a half of them 54%, prefer white maize, which they consider better quality than yellow maize. A proportion of 19% respondents prefer rice and beans because it gets cooked quite first and this helps to save on water and firewood. In addition, 27% prefer unimix and milk powder for the aged and children who are more vulnerable to drought. This group feels that not enough is provided for this category of people. Aid agencies need consider these preferences to improve people's health.

Table 4.7. Distribution of household respondents according to type of food aid they would prefer

Preferred food	Number	Percent
White maize	42	54
Rice and beans	15	19
Unimix, milk powder, dry meat (for children and the aged)	21	27
Total	78	100

The information on table 4.8 is to show how the respondents get their food in the absence of food aid. More than half of them, 60% raise money through sale of livestock and buy grains from the shops. Those who work for food represent 14% while 24% raise money through petty trade. Gains from employment and gifts from relatives account for only 2%. It is important to mention that those who have livestock can better cope with hunger in the arid areas. Milk, meat, hides and skins and even blood contribute to supplement insufficient food either through use or sale.

Table 4.8. Distributions of household respondents according to the ways respondents get food in the absence of food relief

Alternatives used	Number	Percent
Selling livestock	47	60
Work for food	11	14
Petty business	18	24
Gifts from relatives and employment	2	2
Total	78	100

Queries have been raised in the past about the impact of food aid on development in the pastoralist areas. Table 4.9 displays the feeling of the respondents in Maikona on how they value aid in that aspect. The proportion of respondents in their understanding is almost equal, with 53% finding it positively affecting their development and 47% not believing so. Those respondents who believe food aid does strengthen development have given two main ways it does that: as providing food supplement and saving livestock from sale which they usually do in order to pay school fees and buy food.

World Food Program (WFP), the main food agent has similar interest in food aid provision: to preserve livestock and promote self-reliance. However, frequent droughts still lead to many deaths of livestock beating this noble purpose. Therefore a different approach is needed to overcome drought problems in arid areas for meaningful sustainable development to take place in the area of food security. Destocking during drought and restocking during the rainy season could be more beneficial for livestock preservation purposes than provision of food aid.

Some respondents feel that more children are retained in schools since fees are payable through sale of livestock and also because the parents settle down near food centers rather than shifting away with livestock. In addition, food relief is also given to boarding schools to help feed the children.

The respondents who feel that food aid are a stumbling block to development believe that it creates dependency by killing people's initiative to work for their own survival. It undermines pastoralism. According to these respondents, the community is forced to think of aid all the time

and waiting endlessly to receiving it without thinking of how to improve livestock by adopting the existing technology. Many livestock keepers do not go out of their way to search for trade on a large scale by forming such groups as cooperatives.

The administration is seen as paying less attention in giving support towards creating alternatives, rather, just rushing to seek for food aid when situation is desperate. Some respondents mention that eating livestock products is seen more advantageous for people's nutrition and for business. One old lady feels particularly saddened by the eating of more "miti" (plant food) these days than eating of meat and drinking of milk, which she considers healthier. The old glory among most pastoralists of wanting to own a large stock for pride could worsen the above situation. A small percentage also point to the fact that environment is destroyed due to much use of firewood to cook the hard foodstuff like maize and beans.

The researcher would like to alert the reader that the implication of this finding is important to inform this study because the two groups of respondents view this question differently depending on their level of understanding. Consequently, the researcher points out that food aid has its advantages in desperate situations but the disadvantages are glaring over long term as read in many literatures.

Table 4.9. Distribution of household respondents according to their understanding of whether food aid is a tool that can strengthen development in the area

Response	Number	Percent
Yes	41	53
No	37	47
Total	78	100

A question is posed to the respondents to find out whether they have any idea as to how food crisis can be solved. More than a half, 56% respondents as shown on table 4.10 belief improvement of infrastructure and proper management of livestock is the best way forward. Infrastructure mentioned includes roads, trading centers, and market centers for livestock. About 30% of respondents suggest increase of free food distribution and educating people on food security. This group believes in saving livestock from sale if food aid is available. Those who do

not have food also get their ration without many problems since it is free food. This supports the pastoralists dependency attitude as earlier mentioned.

The small proportion of 14% suggests provision of loans for income generation. They feel this can lead to development of bigger markets for livestock and setting up of other trades including sale of goods across the vast pastoral lands. The low percentage here shows that the community is not well exposed to cash economy through trade but people only do petty trade for daily living.

The researcher observes that exposure to food now makes some respondents want more free food, which means there is an obvious change in their consumption lifestyle. The traditional coping method of reducing one's intake of meal is more difficult today now that people are used to eating solid food rather than the traditional drinking of milk alone.

Table 4.10. Distribution of household respondents according to the solutions to food crisis in the area

Solution to food crisis	Number	Percent
Increase livestock and improve marketing	26	33
Improve infrastructure and management of resources	18	23
Increase free food distribution and educate on food security	23	30
Provide loans for income-generation	11	14
Total	78	100

SECTION 5.0: DECISION MAKING AND PARTICIPATION

The respondents are asked questions to find out who makes decisions on food matters amongst them. All of them agree they select their own committees who distribute food to them. Table 5.1 depicts whether the respondents who say they choose their relief committees are happy about their work. Most of them, 62% are somehow happy while 38% are not. From the researcher's observation, the respondents appear afraid that the relief committee members, who are usually many can get to know their comments, so they don't all express themselves freely although the confidentiality aspect is reiterated to them.

The respondents who are unhappy are asked the main causes of dissatisfaction with committee work. Lack of transparency is causing suspicion about committee activities due to lack of information to the members. Unfair influence from the administration that behaves as a middleman between the committee and the NGO staff and food transporters is also cited. This, they believe is the reason stealing and selling of food relief are rampant in the area. Similar number say there is discrimination and biases in food distribution whereby the rich are favored and the very poor ignored. Food is also given equally to the haves and the have-nots, which leads to mistrust and even conflict in the community.

Table 5.1. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they are happy about the village relief committee's work

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	48	62
No	30	38
Total	78	100

This question is posed in an attempt to find out whether the respondents participate in meetings on food matters. As indicated on table 5.2, only 36% do participate in those meetings while the majority, 64% are left out. The respondents believe that meetings are held between the village relief committees, the administration and the food transporters and NGO staff but they never participate. Some complain that they are usually not allowed even to question anything. The researcher cautions the reader that most of the 36% who participate in these meetings are either committee members themselves or their relatives and neighbors who get wind of what is going on by convenience of being in close proximity to the committees. The respondents say there are never *barazas* to talk about the food aid issues.

This issue is widely covered in literature to weigh grassroots participation in interventions and it is known such situations leads to failure of projects. The respondents feel that if allowed a saying on food matters, they would express their desire for more livestock than for food relief. The question about who the key participators are in food meetings is also put to them to find out who makes decisions on food issues in the community. A half confirms that the village committees

are the ones while others mention chiefs and NGO staff. Lack of respondents' participation has serious implications for both food security and other interventions in the area.

Table 5.2. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they are called for meeting on food matters

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	28	36
No	50	64
Total	78	100

Another question on whether the respondents prefer more participators in the meeting is intended to get their ideas on how to improve the meetings in relation to food security. Table 5.3 shows their contributions to that effect. Almost a quarter, 22% recommend inclusion of religious leaders believed to be honest and fair, 27% village elders, and 32% NGO staff. The latter group wishes to present their problems to the aid providers themselves directly. The researcher notes that, interesting as it may be, the villagers do not mention themselves as needing to participate. This could be signs of fear or lack of knowledge due to low awareness level and it needs to be addressed seriously to build self-confidence and people empowerment. A high percentage, 81% wanting new inclusions into distribution committee confirms the researcher's earlier observation that most respondents are dissatisfied with the committee work though they fear to say so.

Table 5.3. Distribution of household respondents according to whom they prefer included in the distribution of food aid

Preferred participants	Number	Percent
Religious leaders	17	22
Village elders	21	27
NGO staff	25	32
No others	15	19
Total	78	100

Table 5.4 depicts whether the respondents receive advice from food aid workers. About 64% do while 36% do not. The researcher learns that the 36% who receive advice fall in the category of the village committees and their associates just as some respondents earlier said. Though they are the ones who meet and interact with the NGO staff, an interaction through which they get the advice, they do not pass it down to the others. Capacity building is therefore a priority that cannot be ignored anymore by development agencies.

The kind of advice the few respondents are given includes: moving about with livestock and selling old and sick livestock, settling around wells and using food aid properly. The advice given is beneficial to the respondents who receive but it could have more impact if more people were educated on these issues.

Table 5.4. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they receive advice from the food aid agencies on how to deal with food insecurity

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	28	36
No	50	64
Total	78	100

SECTION 6.0: COPING STRATEGIES

This question is posed to try and find out how the respondents cope with the arid environment as regards food availability. About 18% have enough food while 82% do not as shown on table 6.1.1 below. This shows the level of poverty among the respondents in Maikona and the reason why food agencies rush over with food aid whenever possible. Any slight drought is a disaster in the making both for man and animal due to already precarious situations. Point of information is that when the traditional milk and meat is little, few other means of getting food is available thus making food aid the only food available to all. Majorities of those who have enough food get it through sale of livestock as earlier mentioned. Employment and petty trade also contributes to the family livelihood just like assistance from relatives received even from those far away.

Table 6.1.1. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they have enough food in their households

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	14	18
No	64	82
Total	78	100

Table 6.1.2 shows how those respondents who do not have enough food in their households survive. Most of them, 63% get their food through begging and taking credits from others while 23% get it through livestock sale and petty trade. A small proportion of 14% gets it through casual labor and relief food when it is available. The study points out that those who get their food through begging, benefit from the customary way of communal sharing whereby whoever has given to his neighbor today gets from the neighbor who reciprocates next time. It is a form of insurance. This is an important coping method, which helps avert death from hunger but the high level of dependency on each other puts strain on the community members due to little food available to all.

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Credit is repaid off by giving livestock like shoats during the rainy season. Respondents who get food through livestock sale and petty trade get a little just to alleviate hunger at a given time. For instance, a mat or a broom is hurriedly weaved and sold to travelers who pass through the villages and one is then able to buy a kilo of maize at Kshs. 20. Casual labor like watering others' animals and building houses equally have little returns according to the respondents who practice it. This paints a grim picture for the whole community since they can easily sink into desperation with such a large number without enough food. It is notable that food relief is not a reliable source of survival explaining why many respondents desire long-term interventions. The Government should use the high water table to introduce agriculture through use of irrigation in the Maikona location.

Table 6.1.2. Distribution of Household respondents according to how those who don't have enough food survive

Survival methods	Number	Percent
Begging and credit	40	63
Livestock sale and petty trade	15	23
Casual labor and relief food	9	14
Total	78	100

Table 6.2 illustrates the amount of money respondents use monthly to buy foodstuff. The majority, 78% use Kshs. 3, 266 or less while 17% use between Kshs. 3, 267 and Kshs. 6, 500. A very small percentage, 5% use between Kshs. 7, 000 – 20, 000. About 60% of the respondents live on Kshs. 1,500 and below which is less than one dollar a day. The World Bank considers such people as living below poverty line. Pastoralists get into desperation because of this low level of income.

The few who live better are either in employment themselves or have relatives in employment. Others have large livestock. The fact that the use of money is now the trend in getting food complicates matters for some of the respondents. This is the reason why income generation and loan facilities are important to help the pastoralists take up other forms of improving their lives.

Table 6.2. Distribution of household respondents according to the amount of money they use monthly to buy foodstuff

Amount in Kenyan shillings	Number	Percent
<3, 266	61	78
3, 267 – 6, 533	13	17
6, 534 – 9, 800	1	1.3
9, 801 – 13, 067	1	1.3
13, 068 – 16, 334	1	1.3
16, 335 – 19, 601	1	1.3
Total	78	100

The analysis on table 6.3 is intended to show the reader how the nutrition level of the respondents is affected during drought. When there is no famine relief, 51% of the respondents eat grains from shops. The grains are mainly white maize and occasionally beans. The 5% who live on livestock products have their livestock near them in most cases. These could eat meat, little milk or blood used to avert anemia by the hungry and the sick. However, there are 23% respondents who combine all sources, that is, sell livestock, use its products and buy grains.

The study further reports that important proportions of 21% respondents live on begged grains. Some respondents are so desperate that they drink porridge made from pounded maize and sugarless tea interchangeably as a whole day's meal. This picture supports the low nutrition level observed among pastoralists especially during drought. Due to this precarious state of health, some even die due to hunger as is sometimes reported. Some respondents explain that their coping capacity is put to real test during drought. Therefore their coping strategies require strengthening to help communities cope with food problems.

Table 6.3. Distribution of household respondents according to what food they eat during drought in the absence of famine relief

Types of Food	Number	Percent
Grains bought from shops	40	51
Livestock products	4	5
Both the above	18	23
Others (begged grains)	16	21
Total	78	100

The data used to find out how many meals the respondents eat in a given day are displayed on table 6.4. More than a half, 59% eat one meal a day which can be calculated to about Kshs. 20 (for 1 kg maize), adding up to Kshs. 600 per month. This supports the information about the amount of money that they spend on foodstuff. It is only about 36% respondents who have two meals a day. The pastoralists sometimes use maize chaff as tea leaves and only add water and milk, if any, to make it into a drinkable portion. In other instances they use *sufurias* in which ugali is made to make tea so that the burnt *ugali* pieces serve as tea leaves. Those who can afford three meals a day represent a miserly 3%. Another similar number cannot account since they just

eat when food is available even if it means visiting a neighbor at mealtime in order to get a swallow. This confirms the extreme poverty level of the population, which needs addressing.

This poor eating definitely affects the health status of the community as has earlier been indicated. Food aid should therefore be nutritious enough if it is to be of any help even in the short term that it is given. Further, serious approach has to be adopted by all stakeholders to address the problem of poor eating. Not only does it affect the whole community but also it is worse for the children, pregnant mothers, the old and the sick.

Table 6.4. Distribution of household respondents according to number of meals they eat per day

Number of meals per day	Number	Percent
One meal	46	59
Two meals	28	36
Three meals	2	3
Others (when available)	2	3
Total	78	100

Table 6.5.1 shows how reliably the respondents can depend on livestock during drought. About all the respondents, 96% move their livestock away while 4% keep it with them. Such mobility requires that many men leave home to follow livestock herds and this intensifies their work. Most respondents feel that dry season is the most exhausting and tiring period for them both physically and emotionally. Security is also mentioned as an issue at this time due to movement of livestock to far off places, even across borders. On the other hand, only vulnerable members of the community are left at home at this time mainly women, children, the sick, and the aged. For this lot, drought complicates matters as it affects coping capacities a great deal.

Table 6.5.1. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they move away livestock or keep it in the homestead during drought

Item	Number	Percent
Keep it here	3	4
Move away	75	96
Total	78	100

Table 6.5.2 records whether respondents get access to moved livestock. Some 81%, who do, actually move along with their livestock in search of pastures while others see their livestock when they come to the wells for watering. The 19% who do not have access to their livestock are those who depend on grains only, or nothing for their meals either because they have few stock or their animals have gone too far. Generally, pastoralists believe in being very gentle in their use of livestock at such times in order to save the herd in case drought decimates them. In the process, human health is greatly compromised due to lack of use of protein got from animals.

Table 6.5.2. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they get access to moved livestock

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	63	81
No	15	19
Total	78	100

The government is the main authority the pastoralists recognize. Table 6.6 lays out the feelings of the respondents on what part the Government plays in the area of food security. About 63% of respondents feel the government helps during droughts in giving relief food and security while 37% see the government as not assisting enough. The latter want it to get more involved in planning and executing sustainable development rather than only appearing at the time of drought. Long term development suggested is mainly in the areas of livestock management and marketing and in introduction of agriculture in the semi arid area.

Reclamation of the desert has been successfully done in places like Egypt, Sudan and even Israel. Therefore, it is possible to do it in Maikona because the water table is quite high and can suffice for irrigation purposes. The government declaration of disaster, if done in good time improves chances of timely intervention by aid agencies to save lives and livelihood.

The respondents are further prodded to find out what kind of help the government gives during drought. Those who consider the government helpful wrongly give credit to it for food aid distribution. This shows lack of awareness among the respondents because government rarely provides any food aid but only overlooks its distribution through the administration officials on the ground. However, those who feel the government helps in security are appreciative of the presence of the home guards that are given guns by the government for purposes of guarding livestock from raiders. This is a very important area to attend to because during drought livestock is taken very far, even across the Ethiopian border and they are very vulnerable to raids at this time. Most respondents want to be given more of such security in all areas to allow for livestock mobility to greener pastures, and by extension, the increase in the number of livestock which they so much value.

Table 6.6. Distribution of household respondents according to whether they believe the government helps during droughts

Item	Number	Percent
Yes	49	63
No	29	37
Total	78	100

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- Majority of the respondents fall in the active category of 15 to 47 years and so can undertake any other production activity.
- Respondents composed of 46% women headed households which shows that many men are frequently away from their homes as they move away with animals in search of greener pastures.
- 83% of the respondents are illiterate which means that the general awareness level of the population is low.
- In the livestock ownership profile, 51% of respondents own only 21 and below number of shoats (the most widely owned livestock type) which are considered few by pastoralist standard. However, some may not give the correct figure for fear of missing out in free distribution of livestock occasionally given by some NGOs to those who have too few.
- The majority of respondents, 73% say that there is little pasture in their grazing land. However 94% said they are satisfied with their grazing land all the same due to favorable environment for livestock including salty water, which makes meat sweet.
- Respondents get involved in active pastoralism with 94% of them saying they always migrate with their stock during drought.
- 90% of the respondents have enough water for their livestock due to concentration of wells in Maikona location. The respondents feel drought (50%) and disease (30%) are the main causes of livestock loss.
- All respondents value livestock with 100% of them wanting to get more.
- Camels and shoats are the most preferred livestock herd due to their adaptability to drought. Shoats are also favored due to its fast reproduction and for commercial purposes.
- There is an increase in settlement over the years into Maikona location. Favorable pasture and water in the area attract 45%, the biggest number. 18% settled here due to schooling of children and employment. Food aid is not the main attraction into this area as the literature indicates.
- 71% of the respondents wish to remain in this area due to favorable environment and availability of socio-economic facilities (roads, clinics, and schools and trading center). Modern infrastructure seems to be a motivator towards pastoralists settlement in trading centers.

- According to 82% of the respondents livestock is sold when there is need only, not for commercial purpose. 40% of the respondents have no other source of income outside sale of livestock, while 54% get it through petty trade and paid labor.
- Relief food aid has been supplied from 1960. 85% have started receiving it in the last two decades, which shows that the frequency is increasing.
- 100% of the respondents agree there is no time schedule for provision of food aid. Distribution is erratic and unreliable and so not dependable as a sustainable source of food in the long term.
- The main food aid ration received is yellow maize that is of low quality than white maize. Food is lacking in nutritious value though some appreciate it since they have nothing else to eat.
- About 63% of the respondents are satisfied with both quantity and quality of food aid ration when the supply is available but 37% are dissatisfied with quantity and quality due to unfair distribution, small quantity, untimely distribution, unbalanced food, and food contamination.
- The research reveals that 84% of respondents supplement insufficient quantities of food aid through sale of livestock and petty trade.
- Respondents receive food aid mainly through free general distribution (77%) and through food-for-work programs that are run here occasionally.
- Despite the fact that food aid is for free, 72% of respondents don't get food aid when they need it. Supply depends on availability of food and donor money.
- 53% of respondents consider food aid to strengthen development because it preserves loss of livestock and serves as supplement for them. It also helps in development of infrastructure.
- 47% respondents see food aid as hindering development because it kills initiative for own survival, undermines pastoralism due to its free nature and brings mistrust in the community.
- According to 56% of the respondents, food insecurity could best be addressed through improvement of infrastructure and proper management of livestock. 30% want increase in free food distribution showing high level of dependency while 14% want loans for income generation.
- All the respondents agree that they select village relief committees, which supplies food to them. 62% are happy with the committee work while 38% are not. Political and administration's interference, discrimination, dishonesty and mistrust cause dissatisfaction.

- No general meetings are held on food issues to give advice to the respondents. Only committee members and their associates have access to the food agencies. This has created mistrust between the committee and the villagers who say they are not consulted on anything.
- All the respondents informed the researcher that the village committees, NGO staff and chiefs are the ones who participate in meetings to discuss food matters.
- The researcher learnt that 81% respondents want religious leaders, village elders and NGO staff to be involved in food aid meetings for them to benefit. This confirms dissatisfaction with committee work though they fear to say so.
- The research also reveals that 82% respondents have no enough food to live on, showing very high poverty level.
- Despite availability of food aid, 63% respondents get their food through begging and taking credits which they repay with livestock when it rains.
- Majority residents live below poverty line with 78% using Kshs.3, 266 and less monthly on food. 50% live on Ksh. 1500 and below per month. This is living below poverty line going by World Bank poverty level standards.
- At the times when there is no famine relief food, 51% live on grains bought from shops while Some get food through sale of livestock. About 21% live on begged grains putting strain on extended family and other community members.
- About 59% respondents eat only one meal a day in their daily food intake. 36% live on two meals, one composed of tea.
- During drought livestock is moved away by 96% of the respondents but 81% get access to it at the watering points at least to see their progress.
- The Government role in food situation is given undue credit by 63% who say it helps through famine relief distribution (done by food agents) but 37% say it does not help. Others feel Government help through provision of home guards for security against raids.

This study shows that food aid does not as and of itself improve food security and create self-reliance so desired by the food aid agents. Community participation in decision-making is wanting and could explain lack of long term sustainable food security programs. Food aid has created dependency at the cost of the traditional coping strategies of the community under study. The drought factor as a call for food aid should be down played and long term strategic planning put in place to overcome food problems all over the arid lands and the rest of the country.

CHAPTER 5.0: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

The study area covered under this research is Maikona location of Marsabit District. This area is chosen because of its endowment with water wells, which attracts lots of pastoralists from all the other zones of the region.

The study confirms that food status in the area is very precarious despite the food agencies' efforts to distribute more and more food over the years. The need for food aid is not only caused by drought but the general poverty level of the communities. Livestock ownership is no guarantee against poverty because once it is lost through drought, raids or disease, it takes long to re-build ones' herd. The vagaries of weather, poor infrastructure, poor animal health facilities, poor livestock management and general social, political and economic marginalization of the community has affected food situation drastically.

Lack of any other reliable source of income outside sale of livestock has greatly affected food availability for the households studied. In spite of food aid provision since the 1960's and the interest of food agents to lessen dependency on it, the need for food has increased over the years due to poverty. About 82% of the studied population lack any reliable source of food. The majority live on begging and taking credit to satisfy their food needs. In such circumstances pressure is put on livestock which is sold to get food, school fees and meet all other needs. This contributes to many households having very few livestock heads. The communities' food status is stretched so much that majority of the households live on only one meal per day leading to repeated nutrition breakdown especially during drought. All these greatly undermine the community's coping capacities a great deal and demand long-term solution to food problems in the area.

Food aid is valued mainly as food supplement and for preservation of livestock from slaughter or sale for food and school fees. However, the studied populations express dissatisfaction with food aid quality. Yellow maize, the main ration is seen as serious compromise to nutrition since food

is imbalanced. A lot of food is contaminated and shows no expiry date. It is hard to cook and so consume more energy and is unfit for consumption by children and the elderly. Consequently, malnutrition is a common factor among the pastoralists of Maikona location. Food aid does not influence settlement in Maikona directly since it is not dependable as a constant supply. Besides distribution is erratic and uncertain. Speed of intervention and timing is unpredictable even in times of crisis. Sometimes it is received when least needed, during the rainy season thereby going to waste.

Further, some respondents feel that free food aid distribution hinders people's initiative towards self-reliance thereby creating dependency. This is supported by the fact that a big number (30%) want free food aid on full time basis, not only because they do not have other food but because they want to preserve their livestock from sale or slaughter once they can get free food. The belief in maintaining a big herd further explains why most pastoralists here do not sell livestock for commercial purposes but only do petty trade to get their basic needs like food. The attitude undermines long-term economic development through commercialization in the region. This is why capacity building is important to educate the people on better technology to improve their lives.

The socio-cultural practice of borrowing and (Dabare), begging and donations (Irba), is mainly used to cope with loss of livestock as a result of raids and droughts. However, while honorable, this worsens the larger community's coping capacities due to dependency on the extended family as a result of high levels of poverty and lack of reliable alternatives to fall back on in times of destitution.

The study reveals that the community contribution to food matters is only good as far as selecting their own relief committees goes. However, participation in decision making is limited to relief committees, the administration and the NGO staff. Community members are left out since no public meetings are held to discuss food matters. Some say they are not even allowed to ask any questions and that, advice given to the few committee members does not trickle down to the larger group. Much as many say they are satisfied with the relief committee work, the majority want religious leaders, and elders to be included in the meetings for fairness and honesty to prevail. Thus, fear of victimization may have influenced some of the respondents

answers to the questions as earlier put by the researcher. Further, poor stakeholder participation could explain the absence of other development projects in the area since community's needs and ideas are not taken into consideration.

All the community members under study express wish to have more livestock showing their value for pastoralist way of life as the best means to cope with their situation. Thus, the government and the Missionaries idea of settling people down permanently are not acceptable to them. Though many settle around the wells, the able-bodied move constantly with the livestock. Small stock, sheep and goats are more valued for quick reproduction and ease to sell. These are sold both for coping with hunger during drought and paying off credit during the rainy season. Camels, on the other hand, are valued for milk supply all the year round and for transportation of goods and man. Wide scale commercial sale of livestock is not yet done due to lack of marketing and livestock policy.

In general, food aid is considered valuable for relieving hunger during drought if given at the right time. However, unscheduled and erratic distribution due to delay and lack of donors undermines its benefits. Moreover, the issues of proper resource management, planning and disaster management are ignored hindering meaningful sustainable socio-economic development. It is in this light that most pastoralists studied here consider serious livestock management and marketing as a long term solution to their long standing food problem, alleviation of poverty and for the general empowerment of the pastoralist communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For the attention of Development Agencies

Development agencies should design and implement projects with their focus on developing self-sustenance in the community. They should also earmark resources for specific projects and ensure completion of such projects. Income generating projects should be generated through grants and soft loans to enable the community supplement its livestock use. Donors should be more responsive and flexible with funds such that emergency like those of droughts can immediately and effectively be responded to.

Planning, monitoring, and evaluation of programs should be undertaken on full time basis as

well as involving the local people in the job. Proper professional expertise to do baseline survey is very important to help in the early warning of disasters. Beneficiaries must be consulted at all stages.

The projects to prescribe in arid areas should include destocking during drought, restocking during rainy seasons, livestock marketing, improvement of infrastructure, rehabilitation of water pans, dams, and wells, veterinary services, range and environmental management, establishment of abattoirs and search for external markets for both livestock and its products.

On the other hand, food aid should only be limited to crisis time. The quality and quantity should be improved with clear focus on its nutritional value to the people in need. This can best be achieved by early preparation for disasters by both the donors and the government through proper planning and integration of all stakeholders.

For the attention of the government

The government should put proper policies of arid land resource management in place. This includes livestock marketing and management; animal health management, water and pasture management. It should also improve on food production and storage, socio-cultural development; and soil and environmental management. Food policies in the arid area should be seriously addressed to avoid resorting to food aid as a solution to drought crisis. It should also strengthen infrastructure development including building communication networks between all stakeholders involved in pastoral area development. Roads, telephones, schools, health centers, and trading centers in the arid areas should also be developed.

The government should seriously address desertification problems by planting exotic trees that can withstand drought and provide alternatives to firewood to avert fuel crisis in the region.

Reclamation of the arid lands should be done as a priority in order to open the area for agricultural produce through use of irrigation systems. Dry land crops like sorghum, millets, cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams could be introduced and encouraged.

Poverty reduction strategies should be implemented in the arid regions with the urgency it deserves. This includes entrepreneurship development, provision of grants and loans to

encourage and boost income generation. Diversification of pastoral economy should be addressed in order to provide alternatives to livestock keeping.

Socio-cultural development of the community should be enhanced through the relevant government ministries in order to strengthen traditional communal sharing and survival attitudes crucial to a pastoralist. The government should also strengthen extension programs and animal husbandry in order to provide advice to livestock keepers on the best methods of livestock management.

Drought management and mitigation should be enhanced through proper coordination and planning between relevant government ministries and other stakeholders. Community training in leadership should be done to improve community and civic awareness levels.

Security situation should be enhanced especially along the borders to allow for free livestock movement to better pastures during drought.

For the attention of the community

Traditional methods of livestock keeping should be enhanced by the community inline with government and donor advices on modern technology. They should use self-help modes to improve their personal development and development of their social attitudes to accommodate change in food production. Barter trade should be further encouraged across districts as an alternative to cash purchasing.

The community should demand for participation in decision-making and leadership in all aspects of development that affects them. The elite should be in the forefront in educating and encouraging the community to adopt modern technology in range and livestock management in order to create self-reliance. Women should be involved in decision-making and leadership and be educated on best kitchen management especially in areas of good nutrition, food production, storage and preservation.

Socio-cultural beliefs related to coping with crisis should be encouraged especially as regards communal sharing, traditional disaster insurance of lending and borrowing (Dabare) and

compulsory donations (Busa Gonofa) for the less fortunate members. The community should move away from the dependency attitude they have on food aid and take it as disaster assistance. They should instead put structures in place to overcome drought disaster in their own styles of coping and only seeking help when all other means are exhausted.

The elite should educate their members on importance of environmental protection and management and encourage tree planting to overcome desertification.

For attention of the researchers

Further research need to be done to find out the cost of food aid distribution in arid lands. This, with an aim to establishing whether the amount used on providing food aid in a given year can be used to implement other long-term sustainable programs that can eradicate poverty and hunger in the region.

While food aid is appreciated to relieve hunger at a given time, analysis needs to be done on its implication on the health of the beneficiary population. Frequent nutrition breakdown in the area could be attributed to the imbalanced diet given just to fill the stomach rather than improve on the general health of the beneficiaries. The traditional livestock products of milk and meat eaten by the pastoralists is considered to be more beneficial to healthy living than the grains supplied by food aid agencies.

Further study also needs to be done on the impact of food aid distribution on livestock size in the pastoral lands. This is in order to establish whether the preservation of livestock that the food aid agencies aim at through food distribution is realistically achievable in this manner, and whether that may be the best focus towards overcoming hunger in the arid areas of the North.

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Annex 1: Abbreviations

AIC	Africa Inland Church
ASAL	Aid and Semi-Arid Lands
ARLMP	Arid Lands Management Program
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
GTZ	Gessellschaft for Technische Zusammenarbeit
IPAL	Integrated Project in Arid Lands
KFSSG	Kenya Food Security Steering Group
MDP	Marsabit Development Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Program
WFS	World Food Summit

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire is meant to study the scope and effect of food aid on pastoralists and add to the data bank that would inform on how to improve on food security in the area. Kindly do cooperate in the exercise as you are assured of confidentiality in the process.

SECTION I: PERSONAL INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS FROM THE CASE STUDY

1. Age of the respondents []
2. Sex of the respondents
 - (i) Male []
 - (ii) Female []
3. Marital Status
 - (i) Single []
 - (ii) Married []
 - (iii) Polygamous []
 - (iv) Widow/Widower []
4. Which level of education did you attain?
 - (i) Illiterate []
 - (ii) Completed primary school education []
 - (iii) Completed secondary school education []
 - (iv) College/University []
 - (v) Other (Specify) []
5. How many are your household members? []

SECTION II: LIVESTOCK KEEPING PROFILE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

1. As pastoralist is your main occupation, what number of livestock types do you keep?
 - (i) Sheep and goats (shoats) []
 - (ii) Cattle []
 - (iii) Camels []
 - (iv) Others (Specify) []
2. How did you acquire your livestock?
 - (i) Heritage []
 - (ii) Purchased []
 - (iii) Borrowed []
 - (iv) Others (Specify) []

3. Where do you graze your livestock?
- (i) Communal grazing land []
 - (ii) Parks []
 - (iii) Across the borders []
4. How is the quality/status of your grazing land?
- (i) Plenty of pasture []
 - (ii) Little pasture []
 - (iii) No pasture []
5. Are you satisfied with your grazing land?
- (i) Very much []
 - (ii) Somehow []
 - (iii) Not at all []
- 6(a). Have you ever migrated to new grazing lands
- (i) Never migrated []
 - (ii) Ever migrated []
- (b). If yes, how often?
- (i) Once a year []
 - (ii) Twice a year []
 - (iii) Always during drought []
7. Do you have enough water for your livestock?
- (i) Yes []
 - (ii) No []
8. How much time (hours) do you use to take your livestock to the nearest wells? []
9. What are the main factors leading to the loss of your livestock?
- (i) Disease []
 - (ii) Drought []
 - (iii) Raids []
 - (iv) Selling []
 - (v) Other factors (specify)[]
- 10(a) Would you like to have more livestock?
- (i) Yes []
 - (ii) No []
- (b) If so, which types of livestock?
- © Why would you like to have these types of livestock?
-

SECTION III: SOCIAL ECONOMIC PROFILE

- 1(a) How long have you been in this area?
- (b) What prompted you to settle here?
- 2.(a) Do you intend to remain here?
(i) Yes []
(ii) No []
- (b) If yes, what are 3 main reasons?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
- © If not, what are 3 main reasons?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
3. How much time (Minutes) do you use to attend the following socio-economic facilities?
(i) Schools []
(ii) Clinic []
(iii) Wells []
(iv) Trading Centre []
4. How often do you sell your livestock?
(i) Every 6 months []
(ii) Annually []
(iii) Occasionally []
(iv) Other (Specify) []
- 5(a) How many of your livestock have you sold last year?
- (b) What were 3 main reasons that led you to the sale of your livestock?
(i) Buying food stuffs []
(ii) Buying other commodities []
(iii) Drought []
(iv) School fees []
(v) Other reasons (specify) []
6. What are sources of your income outside sales of livestock and its products?
(i) Business []
(ii) Paid labor []
(iii) Other sources (specify) []

SECTION IV: FOOD AID STATUS IN THE CASE STUDY

1. Do you know which NGO's are involved in food aid in your village?

- (i) Religious organizations []
- (ii) Oxfam []
- (iii) WFP []
- (iv) GTZ []
- (v) Don't know []

2. When did you start to receive food aid?

- (i) 1960 - 1970 []
- (ii) 1970 - 1980 []
- (iii) 1981 - 1990 []
- (iv) 1999 - 2000 []

3. How do you get food aid?

- (i) Through general distribution []
- (ii) Through food for work []
- (iii) Other means (specify) []

4. Do you get food aid when you need it?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

5. How often do you receive food aid?

- (i) Weekly []
- (ii) Monthly []
- (iii) Every 3 months []
- (iv) Every six months []
- (v) Annually []
- (vi) Others (specify) []

6.(a) What type of food stuff do you receive?

- (i) Maize []
- (ii) Beans []
- (iii) Oil []
- (iv) Other (specify) []

(b) Are you satisfied with the quality of type received?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

© If not, what are 3 main reasons?

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

- (d) What are 3 types you would prefer?
- (i)
 - (ii)
 - (iii)

7(a) Are you satisfied with the quantity received?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

(b) If not, what are 3 main reasons?

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

© How do you supplement the insufficient quantity received?

- (i) Sales of livestock []
- (ii) Work for more food []
- (iii) Others (specify) []

8(a) Do you consider the food aid program as tool which can strengthen development in this area?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

(b) If yes, what are 3 main ways it can strengthen development?

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

© If not, what are 3 main ways it can hinder development?

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

9. What would you suggest as lasting solution to the food crisis in this area?

.....

.....

.....

SECTION V: DECISION MAKING AND PARTICIPATION

1(a) Who distributes food to you?

- (i) Village relief committees []
- (ii) Administration []
- (iii) NGO's staff []

(iv) All of the above []

(b) Who selects the food aid distributors?

2(a) Are you happy about their work?

(i) Yes []

(ii) No []

(b) If not what are the 3 main reasons?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

3. Are you called for meetings to discuss food matters?

(i) Yes []

(ii) No []

4(a) Who are the leading participators in the meetings?

(i) Village Committee members []

(ii) Administrators []

(iii) NGO's staff []

(iv) Villagers []

(b) Are there more people you would have preferred to participate?

(i) Yes []

(ii) No []

© If so, who are these people?

5(a) Do you receive any advice on how to deal with food insecurity?

(i) Yes []

(ii) No []

(b) If yes, what are 3 main advices repeatedly given?

(i) Move about with the animals []

(ii) Sell old and sick animals []

(iii) Settle around wells []

(iv) Other (specify) []

SECTION VI: COPING STRATEGIES

1(a) Do you have enough food for your household?

(i) Yes []

(ii) No []

(b) If yes, how do you get your food?

.....
.....
.....

© If not, how do you cope/survive?

.....
.....
.....

2. How much money do you use in a month to buy food stuff?

.....

3. What food do you eat during drought when there is no famine relief food aid?

- (i) Grains bought from shops []
- (ii) Livestock products []
- (iii) Both the above []
- (iv) Others begged grains []

4. How many meals do you eat per day?

- (i) One meal []
- (ii) Two meals []
- (iii) Three meals []
- (iv) Any other []

5(a) During drought do you keep your livestock here or move it away?

- (i) Keep it here []
- (ii) Move it away []

(b) If moved, do you easily get access to it?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

6(a) Does the Government help during drought?

- (i) Yes []
- (ii) No []

(b) If yes how?

.....
.....
.....