

Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Final August 2011

Vision statement:

A secure, just and prosperous Northern Kenya and other arid lands, where people achieve their full potential and enjoy a high quality of life

Table of Contents

ABBREVIATIONS	3
FOREWORD	5
PREFACE	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
INTRODUCTION	8
FOUNDATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT	
Overview	20
1. Infrastructure	22
2. SECURITY, PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT	27
3. HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT	32
4. Public sector reforms	
5. NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND LAND REFORMS	
6. DROUGHT MANAGEMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE	46
7. Science, technology and innovation	50
ECONOMIC PILLAR	52
Overview	52
1. LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION, HEALTH AND MARKETING	55
2. DRYLAND LIVELIHOODS (OTHER THAN LIVESTOCK)	
3. Tourism	66
4. Financial services	70
5. Manufacturing, mining and trade	74
6. Business process outsourcing	78
SOCIAL PILLAR	79
Overview	79
1. EDUCATION AND TRAINING	80
2. Health	
3. Population, urbanisation and housing	91
4. GENDER, YOUTH AND VULNERABLE GROUPS	95
POLITICAL PILLAR	100
Overview	100
1. GOVERNANCE AND THE RULE OF LAW	101
2. Devolution	
3. ATTITUDINAL CHANGE	109
DELIVERING THE STRATEGY	113
REFERENCES	116

Abbreviations

ADC Agricultural Development Corporation
AFC Agricultural Finance Corporation

ALRMP Arid Lands Resource Management Project

AP Administration Police
ASALs Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

AU African Union

CBAHW Community-Based Animal Health Worker

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EAC East African Community
ERS Economic Recovery Strategy
GDI Gender Development Index
HDI Human Development Index

HIV/AIDS Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ICTs Information and Communication Technologies
IFPRI International Food Policy Research Institute
ILRI International Livestock Research Institute
IUCN International Union for Conservation of Nature

KARI Kenya Agricultural Research Institute

KESSP Kenya Education Sector Support Programme

KIA Kenya Investment Authority
MTIP Medium Term Investment Plan

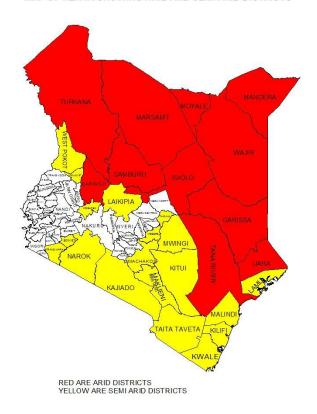
NEP North Eastern Province
NFD Northern Frontier District
NYS National Youth Service

PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper SME Small and Medium Enterprises

SNE Special Needs Education

TIVET Technical, Industrial, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training

UZIMA Uzazi Initiative for safe Motherhood in Arid lands



Counties of Kenya:



Foreword

In 2008 my Government launched Kenya Vision 2030 – the blueprint for our country's development. At the time, I directed that further plans be prepared to address the specific needs of each sector. I am, therefore, very pleased to launch this strategy that focuses on the distinct opportunities and challenges of our arid and semi-arid lands.

Northern Kenya is the gateway to the growing markets of our neighbours in the Horn of Africa. The livestock, cultures, and natural resources of our arid and semi-arid lands boost our economy and make an incalculable contribution to the richness of our national life. The arid lands in particular have a limitless supply of renewable energy which could power our homes, schools and factories. The region is thus blessed with unique opportunities.

However, it also faces many challenges, including the effects of an ever-changing climate, the threat of insecurity, and the legacy of past under-development, evident in the high levels of inequality in human well-being between those in the arid lands and those in the rest of Kenya. These challenges must be addressed if the region is to realise its potential.

My Government is committed to ensuring that the dream of a just, equitable and prosperous nation articulated in Kenya Vision 2030 is one that will benefit all Kenyans, whatever their location, socio-economic status, or identity. This Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands deepens Kenya Vision 2030 by showing not only how our national goals will be pursued in the specific context of the region, but also how the development of the region will enhance our shared prosperity.

Kenya Vision 2030 aims to move all Kenyans towards the future as one nation – a nation that respects and harnesses the diversity of its peoples' values, traditions, and aspirations for the benefit of all. I wish to re-affirm the commitment of my Government to address the particular priorities of Kenyans living in our arid and semi-arid lands, and urge all stakeholders to join together in implementing this strategy.

Hon. Mwai Kibaki, C.G.H., M.P. President of the Republic of Kenya

Preface

National development planning must accommodate the diversity that is Kenya. Each production system has its unique potential and each community their distinct historical experience. Local and national aspirations and concerns are indivisible. Poverty, inequality and insecurity in any one part of our country diminish us all.

Nearly fifty years after our Independence, inequality between the north and the rest of Kenya persists. Uneven human development undermines national cohesion and is one of the biggest obstacles to Kenya achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Equal treatment on an unequal base will simply perpetuate this inequality. New mindsets and methods, innovative strategies, and the understanding and support of all Kenyans will be required in order to release the potential of the arid and semi-arid lands and help their people enjoy the promise of Vision 2030.

The purpose of this document is to set out the interventions required to bring the ASALs to the same threshold as the rest of the country. Once that has been achieved, they will require no conscious deliberation or special attention because their unique needs and circumstances will automatically be addressed within mainstream policy and development planning. That is the ultimate goal of this strategy. The region will always be different – in its ecology, livelihood, cultures, and aspirations – and that diversity will be valued and respected. But it will no longer matter.

Hon. Mohamed Elmi, E.G.H., M.B.E., M.P. MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN KENYA AND OTHER ARID LANDS Hon. Wycliffe Ambetsa Oparanyah, E.G.H., M.P.
MINISTER OF STATE FOR PLANNING,
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT & VISION 2030

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people and organisations who have contributed to this document and supported its development.

- ♣ The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, Mr. Lawrence Lenayapa, and his predecessor, Ms. Mary Ngari, who between them steered this process from its inception to its conclusion. I also thank all other Permanent Secretaries for the assistance provided by their Ministries.
- * RECONCILE, and specifically Michael Ochieng Odhiambo, Duncan Onyango, and Abdi Umar, for assistance with policy analysis, technical advice and workshop facilitation.
- All those who attended the series of consultation meetings held by the Ministry during its first year of operation in 2008.
- * Representatives from Government Ministries and other stakeholders who attended the technical workshop in Naivasha in July 2009.
- A Participants at two validation workshops, in November 2009 and May 2011.
- ♣ The Kenya Vision 2030 Delivery Secretariat for their constant support and helpful comments on the draft.
- * The Agriculture Sector Coordination Unit (ASCU) for their encouragement and partnership.
- ♣ The European Union, through the Drought Management Initiative, for their financial support to the process.
- All those who have shared their expertise and taken time to read and comment on drafts.

Hon. Mohamed Elmi, E.G.H., M.P. Minister of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Introduction

The purpose of this document is to complement and deepen Vision 2030 by explaining how its goals will be realised in the specific context of Northern Kenya and the country's arid and semi-arid lands. It does not duplicate the main document but should be read alongside it.

The dream of a just, equitable and prosperous nation set out in Vision 2030 is as relevant to people in the arid and semi-arid lands as it is to those in any other part of Kenya. Vision 2030 acknowledges the special circumstances of previously marginalised communities, and places a premium on reducing poverty and inequality and re-balancing regional development.

In this respect it offers a chance to turn history on its head. Until recently the distribution of investment in Kenya favoured the so-called high-potential areas – those which, in the words of Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965, have 'abundant natural resources, good land and rainfall, transport and power facilities, and people receptive to and active in development'. Vision 2030 imagines a future which is the polar opposite – one where the hopes and dreams of all Kenyans can be realised.

Different parts of the country will be moving towards this goal from different starting points. Accelerated investment in previously neglected regions, such as the north, is required if all Kenyans are to have an equal chance of sharing in the promise and benefits of Vision 2030. This document sets out what form that investment will take in the north of Kenya and the country's arid and semi-arid lands. It explains how the distinctive characteristics of the region will be taken into account, and sets out the broad strategies and priorities which will be pursued. It will be operationalised through a series of costed five-year medium-term investment plans, the first of which is in preparation in 2011.

8

¹ Republic of Kenya, 1965: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, page 46

The 'unique challenges' facing Northern Kenya and the arid and semi-arid lands

One of the regions which Vision 2030 singles out for special attention is the arid and semi-arid

lands of Kenya. Commonly called the 'ASALs', they make up 89% of the country – the arid counties alone cover 70% - and are home to 36% of the population (Table 1). The dominant production system in the arid counties, and in some of the semi-arid counties, is pastoralism. The arid counties are also synonymous with the concept of 'Northern Kenya', or the area once known as the Northern Frontier District. These three issues – ASALs, pastoralism, and Northern Kenya – have distinct but overlapping policy

'When I took over the leadership of this country, I pledged to commit more resources for the development of the Arid and Semi-Arid areas of our country which have in the past suffered neglect due to inadequate resources provisions and poor infrastructure. In the Cabinet I am announcing today, I have therefore created a new Ministry for the development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands to focus on and address the unique challenges facing these areas.'

His Excellency President Mwai Kibaki 13 April 2008

implications. Together they present a set of unique challenges to the development of the region.

Table 1: Population data, 2009²

Arid countie	es .	Semi-arid cou	unties ³
Garissa	623,060	Kitui	1,012,709
Mandera	1,025,756	Makueni	884,527
Wajir	661,941	Meru	1,356,301
Marsabit	291,166	Tharaka-Nithi	365,330
Isiolo	143,294	Embu	516,212
Turkana	855,399	Nyeri	693,558
Samburu	223,947	West Pokot	512,690
Baringo	555,561	Narok	850,920
Tana River	240,075	Kajiado	687,312
		Laikipia	399,227
		Kilifi	1,109,735
		Kwale	649,931
		Lamu	101,539
		Taita Taveta	284,657
	4,620,199		9,424,648
% national population	12%		24%

³ The counties listed are those covered by the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. Only parts of Meru and Nyeri are semi-arid.

² Republic of Kenya, 2010: Kenya Population and Housing Census, 2009

a) ASALs

The defining feature of the ASALs is aridity. Rainfall in arid areas ranges between 150mm and 550mm per year, and in semi-arid between 550mm and 850mm per year. Temperatures in arid areas are high throughout the year, with high rates of evapotranspiration. The primary policy challenge is how to ensure food and nutrition security in a sustainable manner in environments that are prone to drought, where people's access to and control over critical livelihood resources such as land is insecure, and where climate change will increase unpredictability. In this respect some of the semi-arid counties face challenges equal to or greater than the arid. In Kilifi and Taita Taveta, for example, the level of stunting in children under five is higher than in Turkana, Marsabit or Mandera, three of the poorest counties in Kenya.⁴

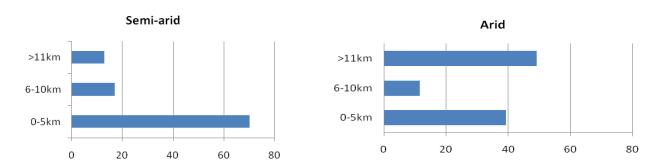


Fig. 1: Distance to secondary school, percentage of students, arid and semi-arid⁵

There is significant variation within the ASALs. Population density ranges from 1 or 2 people per km² in parts of Turkana and Marsabit to 358 people per km² in parts of Kilifi.⁶ Access to infrastructure and services in semi-arid counties – with the exception of those with significant pastoral populations – is roughly comparable with the national average, while in arid counties it is far below the national average (Fig. 1). For example, in 2008 there were 87 secondary schools in semi-arid Kitui district (1 school per 809 students) but only 12 secondary schools in the

⁴ Republic of Kenya, 2008: *Well-Being in Kenya: A Socio-Economic Profile*, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, June 2008

⁵ Arid Lands Resource Management Project II, 2006: Baseline Survey

⁶ Republic of Kenya: *District Development Reports* 2002-2008

neighbouring arid Garissa district (1 school per 1,310 students). The distribution in Ijara was even worse (1 school per 5,345 students).

The economy of the arid areas is dominated by mobile pastoralism, while in the better-watered and better-serviced semi-arid areas a more mixed economy prevails, including rain-fed and irrigated agriculture, agro-pastoralism, small-scale businesses based on dryland products, and conservation or tourism-related activities. The ecology of semi-arid areas allows for the intensification of production in a way that the ecology of arid areas does not.⁸ Other groups within the ASALs depend on fishing, hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Meanwhile, towns across both arid and semi-arid areas are growing, creating an urbanised population with different needs and aspirations. This diversity within the ASALs requires a disaggregated policy response.

b) Pastoralism

Pastoralism is the extensive production of livestock in rangeland environments. It takes many forms, but its principal defining features are livestock mobility and the communal management of natural resources. These are regulated by sophisticated governance systems within pastoral societies. The primary policy challenge is how to protect and promote mobility and support the customary institutions which underpin pastoralism in a society which is otherwise sedentary and tending towards more individualised modes of organisation and production.

Pastoralists in Kenya are found in all the arid counties and in some of the semi-arid – including the Southern Rangelands (Kajiado, Narok and Transmara), West Pokot and parts of Laikipia and Lamu. A policy focus on pastoralism is justified for two main reasons: first, because pastoralists are among those with least access to infrastructure and services. Successful achievement of national and international development targets will depend on the extent to which attention is given to the distinct challenges they face. The second reason is that, until recently, most

_

⁷ District Development Plans 2008-2012 for data on numbers of schools and size of school-age population

⁸ K.O. Farah et al, 1996: *The Management and Development of the Arid Communal Rangelands in North-Eastern Kenya: A Critical Analysis of the Past and Present*, The African Pastoral Forum Working Paper Series No. 7

⁹ WISP, 2008: Policies that Work for Pastoral Environments

governments viewed pastoral areas as net consumers of national wealth, offering poor prospects of return on investment.¹⁰ This view was in part the consequence of the separation between the north and the rest of Kenya, discussed below. As a result, different forms of land use in the ASALs operate on a far from level playing field,¹¹ with some (such as crop production and tourism) more highly valued and supported. These perceptions are slowly changing as pastoralists take more of an active role on the national stage and as the economics of pastoralism become better understood and appreciated.¹² The value of the intra-regional livestock trade within the Horn and East Africa, for example, most of which is managed by pastoralists, is estimated to exceed US\$60m per annum.¹³

c) Northern Kenya

The defining feature of Northern Kenya is its separation from the rest of the country, which manifests itself in both physical and psychological ways. The primary policy challenge is how to close this gap and achieve national integration on terms that benefit the people of the region and the country as a whole.

This separation has its roots deep in Kenya's past, in the creation of the Northern Frontier District by the colonial regime. The NFD was used as a buffer against hostile neighbours – an expansionist Abyssinian empire to the north and an unstable Jubaland to the east. Governance of the NFD was characterised by restrictions on movement, collective punishment, and the use of extensive non-accountable executive powers. Emergency laws were not repealed until the advent of multi-party rule in the 1990s, by which time the north had fallen far behind the rest of Kenya in levels of investment, infrastructure, and human development.

Northern Kenya displays many of the characteristics of remote rural areas caught in chronic poverty traps, which face multiple and interlocking forms of disadvantage. Isolation, insecurity,

¹⁰ IPAR, 2002: How Public Policy Can Improve the Situation of Kenyan Pastoralists, IPAR Policy Brief 8.3

¹¹ Magda Nassef et al, 2009: Pastoralism and Climate Change: Enabling Adaptive Capacity, IIED London

¹² Luis Rodriguez, 2008: A Global Perspective on the Total Economic Value of Pastoralism: Global Synthesis Report Based on Six Country Valuations, IUCN

¹³ COMESA, 2009: *Hidden Value on the Hoof: Cross-Border Livestock Trade in Eastern Africa*, CAADP, Policy Brief No. 2, February 2009

weak economic integration, limited political leverage, and a challenging natural environment combine to produce high levels of risk and vulnerability. Eighteen of the 20 poorest constituencies in Kenya, where 74% - 97% of people live below the poverty line, are in Northern Kenya. The highest rates of poverty are often observed among those who are no longer directly involved in pastoralism, particularly those without livestock who depend on casual labour or petty trade in towns. There are also significant social inequalities within the region, particularly with respect to the rights of women, lower castes and minority clans.

The inequalities between the north and the rest of Kenya in access to services and investment are not primarily a consequence of the region's ecology. The north is not poor because it is arid. Moreover, they affect the whole population of the region, not just pastoralists. These inequalities are a political construct – the product of conscious public policy choices taken in Kenya's past which can be changed. For these reasons the term 'Northern Kenya' is used throughout this document alongside 'arid lands', even though the two are geographically synonymous.

In summary, there are specific ecological, cultural, economic and political realities which shape development priorities and approaches in Northern Kenya and in arid and semi-arid areas. They are not barriers to development, but rather conditions to which policy and practice must adapt. Some of these apply right across the ASALs, some particularly concern pastoral areas, and some are unique to Northern Kenya. Their policy implications and geographical relevance are illustrated in Table 2.

Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2002: Chronic Poverty and Remote Rural Areas, Working Paper No. 13.
 Republic of Kenya, 2008: 'Constituency Report on Well-Being in Kenya'. The constituencies are Turkana

Central, Turkana South, North Horr, Saku, Wajir North, Wajir South, Mandera Central, Turkana North, Mandera East, Garsen, Galole, Wajir West, Samburu West, Mandera West, Laisamis, Wajir East, Dujis and Ijara.

16 Peter Little et al. 2008: 'Challenging Orthodoxies: Understanding Poverty in Pastoral Areas of East, Africa'

¹⁶ Peter Little et al, 2008: 'Challenging Orthodoxies: Understanding Poverty in Pastoral Areas of East Africa', *Development and Change*, 39:4, 587-611.

Table 2: Regional characteristics

Reality	Some policy implications	Relevance
A <i>remote</i> region, with rudimentary transport, energy and communications systems	 Incentives to attract investors and public servants to the region Strategies to strengthen national cohesion More conscious efforts with regard to public information and extension 	Northern Kenya
A <i>dispersed</i> population, scattered across a large area in relatively small settlements	 Higher per capita cost of service delivery Alternative approaches to extension and community organisation Potential for technology to overcome the challenges of distance 	Northern Kenya Some semi-arid counties
A <i>mobile</i> population, for whom mobility is a rational response to environmental conditions	 Innovation in service delivery methods Flexibility within the design of national projects, such as the census, household surveys and elections Frameworks to negotiate mobility across borders, both domestic and international 	Northern Kenya All pastoral counties
A social system which places a premium on <i>communal</i> patterns of decision-making and ownership and which is driven by <i>customary institutions</i>	 Decentralised management of land and natural resources Alternative/hybrid systems of justice Reconciling individual and group rights (e.g. with respect to gender) 	Northern Kenya All pastoral counties
An <i>arid</i> environment, with a distinct livelihood system (pastoralism), and a population vulnerable to drought and the impact of climate change	 Environmental and social impact assessments of all interventions Investment in risk reduction (drought & conflict management), social protection and insurance programmes Adaptation strategies for climate change 	All ASALs

The region's untapped potential

While the challenges facing the region are evident, its potential has been obscured; a significant amount of untapped wealth exists. The potential for growth is arguably higher because the region is starting from a lower base. Research in India and China shows that some of the highest returns to investments in roads, electricity and education, as well as the greatest effects on poverty, occur in marginal, rain-fed areas rather than in irrigated or more fertile areas. What has been lacking is adequate attention to the region, a proper understanding of its needs and potential, and a deliberate political commitment to address them. These are some examples of the region's untapped wealth.

- 1. **Strategic position:** the region's geographical location and its social and cultural attributes make it well-positioned to benefit from surplus capital in the Gulf, one of the fastest-growing parts of the world. It is also the bridgehead to a regional economy of more than 100 million people. Countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia need outlets for their products, imports of manufactured goods and, in the case of South Sudan and Somalia, materials for reconstruction.
- 2. **Domestic trade:** the economies of the lowlands and highlands are complementary. Opening up the north will generate greater demand for Kenyan products. There is already significant movement of capital between parts of the north and Nairobi, which is set to grow.
- 3. *Livestock trade:* as populations increase, urbanise and become richer they create more demand for meat and other livestock products. ¹⁸ In terms of per capita consumption, Kenya is a meat-deficit country. One study suggests that 400,000 jobs could be created if 50% of that deficit were to be met by increased livestock production from North Eastern Province alone. ¹⁹ In another example, which illustrates the hidden wealth in the livestock trade,

¹⁷ Peter Hazell, 2001: Strategies for the Sustainable Development of Drylands Areas, IFPRI

¹⁸ Delgado et al, 1999: *Livestock to 2020: The Next Food Revolution*, Food, Agriculture and the Environment Discussion Paper 28

¹⁹ ReSAKSS, 2008: Investment Opportunities for Livestock in the North Eastern Province of Kenya: A Synthesis of Existing Knowledge

revenue collection by Samburu County Council increased ten-fold, to an average of Kshs. 1m per year, after it started a partnership with the Livestock Marketing Association in Archers Post to run a sales yard on a revenue-sharing basis.²⁰

- 4. *Tourism*: most protected areas such as game reserves and national parks are found in the ASALs. This gives the region a comparative advantage in tourism, an industry that is usually Kenya's highest foreign exchange earner and contributes approximately 12% to Kenya's GDP. Pastoralism, conservation and bio-diversity are intimately linked. More than 70% of Kenya's wildlife are found outside protected areas on land occupied by pastoralists. With the right incentives in place, research shows that wildlife numbers and diversity can be higher in areas adjacent to national parks than within the parks themselves.²¹
- 5. Natural wealth: if Kenya has commercial deposits of oil and natural gas they are likely to be found in the ASALs, particularly in the north and east. Other natural resources include sand and gravel for construction, a wide range of precious minerals, soda ash, gums, resins, and medicinal plants. Dryland soils and vegetation store carbon, suggesting that the ASALs have the potential to generate payments for environmental services such as carbon sequestration.
- 6. Urban development: carefully planned and strategic urban development in the ASALs will benefit the region, particularly in terms of employment creation, while also opening up new economic and investment opportunities for the country as a whole, reducing population pressure in high-density areas and strengthening national cohesion through the intermingling of social groups.

²⁰ SNV, 2008: Process Report on the National Conference on Public Private Partnership in the Development and Management of Livestock Marketing in the ASALs, Silver Springs Hotel, Nairobi, 18 November 2008

²¹ ASARECA, 2009: NRM and Biodiversity Conservation in the Drylands of Eastern and Central Africa and ILRI, 2006: Pastoralism: The Surest Way out of Poverty in East African Drylands

- 7. *Climate change*: pastoralists have successfully managed climate variability for centuries. Their skills and knowledge in doing so have not been fully recognised until now, but will become more valuable as the impact of global climate change becomes more pressing.
- 8. **Social cohesion**: social networks in the north are comparatively strong, and provide important safety nets in highly vulnerable environments. They may also be a factor in the region's generally low level of crime.

The role of Government in Northern Kenya and the ASALs

The role of Government, led by the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (its title reflecting the distinct policy challenges discussed above), is to address the challenges and realise the potential set out in the preceding sections. The final chapter of this document outlines the institutional framework through which this will be done. This section briefly places the Ministry and this strategy in its historical context.

In 1980 an ASAL section was set up in the then Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. In 1989 it was replaced by a full Ministry – the Ministry of Reclamation and Development of Arid, Semi-Arid and Wastelands. The creation of both institutions demonstrated growing awareness of ASAL issues, but their focus was limited, with a bias towards cattle and conventional range management approaches in the easier-to-reach semi-arid areas.²²

In 1996 the World Bank-supported Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) began. Through the ALRMP the Government made significant progress in managing drought and food security at both national and local levels. The ALRMP also re-balanced attention on the more acute challenges facing arid areas.

17

²² Farah et al, 1996: The Management and Development of the Arid Communal Rangelands in North-Eastern Kenya; A Critical Analysis of the Past and Present, African Pastoral Forum Working Paper Series, No. 7

In 2001 pastoralism was a theme within the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. An *ad hoc* Pastoral Thematic Group facilitated a process of gathering pastoralists' views on poverty. Their report was incorporated into the PRSP, which in turn informed the content of the NARC government's Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS) for 2003-2007. The PRSP was the first major national initiative to consult with pastoralists, and the ERS the first national development plan to devote a chapter to the arid and semi-arid lands, which were previously subsumed under agriculture or rural development.

Vision 2030 builds on the progress made by the ERS and sets out a broader and more ambitious agenda. Its target date shifts the planning perspective beyond the short-term horizons of individual governments, reflecting the time required to achieve sustainable change. The inclusion of the political pillar creates an opening to address the underlying causes of chronic poverty in the north, and to put in place the institutional mechanisms necessary for gains to be sustained. For the challenges facing the region are social and political in nature, and require more than technical solutions.

In that light, the word 'development' in the Ministry's title is understood as a process of expanding opportunities and freedoms in line with the spirit and provisions of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 – a process through which citizens are empowered to achieve their full potential and enjoy the commitments articulated in the Bill of Rights. Many actors – development partners, NGOs, the private sector, research bodies, and communities themselves – have an important part to play in this process, but the specific role of Government is essentially three-fold:

- 1. Protecting its citizens by effectively managing risks such as conflict, drought, and climate change.
- 2. Improving the enabling environment for growth and development by investing in public goods and services, including infrastructure, energy, human capital development, and environmental management.
- 3. Promoting a socially just and inclusive society, in which the rights of all are protected.

Vision 2030 contains a wealth of commitments to transform Kenya, which for the sake of brevity are not repeated in this document, but can be reviewed against the realities set out in Table 2 in order to determine their likely impact on the region. Similarly, the policy, institutional and legal reforms proposed in each section of this paper do not include those with universal relevance across Kenya, only those with particular significance for the region (such as land, livestock, peace building) or where a more nuanced policy response is required.

The various elements of Vision 2030 resonate differently across the large expanse of the arid and semi-arid lands. This document sets out the additional approaches and interventions judged to be necessary for Vision 2030 to be achieved. Some of them concern all the ASALs, and some the pastoral areas, while others are unique to Northern Kenya. Three symbols are used throughout the text to illustrate these differences:



All arid and semi-arid counties



Pastoral counties



Northern Kenya

Where a symbol is not used, it is assumed that the existing provisions in Vision 2030 need no further elaboration.

Foundations for Development

Overview

In 2001 the Arid Lands Resource Management Project, under the aegis of the Pastoralist Thematic Group, held a series of meetings with pastoralists across Kenya on how to reduce poverty.²³ The causes of poverty identified during those meetings are strikingly similar to the foundations for national transformation in Vision 2030: infrastructure, security, land tenure, education, employment and drought management were all ranked highly.

In the arid counties of Northern Kenya these basic enablers of development are either inadequate or lacking. This is holding the region back – deterring investment, undermining productive potential, draining resources into prolonged emergency response, and frustrating local initiative and innovation. The impact on human development is demonstrated by the fact that in 2005, seven districts in the north of Kenya had a Human Development Index lower than that of Sierra Leone, at that time the lowest-ranked country in the world (Fig.2).

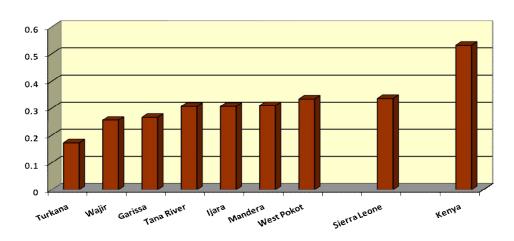


Fig. 2: Inequality in Human Development²⁴

²³ Republic of Kenya, 2001: Pastoralist Thematic Group on Poverty Reduction, March 2001

²⁴ Source: UNDP, 2006: *Kenya National Human Development Report 2006: Human Security and Human Development: A Deliberate Choice*. The HDI for Sierra Leone in 2005 was 0.336. The HDI is a composite measure of four indices: life expectancy, adult literacy, gross enrolment (primary, secondary and tertiary), and GDP per capita.

In line with Vision 2030, the foundations for development in this chapter are all investments in public goods:

- Infrastructure
- 2. Security, peace building and conflict management
- 3. Human resource development, labour and employment
- 4. Public sector reforms
- 5. Natural resource management and land reforms
- 6. Drought management and climate change
- 7. Science, technology and innovation

The fifth and sixth contain additions to the foundations in Vision 2030 and are added because of their relevance to the region. All development in the ASALs must be built on a sound understanding of the natural resource base since this underpins the region's prosperity. By their nature, arid and semi-arid environments are vulnerable to drought. Drought is a naturally recurring phenomenon which should be anticipated and can be managed, but this will become more challenging as climate change brings with it more extreme climatic events. Protecting the environment, managing drought, and enhancing adaptability to climate change should be the basis for all development interventions in arid and semi-arid areas.

The level of inequality between Northern Kenya in particular and the rest of the country underscores the importance of investing in these foundations. At the national level these foundations are the springboard from which Kenya will achieve middle-income industrialising country status. But in arid and semi-arid counties, they are the starting point for addressing far more basic challenges of chronic poverty, vulnerability and insecurity.

1. Infrastructure



Distinctive features:

- The large size of the region means that infrastructure investments in different sectors should be well coordinated in order to reinforce each other and deliver maximum benefit. For example, road construction can improve the harvesting of water run-off; access to energy is essential for access to ICTs; marketing investments need underpinning with investments in transport, energy and water.
- ♣ The location of the region presents possibilities for cross-border collaboration in infrastructure development, as well as challenges.
- Climate change will have significant consequences for infrastructure design.
- Environmental assessments and audits are of special importance in arid environments.
- ♣ Spatial planning frameworks and physical planning regulations appropriate for Kenya's arid areas have not yet been developed.

Situation analysis

Through Vision 2030, Kenya aspires to be a country that is firmly interconnected, where no part of it will any longer be called remote. This statement is highly significant for the north, where infrastructure is consistently ranked among people's top three priorities. Four aspects are of particular concern: transport (particularly the road network), energy, water, and information and communication technologies (ICTs). The lack of them has undermined investment and reinforced the separation of the north from the rest of the country.

The transport network is thin, disjointed, and in places non-existent. An area covering nearly 400,000km² of land has less than 1,000km of tarmac, much of which is in disrepair.²⁵ Key arterial routes linking Kenya to international markets in Ethiopia, South Sudan and Somalia are poorly maintained and prone to periodic closure from flooding or other damage. There are two airports, one of which is being upgraded, several airstrips and no rail network.

The energy potential of the north, from solar, wind, bio-gas and geo-thermal, is only now starting to be tapped. Only one county, Isiolo, is served by the national grid. Other large towns

²⁵ District Development Plans 2008-2012, and allowing for construction since 2008 between Isiolo and Merille River

rely on expensive and polluting diesel generators. Population growth and urbanisation are raising energy demand, with consequences for the environment. The Rural Electrification Programme is gradually expanding its reach. By June 2011, 476 schools and health centres in arid and semi-arid areas had had solar PV systems installed; funds are available to connect a further 380 facilities over the coming two years.²⁶

The water infrastructure is also undeveloped. The condition of underground water has not been fully assessed. The region's large rivers could provide irrigation, but the lessons from the many failed irrigation schemes of the past are yet to be learned. Catchment management is poor, and the potential for water harvesting has been inadequately explored. Sanitation infrastructure is also very poor.

Access to ICTs is comparatively poor, although the infrastructure for the fibre optic cable has now reached several locations in the north (Lokichoggio, Lodwar, Marsabit, Moyale, Wajir, and Garissa).²⁷ For the most part the region remains reliant on expensive satellite. Mobile telephone operators are expanding their networks, but coverage is still limited beyond the major towns.

Challenges and opportunities

The challenges of upgrading the infrastructure of such a large region are obvious and will require significant capital outlay. However, the opportunities and returns are significant.

In the past, roads were constructed based on levels of traffic flow and population density. The proposal in Vision 2030 to build a new road and rail corridor linking the coast at Lamu with land-locked areas of South Sudan and Ethiopia (the LAPSSET corridor) is an example of how the transport network can open up new areas of growth and opportunity. A tarmac road between Isiolo and Moyale is expected to increase trade between Kenya and Ethiopia five-fold; livestock and oil from South Sudan need access to global markets; Somalia will in due course need

²⁶ Information supplied by the Rural Electrification Authority, August 2011

²⁷ Personal communication, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information and Communication, 22 July 2009

reconstruction, which Kenya is well-placed to provide. The strategic need for trans-Africa roads is recognised by international bodies such as the African Union, IGAD and the Arab League. After years of dependence on its narrowly defined high-potential areas and on the markets of the East African Community to the south and west, the new direction of growth for Kenya's economy lies in markets to the north.

Demand for electricity in Kenya is projected to grow at 7% per annum over the next ten years.²⁸

The natural endowment of renewable energy in the ASALs is a golden opportunity to help meet this demand and build a greener economy. There are also innovative examples of energy projects in the region on which to build (Box 1).

The DFID-supported Hunger Safety Net Programme, which uses biometric technologies to disburse cash transfers using electronic point-of-sales devices managed by a network of traders, is demonstrating

Box 1: Green energy in Dertu

In a partnership between the MDG Centre and the French Embassy, the Millennium Village in Dertu will generate power from livestock manure. The energy will power businesses, schools and clinics while helping preserve the environment.

Press release, MDG Centre 10 July 2009

that the penetration of new technologies into remote areas is achievable. Other initiatives in Kenya and across Africa are using ICTs to reduce distance: in the health sector, telemedicine makes remote consultation, diagnosis and training possible.

A more robust infrastructure in Northern Kenya will stimulate investment and growth. It will create jobs, reduce poverty, improve terms of trade and lower the cost of doing business. In parts of Ethiopia, public investments in roads and extension services have increased consumption growth by 16% and reduced poverty by nearly 7%.²⁹ Better infrastructure will stabilise the region, improve security, and strengthen its integration with the rest of the

²⁸ Republic of Kenya, 2008: A Summary of Key Investment Opportunities in Kenya, Macro-Planning Directorate, Office of the Prime Minister

²⁹ S. Dercon et al, 2007: The Impact of Roads and Agricultural Extension on Consumption Growth and Poverty in Fifteen Ethiopian Villages, CSAE WPS/2007-01, cited in Magda Nassef et al, 2009: Pastoralism and Climate Change: Enabling Adaptive Capacity

country. And by equalising investment and creating opportunities for social interaction, it will bring the people of the region and other Kenyans closer together.

Vision statement:

Cost-effective, world-class infrastructure facilities and services in Northern Kenya

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

* Work with relevant Ministries, devolved authorities and other partners to ensure that sectoral policies and programmes implement the vision of equitable access to infrastructure set out in Vision 2030

safe and efficient road, rail and air transport network in the region and encourage mass transport Tarmac all arterial routes in the region Develop more all-weather roads and feeder roads Improve the condition of existing airstrips and build more Develop and/or rehabilitate railway routes Create a unit to harness expertise and spearhead renewable energy development across the ASALs, in partnership with researchers, private sector companies, and the Ministry of Energy Promote research and development in renewable energy, for example by collaborating with or underwriting feasibility studies and by ensuring that the results of research are well-publicised, and lobby for its application Continue the process of liberalising the energy market Develop an incentive regime and flexible mechanisms that encourage the uptake of renewable technologies by both the public and private sector, and within communities Ensure that energy solutions meet both local and national needs	Strategies	Examples of interventions
renewable energy development across the ASALs, in partnership with researchers, private sector companies, and the Ministry of Energy Promote research and development in renewable energy, for example by collaborating with or underwriting feasibility studies and by ensuring that the results of research are well-publicised, and lobby for its application Continue the process of liberalising the energy market Develop an incentive regime and flexible mechanisms that encourage the uptake of renewable technologies by both the public and private sector, and within communities Ensure that energy solutions meet both local and national needs	safe and efficient road, rail and air transport network in the region and	 a net beneficial impact for the region Tarmac all arterial routes in the region Develop more all-weather roads and feeder roads Improve the condition of existing airstrips and build more
Improve water and sanitation • Carry out a strategic assessment of the most	geothermal energy, and expand	 renewable energy development across the ASALs, in partnership with researchers, private sector companies, and the Ministry of Energy Promote research and development in renewable energy, for example by collaborating with or underwriting feasibility studies and by ensuring that the results of research are well-publicised, and lobby for its application Continue the process of liberalising the energy market Develop an incentive regime and flexible mechanisms that encourage the uptake of renewable technologies by both the public and private sector, and within communities Ensure that energy solutions meet both local and national needs
infrastructure across the region appropriate locations and technologies, taking economic, environmental and cultural factors into	-	appropriate locations and technologies, taking

Strategies	Examples of interventions
	 consideration Build partnerships with inter-governmental bodies such as IGAD to increase access to water Develop water harvesting and irrigation infrastructure in areas where it is appropriate to do so Develop water and sanitation facilities as part of urban planning (see Social Pillar)
Expand telecommunications and ICT access to cover the entire region	 Develop and implement a strategy to enhance ICT infrastructure and capacity across Northern Kenya, in partnership with the Ministry of Information and Communications Support the spread of digital villages Ensure that the benefits of the fibre-optic cable extend into all parts of the region Free up the processes through which ICT development is financed
Create an enabling environment for private sector participation in infrastructure and technology development	 Develop a resource mobilisation strategy, including appropriate tax breaks and incentives, in all areas of infrastructure investment Compensate for the region's low population density and current low levels of demand by using public funds to subsidise research and start-up costs for a limited period
Ensure that construction will withstand more frequent extreme weather events and is appropriate in the region's environment (heat, dust, wind)	Integrate both these considerations into design and procurement processes
Balance the desire to make maximum use of local labour and materials with the need for rapid and cost-effective progress in infrastructure development	

2. Security, peace building and conflict management



Distinctive features:

- ♣ There are important differences in levels of security across the region. For example, inter-communal violence has been reduced to a level of insignificance in North Eastern Province but remains a major challenge in Upper Eastern and North Rift.
- ♣ There can be tensions between modern and customary understandings of justice, for example in individual versus collective responsibility.
- ♣ The provision of adequate security is a challenge in a large region with poor infrastructure, which also borders countries with governance challenges.
- Insecurity, both domestically and cross-border, is driven by resource-based competition and by processes of commercialisation.
- ♣ The location of the region, the length of its borders, and the transboundary nature of pastoralism mean that there are significant international dimensions to security.

Situation analysis

In the popular imagination, Northern Kenya is associated with insecurity and violence. This is particularly true of North Eastern Province, which continues to be perceived as insecure because of its proximity to Somalia. In reality, the situation is more complex.

First, it is important to distinguish between crime and insecurity. Levels of crime in the north are generally low. The provincial breakdown of reported crimes in 2007 showed that North Eastern Province accounted for a little over 1% of cases in the country, with one crime for every 1,672 people, compared with one crime for every 447 people in Central Province.³⁰ Strong social and religious networks may be a factor in this. Even when considering an activity such as stock theft, which is common in the north, popular perception is still at odds with reality. Only seven of the 1,040 cases of stock theft reported in Kenya during 2008 were in North Eastern. The province has in fact led the way in developing community-based peace-building mechanisms which have transformed its social and economic environment, and which other parts of Kenya were able to draw on during and after the post-election violence.

27

³⁰ Republic of Kenya, 2008: Statistical Abstract, 2008

Second, insecurity in the north is episodic rather than constant. It tends to be clan-based rather than directed at outsiders, and is primarily centred on identity or resources – driven by competition over natural or political resources or by a group's desire to assert itself. One major incident, while appalling, can distort perceptions and crowd out less well-reported gains in peace building and conflict management. These incidents are inevitably taken up by the national and international media, undermining confidence among investors, tourists, and other Kenyans.

Insecurity in Northern Kenya has international dynamics and ramifications, given the volatility of some neighbouring countries and pastoralists' need for mobility. Various cross-border peace mechanisms have been tried, but they tend to be sporadic and under-resourced, taking place in the absence of a comprehensive policy that facilitates interaction and coordination between states. Border controls are weak, such that in some areas peace is maintained more by the traditional interaction between pastoralist groups than by the presence of any state.

While police numbers in the north may technically meet the UN standard of one officer per 400 people, and are enhanced by a strong presence of Administration Police outside the urban centres, they are rendered inadequate by the nature of the environment in which those officers are working – by its poor infrastructure, dispersed population, and heavy presence of illegal firearms. When incidents are reported there can be legal and administrative delays in deploying police quickly. There is insufficient emphasis on detection, little use of local intelligence, and reliance on inferior technology. Known seasonal upswings in violence, such as in December, are not planned for.

A populist style of politics tends to promote division rather than consensus. And while the majority, and their religious leaders, play a constructive role, there are a few individuals within each community who benefit from insecurity and perpetuate it. Peace-building committees have had positive results in some places, but they are *ad hoc* and under-resourced.

Challenges and opportunities

The challenges in ensuring security in Northern Kenya include the following:

- Inadequate resources, equipment, and infrastructure to cover long borders and large areas populated by mobile groups.
- The lack of a coordinated and inclusive framework within which all actors can come together to build peace, including cross-border.
- The inability of the formal justice system to deal with livestock raids, given its weak presence in the north and the difficulties in securing evidence and isolating the instigators of violence.
- Irresponsible media reporting which in the past has sometimes fuelled violence.
- A link between corruption and insecurity.
- A link between conflict and poverty. Poverty may lock people into strategies that
 exacerbate conflict or that destroy the environment and thus deepen poverty, while
 insecurity can also 'close off' areas of prime rangeland which are essential for livelihoods.
 Conversely, rising wealth and the changing aspirations that often accompany it can weaken
 social cohesion.

But there are also opportunities to draw upon:

- Strong traditional institutions and customary mechanisms of conflict resolution.
- Expansion of the road network and trade, which will increase the economic stakes and create demands that security be guaranteed.
- Openness in some areas to innovation and engagement between the state and communities (for example, some District Security Committees involve elders in their deliberations).
- A strong media in Kenya which can be engaged in peace-building efforts.
- New technologies to support security management.

Vision statement: Security of all persons and property throughout the Republic

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- A Enact and implement the National Peace Building and Conflict Management Policy
- * Review the criteria and procedures governing the deployment of security agents, including the ratio of police to citizens in arid areas
- Develop an inter-governmental policy framework to govern cross-border security management and peace building

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Promote development and investment in Northern Kenya in order to reduce inequality with the rest of Kenya	 Improve the infrastructure necessary for both investment and security management (such as all-weather roads, helipads, airstrips, and communications) Facilitate both domestic and cross-border trade
Ensure the equitable distribution of political, financial, and human resources within the region	Identify and sustainably resolve the grievances which trigger inter-communal conflict, such as border disputes, political representation, access and ownership rights to natural resources, and the location of administrative centres
Enhance security capacity, and apprehend and prosecute those involved in insecurity	 Increase police presence, including mobile police units, and resource them adequately Integrate the police into peace-building structures Train security agents to understand the local context and local concerns and use approaches which enhance relationships with communities Strengthen surveillance and intelligence-gathering capacity Train county officials in conflict early warning and the use of intelligence Continue community-led disarmament of small arms and light weapons Use technologies for tracking livestock and weapons, where appropriate
Enhance peace building and conflict management measures	 Review peace-building structures in light of devolution Ensure that Government funding for peace building and conflict management is predictable, sufficient, and directed in line with evidence of impact

Strategies	Examples of interventions
	 Institutionalise conflict early warning systems Identify critical sources of insecurity Apply conflict-sensitive approaches to development Ensure inclusive membership of peace committees, for example including women and youth Strengthen the role of community policing through training and facilitation Ensure that the respective roles and responsibilities of communities and of the state are complementary and clearly understood Invest in sustainable cross-border interaction, through trade, shared service delivery, or administrative links Promote interaction between communities, religious leaders and peace committees Engage laibons, seers and others who bless raids in constructive peace-building roles Engage the media and promote accurate representation of conflict dynamics
Invest in education as a means to build peace	 Promote enrolment throughout the education system, from early childhood to tertiary, and expand adult education programmes (see Social Pillar) Integrate peace building and conflict management in the curriculum
Provide incentives for individuals, communities or institutions which contribute to peace	 Reinforce community-supported efforts to reduce insecurity with development dividends Increase and devolve youth and women funds, and use them to incentivise peace Rehabilitate those previously involved in violence Identify constructive roles for demobilised soldiers

3. Human resource development, labour and employment

Distinctive features:





- ♣ There are large inequalities between the north and the rest of Kenya in the number and quality of skilled personnel.
- A Pastoral production systems are built on a sophisticated body of knowledge and practice and depend on the labour of the whole family.
- * Traditional production systems are changing and adapting, and co-exist with modern systems of labour and employment.
- ♣ Education is a critical diversification strategy, given that pastoralism can only absorb a proportion of the region's rising population.

Situation analysis

A highly skilled human resource base is critical to achieving the goals of Vision 2030, particularly that of global competitiveness. However, the disparities in human capital between the north and the rest of Kenya are so acute that major investment will be required if the region is first to compete on an equal basis with the rest of the country.

The dearth of high-quality education and training institutions in the north and the region's low levels of participation in education have had a major impact on educational achievement, leaving it dependent on skills from outside. In 2009 primary net enrolment in North Eastern Province was 35.5%, against a national average of 92.9% (although enrolment in NEP has more than doubled since 2000). Less than 25% of the girls who enrol in NEP complete their primary education, whereas the national average for girls' completion is more than 75%. Significant improvements in education and health systems at all levels are a prerequisite to building a skilled and productive human resource base. Education and health are both addressed in more depth in the chapter on the Social Pillar.

Employment and labour issues in Northern Kenya differ for those working in the pastoral economy and for the growing numbers seeking a life in towns, although the two groups are

³¹ Republic of Kenya, 2010: Millennium Development Goals: Status Report for Kenya - 2009

closely connected through ties of family, culture and trade. The pastoral system can absorb only a finite number of people, since its productivity depends on an appropriate balance between population and environment. Demands for labour are seasonal, with more needed in the dry season. In some places paid wage labour is starting to replace the labour previously provided by family members. As the human population grows, and as environmental constraints increase with climate change, more and more people will need to make a living outside pastoralism.

For those in towns, most employment is informal and enjoys less protection under the law. The informal sector is dominated by women. Labour standards are poorly enforced: rates of remuneration in the private sector can fall below the national minimum wage. The few local people employed in the small formal sector tend to be in lower-level jobs. Given the relatively high population growth in arid areas, caused both by in-migration and a higher fertility rate than the rest of the country, demand for jobs is rising. In-migration is a particular feature of the Southern Rangelands, linked to the expansion of Nairobi.

Challenges and opportunities

Young people face special challenges. Urban centres are growing but not creating jobs. Students who complete primary education have insufficient qualifications to compete in the labour market, but after eight years away have been effectively deskilled from returning to the pastoral system. There are insufficient technical training institutions in the region; the few that exist could do more to encourage local applicants. At the time of a 2008 assessment by USAID's APHIA II Project, only 13% of students at the Kenya Medical Training Centre in Garissa were from North Eastern Province.³² In addition, entry qualifications to national institutions such as the National Youth Service are set at a level which is out of reach for many.

Labour laws are problematic to apply in traditional systems of production, such as pastoralism, where families rely on their children's labour and where levels of unemployment and under-

³² USAID, 2008: Report of Human Resources for Health (HRH) Rapid Assessment in North Eastern Province (NEP) Kenya, January 2008

employment are technically difficult to assess. In-migration from other parts of Kenya may increase conflict over the few jobs available, or it may enhance social interaction and cohesion.

The significance of employment for Northern Kenya lies in its link to poverty. Labour is often the biggest asset of poor and excluded groups.³³ In a region with 18 of the 20 poorest constituencies in Kenya, job creation is a critical priority, but one that is hard to achieve in a context of chronic under-investment. At the same time, a region of more than four million people who have benefited little from formal education represents a major untapped reservoir of human talent.

Vision statement:
Equal opportunities by 2030 for the people of Northern Kenya to engage in gainful,
satisfying and productive employment

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Promote formal and informal job creation, self-employment and entrepreneurship	 Provide carefully designed incentives for prospective employers and local businesses Ensure that small-scale entrepreneurs can access an integrated and devolved package of assistance, sharia-compliant where necessary, which combines hands-on training and small business development support with access to credit and market analysis Increase value addition close to production areas in key sectors such as livestock (see Economic Pillar)
Expand the number of training institutions, both technical and universities, that provide research and services relevant to the needs of the region	 Establish public universities and national polytechnics in Northern Kenya (see Social Pillar) Open more youth training centres to provide relevant vocational training and resource them adequately. Open more ICT training facilities, or integrate them within existing institutions, in order to meet modern employment demands.

³³ Naila Kabeer, 2006: *Social Exclusion and the MDGs: The Challenge of 'Durable Inequalities' in the Asian Context* and Stephen Anderson with Yohannes Habtu, 2006: *Market-Led Livelihoods for Vulnerable Populations*

34

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Introduce time-bound affirmative action measures where appropriate	Introduce affirmative action programmes for people from Northern Kenya to enter public training institutions (such as technical institutions and National Youth Service) and national recruitment programmes (see Social Pillar)
Expand adult education programmes for both nomadic and settled communities	See Social Pillar
Increase the absorption of people from Northern Kenya into the national public service, particularly women and those from minority groups	See Foundations: Public Sector Reforms

4. Public sector reforms





Distinctive features:

- Low-density and mobile populations present challenges for service delivery.
- ♣ There are limited facilities and incentives for public servants and their families. This affects the motivation of officers and increases the cost to the state in compensating those deployed to the region.
- A Northern Kenya in particular is dependent on external technical capacity, in part because of prolonged under-investment in the region's human resources.
- ♣ Implementation of government programmes is constrained by the allocation of equal operating budgets to all areas, regardless of size or context.

Situation analysis

In the first decades of independence, Northern Kenya was used as a disciplinary posting within the civil service. Although the practice has now died out, its legacy remains. The region's lack of infrastructure and facilities and the discomfort of its environment create difficulties for some officers posted there. In turn, the people of the region are sometimes not fully receptive to those deployed from other parts of Kenya, believing that positions should be filled from the local employment market.

Various factors undermine the implementation of government policies in the region. The administration of deployments is problematic. The public service tends to post newly recruited rather than experienced officers. Their transfers are frequent and arbitrary, and sometimes subject to political interference. The number of officers is inadequate, and does not take into account the size of the area. There are few women public servants working in the region at all levels. A recent assessment of human resources for health in North Eastern Province revealed that over 70% of the officers are from outside the province, with most employed on donorfunded projects.³⁴ Hardship and extraneous duty allowances approved in 2010 have not yet been paid. The full range of departments within Ministries is not always represented below

_

³⁴ USAID, 2008: Report of Human Resources for Health (HRH) Rapid Assessment in North Eastern Province (NEP) Kenya, January 2008

provincial level due to problems of cost and distance; examples include physical planning and quantity surveying, as well as Children's Offices and Gender Desks.³⁵

The distribution of technical expertise does not necessarily match the needs on the ground. It is common to find more agricultural extension officers than livestock extension officers in a livestock-dominated area. Even within the livestock sector, resources are tilted towards highland dairy production; one study calculated that while 75% of Kenya's livestock are in arid and semi-arid areas, they are served by only 10% of livestock officers. There are also few research and development institutions in Kenya working on issues relevant to the region's production systems.

Most service delivery models are designed with settled, high-density agricultural or urban populations in mind. The livestock-based economies of the lowlands, where people are dispersed and often highly mobile, require different approaches. The public service is gradually adopting alternative ways of working, with positive examples in community-based health and mobile schooling. National projects such as household surveys are also starting to adapt their methodologies to regional realities.

Challenges and opportunities

Service provision is likely to be more costly per capita in areas of poor infrastructure, low population density and dispersed settlement. It is even more challenging when these populations are also mobile, as in the north of Kenya and the Southern Rangelands. The legal status of pastoralists moving across international borders is ill-defined and their entitlements to services are not addressed in any inter-governmental policy framework or agreement.

³⁵ Tanja Chopra, 2008: *The Illusion of Inclusion: Women's Access to Rights in Northern Kenya*, Legal Resources Foundation Trust

³⁶ Young Et Al, 2003: Animal Health Care in Kenya: The Road to Community-based Animal Health Service Delivery, ODI Working Paper 214.

However, despite the challenges and limited resources (few officers are posted with adequate equipment, such as housing and transport), there are important signs of progress. Kenya is further ahead than many countries in Africa in seeking to reconcile service delivery with mobility. A Policy Framework on Nomadic Education was approved in July 2010, while in the health sector there is growing awareness of the need to work differently in arid areas. The entitlements articulated in the Bill of Rights under the new Constitution will intensify the need to find innovative ways of reaching populations which are currently under-served.

Vision statement: A citizen-focused and results-oriented public service

Policy, legal and institutional reforms:

- ♣ Develop an inter-governmental policy framework for cross-border engagement, including access to services in neighbouring countries
- Increase access to information within arid counties on the availability of vacancies and jobs
- Work with other Ministries to pursue time-bound affirmative action strategies, where appropriate

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Encourage coordination and networking across sectors, and ensure the equitable distribution of national resources, both financial and human	See Delivering the Strategy
Strengthen the lateral mobility of public servants between counties	 Improve facilities for public servants in arid areas Improve incentives to attract high-calibre officers to the region
Strengthen data collection and analysis of issues specific to the region	 Conduct a human resource capacity assessment for Northern Kenya, paying particular attention to issues affecting women and minority groups Support ongoing work to disaggregate data on pastoralism³⁷ Strengthen systems and methods of demographic data collection and analysis, particularly with respect to mobile households

³⁷ For example, the Report on the Status of Pastoralism initiative, led by Oxfam GB and the University of Nairobi

38

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Increase the responsiveness of public institutions to the needs of people in the region	 Map and analyse the needs of the region in areas of research, technology, and development Ensure widespread public awareness of the services available and their rights to access them Develop a Citizens' Charter that defines citizens' expectations of Government performance Strengthen performance contracting and target-setting within public institutions See Foundations: HRD, Science and Social Pillar
Increase the absorption of people from Northern Kenya into the public service, particularly women and minority groups	Introduce time-bound affirmative action programmes based on the evidence from monitoring data
Promote respect for cultural diversity within the public service	 Design induction and training programmes for all civil servants working in the region See Political Pillar: Attitudinal Change

5. Natural resource management and land reforms







Distinctive features:

- * Communal access to resources is governed by customary laws and institutions. These are stronger in some parts of the region (e.g. Upper Eastern) than in others (e.g. North Eastern).
- ♣ Most land in the ASALs is Community Land.
- * The productivity of pastoralism is ensured through flexible use of the natural resource base and secure access to strategic natural resources.
- Most protected areas in Kenya were excised from grazing land, which has reduced the mobility of pastoralists.
- All interventions in arid areas can have significant environmental consequences if not carefully planned.
- ♣ The impact of climate change on the region is likely to deepen.

Situation analysis

High levels of human poverty in the arid and semi-arid lands co-exist with a rich store of natural wealth and biodiversity. Livestock, wildlife, forests, pasture, minerals, and medicinal plants are all critical resources upon which the people of the region depend. Access to and control over these resources is differentiated by gender and age, with women and youth playing key roles in natural resource management, but with control over most resources primarily in the hands of older men.

The solution to the problems facing the ASALs is too often assumed to be the provision of more water. While there may be localised problems of inadequate permanent water, and while the availability of underground water has not been fully assessed, the more pressing concern is better management of existing sources. Over-abstraction in up-stream areas outside the ASALs is affecting downstream users within the ASALs; boreholes are in disrepair and dams and pans have silted up; inadequate use of rainwater harvesting technologies means that the rain that falls, often in flash floods, is lost. Moreover, new water can create rather than solve problems,

particularly when it is poorly sited in critical grazing areas, or leads to sedentarisation and localised degradation of range resources.³⁸

The natural pasture of the ASAL rangelands gives the region a comparative advantage in livestock and game production. Land degradation is much less evident in open rangelands where mobility is unrestricted, flexibility is high, and traditional systems of range management still operate. Under-grazing, for example when rangeland is closed off by conflict, can also lead to degradation, loss of biodiversity and the spread of alien or unpalatable species.³⁹ Range management systems are coming under increasing pressure from competing forms of land use and successive and more frequent droughts.

In common with other parts of Kenya, land is a critical factor in the livelihoods of people in the arid and semi-arid lands and has special cultural and aesthetic significance. However, land-related problems manifest themselves differently. With the exception of some areas in the Southern Rangelands, the large land mass means that the key challenge is not so much access to land as access to strategic natural resources on the land, especially water and pasture. Various procedures and processes under customary law, enforced by traditional institutions, ensure the wise use of natural resources and effective management of resource conflicts.

Land tenure is insecure. Although the ASALs extend over much of Kenya, the actual area that people can use is much lower because land has been appropriated for other uses. Nearly 15% of the land in Zone 5 (semi-arid) has been alienated for national parks and reserves. In addition, individual investors were able to use the private property provisions under the previous Constitution to defeat the collective rights of pastoralists under customary law.

³⁸ K.O. Farah et al, 1996: *The Management and Development of the Arid Communal Rangelands in North-Eastern Kenya: A Critical Analysis of the Past and Present*, African Pastoral Forum Working Paper Series No. 7 and Robert Walker and Hassan G. Omar, 2002: *Pastoralists Under Pressure: The Politics of Sedentarisation and Marginalisation in Northeast Kenya*, Oxfam GB

³⁹ WISP, 2008: Policies that Work for Pastoral Environments: A Six-Country Review of Positive Policy Impacts on Pastoral Environments

⁴⁰ Edmund Barrow and Hezron Mogaka, 2007: Kenya's Drylands – Wastelands or an Undervalued National Economic Resource, IUCN

To an outsider, the under-populated arid lands appear to be empty lands, ripe for alternative forms of production and investment. This is partly because the pastoral economy is undervalued. But for pastoralists, different areas of rangeland are important at different times, including some which are reserved for periods of drought stress. Other areas are of high ecological importance to the pastoral system as a whole; seasonal access to them allows livestock to make productive use of much larger areas of rangeland throughout the year. These areas are often found along watercourses, or in hills, or in alluvial grasslands. They are also those most attractive to other forms of land use, such as cultivation or settlement, which then places them permanently beyond the reach of livestock.

Ineffective planning mechanisms lead to unsustainable land use practices, and offer weak protection to communities forced to compete with external interests. Inefficient land dispute mechanisms increase the risk of conflict. Meanwhile the growing population in the longer-established urban areas lacks the protection offered by title deeds; there is no Land Registry in any of the arid counties.

Challenges and opportunities

Recent reforms in the water sector have in theory increased the opportunities for local participation in water management. However, the traditional institutions which are so critical to sound natural resource management in the ASALs have not been integrated within the new arrangements. Privatised models of water service delivery are difficult to make work in remote rural areas where the opportunities for profit are much lower than in densely populated areas.

A key challenge remains the institutional environment for natural resource management. There are few controls over the spread of settlements and water points, creating localised degradation and more risk of conflict. There are also few mechanisms to ensure a fair distribution of the wealth from the natural resource base.

Land pressures in the Southern Rangelands are more acute because of proximity to Nairobi and the impact of enclosures and subdivision. Between 1960 and 1990 more than 70% of group ranches were subdivided between their individual owners. ⁴¹ Progressive subdivision reduced the viability of individual parcels of land and opened the way for their sale to other Kenyans. An influx of non-pastoralist land management systems led to the loss of many dry-season grazing areas on which the Maasai depend.

The National Land Policy and National Spatial Plan, once implemented, will provide a framework to address many of the land challenges facing the ASALs, including land and boundary disputes, land degradation, high population growth, and the lack of policy frameworks for sharing the benefits from natural resources.

There is also innovative work at the local level to formalise customary practice in partnership with local authorities. In Garba Tula, for example, residents are being supported to strengthen their rights over land by documenting their customary law and encouraging the County Council to adopt this as by-laws.⁴² A Natural Resource Management Vision and Strategy for the ASALs has already been developed by the Arid Lands Resource Management Project.

⁴¹ Republic of Kenya, 2001: Pastoralist Thematic Group on Poverty Reduction

⁴² Personal communication, Dr. Jonathan Davies, IUCN

Vision statement:

Holistic and sustainable management of land and natural resources across the ASALs

Policy, legal and institutional reforms:

- ♣ Integrate traditional systems of natural resource management in all policy affecting the natural resource base
- * Recognise in law the role of traditional institutions in dispute resolution
- ♣ Use the Environmental Management and Coordination Act (ECMA) to give more emphasis to ASAL-specific issues
- Increase institutional capacity and funding for arid lands research and extension
- ♣ Ensure that the needs of pastoral land use and customary institutions are fully taken into account in all legislation and institutions pertaining to the National Land Commission
- Establish land registries in arid counties and provide title deeds to urban dwellers

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Respect the authority of customary systems of natural resource management that promote sound environmental practices, and enforce their decisions	 Document systems of traditional knowledge used by customary institutions and reinforce these through the justice and administrative systems Support the role of customary institutions in defining and regulating access to water, dry season grazing and drought fall-back areas Promote the replication of successful approaches used by customary institutions
Promote environmental education and awareness and intensify environmental conservation efforts, particularly in light of the likely impact of climate change	 Learn from indigenous environmental knowledge and practice Increase awareness and utilisation of legal frameworks that protect indigenous knowledge Increase tree cover, particularly in water catchments, and promote agro-forestry and social forestry Strengthen adaptive and collaborative management of resources within pastoral systems Learn from and facilitate experiments with holistic management in drylands and scale these up where appropriate Support communities to identify, map and protect critical dry-season areas, such as Mt. Marsabit, Mt. Kulal and the Huri Hills, as well as water catchments, rock catchments and riverine systems, in order to access conservation services Promote the use of renewable energy

Strategies	Examples of interventions
	 Promote low-maintenance water technologies, with an emphasis on water harvesting, which can deal with both abundance and scarcity under climate change Develop social and environmental sustainability criteria for the further development of underground water Encourage the development of buffer areas of crop and forage production for use during crises Support practices which facilitate the natural rehabilitation of rangeland Set aside public grazing resource areas to serve as breeding multiplication centres for key types of livestock
Strengthen environmental planning and management	 Support the development of participatory land use plans, which address the management of water and natural resources, the rationalisation of settlements, and the competing needs of different resource users Learn from and document successful examples of administration officers resolving natural resource conflicts Ensure sound environmental management in line with the management of community land Strengthen synergy between different actors with regard to NEMA's national coordination role
Enhance the direct benefits to communities from natural resources and from income generated from the natural resource base, including tourism, mining, biodiversity and wildlife conservation	 Promote investment in conservation-based incomegenerating schemes Explore the potential for payments to communities for environmental services, including ecosystem services Enhance the benefits to communities from tourism and other economic sectors and promote the equitable distribution of these benefits (see Economic Pillar)

6. Drought management and climate change







Distinctive features:

- Arid and semi-arid lands are characterised by high levels of variability in climate systems.
- Mobility, both domestically and across international borders, is a key strategy used by pastoralists to manage risk.
- Poverty and vulnerability are high and increasing, which undermines adaptive capacity.
- Adaptive capacity is further undermined by increasing sedentarisation.
- Nevertheless, pastoral production continues to demonstrate its resilience.
- * Kenya has made substantial investment in drought management systems, although as yet these have no permanent basis and are undermined by lack of continuity in approach.

Situation analysis

Drought is a normal, recurring but temporary characteristic of arid areas. It is the consequence of a reduction in the amount of rainfall received over an extended period of time relative to the average. Drought periods should be anticipated and can be managed. Failure to manage them well has major social and economic consequences, as Box 2 illustrates.⁴³

There is a strong connection between poverty reduction, drought management and adaptation to climate change. Poverty reduces people's capacity to make choices and therefore increases their vulnerability to drought. This has significant implications for women and girls, given their reproductive responsibilities within the

Box 2 Some examples of the effects of drought on a pastoral economy

- Loss of livestock: Kenya lost livestock worth US\$77m in the 1999-2001 drought (while distributing food aid worth US\$200m)
- Reduction in pastoralists' purchasing power, through livestock mortality, loss of animal condition, and deteriorating terms of trade between livestock and grain
- 3. Reduced nutritional status
- 4. Disruption in the flow of livestock to market
- 5. Disruption to animal reproductive cycles
- Undermining of animal health systems as herders become less able to pay and some organisations distribute free or subsidised drugs
- 7. Drought-driven sedentarisation contributes to localised environmental degradation
- 8. Increased risk of conflict
- 9. Increased workload for women
- 10. Extended migration

⁴³ Drawn from ALive: *Community-based Drought Management for the Pastoral Livestock Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Policy Options Paper, undated

household. Reducing poverty through well-planned development will minimise the negative effects of drought and strengthen people's capacity to adapt to climate change. In the context of pastoralism in particular, this means strategies that reinforce mobile pastoralism, complemented by strategies to help the growing town-based population find viable non-pastoral livelihoods.

Kenya has substantial experience of running a community-based drought management system, although this is not yet fully institutionalised within government. Consequently, Kenya still bears substantial drought-related losses. The 1999-2000 drought caused economic losses of approximately US2m per day, as well as widespread human suffering.⁴⁴

Key sectors of the Kenyan economy, such as agriculture, livestock and tourism, are highly climate-sensitive. Chronic poverty and vulnerability in the ASALs lower adaptive capacity. Climate change will exacerbate the challenges already facing the region and increase unpredictability.

Challenges and opportunities

The likely effects of climate change in East Africa, and the kind of measures that need to be taken in response, are summarised in Table 3.

The frequency and severity of drought periods is already increasing. Northern Kenya recorded 28 major droughts in the last century, four of which occurred in the last decade. Drought is not essentially a humanitarian problem; on the contrary, a drought emergency represents a failure of development. Despite substantial drought management experience within both government and NGOs, drought response is still not timely or appropriate enough. The proposed National Drought Contingency Fund, linked with a National Drought Management Authority, will ensure that resources are available at the time they are most needed.

⁴⁴ Edmund Barrow and Hezron Mogaka, 2007: *Kenya's Drylands – Wastelands or an Undervalued Economic Resources*. IUCN

⁴⁵ ILRI, 2009: Project Summary: Index Based Livestock Insurance for Northern Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands: The Marsabit Pilot

Table 3: Climate change adaptation in East Africa⁴⁶

	Likely effects		Adaptation measures required
1.	Significant increases in year-round	1.	Better resilience to drought and floods
	temperatures	2.	Improved water management to prepare for
2.	Increased intensity of rainfall during the		abundance and scarcity
	rainy seasons	3.	Regimes to increase equitable access to areas of
3.	Changes in the timing of the start and end		crop and forage buffer production
	of the rainy seasons	4.	Investment in infrastructure that is robust enough
4.	Probable increases in frequency of		to withstand more frequent extreme weather
	extreme weather events		events
5.	Probable increases in inter-annual	5.	Provision for drought-induced off-take
	variation.	6.	Institutionalisation of drought early warning/early response systems
		7.	Improved mobility

Climate change is generating new sources of finance, such as adaptation funds and carbon sequestration. It is possible that proactive adaptation that draws on these resources could help move people out of chronic poverty. 47 However, carbon markets have their critics, and are presently less well adapted to dryland economies.

Pastoralists manage unpredictability and exploit opportunity by using highly specialised riskspreading strategies, including herd maximisation and diversification, loaning of animals, and mobility. In this respect they have been managing climate for centuries. It is possible, therefore, that mobile production systems may have an advantage over sedentary in an increasingly variable and unpredictable future, as long as those strategies are reinforced.

 ⁴⁶ Based on Magda Nassef et al, 2009: *Pastoralism and Climate Change: Enabling Adaptive Capacity* ⁴⁷ Thomas Tanner and Tom Mitchell, 2008: *Entrenchment or Enhancement: Could Climate Change Adaptation* Help to Reduce Chronic Poverty? IDS Bulletin 39.4, September 2008

Vision statement:

Drought management and climate change adaptation are fully mainstreamed and institutionalised within development planning

Policy, legal and institutional reforms:

Establish the National Drought Management Authority and the National Drought Contingency Fund

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Strengthen awareness of the consequences of climate variability and climate change for the ASALs	 Incorporate an understanding of climate variability, climate change and drought management within education curricula Promote synergy between local technical knowledge and formal early warning systems Support the development and application of downscaled climate projections Ensure that relevant information is made widely available which helps people decide how to prepare for a less certain future
Mainstream climate variability, climate change and adaptation into all policies, programmes and investments	 Ensure that ASAL-specific concerns are adequately addressed within climate change policies, strategies and financing plans at county, national and inter-governmental levels Strengthen the quality of county planning by integrating climate change information and adaptation strategies Analyse and respond to the current adaptive needs and strategies of ASAL communities Ensure that policies and programmes systematically strengthen customary adaptive strategies, such as mobility, social networks, use of drought fall-back areas, and food preservation
Mobilise the resources necessary to manage climate variability and climate change effectively	 Make use of new partnerships and financing opportunities at both regional and global levels Investigate the potential for ASAL communities to benefit from carbon markets and payments for environmental and ecosystem services Support the development of index-based insurance mechanisms Research and replicate best practice from other countries

7. Science, technology and innovation





Distinctive features:

- Kenya has comparatively limited institutional capacity in research and extension that is relevant to the ASALs
- There is poor coordination of the outputs of research in Kenya, whether conducted by national or international academics.
- A Pastoral communities in particular have a rich and unique store of indigenous knowledge.
- * Start-up costs for research and development are more expensive in areas where the physical and human infrastructure is undeveloped.

Situation analysis

There is abundant indigenous knowledge of ecology, medicine and animal health within the ASALs, but this is scattered and threatened. Indigenous natural resources are vulnerable to over-exploitation and bio-piracy.

Few institutions of higher learning provide training in subjects that are relevant to the ASALs;⁴⁸ research centres are also few and dispersed.⁴⁹ There is no university in the north, and vocational and technical institutions are poorly equipped to provide science-based courses. As a result, there have been fewer scientific breakthroughs in the livestock sector than in crop research.⁵⁰

Challenges and opportunities

A major challenge to harnessing science and technology for development is the very low level of human and institutional capacity in the ASALs. A major opportunity is the region's rich natural resource base and store of local knowledge, which has been little tapped and which could inform innovation. Significant technical expertise is also available in countries in North Africa and the Middle East, which face similar environmental conditions.

⁴⁸ Examples include the PhD in dryland management at University of Nairobi, the BSc in dryland management at the Africa Nazarene University, and the Animal Health and Industry Training Initiative

⁴⁹ Examples include Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) stations at Marsabit, Kiboko and Mtwapa

⁵⁰ IPAR, 2002: How Public Policy Can Improve the Situation of Kenyan Pastoralists, Policy Brief 8.3

Vision statement: Science, technology and innovation is harnessed for development

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Identify, document, promote and protect indigenous knowledge and technologies	 Promote the trade-related property rights of ASAL communities Integrate new technologies and indigenous knowledge
Strengthen institutional capacities in science, technology and innovation for the development of the region	 Expand access to university and tertiary education Strengthen existing research and training institutions in the region Establish and equip new institutions, such as school laboratories, business incubators, and science parks Build long-term partnerships with research institutions and private sector organisations interested in ASAL development Set up demonstration centres for best practices in land use for sustainable production
Mobilise resources to support scientific and technological development	 Identify mechanisms to stimulate research and development, for example by collaborating with or under-writing research, and by ensuring that its results are well-publicised Develop an incentive regime to encourage private sector investment in scientific research and development

Economic Pillar

Overview

The economic value and potential of arid and semi-arid areas is much greater than often assumed. Livelihood systems in the ASALs are more than production systems: they are also consumption systems that sustain a large number of Kenyans, and natural resource management systems that support a range of services and products with global value, such as bio-diversity and tourism.⁵¹ Table 4 illustrates the multiple values within one livelihood system, pastoralism. Some of these are direct values (i.e. the goods and services provided by pastoralism that are directly used by those within the system) while others are indirect (i.e. those that provide benefits outside the system).⁵² A monetary value can be placed on some of these benefits, but not on others (such as the conservation of biological diversity and cultural heritage).

Table 4: Conceptual framework for assessing the direct and indirect values of pastoralism⁵³

Direct	values	Indirect	t values
Measured	Unmeasured	Measured	Unmeasured
 Livestock sales Milk sales Other livestock derivatives: hides, skins, wool, leather Subsistence from livestock products 	 Employment Transport Animal husbandry knowledge and skills Dryland environmental management knowledge and skills 	 Inputs to tourism Inputs to agriculture (manure, traction, transport) Inputs to dryland products Forward and backward linkages (secondary spending based on pastoralist-generated income) Taxes and levies 	 Ecological and rangeland services Agricultural services (financial and labour) Global climate control Socio-cultural values Indigenous knowledge

Jonathan Davies, 2007: Total Economic Valuation of Kenyan Pastoralism, IUCN
 Luis Rodriguez, 2008: A Global Perspective on the Total Economic Value of Pastoralism: Global Synthesis Report Based on Six Country Valuations, IUCN

⁵³ Based on Davies 2007 and Rodriguez 2008

There is a symbiotic relationship between the ASAL economies and the rest of the country. First, it is not possible to achieve sustainable economic growth in Kenya as a whole if the ASALs are left out of the equation. This is partly because of the disincentive created by regional inequality, but also because the ASALs represent a new direction of growth for an economy which has until now been concentrated on a very narrow geographical base. Second, the ASAL and non-ASAL economies each have their comparative advantage. More than 67% of the red meat consumed in Kenya comes from ASAL livestock. Economic development of the ASALs will enhance this trade (since Kenya is a meat-deficit country), while also increasing disposable incomes within the ASALs and demand for products from non-ASAL areas.

The ASAL economies are closely integrated with those of neighbouring countries. Although cross-border trade is poorly reflected in national statistics, work by researchers in Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania suggests that intra-regional livestock trade is significant and growing, with an annual value exceeding US\$60m. Trade in cattle between Somalia and Kenya increased three-fold between 1991 and 2007, and three-fold between Ethiopia and Kenya between 1997 and 2001.⁵⁵

For the semi-arid counties, the priorities are to intensify and add value to production, and to strengthen the capacity of producers to participate in the market on more favourable terms. For the most part, the existing provisions within Vision 2030 will facilitate this, as long as they are carried out with an awareness of the ecological conditions of semi-arid areas. The arid counties, on the other hand, face additional obstacles to production and trade resulting from the lack of investment in the foundations for development outlined in the preceding chapter. The most problematic areas of doing business in Northern Kenya are access to markets, capital, energy, and communications (transport and ICT). An appropriate mix of incentives and benefits will help to encourage investment.

5

⁵⁴ Edmund Barrow and Hazron Mogaka, 2007: *Kenya's Drylands – Wastelands or an Undervalued National Economic Resources*, IUCN

⁵⁵ COMESA, 2009: *Hidden Value on the Hoof: Cross-Border Livestock Trade in Eastern Africa*, CAADP Policy Brief No. 2, February 2009

Many people in arid counties remain heavily dependent on livestock, leaving them vulnerable to the impact of shocks. Pastoralists have always diversified – through labour migration, education, or farming – but the need for alternative sources of income and employment outside pastoralism is becoming ever more acute. This is linked to the growing urban population and to the changing climate, but also because there is a limit to the numbers of people pastoralism can sustainably absorb. Diversification should complement the ways in which pastoralists manage risk, and add value to the pastoral economy.

While it is recognised that the economic pillar in Vision 2030 is concerned primarily with enhancing export-led growth, the importance of production for subsistence in the ASALs cannot be ignored, particularly in such a food-insecure region. Some of the semi-arid counties in particular are now highly vulnerable as a result of land pressure and loss of labour. Agriculture may be a potential engine of national economic growth, but it is also a critical means of ensuring household subsistence. Strengthening food security at the household level will benefit the wider economy, for example by reducing the demand for food aid.

1. Livestock production, health and marketing





Distinctive features:

- Livestock mobility and herd diversity are critical elements of pastoral production.
- A Pastoral production systems are built on a substantial body of indigenous knowledge and skill.
- ♣ There are cross-border considerations in disease control and livestock marketing, given the location of the region.

Situation analysis

Livestock production is the dominant economic activity in the ASALs, particularly in the arid counties. This is true even in areas which have experienced the highest rates of diversification and social change. In Kajiado and Narok 98% of households still own livestock, and livestock are the main source of income for the majority of people, although now with decreasing returns.⁵⁶ The ASALs are home to nearly 70% of the national herd with an estimated value of Kshs. 70bn.⁵⁷

Herd mobility and accumulation are central to pastoral production. Mobility allows livestock to make opportunistic use of natural resources that are highly variable both spatially and temporally. The significance of spatial mobility is illustrated by monthly rainfall data from two sites in the Chalbi area of Marsabit (North Horr and Kalacha) between 1993 and 1997. Despite being only 50km apart, the correlation for rainfall data between the two sites was 0.66; on several occasions one site recorded rainfall while the other recorded none.⁵⁸

Pastoralists accumulate livestock as a way of managing the boom and bust cycle which is inherent to arid environments. The spatial distribution of livestock rather than their number is what must be managed to avoid overgrazing, particularly in arid areas with high coefficients of rainfall, thus reinforcing the importance of mobility. Unfortunately mobility in many pastoral

_

⁵⁶ ILRI, 2006: *Pastoralism and Poverty Reduction in East Africa: A Policy Research Conference*, 27-28 June 2006: presentation on 'Maasai Pastoralists: Diversification and Poverty' by K. Homewood et al

⁵⁷ Republic of Kenya, 2011: Draft National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

⁵⁸ John McPeak, 2005: 'Individual and Collective Rationality in Pastoral Production: Evidence from Northern Kenya', *Human Ecology*, 33.2, April 2005

areas of Kenya is curtailed by settlements, administrative boundaries, conflict, and competing forms of land use. Livestock production is further affected by a combination of recurrent drought, climate change and insecurity. In order to protect key species against decline, mechanisms are needed to stabilise the livestock industry and facilitate restocking after crisis. Examples of possible enterprises include breeding and multiplication centres, provision of water and feed, disease control, and state-of-the-art breeding technologies to improve the survival traits of key species.

Livestock health systems in the ASALs have been under-resourced since the cutbacks induced by structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s. Several NGOs have experimented

successfully with various forms of community-based animal health worker (CBAHW), but these do not yet operate under a clear legal framework.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, there is limited activity by private veterinarians, particularly in the more remote counties, where there is high seasonal variation in demand for livestock drugs and where the prospects of profit are more limited.

There is very little value addition in the livestock sector. Animals are transported to the terminal markets in Nairobi and Mombasa for sale and slaughter. There is also a dynamic and largely informal cross-border trade in livestock, which is strongly linked to trade in other commodities and helps meet Kenya's domestic meat demand.

Box 3 Constraints to livestock marketing in arid districts

- Lack of organised livestock markets and market information
- Inadequate market outlets, characterised by cartellike behaviour and poor market response during crises
- 3. Relatively low livestock producer prices, associated with relatively high marketing transaction costs
- 4. Under-developed stock routes and infrastructure
- 5. Prevalence of livestock diseases and pests
- 6. Prohibition of night movement when trucking
- 7. Unreasonably high market charges by local authorities when compared with the services received
- 8. Inadequate operating capital for livestock traders
- 9. Insecurity
- 10. Supply problems, including drought and high levels of in-breeding
- 11. Lack of reliable livestock statistics

Livestock Marketing and Support to the Establishment of Livestock Disease Free Zones, ALRMP, 2005

⁵⁹ John Young, Julius Kajume and Jacob Wanyama, 2003: *Animal Health Care in Kenya: The Road to Community-Based Animal Health Service Delivery*, ODI Working Paper 214

Challenges and opportunities

At present there are few options for pastoralists and traders other than to transport live animals to the terminal markets. Box 3 summarises the constraints they face in doing so, illustrating their vulnerability within long and risky market chains. The prohibition on night

movement means that animals must be moved during the day, when temperatures are hottest. The lack of designated livestock sale yards and holding grounds in Nairobi and the surrounding area means that traders are often forced to accept a quick sale at disadvantageous prices. Only 5% of the 112 holding grounds in Kenya are currently operational. The livestock sector has been described as the most heavily taxed agricultural business in the region, subject to heavy formal and informal charges.⁶⁰

There are also supply-side constraints. Pastoralists may sell because of the need for cash, rather than to meet market demand. Moreover, herd diversity is a key survival strategy: by keeping multiple species,

Box 4 Linking pastoralists and exporters

In 203 the PARIMA project started linking pastoralist producers in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia with leaders of the livestock export industry. Eleven pastoralist groups were given an interest-free loan and training in the skills needed to run a small business.

Over an 18-month period the groups sold 25,640 animals to two exporters drawn from a catchment area of at least 57,000km². The total profit was 31,400 birr (approximately US\$ 3,630 at that time).

The groups took advantage of an expansion of the livestock trade northwards to the Gulf. Interviews with traders in Nairobi suggest that this led to no reduction in the traditional southward flow of livestock; the small ruminant market across the region is expanding, with different stock meeting different requirements (the export trade through Ethiopia demanding smaller and younger stock than for the Kenyan market).

GL-CRSP Research Brief 05-06, PARIMA, December 2005

pastoralists can achieve the twin goals of subsistence dairy production and contingency meat production.⁶¹ The type of animals they wish to sell may not therefore be of the age, sex or size that the market requires. However, pastoralists are not market-averse: Box 4 illustrates that, with the right support, they respond to new market openings.

⁶⁰ COMESA, 2008: Regional Livestock and Pastoralism Policy Training: Livestock, Trade and Economics, CAADP, September 2008

⁶¹ K.O. Farah et al, 1996: The Management and Development of the Arid Communal Rangelands in North-Eastern Kenya: A Critical Analysis of the Past and Present, The African Pastoral Forum Working Paper Series No. 7

There are significant opportunities to expand the livestock trade. Between 1980 and 2002 annual per capita meat consumption in developing countries doubled.⁶² It is expected to grow still further, as populations become more wealthy and urbanised. Kenya is already a meat-deficit country, and this deficit is projected to increase still further, as Fig. 3 illustrates.

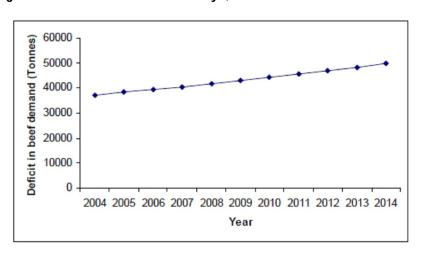


Fig. 3: Trends in beef deficit for Kenya, 2004-2014⁶³

Various local-level initiatives demonstrate the opportunities. In Samburu, a pilot programme of partnership and co-management between the County Council and local producers and traders delivered a 50% increase in income to producers and a 70% increase in revenue to the Council. The proposed Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) Act and legal framework for operationalising PPPs will facilitate these kinds of partnerships.

International markets are highly risk-averse, with stringent health requirements that mobile livestock production in particular has difficulty meeting given the ease with which disease is transmitted across borders. Moving abattoirs and marketing infrastructure closer to producing areas would increase value addition and local employment, as part of a gradual shift towards supplying meat rather than live animals to terminal markets.

⁶² Ahmadu Babagana and Tim Leyland, 2008: 'Meat and Milk: Developing Countries and the Livestock Trade'. ID21 Insights, 72, February 2008.

⁶³ Source: ReSAKSS, 2008: Investment Opportunities for Livestock in the North Eastern Province of Kenya: A Synthesis of Existing Knowledge, Working Paper No. 12

Meat from pastoral areas may also find an outlet in specialist, high-value markets in developed countries. There is growing global awareness of the links between food production, poverty and the environment. In such a climate, meat from extensive pastoral systems, produced in areas that are too arid to compete with crop production, and which meets organic and/or low-carbon standards, may have niche value. Ongoing work by the African Union, COMESA and the East African Community to develop commodity-based standards in the trade of livestock products will support this goal.

Vision statement: Vibrant livestock production, health and marketing in the ASALs

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- Clarify the policy options with respect to international markets (for example, disease-free zones versus commodity-based trade)
- Reform veterinary legislation to allow community-based animal health workers to treat livestock under supervision and certification by the Kenya Veterinary Board
- ♣ Develop more pragmatic legislation and control measures governing veterinary quarantine and livestock movements in consultation with stakeholders; specifically, allow night movement
- Develop policy which facilitates and recognises the contribution of cross-border trade
- Work with financial services institutions to allow moveable assets such as livestock to be used as collateral
- ♣ Introduce Guaranteed Minimum Returns for livestock producers on a similar basis to those available to crop producers
- ♣ Develop policy which facilitates strategic business partnerships between communities and local authorities, based on public-private partnership models
- Establish the Kenya Livestock Marketing Board
- Establish a framework that regulates cess levies and links these with the provision of services to livestock producers and traders
- Establish government institutions such as ADC farms targeting the breeding and multiplication of key types of livestock

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Invest in the necessary foundations to support livestock production and marketing	 See Foundations (transport, energy, water, natural resource management, land reform, ICT, security) Carry out a regular livestock census
Strengthen livestock health systems	 Strengthen disease control and surveillance systems, including through regional cooperation and harmonisation Provide support to CBAHWs and paraveterinarians, including mobile health workers, in line with international recommendations Integrate community-based livestock health and human health services where appropriate to do so Develop an incentive programme to attract private service providers to the region

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Improve livestock productivity	 Promote integrated rangeland resource management Invest in improved breeding programmes in partnership with herders
Strengthen livestock marketing infrastructure and systems	 In partnership with the private sector and communities, construct high-quality abattoirs within or close to the main livestock-rearing areas, with sufficient holding grounds and associated livestock industries nearby Explore marketing windows for livestock products rather than live animals Ensure that livestock-based food products enter the national food reserves Promote regular off-take to build up food reserves Establish the current status of holding grounds and trekking routes and review their role Rehabilitate sale yards and other infrastructure near terminal markets Establish a Livestock Enterprise Fund (see Economic Pillar: Financial Services) Enable producers and traders in the informal sector to access market opportunities by investing in quality improvement, certification, and market analysis Identify countries of significance for livestock marketing and promote market opportunities Publicise products such as camel milk and meat which may have price or nutritional advantages Promote emerging livestock such as ostrich and crocodile farming
Support the development of added value within the livestock sector	 Prioritise interventions which add value within the pastoral system, such as the processing of milk, meat, hides, skins and other livestock products Identify and support interventions which work for different social groups in different parts of the region; in particular, encourage young people to participate in the livestock trade

2. Dryland livelihoods (other than livestock)







Distinctive features:

- Households dependent on dryland farming in semi-arid areas are becoming increasingly vulnerable, given population growth, land pressure, periodic drought, and the lack of appropriate skills and technologies.
- There is valuable indigenous knowledge of dryland natural products within ASAL communities.

Situation analysis

A mixed farming system dominates in the semi-arid counties. Crops are grown to meet household needs and the surplus sold for cash. Livestock are kept for traction, manure, and as insurance against crop failure. Sorghum and millet would be more appropriate crops for the environment, but maize is increasingly grown despite its high failure rate. There has been comparatively little attention given to the improvement and uptake of indigenous crops, possibly because they are seen as lacking market value. For the most part, crops are women's responsibility while livestock are communally grazed and managed by men.

Along many riverine areas communities have traditionally practised localised farming. Largescale irrigated agriculture has a poor track record, with several failed schemes along the rivers Turkwell, Ewaso Nyiro and Tana. Small-scale irrigated agriculture has more potential. For example, even though the Katilu Irrigation Scheme cooperative in Turkana collapsed in 1997, some 6000 farmers in the area have created their own canals from the river. 64 There is also evidence that the production of livestock fodder in irrigation schemes can be more profitable than crop production. 65 Some pastoralists farm opportunistically in areas of higher elevation or in valleys, while other groups fish on the lakes and rivers of the region.

⁶⁴ D.J. Watson and J. van Binsbergen, 2008: Livelihood Diversification Opportunities for Pastoralists in Turkana, Kenya, ILRI

⁶⁵Personal communication, Francis Chabari.

There is growing interest in dryland bio-enterprise, with innovative projects in areas across the Rift Valley. Bee-keeping is the fastest-growing SME activity in the region. ⁶⁶ On average 70,000kg of honey are produced annually in Marakwet, West Pokot, Samburu and Baringo. ⁶⁷ In the Ewaso ecosystem, a partnership of institutions including the Laikipia Wildlife Forum, the African Wildlife Foundation and the Northern Rangeland Trust is promoting environmentally sustainable bio-enterprise production and marketing.

Challenges and opportunities

Vulnerability and food insecurity in semi-arid areas are increasingly rapidly. Too many people are trying to make a living from too little land. Most of those involved in dryland farming are older people or younger women – male youth are not returning to family farms after leaving school. Some of the constraints on agricultural production include soil erosion, low soil fertility, frequent droughts, loss of labour, limited access to credit, and inadequate research and extension. Deforestation and poor management of water catchments pose further threats.

Some of the challenges facing fisherfolk include drought and siltation, which cause water levels to fall and turbidity to increase. Poor rains reduce the flow of fresh water into lakes and cause the water level to fall; in some cases fishing catches can fall to less than one-quarter of their size in good years. A major threat to fishing on Lake Turkana, and indeed to the wider economy and environment, is the impact of hydroelectric and associated developments on the River Omo in Ethiopia. Lack of capital, infrastructure and equipment are the main constraints in marketing fish from the Lake.

Sustainable harvesting and value-addition of dryland natural products may provide the basis for successful commercial bio-enterprises if there is sufficient and sustainable supply and market demand, and if the items are processed and packed to the requisite standards. Some of the

63

⁶⁶ Kenya Industrial Estates Ltd, 2009: Report on Economic Profiling of Northern Kenya

⁶⁷ Pkalya et al, 2003: Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims in Northern Kenya, ITDG

⁶⁸ Oxfam GB, 2006: Household Economy Assessment of North East Turkana

natural products found in the ASALs which could form the basis of such enterprises include medicinals and nutraceuticals, essential oils, culinary products (honey, herbs, spices, wild fruit), bio-fuels produced from cleared invasive species (such as prosopis), and silk.

Vision statement: An innovative agricultural sector that ensures sustainable dryland livelihoods

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

♣ Establish a unit to facilitate bio-enterprise development in the ASALs, which will commission research, analyse value chains, screen proposals, coordinate investment, and link potential buyers with producers

Strategies	Examples of interventions	
In semi-arid areas:		
Promote integrated and conservation-based farming	 Encourage soil conservation Encourage sand dams Harvest water run-off into fields Encourage the planting of trees and high-value crops (such as fruits) Expand animal traction 	
Increase the quality and reach of technical support	 Expand research and extension services for indigenous and drought-tolerant crops Research and disseminate technologies for improved food storage Train young people in appropriate agro-technology, linking this with village polytechnics where appropriate Strengthen the capacity of research institutions in the ASALs and improve the link between research and extension Draw on farmers' innovation and on successful technologies for dryland agriculture from other countries 	
Increase value addition and market share	 Promote improved practices in post-harvest storage and management Provide safe on-farm and commercial storage space for grains Encourage food-related marketing organisations, especially by women Promote market linkages with non-ASAL areas by improving 	

Strategies	Examples of interventions
In pastoral areas: Encourage opportunistic farming where appropriate to do so	 marketing infrastructure and access to information Support small-scale processing of fruits and other products Increase access to credit and financial services (see Economic Pillar: Financial Services) Encourage dryland farming close to settlements or in riverine/low-lying areas for local food security Ensure that effective conflict management and negotiation mechanisms between different resource users are in place
In riverine areas:	
Support irrigation technologies and approaches appropriate to the area	 Provide the start-up services needed by irrigation schemes, such as basic infrastructure and maintenance, with a view to their subsequent privatisation Ensure ownership of irrigation schemes by communities, and agree up-front at what point farmers start paying for services Recognise and reinforce the existing land and access rights of communities in these areas Ensure that the rights of pastoralists to water are not infringed Ensure that effective conflict management and negotiation mechanisms between different resource users are in place Encourage fodder crops to be grown within irrigation schemes Establish demonstration farms Increase access to credit and financial services (see Economic Pillar: Financial Services)
In all ASALs:	
Encourage the growth of sustainable bio-enterprise production and marketing	Support dryland producers with training and market research
Support fisheries development	 Continue to liberalise fishing businesses Increase access to credit and financial services for fisherfolk (see Economic Pillar: Financial Services)

3. Tourism







Distinctive features:

- People, wildlife and livestock co-exist in the ASALs.
- The region has a rich cultural heritage which is central to the tourist industry.
- Very few of the benefits from the tourism sector reach communities in the ASALs.

Situation analysis

Most tourist attractions in Kenya, and particularly the national parks and game reserves, are found in the ASALs. In 2007, previously the best recorded year in tourist arrivals and earnings, the tourism sector contributed approximately 12% of Gross Domestic Product and accounted for more than 9% of total wage employment, with 400,000 jobs in the formal sector and a further 600,000 in the informal sector. Performance in 2010 surpassed the 2007 figures, earning Kshs. 74 billion in revenue. ⁶⁹ Tourist sites in areas which are easier to reach inevitably attract more visitors. Consequently the impact of tourism is unevenly distributed: tourist areas in the south are over-developed, while the north has room for expansion, particularly through community-driven initiatives.

There is increasing diversity within the tourism industry, with some genuine attempts to maximise benefits to people living in proximity to parks or alongside wildlife in areas outside parks. However, on the whole, local people still gain little from the trade. County Councils receive income from parks and lodges but little trickles down to communities. Conflict between people and animals is growing, as is the level of grievance with compensation systems which are felt to be biased towards the protection of wildlife rather than the protection of people's livelihoods.

⁶⁹ http://www.tourism.go.ke/ministry.nsf/pages/facts_figures, accessed 29 May 2011

Challenges and opportunities

The infrastructure necessary to sustain a vibrant tourism sector – such as roads, energy, water, accommodation and security - is lacking, particularly in arid areas. As a result the unique landscapes, ecology and culture of the north are largely unknown to outsiders. For example, the ecologically rich Malka Mari National Park on the Kenya-Ethiopia border is said to be one of the world's biodiversity hotspots.

Wildlife is the bedrock of the tourist industry, but numbers are declining. Research by the Kenya Wildlife Service shows that wildlife populations inside Kenya's national parks are declining at a similar rate to those outside the parks. ⁷⁰ Between 1989 and 2003 six species declined markedly in the Maasai Mara National Reserve: by 95% for giraffe, 80% for warthogs and 76% for hartebeest. 71 The losses are linked to pressures on the Maasai population in the area surrounding the reserve, and their consequent sedentarisation and adoption of less environmentally sustainable livelihoods.

Communities are becoming more assertive in their demands for a larger share of the benefits from tourism, which currently flow primarily to the tour companies, hoteliers and government. A more equitable distribution of the benefits from the tourist trade requires that local people be equipped with the skills to negotiate and protect their interests. Community-based ecotourism enterprises and conservancies, implemented through public-private partnerships of various kinds, could incentivise sustainable management of wildlife and natural resources and increase the goodwill upon which conservation depends. However, the conservancy concept in Kenya lacks the kind of legislative framework which is common in Southern Africa. Most conservancies in Kenya are registered as limited companies, and lack the legal mechanisms which allow and encourage communities and private companies to benefit from sustainable management of the resource base. Community-based initiatives in this sector also face the

http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/07/090707201216.htm, accessed 29 May 2011
 http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-7998.2008.00536.x/abstract, accessed 29 May 2011

same challenges as those in other sectors, principally that underlying inequalities in access to and control over resources within the community must first be addressed.⁷²

Vision statement: A vibrant tourism sector that contributes to the development of the ASALs and of Kenya as a whole

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- * Review all legislation (Wildlife Act, KWS Act) and draft policies (Wildlife, Tourism) for the extent to which they facilitate delivery of the strategies outlined below
- Address the current lack of legislation enabling community and private conservancies to manage and benefit from natural resources

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Strengthen the foundations upon which the tourism sector depends, particularly infrastructure and security	See Foundations
Enhance the sustainability of the tourism sector	 Create incentives for communities to participate in wildlife management, conservation and tourism Address the problems of human/wildlife conflict, for example through better management of wildlife corridors and fair compensation schemes. Develop tourism products that are appropriate to the context and culture of the region Strengthen the marketing of tourism in the region, both domestically and internationally
Increase the benefits to communities from the tourism sector	 Promote corporate social responsibility by all actors within the tourism industry Review the revenue-sharing mechanisms used by County Councils, KWS and private operators Provide incentives for groups or individuals willing to invest in tourism in ways that deliver sustainable benefits to local communities Facilitate access to skills and capital for communities wishing to develop tourism-related products and services

⁷² Christopher Southgate, 2006: 'Ecotourism in Kenya: The Vulnerability of Communities', *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5:1-2.

68

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Disperse the benefits from tourism more equitably	Research the tourist market and potential tourist products in arid counties
Use investments in tourism to leverage wider economic and social benefits	Identify appropriate locations for resorts which embrace, protect and market the cultural, creative and natural endowments of the area and generate long- term economic benefits for local people

4. Financial services



Distinctive features:

- A significant amount of wealth in the ASALs is held in the form of livestock.
- Arid counties in particular have high levels of social capital.

Situation analysis

In the last two decades the banking infrastructure has expanded rapidly in the ASALs. New branches are opening, while mobile banking, through mechanisms such as M-PESA and Airtel Money, has transformed the reach of money transfer services. Sharia banking has also expanded, with the establishment of sharia-compliant institutions (such as First Community Bank and Gulf African Bank) and sharia-compliant products offered by other banks (such as Barclays and KCB).

However, the formal banking system still reaches only a small proportion of the population. For most people, semi-formal arrangements such as village-based savings and credit schemes and cooperative societies are more accessible. Traditional mechanisms of borrowing, lending and exchange, and trust-based systems of money transfer within communities, are also very important.

Pastoralists in particular make little use of the formal banking system, in part because they lack the collateral and records to qualify for loans, and in part because they may receive better returns to capital when this is held in the form of livestock than in savings, as one study among Gabbra pastoralists in the 1990s showed.⁷³ The large capital investment in a household herd represents high potential return but also high risk.

_

⁷³ John McPeak, 2005: 'Individual and Collective Rationality in Pastoral Production: Evidence from Northern Kenya', *Human Ecology*, 33.2, April 2005

Challenges and opportunities

The region's size, poor infrastructure, and low population density have impeded the development of the financial services sector, since these have been seen as obstacles to the education and mobilisation necessary to generate interest and demand. High levels of illiteracy make formal banking an intimidating prospect for many.

However, the rapid expansion of the banking network on the back of interventions such as the Hunger Safety Net Programme, and the apparent enthusiasm shown by communities in Marsabit for index-based livestock insurance products, currently being piloted, suggest that there is unmet demand for financial products. Most pastoralists have a high level of involvement with the market, but without adequate operating capital this is often on unfavourable terms. National finance schemes are not tailored to the specific needs of pastoral producers, although commercial banks have recently shown interest in making livestock trade loans to small entrepreneurs.

With continued creativity, the financial services sector can tap into the thriving informal economy, centred on livestock, tourism and trade, and benefit from the region's strong social networks. Large-scale investment in the region's infrastructure and manufacturing base, such as the transport corridor between Lamu and Ethiopia/Sudan, will open up the area for business and trade and increase the demand for financial services.

Vision statement: A vibrant, innovative and accessible financial services sector

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- Work with financial services institutions to allow moveable assets such as livestock to be used as collateral
- * Work with the Insurance Regulatory Authority to introduce insurance products appropriate to the context of the region
- * Reform the commercial justice system so that it better supports financial institutions such as sharia-compliant banking
- * Introduce Guaranteed Minimum Returns for livestock producers on a similar basis to those available to crop producers through the AFC

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Ensure adequate security for financial services institutions, businesses and trade routes	See Foundations
Increase access to financial services for people in the ASALs	 Establish a Livestock Enterprise Fund which meets the needs of livestock producers and traders, administered through commercial banks Promote models of financial service provision that are culturally acceptable in the context of the region, and explore how national funds (such as those for women and youth) could be channelled through these mechanisms Support the development of financial services products relevant to the needs of the region (such as indexbased insurance) Ensure that small-scale entrepreneurs can access an integrated and devolved package of assistance, shariacompliant where necessary, which combines hands-on training and small business development support with access to credit and market analysis Support quasi-banking institutions and rural finance Ensure that financial services and products are available at each stage of the value chain Support the use of new technologies to expand access to financial services Assist financial service providers in marketing their products with ASAL communities

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Attract and motivate financial services providers to locate in the region	 Develop a system of concessions and incentives, particularly for those taking financial services beyond county capitals Encourage mobile banking
Develop mechanisms to attract long-term capital inflows to finance large-scale investments in the region	 Develop an investment promotion strategy, targeted at both local and external investors Design innovative financing products Increase government participation in capital markets such as leveraging public-private partnerships and specialised bonds Develop a strategy to enhance the flow of remittances

5. Manufacturing, mining and trade







Distinctive features:

- Northern Kenya is the gateway to new markets in countries to the north.
- Investment in any area has social, cultural and ecological consequences, but these may be more acute in places (such as the arid lands) which are less well understood.
- Very few of the benefits from the mining sector reach communities in the ASALs.

Situation analysis

While the manufacturing sector in Kenya contributes 10% to GDP, manufacturing activities in the ASALs are minimal, particularly in the north. Some factories have been established, but on the whole with poor results and little benefit to local communities. A large proportion of business conducted in the region is informal in nature, operated through elaborate trading networks. Petty trade in towns tends to be dominated by women, while the livestock business, and other high-value or long-distance trade, is dominated by men. The remoteness of the region from the major centres of capital and industrialisation gives business people outside the ASALs a comparative advantage.

In general, business skills and experience and the uptake of research and development are low. The level of business activity varies across the region – higher in North Eastern Province, for example, than in other parts of the north. The largest mining operation in the ASALs is currently the extraction of soda ash from Lake Magadi. Annual production in 2005 was valued at US\$38m.⁷⁴ Oil exploration is underway in several parts of the north. There is also a long tradition of artisanal mining. In 1999 the International Labour Office estimated that there were between 30,000 and 40,000 people working in more than 50 small-scale mines in Kenya.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Kenya Chamber of Mines Newsletter, undated: http://www.kenyachambermines.com/Newsletter.htm, accessed 31 July 2009

⁷⁵ ILO, 1999: 'Report for Discussion at the Tripartite Meeting on Social and Labour Issues in Small-scale Mines', http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/techmeet/tmssm99/tmssmr.htm#Table%201.1. accessed 29 May 2011

Challenges and opportunities

High poverty levels in the region mean that disposable income and purchasing power are low. Poor infrastructure combined with low population density increase the cost of doing business and thus the price of goods.

A major opportunity for the region is its proximity to countries such as Ethiopia and Sudan which have a high demand for manufactured products. The region has a large although relatively unskilled labour force, and its natural resource base could support a range of manufacturing industries. Some possibilities include:⁷⁶

- **Livestock-based industries:** such as tanneries, meat processing, holding grounds, auction yards, abattoirs, dairy, and leather.
- Mineral-based industries: such as oil, cement, paint, chalk, precious stones, and salt.
- Agro-based industries: such as vegetable and fruit processing, herbal medicines, cosmetics, and spices.
- **Engineering:** such as windmills, and solar panels.

The ASALs are thought to have considerable mineral resources: Table 5 illustrates the potential in the arid counties. However, geological mapping has not yet been completed, and therefore the extent of the deposits is unconfirmed. Limestone and gypsum are raw materials required to make cement and are common in parts of the north. Demand for cement from Kenya's fast-growing construction industry currently outstrips supply. New infrastructure projects in Northern Kenya will increase that demand still further.

The most critical challenge facing any large-scale expansion of the mining sector will be to manage the many risks involved – particularly to the environment and to the stability of the region. The consequences of failing to do so are all too evident in other countries. The lack of effective regulation can be seen in Ukambani, where sand harvesting to supply the construction

_

⁷⁶ Kenya Industrial Estates Ltd, 2009: Report on Economic Profiling of Northern Kenya

industry in Nairobi is having a damaging effect on the water table. Mining and quarrying also degrade pastures, but no remedial actions are required from prospectors.

Table 5: Potential mineral resources in the arid counties of Kenya⁷⁷

County	Mineral
Turkana	Mercury, natural stones, sand, oil, gold, green garnet, limestone, gypsum, soda ash
Baringo	Quarry stones, alluvial sand, diatomite, fluoride, gemstone (ruby), vermiculite
Samburu	Iron ore, gold
Marsabit	Oil, alluvial sand, quarry stones, salt deposit
Moyale	Oil, stones
Isiolo	Sapphire, natural stones, green and red garnet
Mandera	Gypsum, alluvial sand
Wajir	Limestone, gypsum, alluvial sand
Garissa	Gypsum, alluvial sand, conglomerate rock, quartz pebbles, oil
Tana River	Gypsum, salt, sand, clay for bricks

Vision statement:

An efficient, diversified and competitive trading and manufacturing system

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- ♣ Develop policy which facilitates, recognises and grows the contribution of cross-border trade to Kenya's economy
- A Develop an investment policy that protects the region's environment and ensures that maximum benefits accrue to communities in the region and to Kenya
- * Fast-track the establishment of decentralised, one-stop-shops at border posts and centres for registration, licensing and taxation
- Establish a Northern Kenya Investment Fund, as a private sector facility, to promote investment in the arid lands.

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Invest in essential	• See Foundations (transport, energy, security, ICTs, water) and
infrastructure for	Economic Pillar: Financial Services
manufacturing and business	Operationalise Wajir international airport and upgrade
	Mandera, Marsabit and Lodwar, to facilitate both domestic
	and international trade
	 Open new border posts to facilitate trade, so that all the
	following are covered: Hulugho, Diff, Liboi, El Wak, Mandera,
	Moyale, Todonyang, Kibbish, Lokichoggio and Loiya

⁷⁷ Ibid, based on data from the Ministry of Environment and Mineral Resources

76

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Promote the entry of new business and investment into the region and encourage local investors	 Develop a portfolio of professionally designed investment proposals Develop incentive programmes for new businesses, including the designation of areas as special economic zones Work with the Kenya Investment Authority (KIA) to strengthen awareness of investment potential in the north Hold regular and widely publicised investment events, such as trade fairs and conferences, in collaboration with the KIA and other stakeholders Encourage capital in-flows from the diaspora Organise tours to the region for potential investors Develop small business parks and SME incubators in the region, particularly for business start-ups, and targeted at women and youth Expand access to credit for business development
Strengthen local management and business skills	 Develop training programmes targeted at SMEs Commission relevant research and disseminate market and business intelligence through the internet and other media
Ensure that appropriate institutional mechanisms are in place to manage the benefits and risks of mining	 Participate in the various international schemes to promote transparency and accountability in the mining sector Develop up-front agreements with investors that cover community relationships, including employment policy, and environmental concerns, including the responsibility to restore polluted or damaged areas Develop mechanisms to channel revenue from the mining sector: specifically a) corporate social responsibility agreed up-front and guaranteed by the Government; b) an agreed benefit stream to the local county (which may include financial, service or employment benefits); and c) a windfall tax, in the event of substantial profits, to be invested in a long-term arid lands development fund

6. Business process outsourcing



Situation analysis

Business process outsourcing is a new business in Kenya that accounts for less than 0.01% of GDP. Although the global offshore market is expected to grow, Kenya is currently an expensive and undeveloped location. All the factors that make this so, particularly the comparatively high cost and unreliability of telecommunications and energy supply, are even more pronounced in the north.

Challenges and opportunities

The challenges facing the north in taking advantage of the BPO market are acute. As investment in infrastructure and skills increases, prospective employees from the region will be better equipped to compete for opportunities with BPO companies around Nairobi. In due course BPO opportunities may open up in regional hubs around the country, including the north.

Vision statement: Equitable access to emerging employment opportunities for all Kenyans

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Develop ICT infrastructure and skills in the region	 Improve transport, energy and telecommunications infrastructure, and liberalise their supply and financing (see Foundations) Equip educational institutions with ICT facilities Develop rural ICT centres and digital villages Expand IT training programmes

Social Pillar

Overview

The aim of the Social Pillar is to invest in the people of Kenya. As Vision 2030 notes, Kenya has one of the strongest and most diverse pools of human resources in the region. However, pastoralists and people in the north have much lower levels of human capital than the rest of the population, as a result of prolonged uneven regional development.

The Social Pillar matters for the people of Northern Kenya and pastoral areas because they have the same rights and entitlements to human development as any others. The region has a high incidence of poverty. Investing in health and education will improve both well-being and productivity. Higher levels of human capital in the region will increase its chances of sharing in the benefits of growth and enhance its contribution to national development.

The needs, entitlements, and aspirations of Kenyans are the same, but the manner in which these are met will be determined by the context. Northern Kenya and some pastoral areas have a highly dispersed population, including households which are mobile. In such an environment, particularly one with poor infrastructure, service delivery may be more costly per capita than in other areas and require more innovative approaches.

The very fact that some groups are difficult to reach also means that information about them is less reliable. An important cross-cutting strategy within the Social Pillar will be to invest in gender-disaggregated systems of data collection and analysis to enhance understanding of people's welfare and well-being.

1. Education and training



Distinctive features:

- Arid counties have low population density.
- Mobility is essential to pastoral production.
- Girls and women have a subordinate status to that of boys and men in most communities.
- * There is a particularly high opportunity cost to pastoral households in educating children.
- Poor infrastructure in the north in particular makes the provision and monitoring of services difficult.

Situation analysis

Education equips people with the capacities to make informed choices about their lives and a positive contribution to society. It facilitates the realisation of other rights, provides an exit out of poverty, and reinforces social cohesion and integration. Educated women challenge social norms and invest in the health and welfare of their families and in the education of the next generation. And in pastoral areas in particular, where the productivity of the livelihood system requires an appropriate balance between people and ecology, education is an important route out of pastoralism. For all these reasons, education is fundamental to development in Northern Kenya and other arid lands.

The status of formal education in Northern Kenya is poor (Fig. 4). Learning facilities are inadequate: there is no university, only one teacher training college, one technical training institute, and very few TIVET institutions (Technical, Industrial, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training). The number of teachers is insufficient, with very few recruited locally, and there is little attention paid to Early Childhood Development. As a result, the region achieves very low rates of enrolment, transition, completion and literacy, and performs poorly in the national exams. It is reported that only one student from North Eastern Province has achieved a straight 'A' since the 8:4:4 system was introduced in 1985.

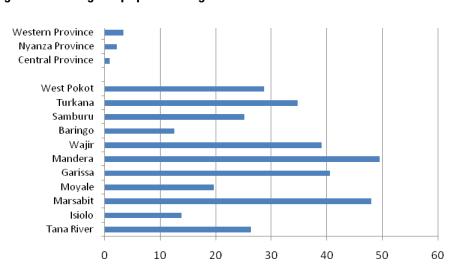


Fig. 4: Percentage of population aged 6-17 who have never attended school⁷⁸

The situation is generally worse for girls than boys, given the subordinate status of girls and women in most pastoral societies. In addition to their domestic responsibilities, certain cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and early marriage curtail girls' education. However, the ratio of women to men with no educational attainment is actually lower in pastoral areas than at the national level, suggesting that a lack of educational opportunities in the areas where they live may be as important a constraint on girls' education as social or cultural barriers.⁷⁹ According to the 2003 Demographic and Household Survey the ratio in North Eastern Province was 100 men to 132 women, against a national ratio of 100:145.

The educational participation of pastoral children in particular is low, in part because families must weigh up the relative costs and benefits of a child being separated from the informal learning that takes place within their community for a formal education that is not yet delivering. The region's low transition rates to secondary and university levels should be understood in this light. Eight years of school-based learning in the primary system give students insufficient qualifications to compete satisfactorily in the job market, but leave them without the skills they need to return to a pastoral way of life. They end up being caught between two worlds, lacking the capacity to flourish in either. There have been some important

⁷⁸ Source: Republic of Kenya, 2008: *Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey*, 2005-06

⁷⁹ Naomi Kipuri and Andrew Ridgewell, 2008: *A Double Bind: The Exclusion of Pastoralist Women in the East and Horn of Africa*

positive steps to accommodate mobility, such as the mobile schools supported by the Ministry of Education, but the quality and utility of these is limited; they provide an education only up to Standard 3, and their teachers have had inadequate training. Moreover, the uniform curriculum does not reflect the day-to-day diversity of learners' lives across the country.

Investing in the education system in Northern Kenya will help the Government meet its obligations and commitments in the international arena. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999), and the Millennium Declaration (2000) all oblige their signatories to realise the right of every child to education. Kenya domesticated this obligation in the 2001 Children's Act, and has now made education a constitutional right (Articles 43 and 53 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Despite significant progress at an aggregate level, Kenya is being held back by the challenge of hard-to-reach populations such as those in the north.

Challenges and opportunities

One of the main challenges facing the education system in Northern Kenya is that it is not sufficiently adapted to the local context. For example, term dates are rigid, the curriculum does not resonate with local experience, and facilities are constructed without thought to cultural and environmental norms. The context itself is challenging, with a highly mobile population, poor infrastructure, long distances between schools, and some negative cultural practices and attitudes. Community participation in education is limited, poverty levels are high, and learners with special needs face isolation and discrimination.

However, the policy environment has improved significantly in recent years, with free primary and free day secondary education, and the approval of a policy framework for nomadic education in 2010. The region has enough land to construct new institutions, and the country has enough trained teachers to equip them. The institutional structures that manage and administer education are well-established, and there is significant goodwill from development partners to invest in the education sector.

Vision statement:

Quality, relevant and all-inclusive education and training for sustainable development

Policy, legal and institutional reform:

- * Establish the National Commission on Nomadic Education
- Revise the Education Act to incorporate policies on nomadic education, such as distance and mobile education
- ♣ Develop an expanded Investment Programme under KESSP (Kenya Education Sector Support Programme) to target all learners from the region

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Develop and improve appropriate infrastructure for education and training	 Increase the number of boarding primary and secondary schools Increase the number of mobile schools Construct and equip libraries in secondary schools Establish public universities, national polytechnics and middle-level technical colleges in Northern Kenya Develop alternative models of educational provision for Northern Kenya and pastoral areas, including through the use of ICTs and other technologies
Increase the number of appropriately trained teachers	 Establish Teacher Training Colleges in the region Recruit more teachers Train more teachers from the region Develop an incentive programme to attract more teachers to the region
Improve the quality of teaching	 Provide relevant in-service courses for teachers from the region, particularly in maths, science and languages Provide courses for mobile school teachers Develop curriculum to train teachers in multi-grade teaching Adapt the national primary and secondary curriculum to meet local needs, particularly at primary level
Develop and enhance incentives and mechanisms to attract and retain students, particularly girls	 Maintain and expand the school feeding programme Build girls-only schools Introduce affirmative action programmes for people from Northern Kenya to enter all public training institutions (such as technical institutions and NYS) Target a percentage of bursaries at students from Northern Kenya and other arid lands Support the Northern Kenya Education Trust

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Promote access and a more enabling environment at all levels for learners with special needs	Construct and improve infrastructure at school level to meet Special Needs Education (SNE)
Promote adult continuing education and non-formal education programmes	Carry out literacy campaigns

2. Health





Distinctive features:

- A Arid counties have low population density.
- Mobility is essential to pastoral production.
- Poor infrastructure in the north makes the provision and monitoring of services difficult.
- * There is a limited market for private health providers given high levels of poverty and the challenging operating environment.

Situation analysis

The goal of Kenya's Health Sector Policy Framework is to promote and improve the health status of all Kenyans by restructuring the health sector to make services more effective, accessible and affordable. ⁸⁰ The first strategic objective of this policy is to ensure the equitable allocation of Government resources to reduce disparities in health status. In order to achieve this, the Health Sector Strategic Plan has the twin goals of reducing inequalities in health care and reversing the downward trend in health-related impact and outcome indicators. ⁸¹

Good health plays an important role in facilitating personal and social development. Research shows that episodes of ill-health are the single biggest cause of people falling into poverty. Sudden or prolonged sickness can trigger a downward spiral into destitution and loss. Access to affordable health care is a challenge for most Kenyans. The 2003 household health expenditure report found that 44 per cent of Kenyans do not seek health services due to lack of money. Moreover, while education spending is regarded as progressive (in that the poorest fifth of the population benefits proportionally more) health spending is held to be regressive (in that a higher share of the budget is allocated to higher levels of care which are used by richer

⁻

⁸⁰ Ministry of Health, 1994: Kenya's Health Sector Policy Framework, 1994-2010, p.27

⁸¹ Ministry of Health, 2005: Reversing the Trend: The Second National Health Sector Strategic Plan, 2005-2010

⁸² Narayan/Petesch, 2007: Moving Out of Poverty, World Bank

⁸³ Ursula Grant, 2005: *Health and Poverty Linkages: Perspectives of the Chronically Poor*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre background paper

people more than poorer).⁸⁴ Vision 2030 is committed to increase resources and shift them towards lower levels of the system and under-served areas, including pastoral areas.⁸⁵

Health indicators in Northern Kenya are very poor, particularly for women and children, with high maternal, infant and child mortality, high levels of acute malnutrition, and low immunisation coverage. The percentage of children delivered with trained care in North Eastern Province is less than one-third of the national average; there are also significant differentials between the arid and non-arid parts of Rift Valley and Eastern Provinces (Fig. 5).

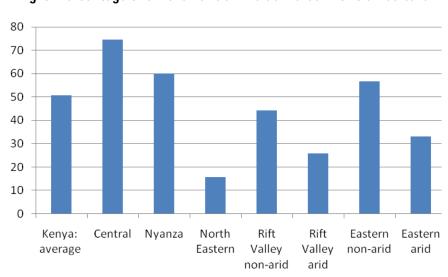


Fig. 5: Percentage of children under five delivered with trained care⁸⁶

Maternal mortality rates are reportedly very high, although difficult to capture with precision: one study among the Gabbra in Marsabit reported 599 deaths per 100,000 live births in the mid-1990s.⁸⁷ Seasonal fluctuations in access to an optimal, diverse diet significantly affect the survival and development of children, women, and other vulnerable groups.

Poor water, sanitation and waste management facilities are also a major cause of ill-health, particularly in unplanned urban areas. Northern Kenya is also characterised by a high prevalence of trachoma and diseases such as kalazar. Levels of HIV/AIDS infection in the north

⁸⁶ Source: Republic of Kenya, 2008: Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey, 2005-06

⁸⁴ World Bank, 2008: Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment, draft report

⁸⁵ Republic of Kenya, 2007: Kenya Vision 2030, page 93

⁸⁷ Naomi Kipuri and Andrew Ridgewell, 2008: A Double Bind: The Exclusion of Pastoralist Women in the East and Horn of Africa

are lower than the national level but thought to be rising. Risk factors include rural-urban migration, mobility, and congested refugee camps.

The health service infrastructure is particularly poor, with few and scattered health facilities staffed by inadequate numbers of personnel. Distances to referral facilities may be much longer, on poorer roads, than in other parts of the country. The average distance to a health facility in Northern Kenya is 52km, ten times further than the national target of 5km (Fig. 6).88

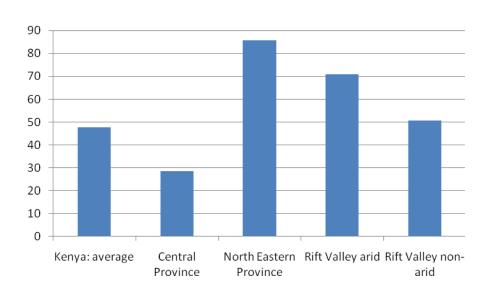


Fig. 6: Percentage living more than 5km from nearest health centre⁸⁹

At the time of an assessment by the APHIA II programme in North Eastern Province in late 2007, 49 of the province's 153 health facilities (32%) were closed due to lack of personnel. 90 This is an aspect of the health system where regional disparities are acute. For example, the doctorpatient ratio is six times higher in North Eastern Province (1:120,823) than in Central Province (1:20,715),⁹¹ and there are 13,551 people per health facility in North Eastern compared with 5,883 in Coast Province. Management systems do not support the retention of staff, many of whom are on donor-funded contracts or are posted to the region for only brief periods. Most

⁸⁸ UNICEF data

⁸⁹ Source: Republic of Kenya, 2008: Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey, 2005-06

⁹⁰ USAID, 2008: Report of Human Resources for Health (HRH) Rapid Assessment in North Eastern Province (NEP)

⁹¹ UNDP, 2006: Kenya National Human Development Report 2006: Human Security and Human Development: A Deliberate Choice

students in the health sector do their field work in rural health. Of the six Rural Health Training and Demonstration Centres (RHTDS) in Kenya, none are in the arid counties. This means that health workers trained in Kenya have inadequate exposure to working with pastoralist communities. Unsurprisingly, traditional community-based practices and institutions still play an important role in meeting people's health needs.

Challenges and opportunities

Innovation is a key challenge for health delivery systems, which must meet the needs of a mobile population dispersed over a large area with poor infrastructure. An urban-based health system requires complementary mechanisms which extend its services deep into rural areas. Financial models are another challenge: incentives are needed to attract both public and private health professionals and institutions to the region until such time as its infrastructure is improved. And until poverty levels fall, the role of private health care and private health insurance will be limited. Most people in the region access services almost exclusively from public health facilities.

The planned investment in the region's infrastructure will go some way to mitigating these challenges. In particular, the rapid adoption of new technologies opens the way to interventions such as telemedicine. AMREF already operates a pilot project in East Africa, which links hospitals in Mandera and Turkana and remote parts of Tanzania with its clinical services in Nairobi. There are experiences elsewhere in Africa from which to learn, including West Africa, South Africa, and the US Pentagon's Africa Command, which provide consultation, diagnostic and training services at a distance.

Investing in health extension will also improve access, as mobile health workers deliver basic preventive and curative care. The work of traditional health providers and their rich store of indigenous knowledge will also remain important, and an opportunity to integrate culturally specific knowledge about health and disease into health care systems.

Vision statement: Quality, accessible health care for all in the region

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- ♣ Introduce affirmative action to ensure the recruitment of health and nutrition trainees from Northern Kenya
- ♣ Develop and implement a Human Resources for Health policy for Northern Kenya
- Develop and implement a migrants' health policy
- Incorporate the role of traditional midwives within relevant policy frameworks

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Improve access to health care for all the population	 Map health facilities in the region Construct more health facilities using cost-effective and ecofriendly technologies Equip new and existing facilities with appropriate equipment and tools Develop a telemedicine programme for the region, which links referral hospitals with satellite health centres Develop a health insurance scheme appropriate to the region Expand mobile health services Train more community-based health personnel to expand community health services, and integrate these with community-based livestock health services where appropriate to do so Promote traditional medicine and the conservation of indigenous plants Protect and promote the rights of people with HIV/AIDS and people with disabilities
Increase the number and retention of health and nutrition professionals, particularly from the region	 Map human resources for health in the region Establish more Medical Training Colleges in the region Establish Rural Health Training and Demonstration Centres in the region Ensure the recruitment of adequate numbers of new health and nutrition personnel each year, and the replacement of those who have been transferred or lost to attrition, and develop an incentive programme to attract and retain them in the region Recruit and train more health and nutrition personnel from the region Build and maintain decent accommodation facilities for health and nutrition workers in the region

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Promote health education	 Expand culturally appropriate health education programmes, particularly on disease prevention, immunisation, nutrition, and HIV/AIDS and other priority diseases
Address issues that disproportionately affect the health, nutritional and social status of women and vulnerable groups	 Establish the UZIMA fund (Uzazi Initiative for safe Motherhood in Arid lands) to improve maternal and child health in the region Support programmes that address issues such as FGM, early marriage and gender violence Increase access to reproductive health services Subsidise health services for poor and vulnerable groups Ensure that the health, agriculture, livestock and education sectors fully incorporate nutrition considerations in their policies and programmes
Strengthen fleet management for upward/downward referral and transportation of medical supplies and equipment in the region	 Carry out an assessment of vehicles and other means of transport in the region Establish an appropriate fleet/transport management policy for efficient referral and movement of medical supplies and equipment Prepare a fleet maintenance plan which is workable in the context of the region (given poor roads and long distances to referral facilities) Provide air ambulance services
Improve public health in urban areas	 Identify sustainable technologies for water and sanitation provision in urban areas Integrate public health strategies in urban planning Provide water and sewage services to all well-established permanent settlements in the region Establish waste management projects Plan health interventions for informal peri-urban settlements

3. Population, urbanisation and housing





Distinctive features:

- Population growth rates are higher in arid counties than in the rest of Kenya, due to a higher fertility rate and in-migration from other areas.
- Urban areas are growing, partly due to people leaving the pastoral system, and are changing social values.
- ♣ Settlements have environmental consequences in pastoral areas, particularly where they affect the management of water or grazing.

Situation analysis

Population data from Northern Kenya has historically been unreliable. The last three census exercises, in 1989, 1999 and 2009, all took place during drought periods when pastoralists had moved across international borders. As a result, Garissa and Wajir registered negative population growth for the period 1979-1989, as did Turkana for the period 1969-1979. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics now includes nomadic households in its sampling, but the timing and management of the census may still prevent pastoralists from exercising their right to be counted.

Urban centres in Northern Kenya are increasing in number and size but in an unplanned way. Population growth rates are generally higher in towns than in the rangelands. The populations of the older settlements have grown beyond the capacity of their infrastructure to support them, with the result that housing is inadequate and at times unaffordable, and public health facilities very poor. Social and economic ties between urban and rural residents remain strong, with constant movement between the two. Much of the housing in urban areas is of a semi-permanent nature.

⁹² Republic of Kenya, 1992: Development Policy for the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

The drivers of urban growth differ across the region. In North Eastern Province, for example, most growth is coming from within the province, while in the north and south of the Rift Valley it is also linked to in-migration.

A more recent phenomenon in many parts of the north is that the sub-division of administrative units has been used to assert identity or secure access to political resources, particularly by minority clans. Services and facilities, particularly permanent water, spring up around the new centres. These disrupt traditional patterns of wet season and dry season grazing, increase localised degradation, and heighten the risk of conflict between clans (because the appointment of a chief from one clan may be perceived as *de facto* extending the control of that clan over the surrounding grazing area). The number of settlements in Wajir, for example, increased from 45 in 1996 to 71 in 2002, an increase of over 50% in a little over five years. ⁹³ In the Southern Rangelands, the concentration of settlements has also disturbed wildlife migratory patterns. In one area adjacent to the Mara National Reserve, the number of bomas increased from 44 in 1950 to 368 in 2003, and the number of huts from 44 to 2,735. ⁹⁴

A significant proportion of the poverty in pastoral areas is concentrated around settlements, particularly among those who have lost livestock due to drought or conflict. Research in six sites of Northern Kenya showed that those groups which earned a lower proportion of their income from pastoral products (milk and meat) generally contained a higher percentage of poor people. The two most mobile groups, for whom pastoral income made up 72% and 63% of their income respectively, had poverty levels of 13% and 23% respectively. The three least mobile groups, for whom pastoral income made up less than 50% of their income, had poverty levels of between 63% and 73%.

_

⁹³ Robert Walker and Hassan G. Omar, 2002: *Pastoralists Under Pressure: The Politics of Sedentarisation and Marginalisation in Northeast Kenya*, Oxfam GB

⁹⁴ http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-7998.2008.00536.x/abstract, accessed 29 May 2011

⁹⁵ Calculated as the proportion earning less than the casual wage labour rate, and based on three components: cash income, the subsistence value of milk and meat consumed, and the value of herd reproduction.

⁹⁶ Peter Little et al, 2008: 'Challenging Orthodoxies: Understanding Poverty in Pastoral Areas of East Africa', *Development and Change*, 39:4, 587-611

Challenges and opportunities

A growing and increasingly urbanising population will place additional pressures on the environment and natural resource base, particularly for energy, water and sanitation. Housing technologies will need to be appropriate to the environment and take into account the likely impacts of climate change. Urbanisation may also bring with it less tangible challenges, such as changes in social values and behaviours. In-migration by Kenyans from other areas may be both a challenge (competition for resources) and an opportunity (for social integration).

Strategic and well-planned urbanisation, particularly when well-dispersed, is one of the measures through which people can escape chronic poverty. 97 Urban settings act as a motor for economic growth and the formation of social movements, expanding opportunities for women in a less socially conservative environment. In arid areas they also act as an escape valve for pastoralism, maintaining a healthy balance between population numbers and environment.

Urban development must proceed in tandem with rural development, so that the important social and economic interactions between the two are enhanced, and so that urban centres do not drain skills and resources from rural areas. Enforced urbanisation as a result of drought or conflict brings particular risks: weight-for-age and morbidity levels among sedentarised children in the north are often higher than among nomadic children because of reduced access to milk and a more congested environment.⁹⁸

A planned process of urbanisation will be helped by the availability of land and building materials in the region. Increased investment and interest in the north, through trade, tourism and improved infrastructure, will expand the demand for housing.

⁹⁷ Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2008: The Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09: Escaping Poverty Traps

⁹⁸ Elliott Fratkin et al, 2006: Is Settling Good for Pastoralists? The Effects of Pastoral Sedentarization on Children's Nutrition, Growth, and Health Among Rendille and Ariaal of Marsabit District, Northern Kenya, presented at ILRI workshop on Pastoralism and Poverty Reduction in East Africa, 27-28 June 2006

Vision statement: Adequate, appropriate and affordable housing in a sustainable environment

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

Strengthen the capacity of counties to enforce planning laws

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Improve systems and methods of demographic data collection and analysis, particularly with respect to mobile households	See Foundations: Public Sector Reforms
Draw up strategic development plans for all urban areas, which meet the housing, employment and service needs of urban populations, provide sustainable economic opportunities for their surrounding rural areas, while also protecting the grazing and water rights of pastoralists	 Plan for increased service provision in urban areas in line with demographic and economic trends Ensure that urban services are well coordinated (housing, energy, water and sanitation) Promote affordable housing schemes in urban areas of Northern Kenya through partnerships with both large and small-scale providers (such as women and youth groups) Encourage availability of low-cost mortgages
Encourage the use of local content and low-cost, eco-friendly technologies in construction	 Research building construction suitable for the region Set up housing technology centres to advise on low-cost and eco-friendly approaches

4. Gender, youth and vulnerable groups







Distinctive features:

- Poverty levels in the ASALs are high and rising.
- In many communities the status of women and girls is subordinate to that of men and boys, but it is also changing with urbanisation and education.
- Young people in pastoral communities have an upbringing and role which is distinct from that of other communities in Kenya.

Situation analysis

There are high levels of poverty in parts of Northern Kenya relative to the national level. Research in Turkana in 2005, for example, revealed that half the population could see their livelihoods improve by 1000% and still fail to reach the poverty threshold. Research in Mandera in 2007 found that the annual cost of a minimal balanced diet was in some places four times the income of very poor households. This inter-regional inequality is compounded by significant intra-regional inequalities, particularly with respect to gender, age and caste, which thus impose a double burden on the groups in question.

Most pastoral societies are highly differentiated along gender and generational lines. Key assets and resources, such as land, livestock, water and cash, are generally controlled by older men rather than by women or youth, reflecting the subordinate position of women in society and the cultural limitations placed on their public roles. Men's control over these assets obscures the important role that women play in areas such as livestock production and agriculture; several NGO-supported community-based animal health care programmes have learned that there is greater benefit in training women animal health workers than men, because of their closer interaction with livestock and their ability to pass on their skills.

⁹⁹ Oxfam GB, 20006: Household Economy Assessment of North East Turkana

¹⁰⁰ Save the Children UK, 2007: Vulnerability and Dependency in Four Livelihood Zones in North Eastern Province, Kenya

The demands of livestock production and certain cultural practices impede the education and career development of both boys and girls. The constraints on girls' and women's education are evident in the discrepancy between men's and women's literacy rates (Fig. 7); literacy rates in Northern Kenya as a whole are low, but those for women are even lower, illustrating the 'double bind' that women experience on account of both their gender and their social group. ¹⁰¹ For every literate woman in Mandera there are five literate men. ¹⁰²

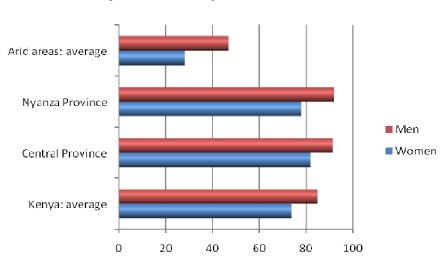


Fig. 7: Adult literacy: women and men¹⁰³

Gender roles are changing under the impact of urbanisation and commercialisation. The latter in particular may reduce women's control over resources they previously managed, such as dairy production. The welfare of women and girls is also directly threatened by environmental problems, which increase the pressures of providing for the household, particularly water and fuel-wood collection.

Urbanised young people may have different values and aspirations from their rural age-mates and in theory greater social freedoms, but their economic options are limited. With few opportunities for work or training they are vulnerable to being drawn into conflict and anti-

96

¹⁰¹ Naomi Kipuri and Andrew Ridgewell, 2008: A Double Bind: The Exclusion of Pastoralist Women in the East and Horn of Africa

¹⁰² Republic of Kenya, 2008: Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey, 2005-06

¹⁰³ Ibid

social behaviours. One feature of pastoral social systems is an age-grade system in which ageing is traditionally associated with increasing political authority. The implications of this, and its impact on young people, are not currently addressed within national policies.

Lower-caste groups and minority clans find it difficult to exercise influence within a social system that is dominated by majority clans. Growing economic differentiation is also affecting clan and age-grade systems as a propertied elite becomes more powerful. In the Southern Rangelands some of those able to exercise influence by virtue of their education or contacts may undermine the customary authority of elders over rangeland resources.

Some of the very poorest people in the region are those who are no longer engaged in the pastoral economy and rely on wage labour or petty trade. Most communities have social protection systems to care for the vulnerable, although these are coming under greater pressure. The disabled and those with HIV/AIDS still face high levels of stigma.

Challenges and opportunities

HIV/AIDS is likely to become more of a threat, particularly for the young, as contact between the north and the rest of the country deepens. The positive qualities of traditional institutions can be harnessed to mobilise young people's engagement with social issues.

There is a strong tradition of women's social organisation in the ASALs. These networks provide invaluable social assistance to their members and platforms for economic and social development, such as savings and credit schemes or adult literacy programmes. Various formal social protection mechanisms also exist, including free primary and free day secondary education, education bursaries, and cash transfers, such as the Hunger Safety Net Programme.

Pastoral systems customarily seek to meet the collective interests of the wider community. As such, there may be a dissonance with the need to protect and promote individual rights, particularly with regard to women's rights.

Vision statement: Equal opportunities for all

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- ♣ Develop time-bound affirmative action programmes that equalise opportunities across gender, age, and geographical area
- ♣ Integrate the particular needs and circumstances of pastoralist youth within national youth policies and strategies and social sector planning

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Expand social protection programmes and draw on this experience to inform the design of national social protection policies and strategies	 Scale up the Hunger Safety Net Programme into its second phase Wherever possible, complement and build on the social protection networks that exist within communities
Use the education system to reduce social inequalities within the region	 Carry out awareness campaigns on the importance of education and enforce free primary education once appropriate delivery models have been developed Support the education of children with special needs
Expand economic and social opportunities for women	 Understand women's level of influence and control over assets and resources Encourage income-generating activities that strengthen women's socio-economic position Support and publicise micro-finance facilities for women's enterprise and make them more accessible Expand adult literacy programmes and ensure that women can access these easily Support campaigns against gender violence Mainstream gender strategies within all policies and programmes
Expand economic and social opportunities for young people	 Ensure that bursaries for post-primary education benefit the poorest households Enhance job creation and mechanisms to alert young people to training and employment opportunities Train young people in critical skills such as writing proposals and reports and preparing and monitoring budgets Provide sporting and cultural facilities for young people Revitalise vocational institutions in the region that

Strategies	Examples of interventions	
	provide a variety of skills and link them with apprenticeship schemes • Support and publicise micro-finance programmes for young people's enterprise and make them more accessible • Identify, encourage and foster sporting talent	

Political Pillar

Overview

'Kenya will be a state in which equality is entrenched, irrespective of one's race, ethnicity, religion, gender or socio-economic status; a nation that not only respects but also harnesses the diversity of its people's values, traditions and aspirations for the benefit of all. The Vision aims to move all Kenyans to the future as one nation.'

Republic of Kenya, 2007: Kenya Vision 2030, page 130 This statement is one which has huge resonance for the people of Northern Kenya. Their sense of identity as Kenyans has been challenged by a shared history of marginalisation and neglect and by a feeling that their way of life did not enjoy the same recognition and respect as that of other Kenyans. The physical isolation created by distance and poor infrastructure has reinforced this sense of separation and 'otherness'.

The ongoing reform process in Kenya, symbolised by the country's new Constitution, provides an opportunity to address historical injustices and bring to an end the frontier mentality which has shaped attitudes both within and towards the north.

The north has tended to be seen solely through the lens of its relationship with the centre of the Kenyan state, which inevitably casts it as a peripheral region. But when seen in a wider geographical context, it lies at the heart of a thriving regional network of commercial and cultural ties. As such, principles of tolerance and peaceful co-existence are important both within Kenya and across its borders.

1. Governance and the rule of law



Distinctive features:

- Formal and customary systems of justice co-exist in Northern Kenya.
- The clan system dominates governance and decision-making.

Situation analysis

In common with other parts of rural Kenya, the people of Northern Kenya are governed by both formal and customary systems of justice, but their access to justice is undermined by several factors.

First, the capacity of the formal justice system, both the police and the court system, is low. While the number of police per capita may technically meet international standards, the nature of their working environment means that they are over-stretched. Arbitrary arrests and political interference in law enforcement are common. Officials and citizens have limited awareness of the written law, a situation which is exacerbated by the region's poor communications infrastructure.

The arid counties are served by only a scattering of courts in the county capitals. Of the 111 Magistrates Courts in Kenya, ten are in arid counties. Of the 15 High Courts, none are in the north. The region's size and poor infrastructure makes the cost of reaching the nearest court prohibitive. Central Province has ten times the number of courts as North Eastern Province, with the result that the number of people per court in North Eastern (481,072) is more than 2.5 times the number in Central (186,208). These physical barriers to justice matter for all residents but particularly for women, for whom long journeys away from home may be more difficult. They also matter for the growing numbers of people in towns who are further removed from the traditional system. Very low literacy levels makes navigation of the legal system a daunting prospect for many.

¹⁰⁴ Society for International Development, 2004: Pulling Apart: Facts and Figures on Inequality in Kenya

Second, concepts of justice applied in the formal system and those held by society do not fully resonate with each other. For example, livestock raids against other communities may be a crime in law but are not necessarily perceived as such by those involved. There is also a dissonance between individual responsibility under modern law and collective responsibility under systems of customary law. The co-existence of different concepts of justice is not peculiar to Northern Kenya, but the region is unusual in the extent to which it has experimented with hybrid systems, whereby elders and the state work together to manage conflict.

Some features of the environment in Northern Kenya have implications for administrative and political representation. Smaller units of administration may reinforce the position of majority clans versus minority clans, and may undermine the mobility of pastoralists through the proliferation of settlements and boreholes. The electoral system, which requires voting on a single day in a fixed place, does not accommodate the challenge of a dispersed and mobile population. Modern systems of voting, with their emphasis on the rights of the individual, run counter to cultural practices whereby decisions about candidates are taken by elders. This is particularly true for women, for whom lobbying of clan members may be culturally unacceptable. Women are poorly represented in all leadership positions, partly due to cultural attitudes that endow men with natural leadership qualities. They report difficulties in being taken seriously as public leaders by both male and female voters, as well as a lack of the resources needed to campaign. ¹⁰⁶

Fulfilment of the rights articulated in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, will address many of the lingering injustices and differential treatment still experienced by citizens in Northern Kenya. These include difficulties in securing identity documents, including being subject to a vetting system which is regarded as discriminatory, and outdated laws and administrative regulations,

_

¹⁰⁵ Tanja Chopra, 2008: 'Reconciling Society and the Judiciary in Northern Kenya, Legal Resources Foundation Trust

¹⁰⁶ Tanja Chopra, 2008: *The Illusion of Inclusion: Women's Access to Rights in Northern Kenya*, Legal Resources Foundation Trust

including the 1933 Stock Theft and Produce Act and the 1970 Indemnity Act. Other laws which have since been removed from the statute books, such as the Vagrancy Act, are still applied.

Challenges and opportunities

The barriers to effective governance in Northern Kenya are physical, social and cultural. First, poor infrastructure over a large area slows down the reporting and detection of crime, increases the costs of securing justice, and limits access to information, leaving citizens vulnerable to misinformation and exploitation. Second, there are inadequate numbers of officers working within the judicial and administrative systems. Third, there are high levels of illiteracy, particularly among women, and limited understanding of the written law. Fourth, there are cultural barriers to justice, particularly for women, lower castes and minority clans. Finally, regional instability undermines the rights of Kenyan citizens pursuing legitimate cross-border activities.

There are also opportunities on which to build. First and foremost is the new Constitution, implementation of which will deliver justice and accountable governance for all Kenyans, including the people of Northern Kenya and other arid lands. Several institutions are tasked with taking forward the reform agenda in Kenya, including the National Cohesion and Integration Commission. Second, important social changes are taking place, such as a gradual shift in women's expectations and public profile, and a growing intolerance of inter-communal conflict and livestock theft. Third, traditional systems of conflict management and governance across Northern Kenya remain strong. There are also positive examples of formal and customary systems of governance forging an accommodation with each other, from the peace committees in many areas to the community elders' courts in Turkana, which also involve women and youth, and which have been trained to apply the principles of the rule of law.¹⁰⁷

 $^{^{107}}$ Connie Ngondi-Houghton, 2006: Access to Justice and the Rule of Law in Kenya: A Paper Developed for the Commission for the Empowerment of the Poor

Vision statement: Adherence to the rule of law in a human rights-respecting state

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

- A Provide full support to the process of implementing the Constitution of Kenya, 2010
- ♣ Develop policy frameworks to govern cross-border engagement
- Ensure that appropriate institutional mechanisms are in place to manage the benefits and risks of mining
- * Ensure that law enforcement agents in the north wear the same uniforms and follow the same mandate as those in the rest of Kenya
- Ensure that there is no discrimination in the processes through which personal documentation is issued to Kenyans

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Increase the presence of the formal justice system and strengthen law enforcement	 Increase the number of courts of all kinds (such as high courts, magistrates courts, family courts, and mobile courts) and make their distribution more equitable Increase the number of law enforcement agents and equip them adequately
Increase general awareness of the formal justice system and the content of the law	 Train law enforcement agents on the content of the law Carry out media and civic education programmes Support more paralegals Expand adult literacy programmes
Reconcile traditional and modern systems of authority and governance	 Promote an understanding of human rights within customary systems of governance and dispute resolution Train all public servants to understand the clan system, common property management and the importance of mobility Set minimum qualifications for civic leadership appropriate to the region Promote adherence to the code of conduct for public servants
Increase the number of women in leadership and law enforcement roles	 Introduce affirmative action programmes to enhance women's civic leadership Deploy more female officials to address issues that affect women, particularly gender-based violence
Reconcile the electoral system and administrative boundaries	Develop practical solutions to electoral challenges, such as

Strategies	Examples of interventions
with the realities of arid and pastoral areas	staggered election days, the use of technology, or the introduction of mobile polling stations
Inculcate a culture of respect for the sanctity of human life, for co- existence, and for the diversity of people's values, traditions and aspirations	Cross-cutting strategy to be considered in all policies and programmes

2. Devolution





Distinctive features:

- Northern Kenya has a comparatively limited pool of skills and experience from which to draw in the administration of devolved governance.
- Administrative boundaries have an impact on natural resource management and social relations.

Situation analysis

The administration of governance at the local level is set to change radically with the advent of devolution in Kenya. Of the 47 new counties, 23 are in Northern Kenya and other arid lands.

Significant financial resources have already been devolved to the local level through a variety of schemes (Table 6). However, there has often been poor accountability in the use of these funds. In a survey conducted in eight districts in 2006, no more than 15% of respondents rated accountability as good, with the exception of free primary education which was rated by 53% of respondents as good. Accountability mechanisms and controls are arguably harder to institutionalise in the north, where levels of literacy, local participation in decision-making, and citizens' awareness of their rights are comparatively weaker.

Table 6: Some decentralised funds in Kenya

Fund	Date established	Administered by
1. Secondary School Education Bursary Fund	1993	Constituency Bursary Committees
2. Roads Maintenance Levy Fund	1993	Kenya Roads Board
3. Rural Electrification Programme Levy Fund	1998	Multi-agency institutional framework
4. Local Authority Transfer Fund	1999	Local Authorities
5. HIV/AIDS Fund	1999	National Aids Control Council
6. Constituency Development Fund	2003	National and local-level committees
7. Free Primary Education	2003	School committees

_

 $^{^{108}}$ KIPPRA, 2006: Baseline Survey Report on Decentralized Funds in Kenya, KIPPRA Special Report No. 12, December 2006

Challenges and opportunities

Decentralisation has already had an impact at the local level. Mechanisms such as the Community Development Fund and the Local Authority Transfer Fund have guaranteed the availability of significant finance in areas where resources were previously limited. Devolution will now bring services closer to people. In theory it will allow a greater degree of self-determination, as county governments plan and legislate in response to local needs and concerns. For an area such as Northern Kenya, which requires policy solutions tailored to its unique ecological and social realities, this is a major opportunity.

Northern Kenya will face particular challenges in managing devolved governance. First, the division of administrative units in arid areas must protect mobility, facilitate the cross-boundary sharing of resources, and take account of multiple clans. Second, the practice of politics in the region is still strongly clan-based rather than issue-based. This tends to marginalise minority clans and women and sits uneasily with the democratic principle of an individual's right to choose. Third, county institutions will have a more limited pool of technical expertise and bureaucratic experience from which to draw, given the under-investment in the social and physical infrastructure of Northern Kenya. They will require additional support if they are to function at par with other counties and successfully fulfil their obligations to their citizens.

Vision statement:

Democratic decentralised decision-making and equitable distribution of resources that takes account of local needs and priorities

Policy, legal and institutional reforms

• Introduce a Planning Act that provides a framework for the strategies outline below.

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Harmonise and rationalise planning and resource allocation at county level	 Draw up a single development plan for each county against which all resources are harmonised, from whatever source (devolved funds, line ministries, local authorities, donors, NGOs) Encourage coordination and networking across sectors to achieve economies of scale
Strengthen local capacity to manage all devolved decision-making and resources	 Provide additional capacity to devolved institutions in arid counties Encourage participation by customary institutions, women, youth and religious institutions in county planning and resource allocation processes Encourage devolved structures to draw on indigenous technical knowledge, for example in managing drought, natural resources and conflict, and give this legal recognition Support civic education programmes on devolution, for example through more independent FM radio stations Expand access to technical and higher education in the region (see Social Pillar)

3. Attitudinal change





Distinctive features:

- Northern Kenya has a history of marginalisation and differential treatment, the legacy of which is still felt today.
- * There are deep-rooted negative attitudes and perceptions by those in other parts of Kenya towards the north, and vice versa.
- Lack of investment in infrastructure and services reinforces negative attitudes, and vice versa.
- Long distances and poor infrastructure make social organisation and communication difficult.

Situation analysis

For many Kenyans, the north of their country is a primitive, unfamiliar, even threatening, place. They see it as a hardship area: remote, insecure, hostile, hot, and resistant to change. For many others in the north, the south is an equally distant country. They talk of 'going to Kenya' when travelling south of Kitale, Isiolo or Garissa. Marginalisation is experienced in psychological as well as material ways – in a feeling of inferiority or an expectation of unfair treatment – which undermines individual confidence, agency and self-worth.

This separation between north and south is a product of the evolution of the Kenyan state. The settler economy developed along the line of rail, which facilitated the extraction of agricultural resources into world markets. 'High potential' was understood in agro-ecological terms, and investment was directed in line with that understanding on the assumption that the benefits would trickle down to less-favoured areas. To this day, the economy remains concentrated on a relatively narrow geographical and productive base, which frames decisions about policy and resource allocation, and which obscures the potential which the rest of the country has to offer.

Pastoralists in particular have to deal with an additional set of assumptions and prejudices. These include the belief that their way of life is in some way incompatible with 'modernity': that they pursue a lifestyle which is primitive and in decline, that they are responsible for overgrazing and desertification, that their rangelands are less productive than land which is

privately owned, and that if they would just settle down all would be well. All these biases have been disproved by research, which has shown that extensive pastoralism is often more productive than ranching under similar climatic and environmental conditions, that access to rangelands is far from a free-for-all but rather carefully controlled by customary institutions, and that it is settlement and restrictions on livestock mobility that cause degradation. Mobility is no longer regarded as an aberration, but as a sophisticated, rational and completely normal response to environmental conditions. In the so-called modern economies of Europe, pastoralism has even undergone a revival in recent years. However, while the theoretical understanding has shifted, underlying attitudes and perceptions have been slower to change.

Clichés and iconic images reinforce the stereotypes. Terms such as 'cattle raiding' fail to reflect the level of violence involved, and imply a normalisation of conflict which would be unacceptable elsewhere in the country. The iconic image of the Maasai moran is commercially exploited in both domestic and international markets to promote the most modern of products (such as mobile telephony or air travel), when those same cultural symbols worn by the real-life human being are interpreted as a rejection of modernity.

Challenges and opportunities

The attitudes and assumptions outlined above are deeply ingrained and will not change without a concerted, multi-pronged strategy that engages Kenyans in both north and south, and both pastoralists and non-pastoralists. The post-election violence laid bare the rifts and divisions in Kenyan society. Social cohesion is therefore high on the national agenda, with new institutions tasked with addressing historical injustices and building reconciliation between communities.

A strategy of attitudinal change can build on the growing interaction between communities, traders and civil servants, and on the expansion of education in the north. Kenya's vibrant media and entertainment industries could be engaged as partners. A major challenge will be how to evaluate whether and why social attitudes are changing.

Vision statement: One Kenya

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Facilitate exchange programmes between change agents and role models in Northern Kenya and other parts of the country	 Encourage twinning programmes between institutions such as schools, universities, constituencies and local councils Facilitate exchanges between groups of producers, processors and traders, and women and youth groups Research the idea of a volunteer programme in Kenya Organise visits to the north by decision-makers and opinion-formers, such as cabinet ministers, senior policy-makers, and journalists
Draw on culture, arts and heritage to promote social interaction, tolerance and understanding	 Help groups in Northern Kenya record and celebrate their histories and cultures, and make these required national reading Facilitate the communication and marketing of cultures and crafts from the north in other parts of Kenya Create a fund to support writers or documentary makers committed to constructive social change
Ensure that affirmative action programmes strengthen social cohesion	 Ensure that all affirmative action programmes are based on objective criteria that can be monitored, and build in systems of review and ultimate phase-out Review systems of school selection and categorisation to ensure that these enhance social cohesion
Use every opportunity to integrate the specific perspective and experience of the north into national processes, such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission, and Brand Kenya	 Help groups from the north make submissions to national commissions, particularly to seek closure on historical injustices Support representative mechanisms for advocacy by pastoralists

Strategies	Examples of interventions
Use evidence, experience and role models to challenge stereotypes and biases	 Document positive stories from the north, such as the success of peace building in North Eastern Province and of community-based natural resource management systems, and celebrate these as examples of national achievement Identify and celebrate champions from the north, such as sports people and poets

Delivering the Strategy

This document has outlined an agenda for change in Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. It will be operationalised through a series of costed five-year Medium Term Investment Plans (MTIP), the first of which is in preparation in 2011. Implementation of this strategy will ensure that the people of the arid and semi-arid lands benefit from the promise of Vision 2030 and enjoy their rights as full citizens, articulated in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

The commitments in this document and in successive MTIPs will be planned, monitored and coordinated through a series of ASAL Transformation Structures. There are several reasons why a strong coordinating framework for the region's development is required. First, the business of Government and that of its development partners is generally organised around sectors. Hence, any institution with a geographical mandate must find a mechanism to reconcile its work with this sector-based structure.

Second, the very nature of the arid lands makes strong coordination particularly important. These are areas where precious resources must be stretched across large distances with poor infrastructure, where the cost of doing business is consequently much higher, and where weak coordination can have critical consequences for the environment. Third, most counties with the highest levels of poverty are in the arid lands, where there is still significant inequality in human development outcomes. Only a concerted and collaborative effort by all organisations of goodwill can reverse this depth of under-development.

Fourth, while the arid lands face many challenges, there is growing recognition that they have significant but untapped potential. The region has a major comparative advantage in livestock, tourism, and renewable energy, and in its strategic location as the bridgehead to new markets beyond Kenya's northern border. Accelerated and well-coordinated public sector investment in the essential foundations for development – such as roads, energy, water, education, and ICTs

 will leverage private sector investment and thus maximise the potential of the ASALs for the economy as a whole.

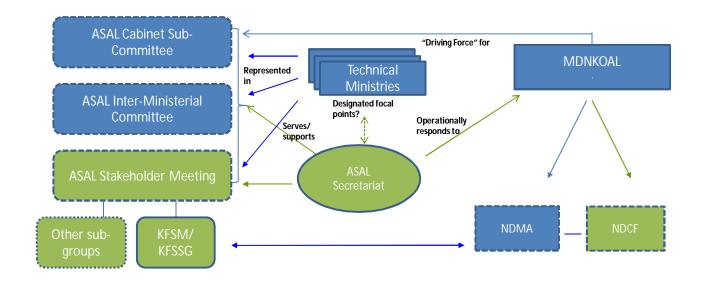
Finally, the Government has recognised for some while that the ASALs need more focused and nuanced policy attention. The impact of previous ASAL initiatives has been less than might have been hoped, largely because they lacked an appropriate institutional framework to ensure that multi-sectoral commitments were followed through.

Given the above, the Government and its partners are proposing the establishment of the following ASAL Transformation Structures:

- An ASAL Cabinet Sub-Committee, which will provide high-level policy direction and political support to ASAL development.
- An ASAL Inter-Ministerial Committee, which will provide leadership across key sector Ministries.
- An ASAL Stakeholders Forum, which will bring together Government, the private sector, development partners and civil society organisations to share best practice and inform policy and programme development.
- An ASAL Transformation Secretariat, which will provide technical and administrative support to the above structures, and champion ASAL development within Government.

In addition, a number of public and private sector institutions to support the long-term development of the region are in development. These include a National Drought Management Authority and National Drought Contingency Fund, a National Commission on Nomadic Education, a Northern Kenya Education Trust, a Northern Kenya Investment Fund, and a Livestock Marketing Board. An outline of the institutional framework is shown in Fig. 8.

Fig. 8: Proposed institutional framework for ASAL Development



Legend

Blue (dark): GOK only

Green (light): Multi-stakeholder - GOK, development partners, private sector, civil society

NDMA: National Drought Management Authority NDCF: National Drought Contingency Fund

KFSM/KFSSG: Kenya Food Security Meeting/Kenya Food Security Steering Group

Dashed lines: proposed institutions, not yet formed

References

Alive, n/d: Community-based Drought Management for the Pastoral Livestock Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa, Policy Options Paper

Anderson, S. with Habtu, Y., 2006: Market-Led Livelihoods for Vulnerable Populations

Arid Lands Resource Management Project II, 2006: Baseline Survey

ASARECA, 2009: NRM and Biodiversity Conservation in the Drylands of Eastern and Central Africa

Babagana, A. and Leyland, T., 2008: 'Meat and Milk: Developing Countries and the Livestock Trade', *ID21 Insights*, 72, February 2008, Institute of Development Studies (IDS)

Barrow, E. and Mogaka, H., 2007: *Kenya's Drylands – Wastelands or an Undervalued National Economic Resource*, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

Chopra, T., 2008: *Reconciling Society and the Judiciary in Northern Kenya*, Legal Resources Foundation Trust

Chopra, T., 2008: *The Illusion of Inclusion: Women's Access to Rights in Northern Kenya*, Legal Resources Foundation Trust

CPRC, 2008: *The Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09: Escaping Poverty Traps*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC)

CPRC, 2002: *Chronic Poverty and Remote Rural Areas*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) Working Paper No. 13

COMESA, 2009: Hidden Value on the Hoof: Cross-Border Livestock Trade in Eastern Africa, Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) Policy Brief No. 2

COMESA, 2008: Regional Livestock and Pastoralism Policy Training: Livestock, Trade and Economics, Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)

Davies, J., 2007: *Total Economic Valuation of Kenyan Pastoralism*, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

Delgado, C. et al, 1999: *Livestock to 2020: The Next Food Revolution*, Food, Agriculture and the Environment Discussion Paper 28

Dercon, S. et al, 2007: *The Impact of Roads and Agricultural Extension on Consumption Growth and Poverty in Fifteen Ethiopian Villages,* Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE) WPS/2007-01

Farah, K.O. et al, 1996: The Management and Development of the Arid Communal Rangelands in North-Eastern Kenya: A Critical Analysis of the Past and Present, The African Pastoral Forum Working Paper Series No. 7

Fratkin, E. et al, 2006: Is Settling Good for Pastoralists? The Effects of Pastoral Sedentarization on Children's Nutrition, Growth and Health Among Rendille and Ariaal of Marsabit District, Northern Kenya, presented at ILRI workshop on Pastoralism and Poverty Reduction in East Africa, 27-28 June 2006

Grant, U., 2005: *Health and Poverty Linkages: Perspectives of the Chronically Poor*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) Background Paper

Hazell, P., 2001: *Strategies for the Sustainable Development of Drylands Areas*, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

ILO, 1999: Report for Discussion at the Tripartite Meeting on Social and Labour Issues in Small-scale Mines, International Labour Organization (ILO)

ILRI, 2009: Project Summary: Index Based Livestock Insurance for Northern Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands: The Marsabit Pilot

ILRI, 2006: Pastoralism: The Surest Way out of Poverty in East African Drylands

ILRI, 2006: Pastoralism and Poverty Reduction in East Africa: A Policy Research Conference, proceedings, 27-28 June 2006

IPAR, 2002: How Public Policy Can Improve the Situation of Kenyan Pastoralists, Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR) Policy Brief 8.3

Kabeer, N., 2006: Social Exclusion and the MDGs: The Challenge of 'Durable Inequalities' in the Asian Context

KIE, 2009: Report on Economic Profiling of Northern Kenya, Kenya Industrial Estates

KIPPRA, 2006: Baseline Survey Report on Decentralized Funds in Kenya, Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) Special Report No. 12

Kipuri, N. and Ridgewell, A., 2008: A Double Bind: The Exclusion of Pastoralist Women in the East and Horn of Africa, Minority Rights Group International

Little, P. et al, 2008: 'Challenging Orthodoxies: Understanding Poverty in Pastoral Areas of East Africa', *Development and Change*, 39:4, 587-611

McPeak, J., 2005: 'Individual and Collective Rationality in Pastoral Production: Evidence from Northern Kenya', *Human Ecology*, 33:2, April 2005

Narayan, D. and Petesch, P., 2007: Moving Out of Poverty, World Bank

Nassef, M., Anderson, S. and Hesse, C., 2009: *Pastoralism and Climate Change: Enabling Adaptive Capacity*, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) Working Paper

Ngondi-Houghton, C., 2006: Access to Justice and the Rule of Law in Kenya: A Paper Developed for the Commission for the Empowerment of the Poor

Oxfam GB, 2006: Household Economy Assessment of North East Turkana

Pkalya, D. et al, 2003: *Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict Victims in Northern Kenya*, Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) [now Practical Action]

Republic of Kenya, 2011: Draft Sessional Paper on the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Republic of Kenya, 2011: Draft National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

Republic of Kenya, 2010: Kenya Population and Housing Census, 2009

Republic of Kenya, 2010: Millennium Development Goals: Status Report for Kenya - 2009

Republic of Kenya, 2009: District Development Plans 2008-2012

Republic of Kenya, 2008: Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey, 2005-06

Republic of Kenya, 2008: Well-Being in Kenya: A Socio-Economic Profile, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

Republic of Kenya, 2008: *Constituency Report on Well-Being in Kenya*, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

Republic of Kenya, 2008: Millennium Development Goals: Status Report for Kenya - 2007

Republic of Kenya, 2008: A Summary of Key Investment Opportunities in Kenya, Macro-Planning Directorate, Office of the Prime Minister

Republic of Kenya, 2008: Statistical Abstract, 2008

Republic of Kenya: District Development Reports, 2002-2008

Republic of Kenya, 2007: Kenya Vision 2030

Republic of Kenya, 2005: Reversing the Trend: The Second National Health Sector Strategic Plan, 2005-2010

Republic of Kenya, 2004: Kenya's Health Sector Policy Framework, 1994-2010

Republic of Kenya, 2001: Pastoralist Thematic Group on Poverty Reduction

Republic of Kenya, 1965: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya

ReSAKSS, 2008: Investment Opportunities for Livestock in the North Eastern Province of Kenya: A Synthesis of Existing Knowledge

Rodriguez, L., 2008: A Global Perspective on the Total Economic Value of Pastoralism: Global Synthesis Report Based on Six Country Valuations, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

SCF UK, 2007: Vulnerability and Dependency in Four Livelihood Zones in North Eastern Province, Kenya, Save the Children Fund (SCF) UK

SNV, 2008: Process Report on the National Conference on Public Private Partnership in the Development and Management of Livestock Marketing in the ASALs, held at Silver Springs Hotel, Nairobi, 18 November 2008

Society for International Development, 2004: Pulling Apart: Facts and Figures on Inequality in Kenya

Southgate, C., 2006: 'Ecotourism in Kenya: The Vulnerability of Communities', *Journal of Ecotourism*, 5:1-2

Tanner, T. and Mitchell, T., 2008: 'Entrenchment or Enhancement: Could Climate Change Adaptation Help to Reduce Chronic Poverty?' *IDS Bulletin*, 39.4, September 2008

UNDP, 2006: Kenya National Human Development Report 2006: Human Security and Human Development: A Deliberate Choice

USAID, 2008: Report of Human Resources for Health (HRH) Rapid Assessment in North Eastern Province (NEP) Kenya

Walker, R. and Omar, H.G., 2002: *Pastoralists Under Pressure: The Politics of Sedentarisation and Marginalisation in Northeast Kenya*, Oxfam GB

Watson, D.J. and van Binsbergen, J., 2008: *Livelihood Diversification Opportunities for Pastoralists in Turkana, Kenya*, International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)

WISP, 2008: Policies that Work for Pastoral Environments: A Six-Country Review of Positive Policy Impacts on Pastoral Environments, World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

World Bank, 2008: Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment, draft report

Young, J., Kajume, J. and Wanyama, J., 2003: *Animal Health Care in Kenya: The Road to Community-based Animal Health Service Delivery*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI) Working Paper 214