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Social protection in pastoral areas

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Preface

This publication forms one of a series of six reports prepared under the ECHO-funded project on 'Reducing the vulnerability of pastoral communities through policy and practice change in the Horn and East Africa'. The aim of the project is to raise awareness among planners and policymakers about the full potential of pastoral systems to make a significant contribution to the economies of the region. Each of the six reports presents evidence-based research findings to overcome misconceptions and misunderstandings regarding particular aspects of pastoral livelihoods, and highlights appropriate policy recommendations that favour pastoralist systems. The reports present evidence to help inform thinking in order that policymakers can keep abreast of new opportunities and threats in the rangelands.

Understanding pastoralism and its future is the subject of fierce debate. The term 'pastoralism' is used to describe societies that derive some, but not necessarily the majority, of their food and income from livestock. For many decades, governments regarded pastoralism as 'backward', economically inefficient and environmentally destructive, leading to policies that have served to marginalise and undermine pastoralist systems. More recently, pastoralism has come to be regarded by many as a viable and economically effective livestock production system, but the policies needed to reverse its historical marginalisation and address the chronic levels of poverty and vulnerability faced by many pastoralist communities have yet to be put in place.

We define pastoralists both in the economic sense (i.e. those who earn part of their living from livestock and livestock products) and also in the cultural sense, in which livestock do not form the main source of income, yet people remain culturally connected to a pastoralist lifestyle in which the significance of livestock is more cultural than economic. Based on the evidence presented in these reports, we believe that herding livestock over rangelands will remain part of a vital and dynamic production system for many – but not all – who live in the arid and semi-arid lands of the Horn and East Africa. Appropriate policies are required that support both the economic potential of pastoralism and pastoralist lifestyles that depend on alternative livelihoods. As such, the series aims to help create a vision for development in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs).

Mobile pastoralism constitutes a rational use of dryland environments, but this livelihood is undermined by lack of access to basic services, inappropriate policies on land use, repeated humanitarian responses to emergencies (responses that fail to address root causes and structural issues), population growth and decades of economic and social marginalisation. In order to realise the economic potential of pastoralism and achieve projected growth in livestock sectors, governments will have to invest in pastoral production systems. An initial and vital step in this process will be adapting livestock and disease control policies to enable international trade from mobile pastoral systems. More specifically, the paper on commodity-based trade proposes two options: 1) alignment of disease control policies with the standards of livestock markets within the region (which are more realistic and easier to attain than the international standards set by the world animal health organisation); or 2) a certified compartmentalised production system through which animals can be traced to their source, a strict animal health regime (which could be implemented by supervised community animal health workers) in which treatments are recorded, and the slaughtering of animals (and removal of all bones and lymphatic tissue) in abattoirs which comply with international standards, thus allowing for the export of meat from animals produced in pastoral systems anywhere in the world.

For those pastoralists still practicing their traditional way of life, as well as those who have lost their livestock and abandoned the traditional pastoralist way of life, various forms of social protection will be essential. Many of these so-called 'destitute' pastoralists have moved to urban settlements in search of alternative livelihoods. Social protection can contribute towards economic growth involving 'alternative' livelihoods, but it is important that governments in East Africa should implement both unconditional safety net programmes (i.e. that do not require productivity in exchange for resources) in pastoral areas, as well as providing basic social services and infrastructure.

Whilst social protection, service provision and support for alternative livelihoods can enhance the resilience of households and communities to the effects of recurrent disasters such as drought, livestock disease and conflict, there is also the need to address the underlying causes of vulnerability to these shocks. Current emergency responses are designed primarily to save lives and often have the perverse effect of encouraging people to remain in places that cannot sustain them; decades of almost continuous food aid, water trucking and other last-resort emergency inputs have led to the mushrooming of settlements, associated degradation of the local environment and decreased access to dry season pastures. More effective emergency responses require the ability to respond much earlier in the disaster cycle through contingency plans and funds that effectively protect different livelihood strategies before household assets become depleted. These issues are addressed in the paper on preparedness planning, which highlights the need for a detailed understanding of livelihoods as part of existing early warning systems.

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The need for effective disaster risk management is paramount and reflected in the Regional Drought Decision (RDD) implemented by ECHO. The implementation of the action is heralding a new era of donor policy and partner practice. This initiative is helping to release funds and enabling NGO presence to be sustained when there is a need to rapidly transfer resources within existing projects in a more timely way as emergency threatens. We are already seeing some cases where new action has helped prevent predicted crises from emerging. The gradual shift in donor policy and practice contributes to a growing Community of Practice (CoP) that wants to see a greater incorporation of preparedness, recovery and development planning in any emergency response and vice-versa. This momentum must now be maintained as a vital part of humanitarian action and risk reduction if exit strategies are ever to become a reality.

Responding to climate change will also require a long-term approach to provide the investments necessary for appropriate and sustainable development, allowing pastoralists either to adapt to their changing environment, or to transition out of pastoralism into alternative livelihoods. The paper on climate change argues that this must be effected through a rights-based approach, to increase the integration of pastoralists into political, social and economic systems at national and regional levels, thus addressing the fundamental problems of marginalisation and weak governance that lie at the root of the chronic poverty and vulnerability of pastoral areas. Where pastoral communities are currently associated with degrading rangelands, climate change should result in these communities being seen as custodians of these environments as policy adapts and politicians recognise the huge contribution these mobile systems can make economically, socially and, especially, environmentally.

The overall message that emerges from this publication series is that pastoralists must be supported not only to maintain the extraordinary resilience inherent in their traditional way of life, but also to adapt and – for some – to create viable alternative livelihoods in and beyond the ASALs. Concerns over population growth, climate change, conflict and declining productivity of the natural resource base present very real challenges for pastoralists in the Horn of Africa. Without significant support, levels of poverty, vulnerability and destitution will rise due to the effects of marginalisation, recurrent drought and floods, conflict and livestock epidemics. Market development can help to realise the economic potential of livestock and livestock products, such that mobile pastoral systems of production and management remain a viable option for some pastoralists. For others, support is needed to allow for the adoption of alternative and diversified livelihood options. The evidence presented by the current series encompasses broad views that relate to the future viability of pastoralism, providing guidance in identifying appropriate practical and policy interventions in the arid and semi-arid lands of the Horn of Africa.

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List of acronyms

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management
AU	African Union
AU-IBAR	African Union/Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resource
DFID	Department for International Development
ECHO	European Commission for Humanitarian Office
EU	European Union
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GNI	Gross National Income
HIV/AIDS	HIV/Acute Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HSPN	Hunger Safety Net Programme
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OCHA	Office for the Coordination Of Humanitarian Affairs
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PCDP	Pastoralist Community Development Programme
PILLAR	Pastoral Improved Livelihoods And Resilience project
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
SCUK	Save the Children United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme

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Executive summary

This paper argues that a coherent social protection framework is a fundamental need for pastoralists in eastern Africa and calls for a tailored approach to social protection for pastoral communities – one which recognises the context of pastoral livelihoods and views social protection through a livelihoods framework. It proposes the integration of four pillars of social protection (assistance, services, insurance and equity), where equity is paramount at every level of intervention.

The paper divides social protection providers into two major categories: informal and formal. Informal providers of social protection are communities and external social networks, such as family members, relatives and other social systems outside pastoral systems. Pastoralists have developed strong informal social protection networks based on religious, clan or family affiliations. These have always played a vital role in ensuring pastoralist livelihoods have remained viable through the chronic shocks inherent to pastoral lifestyles, but informal social mechanisms are now under increasing pressure. Formal providers of social protection are governments, private sector, humanitarian organisations and local and international donors. As the paper shows, formal social protection providers concentrate on the provision of assistance and services (originally designed for sedentary populations), whilst social insurance and equity in pastoral communities are non-existent.

General recommendations for improving social protection provision for pastoralists are set out according to both informal and formal providers. General recommendations include:

1. All actors should adopt a holistic approach to social protection. The paper highlights four pillars of social protection, to emphasise that social protection is more than delivering social assistance programmes such as food or cash handouts. Social assistance is not equivalent to social protection when addressing complex pastoralist livelihoods. The AU has called for the development of 'continent-wide policy frameworks that will secure and protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of the pastoralists across Africa' (UN-OCHA, 2008). Policy-makers should emphasise that holistic social protection can significantly contribute to national and regional economic growth, food security and civil obedience in pastoral areas.

2. Social protection mechanisms in pastoral areas must be grounded in a thorough understanding of pastoral livelihoods. This requires a shift from short-term emergency response to long-term investments in livelihoods. Approaching pastoral poverty and vulnerability from a livelihoods perspective will require a fundamental shift in state and donor policy and resource allocation. This shift should address the heavy bias in levels and types of emergency programming rather than development programming tailored to mobile, pastoralist livelihoods. Those in need of food aid are not the same as those in need of social protection. Poor resource allocation, under-financing of development initiatives and poor political engagement in pastoral areas undermine the social contract between pastoral populations and governments.

3. Acknowledge the value and contribution of informal social protection mechanisms and work to develop them wherever possible. A holistic approach to social protection in pastoral areas cannot ignore informal mechanisms. In absolute cash terms the support provided to pastoralists by pastoralists is often far greater than any formal government or donor programmes. Many of the informal social protection mechanisms ensure assistance is more comprehensively and transparently provided than formal schemes.

Specific recommendations are also set out for governments with pastoral populations in eastern Africa, donors, the private sector, non-government/humanitarian agencies and pastoral communities.

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1 Introduction

Pastoral regions of the Horn and Eastern Africa countries are typically characterised by recurring droughts due to erratic rains, degraded rangelands, weak governance, conflicts and marginalisation from mainstream development endeavours. (For more on this, see the accompanying reports on 'Pastoralism and climate change: enabling adaptive capacity' and 'Pastoralism, policies and practice in the Horn and East Africa: a review of current trends.') These intertwined circumstances have exposed livelihoods to be more vulnerable in the event of changes in climate, markets and policies. This is exacerbated by inappropriate and non-contextualised formal social protection delivery systems. These formal systems tend to replace traditional pastoralist coping strategies, and can weaken the social fabric and cohesion of pastoral communities that traditionally respond to members' needs.

State policies, strategies and approaches have generally been exclusive and insufficiently tailored to the needs of pastoral communities, leading to the conclusion that 'the world cannot attain its development covenants while its pastoralist population is excluded' (Global Pastoral Gathering, 2005). Although most of the formal institutions in eastern Africa recognise the social inclusion of pastoralist communities in development endeavours, this recognition remains more theory than reality.

This paper argues that social protection is a fundamental need for pastoralists in eastern Africa. The paper divides social protection providers into two major categories: formal and informal providers. Formal providers of social protection are governments, the private sector, humanitarian organisations and local and international donors. Informal providers of social protection are communities and external social networks such as family members, relatives and other social systems outside pastoral systems.

The paper argues for a different approach to social protection for pastoral communities which recognises the context of pastoral livelihoods. (For more on this, see the accompanying report 'Getting it right: understanding livelihoods to reduce the vulnerability of pastoral communities'.) It follows similar arguments to the establishment of social protection frameworks, but importantly views social protection through a livelihoods framework. It proposes the integration of four pillars of social protection (assistance, services, insurance and equity) where equity is paramount at every level of interventions. As the paper shows, formal social protection providers concentrate on the provision of assistance and services (originally designed for sedentary populations) whilst social insurance and equity issues in pastoral communities are virtually non-existent.

When social protection instruments are designed and implemented appropriately, social protection enhances the quality of life of individuals and societies by developing and unleashing human potential, increasing stability, advancing social justice and equity and promoting economic dynamism (Garcia and Gruat, 2003). To date, pastoral communities have largely been left out of national discussions relating to social protection – and consequently are in danger of having inappropriate national instruments imposed on them. For pastoral populations, 'better designed, more innovative and efficient implementation of social protection is vital, not just to provide a safety net in times of crisis, but also to provide reassurance that it will be there when needed' (PCI-OCHA 2006). Ensuring social inclusiveness that contributes to the process of policy development as well as interventions that respond to the impediments of economic, social, political and security risks is critically important for the future of pastoral communities.

2 Background

2.1 Methodology

Reference databases were systematically searched using a set of agreed search terms and 'key words'. Articles and bibliographies received were reviewed for relevance to the literature review topics. These sources were found to include many donor, government, international agency and NGO draft materials, evaluation documents and field reports related to the content of this paper. Articles available electronically (the vast majority) were downloaded and categorised into folders labelled by theme.

Between August 2008 and January 2009, a series of workshops was held with Save the Children programme staff across eastern Africa – including field staff, programme managers and country directors from Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya and South Sudan. Field officers were requested to 'ground truth' the initial findings of the workshops with their field teams and communities across the region, as well as to consult with as many other agencies, local government figures and agency personnel as possible. The results of these localised consultations were fed back to the authors, who cross-checked the findings of these consultations with

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literature reviewed. The drafts of the paper were circulated to a variety of people in eastern Africa for peer review.

2.2 Conceptualising social protection

The roots of social protection are to be found in international legal instruments and declarations spanning the last 70 years.[1] They include the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (articles 22 and 25), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 9), the ILO Convention 102, the Ouagadougou Plan of Action on Employment Promotion and Poverty Alleviation (priority 4) and most recently the 2006 Livingstone and Yaoundé Calls for Action. All these declarations, conventions, strategies and plans of action underpin social protection as a basic human right that strengthens the social contract between states and its citizens – a cornerstone of economic advancement and political stability.

There is no universally agreed definition of social protection. Box 1 identifies some of the main definitions of social protection currently in use by practitioners and agencies.

Despite the precise definitional differences amongst academics, donors and practitioners, from the wide selection of definitions the common characteristics of social protection instruments are to:

- **Protect** households from the effects of reduced income and food-induced poverty.
- **Prevent** livelihood deterioration by reducing vulnerability and protecting households from 'shocks'.[2]
- **Promote** and transform livelihoods to be more sustainable.

In addition to these commonalities, there is growing acceptance that social protection instruments should be available not only to the poorest and most vulnerable in society but also to middle and better-off wealth groups, in the event of a household suffering a shock.

The current discourse on the aims of social protection sets the bar high; the aims are aspirational and are often considered to be beyond the economic, if not political, means of most countries. To bridge the gap between ideology and practice, a conceptual framework incorporating four 'pillars' of social protection has been presented as intertwining core ideas and approaches of different actors. This paper considers social protection by looking at these pillars in turn where:

1. Equitable access to social assistance protects poor and vulnerable pastoralists from been trapped in extreme poverty.
2. Equitable access to social services promotes livelihood diversification options for pastoralists that can transform livelihoods and wellbeing.
3. Access to social insurance prevents depletion of assets in pastoral households, which in turn reduces their reliance on social assistance.

Box 1: Definitions of social protection currently in use

World Bank: informal, market-based and public interventions that assist poor individuals, households and communities to reduce their vulnerability by managing their risks better.

DFID: interventions that strengthen the capacity of the poor to protect their consumption and to support household investment in the assets required to manage and overcome their situation.

ILO: mechanisms that provide access to health care and protect citizens against the stoppage or reduction in earnings resulting from sickness, maternity, employment injury, occupational diseases, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death.

UNDP Poverty Centre: Interventions from public, private voluntary organisations and informal networks to support communities, households and individuals in their efforts to prevent, manage and overcome a defined set of risks and vulnerabilities.

UNICEF: a set of transfers and services that help individuals and households to confront risk and adversity (including emergencies) and ensure a minimum standard of dignity and well-being throughout the lifecycle.

Conway, de Haan and Norton: a means to reduce risks and vulnerabilities in societies through a set of integrated institutions and programmes including social insurance, social assistance and employment protection and promotion.

Van Ginneken and Munro: an entitlement that benefits society, individuals and households through public and collective measures in order to protect them against low or declining living standards as a result of basic risks and needs.

Social assistance: These are typically non-contributory transfers to those deemed eligible by society on the basis of their vulnerability or poverty. The most vulnerable members of communities that either lack temporary or permanent means to meet their survival needs (i.e. where productivity is in short supply) have a right to social assistance. Currently however, social assistance programmes, particularly food aid and/or cash for work, are often irregular, unpredictable, inappropriate and therefore ineffective (Devereux, 2006).

Social services: These are basic services provided by the state to citizens as a right. Every citizen has a right to services in health and education, clean water and sanitation, amongst other things. In pastoralist areas the provision of livestock services such as animal health or market access could also be

1 Early concepts of what is today called social protection can be found as far back as the 1500s, if not earlier.
2 A shock is an event which is likely to have an impact on people's livelihoods, such as drought, flood, conflict or market dysfunction.

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classed as a social service. Typically, the most vulnerable members of communities are those excluded from these services (where available) for reasons of economic, cultural, political and physical access.

Social insurance: These are instruments that enable individuals to pool their resources to provide support in the case of a shock to their livelihoods. These instruments may include livestock insurance, contributory pensions, health insurance programmes or other informal group schemes: e.g. funeral insurance. Typically, the most vulnerable often lack resources to contribute to an adequate social insurance system.

Social equity: These are instruments that aim to protect people against social risks such as discrimination or abuse and are usually legislative in nature or a codification of rules and enforcement that deal with a broader set of rights issues. Typically, the most vulnerable are those that do not have sufficient power or access to authority to protect them without instruments addressing social equity.

2.3 Understanding pastoral vulnerabilities and livelihoods in social protection

Key to the development of a social protection framework for pastoralists is a thorough and appropriate understanding of pastoralists' vulnerabilities across eastern Africa. As will be discussed later, the use of 'blueprints' for social protection instruments from sedentary areas of Africa is inappropriate for pastoral livelihood strategies which have a number of characterising features fundamentally different to sedentary livelihoods. As other papers in this series emphasise, the illusion that pastoralists are in a perpetual state of humanitarian crisis, reliant on food aid, has allowed governments to continue with low levels of investment in pastoral areas and constrictions on policies. This in turn obfuscates the need for interventions in pastoral contexts that can tackle issues of vulnerability, such as social protection instruments.

2.3.1 Marginalisation of pastoral communities

Mainly due to their remoteness from positions of centralised power, a lack of understanding of pastoral livelihoods and a history of insecurity in eastern Africa, pastoral areas have historically been marginalised by national governments (Ethiopian PCDP, 2005). Reports exploring the reasons for the marginalisation of pastoral communities in Kenya and Uganda (Krätli, 2001) suggest that mainstream society sees pastoralism as a fundamentally flawed way of life. The public image of pastoralism (for example in the media, education system and public administration) provides the overall explanatory framework for the common misunderstanding of pastoral livelihoods and the outcomes of formal interactions between pastoral people and mainstream society.

The general cultural attitude towards pastoralism, based on this misrepresentation, plays a silent but pervasive role in undermining pastoral livelihoods particularly in reproducing wrong policies. For example, in 2003 it was noted that 'pastoral societies and pastoral areas have remained peripheral to the socio-economic development strategies of [Ethiopia] until recently. Pastoralists have never been part of the national development policy and there was no clearly set national policy to direct development efforts to the pastoral areas. If there had been any planned interventions in the pastoral areas, they were all focused on meat production for export trade, on forced settlement to curtail mobility, which is one of the most important strategies to use sparsely distributed resources, and on abolishing the role of traditional institutions in managing resources' (Gebru et al., 2004). There does appear to be some recent progress in recognising the value of pastoralism across eastern Africa. For example, Ministries and parliamentary committees have been formed in Kenya and Ethiopia to develop policies for the development of pastoral areas. However, change in attitudes to pastoralists and engagement of pastoral communities in consensus-building fora that could work to redress this marginalisation is slow.

2.3.2 Low investment in pastoral development

Pastoral livelihoods in eastern Africa include livestock-based livelihoods, agro-pastoral livelihoods, sedentary farming and ex-pastoral ('drop-outs'). Livestock-based livelihoods are the most common form of strategy, where households rely on rearing camels, cattle, sheep and goats. The survival, quantity and condition of these livestock determine a household's wealth and ability to continue its traditional livelihood patterns. Mobility (usually within traditional migration routes) and the ability to access natural resources, such as pasture and water, are fundamental to the continuation of this livelihood. The importance of livestock for communities, as well as its contribution to the national economy, cannot be underestimated – although is often poorly recognised or prioritised. A study by the African Union/Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resource (AU-IBAR) found that, in Ethiopia, 'livestock contribute about 40% of agricultural GDP and more than 20% of the total GDP – perhaps more if other intermediate values of livestock were more appropriately assessed. Yet despite this, between 1993–4 and 1998–9, the government of Ethiopia allocated only 5% of its recurrent expenditures to agriculture and less than 0.3% to livestock' (Aklilu, 2002). As discussed later, this poor investment in pastoral livelihoods and pastoral areas is manifested in human development indices that lag far behind national averages.

2.3.3 Increasing inability to utilise traditional coping strategies

Traditional coping mechanisms that have enabled pastoralism to thrive in the lowlands are failing to withstand the effects of changes to the pastoral way of life.

Mobility: Policy responses such as the fencing-off of traditional pastoral grazing lands and categorising them as 'protected areas' continue to undermine mobility and access to grazing lands. For example, a study in Borena, southern

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Ethiopia, in 2007 found that 79% of Borena pastoralists had lost grazing and water resources to non-pastoral users (Elias, 2007). If pastoralists are fully able to employ their well-adapted principles and strategies designed to overcome the harsh and variable conditions dominant in arid areas (Niamir, 1991) – among which mobility across administrative boundaries is central – pastoralists are resilient to drought. If mobile, Turkana herders, for example, can survive a failed rainy season or two without external assistance (Ellis, 1985). Settling pastoralists is unlikely to reduce their vulnerability: the pastoral diet, particularly one dependent on camels' milk, offers children better resistance to the pressures of drought and supports findings that the subsistence base of mixed-species pastoralism is superior to sedentary alternatives with respect to child health (Fratkin et al., 1996).

Diminishing grazing areas: The drivers of change include diminishing grazing areas through the promotion of sedentary livelihood options and increasing cropping activities. Increasing human and livestock population growth leads to overgrazing of pasture, which in turn leads to environmental degradation (for more on this, see the accompanying report 'Demographic trends, settlement patterns, and service provision in pastoralism: transformation and opportunity').

Herd management: Livestock herds typically go through periods of growth during times of favourable rainfall, followed by collapse during time of drought or other shocks. Herd management practices that seek to accumulate and diversify herd composition and species during years with good rainfall performance, and migration in search of sparsely distributed water and pasture resources during bad years, are key livelihood strategies that have enabled pastoralism to thrive. However, increasingly short timeframes between droughts are insufficient to allow adequate accumulation of sustainable herd sizes – meaning that the household economy of pastoralists continue to be undermined over time. Increased frequency of drought hastens herd depletion because it narrows the window for livelihood recovery, intensifies pressure on depleted water and pasture, and forces repeated resort to already strained coping strategies.

2.3.4 Increasing inability to cope with drought

Current practice towards pastoral areas among governments, donors and agencies in eastern Africa considers that drought is the problem for pastoralists. This hides the negative impact of historical neglect and inappropriate or unimplemented policy in pastoral areas and allows the focus of interventions to remain on the consequences of drought rather than working to reduce vulnerability to drought. 'While drought is a major risk factor affecting livestock-based livelihoods, the main source of vulnerability derives from the inability of pastoralism and related livelihoods to cope with drought. In other words it is not drought as such that makes pastoralists vulnerable, but factors that constrain highly evolved pastoral drought response mechanisms, especially mobility of people and animals – conflict, legal restrictions on trade, and so on. If these factors deteriorate over time, vulnerability to drought increases even if the incidence and severity of drought does not' (Devereaux, 2006).

Information from the Arid Lands Resource Management (ALRMP) Project in Kenya's Garissa district indicates that drought conditions have prevailed in north-east Kenya for ten out of the last 15 years. These climatic conditions are now considered typical of this region. Weather patterns across eastern Africa have been changing since the mid-1970s, with a reduction in the interval of major droughts from about every seven years to every three to four years. The inability to cope with this increase in frequency of drought has led to a tenfold increase in the number of drought-related deaths – from 580 per 100,000 people in the 1970s to 6,000 per 100,000 in the first decade of the new millennium (Guha-Sapir et al., 2004).

The real Achilles' heel of pastoralism is the slow pace of recovery after a devastating drought. Just as the slide into destitution is a slow spiral downwards, with total collapse occurring very rapidly at the end, so recovery is a long, uncertain journey back up. It takes several seasons for herds to rebuild to a point of reasonable food security and this process is not only linked to breeding but also kin linkages and livestock loans etc. Until this threshold is reached, milk will be scarce, and the sale of stock to obtain staple cereals maize, while necessary, will be limited (Bush, 1994; Buchanan-Smith and Barton, 1999).

2.3.5 Deteriorating relative wealth of pastoralists

Perhaps the main impact of pastoralists' inability to cope with drought and utilise their traditional coping strategies is that livestock herds per capita are depleting and poverty is increasing. In 2007 the better-off 15% of the population in Wajir South Grassland livelihood zone in north-east Kenya had herd sizes and cash income levels similar to those considered to be in the middle wealth group in 2002.' (Save the Children UK, 2005). Similar trends are observed in Somali Regional State of Ethiopia, where comparisons of herd sizes in 1996–97 and then in 2004–2005 reveal a decline in per capita herd sizes for the majority of the population (DPPC/Save the Children UK, 2005). There is an increase in the percentage of the population classified as 'poor' according to local standards. Together with demographic pressures across the region, this suggests that the absolute number of 'poor' pastoralists is increasing.

What has been missed in most analyses is the shift in the wealth group status. Most assessments only pick up on the location and percentage of food-insecure people within a given location. However, tracking the proportions of better-off, middle and poorer wealth groups is essential to adequately monitor the dynamics of any economy. When the poor increase and better-off decrease, the resulting decline in labour and exchange opportunities can result in a dysfunctional economy. The

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negative trends observed can be linked to present policy and associated practice within the region. If these are not changed, pastoralists can expect increasing engagement in stress-coping strategies, and eventual asset loss leading to further destitution.

2.3.6 Increasing dependence on markets

Pastoralists are increasingly dependent on the market for meeting their food and other requirements such as clothes, veterinary drugs and water. In addition, as the cycle of drought becomes more frequent, the ability of the rangelands to sustain livestock decreases and the occurrence of livestock diseases increases because immune systems are weakened as a result of inadequate feed from rangelands. Consequently, the frequency of the sale of livestock in markets increases: 92% of pastoralist households in Northern Kenya used livestock markets and 87% of households in Southern Ethiopia accessed livestock markets between 2000 and 2002. However, markets in pastoral areas are constrained by numerous factors: security, access/distances to markets, poor infrastructure, especially lack of roads, and policies on livestock marketing.

3 Analysis of the evidence

3.1 Informal social protection instruments in eastern Africa

Informal social protection systems in pastoral areas link the diverse livelihood systems and economies across different seasons and years, for specific needs, and across wealth groups (better-off, middle and poor). For example, in urban areas within pastoral settings, informal social protection to poor households can be provided in the form of cash or food; in 'pure' pastoral areas the transfer is more likely to be in the form of livestock (especially lactating animals) or livestock products. Informal social protection instruments are also seasonal, with different needs and diverse options available during the 'wet' or 'dry' seasons. In a pastoral setting, there are many examples of the positive role that intra-household dynamics and the sharing of resources amongst social groups has on nutritional status during periods of decreased food availability (Galvin, 1992; Galvin, Coppock et al., 1994; Homewood, 1995; Fratkin, Roth et al., 1999; Shell-Duncan and Obungu Obiero, 2000; Sellen, 2003). The informal or community-based social protection responses are influenced by:

1. *Religious beliefs*. Religious rulings encourage followers to support each other. In Islam in particular, complex codified systems exist which encourage 'better off' groups to assist 'poor' households. These systems redistribute wealth and risk within society. They are also a way of balancing social-economic strata and diminishing potential social conflict. Social support in this form does not require a direct relationship between provider and recipient. It can range from groups of wealthy people sending food or water to needy communities, to a local trader gathering resources to assist needy households within their own community during difficult times. The most well-known social protection instrument rooted in religious beliefs is *zakat*. *Zakat* is a religious obligation on every Muslim to make monetary contributions to poor and destitute groups including orphans, new converts, travellers and others. In Sunni Islam, every Muslim is required to pay 2.5% of his or her annual income. Payment can be in cash or kind (typically livestock, grains and gold) and is usually provided between relatives/clan/sub-clan as well as to disadvantaged groups. A variation on *zakat* is *zakat al maal* which is the monetary contribution paid by wealthier donors where the proportion of payment depends on the wealth of the donor.

2. *Community relations*. Social support often arises from friendship or 'neighbourhood' links. Households might ask for support from neighbours, even during normal times, in order to meet their needs. This support is often a reciprocal agreement between households. Through these mechanisms, the poorest strata also receive attention and support. It applies especially to 'demographically' poor households (female-headed households, elders, orphans and others). Access to this type of support is related to 'belonging' in the community. Households or people arriving recently may not be assisted so readily. Vulnerable households in pastoral areas also rely on informal credit structures to safeguard their livelihoods and lives during times of stress and are operated at the community level, outside of state policies or programmes.

The majority of the mechanisms for providing social exchange amongst pastoral communities are rooted in livestock or livestock products (such as milk, butter and ghee). The social value of milk and dairy products plays an important role in social cohesion and decision-making. Rather than sell or consume surplus milk products, pastoralists often use lactating animals or their milk products to maintain social ties. In some pastoral societies, there are cultural prohibitions on selling milk products, which must be kept for hospitality and sharing between group members. These practices are well-documented for many pastoral African societies (Stenning, 1959; Dupire, 1963; Oba, 1994; Bush, 1995). When decisions must be made on how to allocate milk from animals, the social insurance gained by sharing milk between group members may outweigh any immediate financial gain from its sale. However, there is increased incidence of pastoralists selling milk rather than sharing in some communities because they cannot afford to forego the income.

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Maal, Irmaansi and other livestock-related social support mechanisms often differ according to the relationship between the recipient and donating household and their wealth status. In most cases, if the recipient household is poor and closely related (both maternal and paternal) or has a close friendship to a wealthy donor, the beneficiary household is entitled to both assistance and insurance – that is, the milk and the offspring. In other cases when the poor beneficiary household is neither related nor has close friendship with the donating household, the beneficiary household is only entitled to assistance – the milk component – and must return both the offspring and the lactating animal to the owner after the lactation period is over.

3. Kinship. Kinship-based social support mechanisms are important for pastoralists, as group resources are often managed on a collective basis. Animals and other assets circulate regularly within a group, often from the better-off to poorer groups depending on the capacity of the former and the need of the latter. These blood ties might be close or remote, existing beyond country boundaries. During the food crisis of 2008, some people reported receiving assistance from distant relatives they had never met.

Perhaps the most well-known form of kinship-based social support is remittances. While the strength of such social networks differs across communities, Somali communities represent an extreme case in how external social networks contribute to the protection, prevention and promotion of pastoral livelihoods, the wellbeing of families at household level and the provision of critical financial support throughout the year. Remittances play an important role in providing assistance to pastoralists who are able to maintain links with families and friends economically active but outside of the local economy. Remittances tend to be sent through on a regular basis, providing support to households to meet their basic needs. In 2007, in Badhan, a town in north-east Somalia, the main remittance distributor (Dahabshil) reported average monthly receipts of $80,000 from internal and external sources (Gabrielle & Nori, 2006). It has been estimated that remittances may constitute 25% of households' income in Somalia, compared with 50% made up by self-employment and 14% by waged employment. The majority of these funds were delivered to individual households, rather than to a fund for a community project. It is estimated that remittances from external sources are significant – up to $1 billion per annum for Somalia alone. Of this, $360m was directed at the subsistence of families, with the remainder going to business and investment (Omer and El Koury, 2004). Importantly, the international aid budget for Somalia in 2003 equalled $272m, representing a fraction of the money being provided by the diaspora through remittances. Remittances to Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia amounted to $1.3bn, $1.15bn and $172m in 2007 respectively (Ratha and Zhimei Xu, 2008).

Across pastoral areas of eastern Africa, a number of localised social protection instruments exist. Many mirror each other in different country contexts. The main or most common informal social protection mechanisms are highlighted below under the four pillars framework outlined above:

Informal social assistance

The main informal social protection instruments have been identified above and include *zakat*, *irmaansi* and *maal*. Other informal social assistance instruments in eastern Africa are *rai* (where children from poor pastoralists herd for richer relatives and receive food and other benefits in payment), *keyd* (where poorer households adopt lactating animals and their offspring from richer households, sometimes on credit) and *dhowrto* (where surplus milk and butter is stored for distribution amongst poor households with no milking animals, especially during dry seasons.

Informal social services

Pastoral communities regularly provide a range of informal social services given the remoteness from formal services and/or the inappropriateness or lack of formal services. For example, Qur'anic education and healing services in Somalia provide health and education services in place of non-existent formal services. Qur'anic schools in particular exist in virtually all Muslim pastoral communities. Teachers are drawn from the communities and travel with mobile pastoralists, providing lessons to children that fit in with their daily chores. In Somalia many areas have community education committees that levy charges from wealthier parents to pay teachers to provide more extensive primary and even secondary education. The system ensures poorer households receive free Qur'anic health and education services.

In many pastoral areas water community committees exist to manage and maintain water sources. Water charges levied on users are used for repairs or running costs such as pumps and generators. Access to water for the poor varies. In some systems, payment by richer pastoralists is used to ensure free supply to the very poorest. However, where systems are more commercial, especially where they are run exclusively by private companies, those that cannot pay will have no access to water.

Informal social insurance

Many informal social protection mechanisms are effectively social insurance schemes. For instance, Afar pastoralists in Ethiopia operate a voluntary social exchange system in which everyone contributes livestock, food and other items to households considered to be most in need in their communities (Davis, 2006). This is a social assistance instrument but is also used as an insurance system for vulnerable households against future shocks. However, it does not mean that those contributing are less vulnerable. Rather, it indicates the level of tolerance to poverty that Afar pastoralists will endure in order to reduce the vulnerability of other community members.

Informal social equity

Apart from the unwritten codification of social assistance, there do not seem to be any informal instruments that

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Table 2: Groups excluded from local, informal social protection instruments

Which interest groups are typically excluded from receiving social support?	Reason for not being able to access social support
Female headed-households, divorced or widowed women without, or with, younger, children	Reliant on male relations to link into social support structures
Bantu's and other caste groups like Gaboye, Tumal, Madiban (Somalia)	Exclusion from other clans through caste system where majority clans see the caste groups as inferior, leading to discrimination in social relations and resource sharing. Majority clans control most natural and physical capital (livestock and access to natural resources, in particular)
Victims of shocks who moved out of pastoral system due to unsustainable livestock herds	
Sub or Minority clans, e.g. Langaab (Ethiopia) or Malakote (Kenya)	Assumptions that people with diseases like HIV/AIDS and leprosy have acquired these diseases due to moral transgressions involving 'forbidden taboos' and that the disease is a punishment. As a result, allowing these people to benefit from informal assistance instruments would invite 'sinful acts on societies'.
Households with non-curable diseases like HIV/AIDS, leprosy	
Converts to or from other religions	
Elderly households	Low integration between IDPs and host communities.
Street children and orphan-headed households	Perception that orphans of HIV/AIDS parents or those separated from their parents due to poverty have no future even if they survive
Internally displaced persons (IDPs)	

specifically protect poor and vulnerable households against discrimination or abuse, or prevent abuse occurring.

Equity across informal social protection instruments

Religious transfers such as *zakat* are normally executed at the individual level. Religious leaders or organised social groups redistribute or oversee the distribution of *zakat* resources. As a result the transfer of resources is relatively transparent and because religious leaders are close to the communities there is very little, if any, opportunity for fraud. However, some informal social protection schemes are not naturally equitable e.g. remittances may depend on the number and success of overseas relatives; non-Muslims are excluded in predominantly Muslim areas and vice visa. Table 2 identifies some of the groups often excluded from informal social support mechanisms in pastoral areas of eastern African.

Poor and equitable access to informal social protection instruments is exacerbated by low levels of kinship and blood relations. Respondents to a household survey in Puntland, Somalia, in 2006 (Gabrielle & Nori, 2006) inquiring into different household characteristics indicated that 58% of any social protection benefit received comes from a relative, and 25% comes from an unrelated member of the local community. Of those interviewed, only 25% of female-headed households indicated that they had access to any social protection benefits outside of their immediate community, compared to more than 50% of pastoral respondents.

Market systems, and particularly credit, also function to support vulnerable households during times of stress and in some cases act as informal social protection instruments. Credit is the backbone of economic transactions in pastoral areas and works hand in hand with the seasonality of the pastoral system, providing the necessary buffer for a system that is subject to climatic variability. In pastoral areas of Somalia, most pastoralists from majority clans have access to credit. However, there is relatively low credit access for members of minority clans. Resources are scarce and competition for credit increases. Economically poor pastoralists are often reported as the first to fall out of the credit 'net'. Lack of productive assets in most cases is the greatest deterrent to credit access (Gabrielle & Nori, 2006). While credit and the localised social protection mechanisms identified above provide well-established community-based informal safety nets in pastoral communities, it follows that groups who are unable to access credit and social protection would be the most vulnerable.

The analysis of informal social protection instruments indicates that there is a dearth of localised social protection instruments in the areas of social equity or social insurance in pastoral areas. The analysis highlights the emphasis of communities on material assistance and a recognition that the frequency of shocks (droughts, other meteorological phenomena and restrictions on access to markets) necessitates that systems are in place to enable households to absorb the impact of the shock and then recover as quickly as possible. Clearly, informal social protection instruments are important, but they cannot claim to represent a coherent or comprehensive social protection package.

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3.2 Formal social protection instruments in pastoral areas

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 22, states 'everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security'. Nonetheless, across the developing world 'the ethos underpinning social protection is still one of charity, rather than entitlement – humanitarianism, not human rights' (Devereux, 2002). While social protection debates and agendas have progressed significantly since the first Call for Action at Livingstone,[3] there is little emphasis so far on tailoring social protection policies to the specific needs and vulnerabilities of pastoralists.

However, there are an increasing number of state and donor programmes across eastern Africa attempting to address social protection in pastoral areas. These include a pilot of the Productive Safety Net Programme in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia, the Pastoral Community Development Programme in Ethiopia, the Hunger Safety Net Programme and the Arid Lands Resource Management project in Kenya. Nonetheless, the majority of existing formal social protection mechanisms in pastoral areas of Eastern Africa were originally been designed for a sedentary population and do not recognise some of the unique elements of pastoral livelihoods, especially the importance of mobility.

3.2.1 Inappropriate formal social assistance in pastoral areas

Any emergency livelihood response – other than responses to rapid-onset crises – suggests a failure of actors to adequately address underlying causes of vulnerability. Addressing underlying causes of pastoralists' vulnerability should be tackled using longer-term interventions and with a combination of state-led planning and strategic interventions. The current trend for planning interventions in pastoral areas is to base interventions on an analysis of food gaps, as a benchmark for social protection needs. The reliance on food-based assistance interventions over a sustained period has contributed to pastoral communities' increasing dependence on external support.

Food aid has been widely distributed in response to the cycle of droughts that are an inevitable part of livelihood patterns in pastoral areas. This distribution has been so prevalent and become so entrenched that it now forms part of the formal social assistance packages that many pastoralists rely on as a regular food source. Food aid has been provided in North East Kenya since the drought of 1996–97, regardless of the pastoral systems' productivity during those years. Studies examining livelihood strategies in pastoral areas of north-east Kenya (Save the Children UK, 2007) have found that food aid makes an important contribution to household food consumption for all poor and middle-income households in pastoral areas in recent 'normal' years of production. Even better-off households in some areas receive food relief in a 'normal' year – pointing to excessive and poorly targeted food aid interventions.

3 AU Inter-governmental Regional Conference on 'A Transformative Agenda for the 21st Century: Examining the Case for Basic Social Protection in Africa', 20–23 March 2006.

Similarly, food aid beneficiaries have been increasing in Somali region in Ethiopia since 2000. 'In the mid-1990s, the proportion of the regional population who were declared in need of food assistance was negligible – just 3% in 1995 and 1996. In the food crisis year of 2000, the proportion peaked at 40% of the region's population, and has remained consistently at around one-quarter of the population. In terms of number of targeted beneficiaries, this increased from approximately 100,000 people in the mid-1990s to more than 1m between 2000 and 2005 – a tenfold escalation in food aid beneficiaries' (Devereaux, 2002).

Formal emergency responses and development instruments have for too long focused on food-based social assistance packages to pastoralist communities with the assumption that it will reduce vulnerabilities. As the paper in this series that re-considers Emergency Preparedness argues, this continued delivery of inappropriate emergency assistance has not strengthened pastoralists' resilience to shocks – and indeed has worked to undermine local coping strategies. Food aid should be a safety net of last resort but has become the safety net of first (and in some cases only) resort.

In order to prevent and cope with the inevitable risks in pastoral areas, ex ante and ex post strategies should be put in place before and after a shock in order to minimise the size of livelihood loss on poor and marginalised groups (Robert and Steen, 2001). Such strategies should include risk reduction strategies (including social assistance packages to reduce vulnerabilities), risk planning strategies (including social assistance packages to prepare pastoralists for periods of stress), risk reaction strategies (including social assistance packages that assist in reacting to impending hazards triggered by an early warning) and risk related recovery strategies (including social assistance packages to integrate risk mitigation measures into the recovery process) (Swift, et al., 2005). The objective of these strategies should be to reduce welfare losses. Such strategies should not only be for the poor and marginalised but also for the better-off groups in which their livelihoods are protected and promoted as well.

3.2.2 Poor access to social services for pastoralists

Access to all types of social services within pastoralist communities in east Africa is low. Investments in early childhood are those with the highest rate of return – because they occur when the brain is most malleable and benefits can be recouped throughout the entire lifespan. Social services such as health and education are essential if children are to gain from the highest rates of return and if pastoralists are to expand and diversify their livelihoods and their ability to respond to shocks.

There is a clear correlation between poverty levels and basic social welfare indicators such as school enrolment and nutritional levels. There is also a positive relationship between proportions of government budget spent on social welfare and

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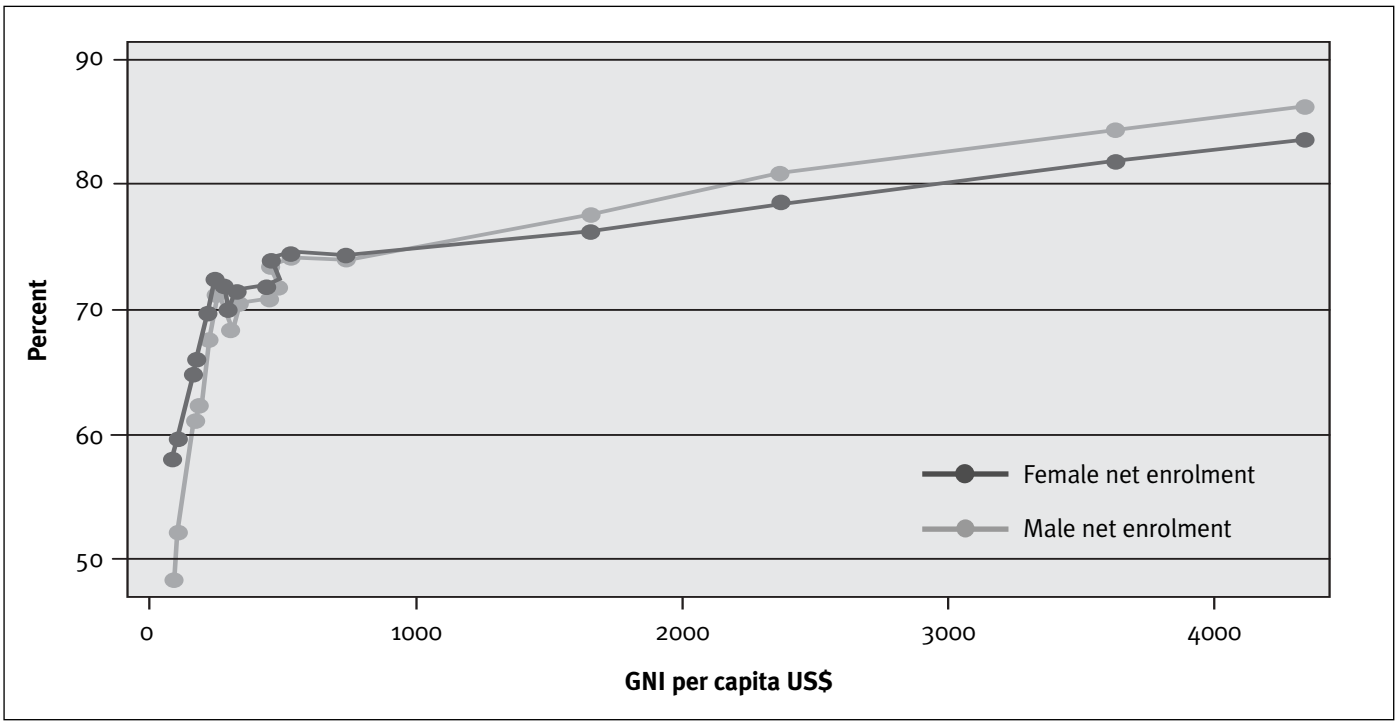
Figure 1: Primary enrolment and GNI by sex



lower rates of child mortality (UNICEF, 2008). In Africa as a whole most of the poorest countries also have the poorest welfare indicators, indicating a serious gap in the coverage and quality of basic social services. Eastern Africa contains some of the poorest countries in the world with social indicators reflecting their limited ability to provide basic social services.

The figures show that there is a correlation between household income, school enrolment and chronic malnutrition. Figure 1 (UNICEF, 2008) illustrates how male and female enrolment rates for countries in east and southern Africa are directly correlated with gross national income (GNI) – poorer households have a significantly lower enrolment rate for primary school than better-off households.

Figure 2 shows the relationship between chronic malnutrition rates (where children are short for their height, according to international standards) in countries across eastern and

Figure 2: Stunting and GNI per capita

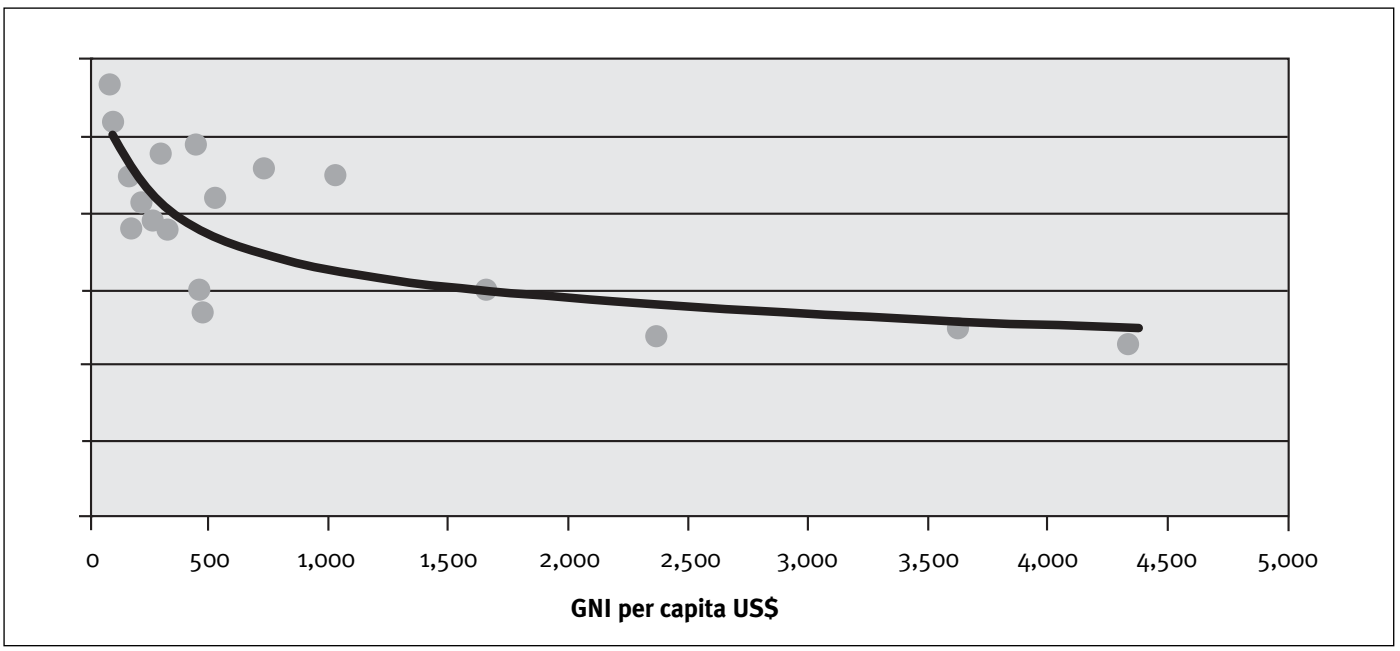


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Table 3: Social service coverage in pastoral areas of eastern Africa, compared to national averages of eastern African countries

	Kenya		Ethiopia		South Sudan	
	Pastoral areas	National average	Pastoral areas — average	National average	Pastoral areas	National average
Literacy rates	32.3%	79%	—	74.2%	No data	24%
School enrolment rates	57.6%	79%	25.5%	95%	No data	53%
National coverage of measles vaccination	33.4%	72.1%	27.5%	65.5%	No data	66.2%
National coverage of other vaccinations	6.4%	51.5%	14%	54%	83% (BEG, Nuba, Upper Nile & Jonglei)	

southern Africa and household income, again expressed as GNI. It highlights that poorer households have higher rates of chronic malnutrition than better-off households across eastern and southern Africa.

Together, these figures indicate that poor households are least likely to enrol their children in primary school and most likely to have children that are chronically malnourished. They indicate a clear link between wealth and improvement in education and health outcomes for children. Within countries across eastern and southern Africa, the poorest are those with the least access to social services.

Table 3 shows the coverage of formal basic health and education services across pastoral areas of eastern Africa compared to the national averages. This table indicates that pastoral areas in East Africa receive significantly less social services than the national average.

In education, for example, areas in north-east Kenya have the lowest literacy rate in the country, with a literacy rate of 28% compared to 79% nationally. Nationally, the figure for males is 85% and for females is 74% – in Kenya's North Eastern Province however the figure for males is 42% and the figure for females is 14%. The percentage of females who can read and write in Mandera District is the lowest in the country, at 6% (Save the Children UK, 2007). In Ethiopia, the national gross enrolment rate (GER) in 2007 was 57.4%, and the highest rates were in Addis Ababa (94%). The pastoral areas of Somali and Afar region had the lowest rates in the country: 35.4% male and 24.4% female in Somali region, and 24% male and 19.1% female in Afar region. Poor access to education limits opportunities for positive livelihood diversification and participation in national development processes.

Wide disparities with national standards are also evident in access to health services and efforts to address child mortality. The national coverage of the Ethiopian under one-year measles vaccination is 65.5%, but only 35.7% for Afar and 19% in Somali region. The proportion of children under five years vaccinated against the six targeted diseases, according to the Ministry of Health in 2005/6, is 54% nationally, but only 25.1% and 2.5% in Afar and Somali regions respectively. In north-east Kenya, immunisation rates for children aged 12–23 months are equally revealing: 66% of children are fully immunised nationally, but the figure for North Eastern Province is 21%, reaching a low of 8% in Mandera District (Save the Children UK, 2007).

In addition to the scale and coverage of formal social service packages, questions also arise about the appropriateness and availability of social services in pastoralists systems. Reviews of development projects in eastern Africa indicate 70–80% of social service infrastructures developed in pastoral areas are not useful to pastoral communities simply because they are 'roll outs' of pilot projects in sedentary areas.

Despite increased investment from the government of Ethiopia and the international donor community in pastoral areas, 'urban residents still enjoy better access to basic services such as clinics and schools, than rural communities do, because large numbers of people living in close proximity allow for economies of scale and cost effective delivery' (Devereux, 2006). The 'access gap' between urban and rural users of health services is a 'near mirror image', with 96% of urban residents able to access a health clinic, whilst 94% of pastoralists in rural areas report no access. Additionally, pastoralists reported that the quality of service provision in the rural areas was markedly poorer than in urban areas.

Similarly, despite gains made due to the expansion of Alternative Basic Education (ABE),[4] fewer than one in ten people in pastoral

4 Alternative Basic Education is an adaptation of the formal basic education curriculum, delivered in a flexible manner (with community-defined locations, school calendar and timetable, community-based facilitators/Para-professional teachers), with the aim of linking with the formal education system.

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areas are literate, whilst the proportion drops to less than one in two in main towns of Somali Region, Ethiopia, such as Jijigga and Gode. Girls are particularly disadvantaged, with lower enrolment and higher dropout rates (Devereux, 2006). Finally, while good progress has been made throughout the country in the area of HIV/AIDS prevention, care, support and treatment services, considerably less attention has been given to market towns and settlements in pastoral areas. Though information is not readily available by town, regional statistics suggest that prevalence rates in urban areas of Somali and Afar Regions in Ethiopia are 2.4% and 10.8% respectively, whilst the numbers of orphans is estimated to be 250,000 and 90,000 respectively (EMoH, 2007). In southern Oromiya Region in Ethiopia, the prevalence rate in urban areas is 6.1%.

From this analysis, it follows that pastoralists as a group are provided with the least coverage of social services compared with other areas within their national borders. The low availability of formal social services in pastoralist communities effectively means pastoralists face a choice of settling in one area in order to access those services (undermining their mobility) or deliberately excluding themselves from accessing informal social services, based on their traditional livelihood patterns. It also follows that pastoralists with low incomes are the least likely to be able to send their children to school, and the most likely to have children that are malnourished. Poor households in particular do not have regular or predictable access to social services, primarily for reasons of affordability and the need to remain mobile in order to garner sufficient household income to meet their survival needs. Those households excluded from informal social protection mechanisms in pastoral areas due to poor family networks are clearly likely to be further disadvantaged.

3.2.3 Lack of formal social insurance opportunities

The protection of pastoralist assets that are vulnerable to risks and shocks, through social insurance mechanisms, can prevent a fall in pastoral productivity to below the local poverty threshold. As stated earlier, pastoralists' traditional social protection mechanisms rely heavily on better-off pastoralists 'insuring' poorer households against loss. However, there are no opportunities for pastoralists from better-off and middle wealth groups to access any form of formal insurance for their livestock assets in eastern Africa.

Evidence suggesting that protection of assets for all wealth groups is necessary to sustain existing social protection mechanisms is emerging from different research and assessment findings completed in different parts of eastern Africa and the Horn. Increasing dependency on food assistance is the immediate consequence of the lack of indemnity of pastoral livestock assets.

Insurance services for livestock export trade are non-existent for pastoralists in eastern Africa. As a result of a lack of insurance services, cross-border livestock trade in most eastern African countries is considered illegal trade. Pastoralists who sell their animals in the markets that offer the highest price are likely to have to travel the farthest – and are exposed to confiscation of livestock by customs authorities.

There is an increasing number of innovative pilots for insuring against drought or poor rainfall, although most of these have been tested in sedentary areas. The Ethiopia drought insurance pilot project in sedentary areas showed that it is feasible to use market mechanisms to finance drought risk in Ethiopia, and that it is possible to develop objective, timely and accurate indicators for triggering drought assistance. Rainfall insurance means that an insurance company would pay pastoralists when rainfall (as measured at a local weather station) fails to reach specified targets.

3.2.4 Formalised social equity

As indicated earlier, formal policies of state actors in eastern Africa rarely reflect the reality of pastoralists' needs but rather reflect what are perceived as pastoralists' needs. For example, prejudice against mobile livestock herds is reflected in official government policies in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government's PRSP (entitled Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty [PASDEP]) calls for measures to be put in place to facilitate voluntary settlement by pastoralists. Many in government in the region think that it would be in the interest of pastoralists to settle and become engaged in farming or other sedentary livelihoods. The 'settlement discourse' is dominant in some official Ethiopian government documents, despite a lack of evidence that settlement would help strengthen livelihoods or reduce vulnerability (Catley, 2005). Eastern Africa generally lacks dedicated instruments to reduce discrimination and abuse against the most vulnerable pastoralists.

3.3 Policy implications and programming in pastoral areas

The key formal social protection providers include governments, donors, the private sector and humanitarian organisations. Pastoral communities have a central role in developing policy and programming on social protection issues, drawing on their long experience in the provision of informal social protection mechanisms. All these actors are critical if social protection mechanisms are to significantly enhance pastoral livelihoods.

Working from the analysis presented in this paper, Table 4 summarises the policy and programming implications for the respective actors implementing social protection instruments in pastoral settings. Wherever possible the policy and programming changes recommended in Table 4 are illustrated with indicative social protection interventions or activities. The table sets out general recommendations and more specific ones in relation to each of the four pillars of social protection set out in this paper.

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Table 4: Roles and indicative actions for implementing social protection instruments in pastoral settings

Overall role(s)				
Pastoral communities	**Private sector**	**Governments in East Africa with pastoral areas**	**Donors**	**Non-governmental and humanitarian actors**
Develop stronger and more representative pastoral organisations Improved advocacy and engagement with other stakeholders to improve the quality and appropriateness of social protection packages. Active role in managing and implementing elements of social protection mechanisms	Invest in social protection instruments that are both commercially viable and will materially improve pastoralist households and local economies Advocate for a supportive regulatory framework Provide business training and other professional skills not available in the public sector	Develop social protection strategies and other policies that recognise the specific situation of pastoralists as well as the important contribution pastoral livelihoods make to national economies Provide an enabling regulatory framework that encourages the private sector, communities and (where necessary) non-governmental actors to fill gaps in services Recognise that social protection instruments in pastoral areas will contribute to national and regional economic growth, food security and civil obedience in pastoral areas Engage with pastoral communities to develop long-term strategies to address underlying problems in pastoral areas. Support livestock sector through infrastructure investment, improving market access, trade agreements and livestock health services	Recognising pastoral strengths and challenges, fund governments to develop and implement long-term social protection frameworks for pastoralists Ensure that pastoral social protection frameworks in eastern Africa are 'joined up' to ensure that cross-border mobility is maintained Maintain pressure on governments with pastoral populations to comply with the legal obligations as established and agreed to in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (articles 22 and 25) and other internationally agreed conventions and action plans.	Implement alternative or innovate pilot social protection programmes that support pastoral livelihoods that can be replicated and scaled up by governments or others. Provide a safety net of last resort during times of increased stress Advocate for internal and external adoption of a livelihoods approach in policy and programme development that reduces vulnerability to disaster risk and promote vibrant pastoral and other livelihoods in pastoral areas. Facilitate exchanges of good practice, build capacity of pastoral institutions/organisations and mobilise resources at the grass-root level
Indicative activities and examples				
	Active involvement in logistics of cash/ food distributions Contract private training institutions to provide training and/quality assurance where govt services are weak e.g. Somalia	Establishment of Arid Lands Resources Management Project (ALRMP) in Kenya Creation of Pastoral Standing Committee in the federal parliament Development of Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP) in the ministry of Regional Affairs in Ethiopia	Cash-based safety net programmes in Ethiopia and Kenya are reliant on significant donor funding. Increases in donor funding cross-sectoral pastoral livelihood programmes	NGOs instrumental in piloting cash-transfer programmes in pastoral areas Broad experience in multi-sectoral pastoral livelihoods projects

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Table 4: (continued)

Social assistance				
Pastoral communities	**Private sector**	**Governments in East Africa with pastoral areas**	**Donors**	**Non-governmental and humanitarian actors**
Strengthen the capacity of local institutions to improve the delivery of existing and new support measures.	Play an efficient role in the distribution of social assistance Advocate for and work within a regulatory framework that facilitates demand driven services, such as financial services	Develop regular and predictable assistance packages/safety nets for those unable to access existing informal social protection measures Responsible for setting the scope and coverage of cash or food distributions and other emergency assistance	Support governments lacking sufficient internal resources (or prioritisation), to fund regular and predictable assistance packages/ safety nets for those unable to access existing informal social protection measures, (especially in milk, meat and grain sectors)	Providers of a safety net of last resort during times of increased stress Key role in the administration and delivery of humanitarian relief and more recent cash safety net programmes
Indicative interventions and examples				
Hundreds of pastoral committees have been trained by SCUK and others in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia in community-based targeting methods. This gives communities the tools required to identify their poorest and most vulnerable members for social assistance such as food and cash	The Equity Bank in Kenya is expanding throughout pastoral areas in the Hunger Safety Net Programme to ensure pastoralists targeted for cash transfers can access them easily. This effectively expands banking services into remote areas which would not have been feasible before NGO cash transfers in Somalia have been undertaken using the traditional *hawala* system via which Somalis send remittances and other money to remote areas	The Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) – Pastoral Areas Pilot – regular cash or food payments made to male and female members of chronic and transitory food-insecure households for six months a year (current pilot for 18 months). The Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSPN) pilot programme in Kenya will provide monthly cash payments to poor individuals in over 300,000 pastoral households for four years starting in 2009	The Ethiopian PSNP has been supported by all major donors who worked collectively with the GoE to design and implements the programme. This avoided any duplication or contradiction with other funding sources. Donors shifting funding from emergency relief to programmes that address chronic vulnerability – e.g. Pastoral Livelihoods Initiative (USAID), Enhancing Livelihoods in the Mandera Triangle (USAID), PILLAR project (ECHO)	Piloting more innovative cash-based programmes e.g. Oxfam's cash for work programmes in Turkana, where cash paid was used by beneficiaries to set up small businesses. The project also provided business training and support UN agencies, particularly WFP, central to implementation of food relief and other humanitarian assistance
Social services				
Communities have a key role to play in the management of social services at the local level Provide in-kind contributions in a partnership approach towards service provision Establish strong pastoral organisations able to hold service providers to account	Can often provide basic services at a higher quality and more efficiently than government, particularly in areas where pastoralists have shown a willingness to pay e.g. animal health Need to advocate for a supportive regulatory framework May need subsidies to start operations in non-viable markets	Significantly increase resources to pastoral communities to ensure greater coverage of basic services – specifically; education; human health; water; animal health Recognise and budget for the additional resources that may be required to provide these services Develop regional regulatory framework to enable private sector to operate unfettered Seek to replicate and scale up effective models of service provision piloted by non-governmental/ community actors	Recognise the additional funding required by governments/NGOs to provide social services in pastoral settings Provide technical assistance to governments on retaining pastoral mobility while also providing basic services Identify and promote replication of good practice from other countries	Innovate with creative solutions for pastoralists to access social services while retaining their mobility Engage and involve governments and others in the implementation and analysis of the results of these pilots

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Table 4: (continued)

Indicative interventions and examples				
Most pastoral livelihoods programmes (e.g. public works in PSNP) include activities to establish or strengthen community structures such as school management or health committees; water user associations etc. In Somalia SCUK supports communities to run schools and local education authorities given the lack of formal government	In Somalia SCUK is working with private universities to establish teacher training courses Private livestock traders and market owners have been supported by NGOs on the Kenya–Ethiopia border, to facilitate de-stocking in drought-affected areas Initial subsidies to establish private vet pharmacies have significantly expanded pastoralists' access to quality livestock drugs in Somali Region, Ethiopia	Ethiopian government has acknowledged the critical role alternative approaches to basic education (AABE), such as mobile and informal schools, have in radically improving the enrolment and literacy rates of pastoral children. SCUK's AABE centres in Somalia are based in pastoral communities using teachers identified from within communities. These are trained to teach a specially designed basic education curriculum for pastoralists	EU-funded SCOTT project for training of teachers across Somaliland and Puntland	SCUK in South Sudan has undertaken outreach mother and child health services, including EPI campaigns using camels to reach remote pastoralists. SCUK research on interventions that can increase milk supply, thereby improving the nutritional status of pastoral children NGO restocking programmes in Ethiopia
Social insurance				
Pastoral communities	**Private sector**	**Governments in East Africa with pastoral areas**	**Donors**	**Non-governmental and humanitarian actors**
Local institutions should encourage insurance schemes that protect the basic elements of pastoral livelihoods	Explore the feasibility of insurance schemes for demand-driven services, such as animal and human health and livestock or crop losses, health, livestock product and weather insurance	Develop regional regulatory framework to enable private sector to operate unfettered through provision of insurance and financial services	Fund pilot schemes for insurance packages that work to protect pastoralists against the cyclical nature of predictable shocks Share global expertise and experience from elsewhere	Pilot insurance schemes for pastoralists that prove the benefits of insurance policies Engage and involve governments in the implementation and analysis of the results of these pilots
Indicative interventions				
Investigate strengthening informal/traditional insurance mechanisms	Support pilot animal health insurance schemes through private vet pharmacies and associations of community animal health workers	Pilot replica of drought insurance pilot project from sedentary areas Introduce index insurance for pastoral animal husbandry. Basic terms for index insurance could be based on variations of weather, livestock mortality	Pilot animal health insurance projects with pastoralists Pilot replica of drought insurance pilot project from sedentary areas While funding health insurance schemes for the poorest has not proven successful, pilots could be implemented to show effectiveness in pastoral areas	Pilot replica of drought insurance pilot project from sedentary areas Restocking programmes that work to reinforce traditional restocking (insurance) obligations within pastoral communities

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Table 4: (continued)

Social equity				
Pastoral communities	**Private sector**	**Governments in East Africa with pastoral areas**	**Donors**	**Non-governmental and humanitarian actors**
Identify households in pastoral communities outside of informal social protection mechanisms and develop acceptable ways for these households to receive support Agree local norms in the community concerning the protection of these households	Recognise that social equity is a means to a more vibrant, economically successful pastoral market	Provide civic space for pastoral communities and civil society to present their interests to government fora With pastoral communities, develop legislative and codified instruments that ensure pastoral communities are taken into account in all wider government policies and legislation Put appropriate checks and balances in place to ensure that social assistance and services do not exclude the poorest	Fund research and monitoring as part of wider social protection programmes to monitor equity of inclusion and impact	Pilot schemes that provide support to pastoralists outside of social networks, and document the socio-economic advantages of such an approach Engage and work with governments to assess impact of social protection programmes on poorest using livelihoods frameworks
Indicative interventions				
The Kenya HSPN includes a Rights Monitoring element through which community members can raise issues on rights abuse, and which will promote respect for the rights of all individuals and communities		Oxfam's regional 'Pastoral Information project' is working with governments throughout the Horn to ensure statistical collection and advocacy for inclusion of pastoral-specific information in national statistics	Monitoring element of HSPN in Kenya.	SCUK's household economy analysis report 'Vulnerability and Dependency in Four Livelihood Zones in North Eastern Province' (2007) has been valuable in highlighting the levels of deprivation that exist in pastoralist areas in Kenya: Kenya was often considered to be relatively wealthy

4 Conclusions and recommendations

This paper has highlighted how pastoralist communities in east Africa are marginalised from social protection measures for various reasons, including: perceptions by policy-makers that they are 'backward', economically inefficient and environmentally destructive, poor pastoralist representation in national and regional political structures, location in highly insecure and remote areas, which limits access by social service providers, and because countries with pastoral populations are amongst the poorest in the world, with limited resources for remote and hard-to-reach populations.

Consequently, the policy and practice of delivering formal social protection is skewed in favour of the majority sedentary populations. In pastoral areas, 'social protection' initiatives have been neglected, with a dominance of often inappropriate social assistance packages, such as food aid. However, historically, and partly as a result of this exclusion, pastoralists have developed strong informal social protection networks based on religious, clan or family affiliations. These have always played a vital role in ensuring that pastoralist livelihoods have remained viable through the chronic shocks inherent to pastoral lifestyles, such as drought. However, informal social mechanisms are under severe pressure as recent research and analysis indicates pastoralists in the region are growing poorer. Reasons for this include:

- lack of access to markets;
- conflict, both large scale and inter-tribal clashes;

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- livestock disease and poor animal health care services;
- lack of investment in infrastructure and basic social services;
- disrupted and poor access to markets;
- reduced and overused grazing areas as land lost to agriculture, national parks and other commercial uses;
- general increases in human populations resulting in increased competition for rangeland resources;
- weak civil society resulting in poor representation in local and national governance structures;
- recurrent weather crises, particularly frequent droughts; and
- restrictions on movement across national boundaries.

Given pastoralists' poor welfare status and their increasing poverty and vulnerability it is clear that they are in greater need than most of effective social protection mechanisms. General and specific recommendations for improving social protection provision for pastoralists are set out below.

4.1 General recommendations

4.1.1 All actors should adopt an holistic approach to social protection

The paper has highlighted all four pillars of social protection in order to reinforce the point that social protection is not just about social assistance programmes such as food or cash handouts. Social assistance alone is not equivalent to social protection when addressing complex pastoralist livelihoods. In line with this argument, the African Union has responded to the call for developing 'continent-wide policy frameworks that will secure and protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of the pastoralists across Africa' (AU-UNOCAH, 2008). Policy-makers need to understand that holistic social protection can significantly contribute to national and regional economic growth, food security and civil obedience in pastoral areas.

4.1.2 Understanding pastoral livelihoods

Social protection mechanisms in pastoral areas must be grounded in a thorough understanding of pastoral livelihoods. This requires a shift from short-term emergency responses to long-term investments in livelihoods. Approaching pastoral poverty and vulnerability from a livelihoods perspective rather than an emergency response perspective will require a fundamental shift in state and donor policy and resource allocation. This shift should address the heavy biases in levels and types of emergency programming in pastoral areas rather than development programming and responses that are not tailored to mobile, pastoralist livelihoods. Populations in need of food aid are not the same as those in need of social protection. Food aid only addresses one part of social assistance and should be the social assistance instrument of last resort, not first resort. Food aid does not begin to address issues of social equity, insurance or services. Poor resource allocation, under-financing of development initiatives and poor political engagement in pastoral areas are undermining the social contract between pastoral populations and governments. Without adequate and comparable levels of investment in long-term initiatives, the social protection framework cannot meaningfully exist.

4.1.3 Acknowledge the value and contribution of informal social protection mechanisms and work to develop them wherever possible

A holistic approach to social protection in pastoral areas cannot ignore informal mechanisms. In absolute cash terms the support provided to pastoralists by pastoralists is often far greater than any formal government or donor programmes. Many of the informal social protection mechanisms ensure assistance is more comprehensively and transparently provided than formal schemes. Government or donor programmes that have built on existing informal service provision such as education have proved to be among the most effective approaches in the delivery of basic services.

4.2 Specific recommendations

Specific recommendations for each of the actors involved in social protection in pastoral areas are highlighted below:

4.2.1 Donors

Despite an increasing acknowledgement of both the contribution of pastoralists to national economies and their increasing marginalisation, funding and action remain heavily biased towards humanitarian relief programmes, particularly food aid. If donors are to more effectively address marginalisation, donors should:

- Work together to develop a unified policy framework on social protection for pastoralists in the region. The framework should emphasise strengthening informal social protection mechanisms and filling the gaps within informal social protection frameworks in order to address the vulnerabilities of pastoralists.
- Advocate with and fund governments in eastern Africa to develop national social protection frameworks for pastoralists.
- Acknowledge that additional costs may be associated with providing appropriate and equitable social protection programmes to pastoral populations.
- Identify, disseminate and promote replication of good practice from countries within the region and elsewhere.
- Fund innovative/pilot social protection schemes and programmes that also contribute to achievement of the MDGs (e.g. there is a positive relationship between social protection initiatives and lower child mortality rates).
- Fund quality research and monitoring as part of wider social protection programmes to monitor equity of inclusion and impact for pastoralist communities.

4.2.2 Governments

In principle, governments are primarily responsible for the protection of their citizens from vulnerability and poverty

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through the provision of social protection (Thomas, 2005). In practice however, 'social protection is … typically prompted by humanitarianism and charity or the need to reward supporters and as a consequence its coverage is patchy and the approach adopted is inconsistent and contradictory' (Thomas, 2005). Governments in the region should:

- (Re)commit themselves to developing costed social protection strategies and resource the appropriate ministries to deliver and implement such strategies, ensuring the meaningful engagement of legitimate pastoral leaders.
- Recognise the important and positive contribution pastoral livelihoods make to national economies and allocate resources to strengthen pastoralists' contribution.
- Together with neighbouring governments, invest in shared analysis and enable a regulatory framework that encourages the private sector, communities and (where necessary) non-governmental actors to fill gaps in services.
- Support the livestock sector through infrastructure investment, improving market access, trade agreements and livestock health services.
- Significantly increase investment in social services for pastoral communities given the positive relationship between social protection initiatives and lower rates of child mortality. Investment in education; human health; water; and animal health services are all necessary.
- Identify effective models of service provision piloted by local governments, non-governmental/community actors (within or out of the country) for replication and scale up.
- Provide civic space for pastoral communities and civil society to build consensus on social protection initiatives and to be actively involved in the development and implementation of government social protection policies and plans.
- With pastoral communities, develop legislative and codified instruments that ensure pastoral communities are taken into account in all wider government policies and legislation.

4.2.3 Non-governmental and humanitarian actors

Humanitarian organisations in eastern Africa operate under a range of regulatory systems, from the highly restrictive to the ad hoc. Humanitarian organisations must work to support the development of coherent and unified frameworks for pastoralists at the national and regional level. In particular they should:

- Adopt a livelihoods approach in policy and programme development that reduces vulnerability to disaster risk through long-term development programming.
- Highlight and pilot alternative or innovate social protection programmes that support pastoral livelihoods (often at scale), ensuring that these can be replicated and scaled up by governments or others.
- Build the capacity of pastoral organisations and structures to improve their representation in, and engagement with, formal government and other actors such as the private sector.
- Continue to support communities to expand their understanding and participation in both formal and informal social protection mechanisms through training and mobilisation of resources at the grass-roots level.

4.2.4 Private sector

The private sector plays a pivotal role in the development of pastoral areas. For example, private traders in Ethiopia's pastoral areas control livestock marketing, estimated to generate as much as $100m annually for pastoralists. In addition, the vast majority of complementary livestock and other products produced in pastoral areas are run by the private sector (meat, milk, hides, skins, rain-fed cereal production, gum Arabic, resins, aloes, charcoal, salt, building materials and remittances). The sector's engagement is motivated by economic factors, where the margin of profit from services provided is also determined by the type of services, accessibility of reaching clients and the risk attached to the service. Generally, private sector involvement in the provision of social protection in pastoral areas is limited to better-off and middle wealth pastoralists who can afford services.

However, livelihoods analysis has shown that the well-being of poor pastoralists is often heavily dependent on the success of better-off pastoralists. Consequently, a vibrant private sector is an essential part of any long-term development strategy for pastoral areas. There is significant potential for the private sector to expand its role in many areas, particularly water; animal health; financial and insurance services; and telecommunications. A facilitative enabling environment is key. However private sector operators should:

- Demonstrate to governments how they can improve the efficiency and effectiveness of social protection mechanisms in the areas of assistance, social services and, potentially, social insurance.
- Advocate for and work within a regulatory framework that facilitates demand-driven services, such as financial services or animal health.
- Identify gaps in existing social protection mechanisms where there is a comparative advantage in terms of quality, experience and value for money.

4.2.5 Pastoralists

The review of informal social protection mechanisms highlights that pastoralists are largely responsible for the provision of their own social protection mechanisms. Social services developed by and within pastoral communities are likely to be the most appropriate for pastoralists. Formal services should seek to build on or replicate these models in conjunction with communities.

Evidence on the ground suggests that pastoralists are willing to use their capabilities as individuals, households and communities. They do not want to be stigmatised as poor and dependent. Repeated food hand-outs are never included

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on their wish list for assistance; rather, they want to be supported to maintain viable livelihoods. Pastoralists themselves are best placed to identify opportunities to build on informal insurance mechanisms and suggest how these could be strengthened by formal programmes. Current projects that support restocking following emergencies are a start. Exploring the potential to encourage richer pastoralists to take out insurance policies against livestock losses that would cover their obligations to poorer relatives/clan members in bad years is another example. To work effectively, all such ideas will require input from pastoralists.

The critical gap for pastoralists has been a lack of involvement in policy-making, planning and implementation of formal social protection efforts. Their lack of representation and active participation in claiming social protection has resulted in serious gaps in the coverage and appropriateness of provision. Pastoralists themselves must be supported to be mainstreamed into established governance structures. Recommendations include:

- Developing stronger pastoral organisations that can participate at all levels of government and with other stakeholders and are proven to be representative of their constituents.
- Improved engagement with other stakeholders in the development of development policies that build on experiences in informal social protection activities.
- Pastoralists need to be prepared to be active participants in managing and implementing elements of formal social protection mechanisms.

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