
Pastoralism, Social Protection and Vision 2030 in Kenya: Possibilities and Prospects

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Introduction

Pastoralists inhabit many parts of northern Kenya, many of which are arid and semi-arid. Pastoralists suffer from vulnerabilities related to scarcity because of the arid and semi-arid conditions. The region suffers from shortages of water and pasture, which often lead to conflict. This chapter argues that Kenya needs to deploy social protection strategies for pastoralist groups in Kenya in order to protect them from various social, economic, political and environmental hazards and calamities. There is need for structures and institutions that should be deployed in order to protect Kenyans who inhabit these regions from destitution and vulnerability.

The chapter is based on research which investigated the availability of social protection structures and institutions among pastoralists in northern Kenya. The paper makes a case for social protection in Kenya. Northern Kenya needs social protection, which consists of policies and programmes designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption or loss of income. The paper critiques Vision 2030 and suggests mechanisms by which pastoralists can be incorporated in Kenya's development more meaningfully. It is argued that Vision 2030 has not addressed the plight of pastoralists in political, economic and social realms in ways that would integrate them advantageously in national, regional and global market places. How do pastoralists engage new global realities? The paper shows that with ICT and the introduction of cell phones in rural areas, pastoralists are part of the global market place. They follow auctions on livestock on the stock exchange and stock market as well as produce carcasses for export and domestic production. The paper shows

that pastoralists are increasingly becoming aware of the importance of selling and offloading herds at an advantage, before drought sets in. Pastoralists in Kenya seem ready to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century.

It is suggested that social protection will moderate the impact of shocks among pastoralist groups in the region. Social protection will sharply improve incomes by allowing better access to the market. Modern roads and an international airport will help the livestock sector, which is the mainstay of economic activities in the region. Social protection and economic support through micro enterprises can also enhance the productive capabilities of pastoralist men and women in northern Kenya, reducing poverty and inequality and stimulating pro-poor growth.

The Millennium Development Goals and Kenya's Vision 2030

The Government of Kenya is committed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and has focused on lowering extreme poverty rates and attending to the escalating HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country. Northern Kenya suffers from extreme levels of poverty and has poverty incidence levels of 90 per cent in some counties, far higher than the national average of 60 per cent. Since 2003, the government of Kenya has introduced universal primary schooling as part of its commitment to providing education for all by 2015. Against this background, Kenya Vision 2030 was conceived and launched as a national framework to address the MDGs and Kenya's own peculiar development needs.

Vision 2030 promises to open up northern Kenya, but one wonders if this plan will be different from previous plans which promised a lot of for the region, such as provision of water, but were never implemented. Perhaps one of the greatest highlights is the projected development of Isiolo town into a resort city that will serve a huge catchment area that includes Aberdares, Samburu and Meru national parks. Isiolo played host to the popular American reality TV show 'Survivor' when it was shot in Samburu. Isiolo has also hosted many films and will therefore be the resort city of choice for many. Vision 2030 seeks to attract local and international investors to make this a reality, to optimise tourism potential and the city's capacity to cater for a large number of visitors. There is a need to ensure that Vision 2030 is promoted in tandem with social protection capacity in northern Kenya in order to take care of the interests of local herders in the region.

In 2007 the government of Kenya created the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. Creation of this ministry stimulated new interest in the region after many years of neglect and marginalisation. Before then, the region was regarded as a development backwater and pariah region. There is a realisation that policy interventions can improve the well-being of the region with, among other things, infrastructure development, such as the modern tarmac road from Isiolo to Marsabit which opened up the region from early 2011. The government of Kenya also proposed to build a fifth international airport in Kenya

at Isiolo town (after Nairobi, Mombasa, Eldoret and Kisumu), the first such facility in northern Kenya, and likely to open up the area even further.

In 2011, the then Minister of Planning and Vision 2030 in Kenya admitted that it was not going to be possible for Kenya to achieve all the Millennium Development Goals as well as Vision 2030. This was not surprising because in Kenya, plans are often simply made to satisfy policy and donor correctness. This has been the practice since independence in the 1960s when in one of the Water Master Plans, the government of Kenya indicated that by the year 2000, every Kenyan home would have pipe borne clean and potable water. In 1995, just five years away from 2000, and on realising that it was not going to achieve this goal, the plan was revised to read that by 2000 every home would be at least 10 kilometres from pipe borne clean and potable water. It was therefore, not surprising to many Kenyans when the Minister for Planning called for the revision of some of the goals in Vision 2030. Although when Vision 2030 was unveiled in 2009 many stakeholders received the news with a great deal of excitement, the pastoralists were not as excited. This is because many of the plans in Kenya have always tended to favour farmers and not herders or pastoralists (Amutabi 2009a; 2009b).

When Vision 2030 was unveiled in 2009, many stakeholders received the news with a great deal of excitement, except the pastoralists in Kenya. The pastoralists were left out for many reasons. First, the focus in Vision 2030 seemed to be on agriculture, industry and infrastructure development in major cities, which are all located outside the pastoralist regions. Second, the creation of the Ministry of Northern Kenya meant that pastoralists were no longer regarded as part and parcel of the rest of Kenya. Third, the lack of a clear government policy on livestock and development, as compared to agriculture, has undermined the pastoralist economy and exposed herders to exploitative middlemen from southern Kenya who often buy cattle during periods when pastoralists are most vulnerable. Fourth, the perennial drought, famine, livestock diseases and insecurity problems in northern Kenya have not been addressed in Vision 2030 in ways that are clear to the area's residents. Fifth, many NGOs have been pushing for irrigation schemes, many of which have been undermined by lack of government support and the threat of wildlife (Amutabi 2006). The lack of clear policies on social protection for pastoralists has implications for development in Kenya. Many pastoralists do not have access to clean water, good roads, schools and health services compared to their counterparts in the south. Policies on disaster preparedness and disaster management, and early warning and drought monitoring are lacking.

Problems Afflicting Northern Kenya

Northern Kenya and pastoralist rangelands remain backwaters of Kenya's development focus (Amutabi 2009a). Scarcity of water, insecurity and livestock-related problems are the three major evils that afflict northern Kenya (Amutabi

2009b). The government of Kenya should end the ambivalence and policy silences around pastoralists and northern Kenya and create structures of inclusion through social protection. Social protection will enhance the capacity of poor and vulnerable persons in northern Kenya to manage economic and social risks such as scarcity of water, pasture and other general problems such as unemployment, exclusion, sickness, disability and old age. There are simple programmes such as harvesting of rain water, providing irrigation canals from major rivers like the Tana River, and sinking of boreholes in strategic places than could be introduced without a lot of capital. Such projects can only succeed if identified by and implemented in collaboration with all the stakeholders, especially local people.

Government agencies and NGOs in Kenya have had little success in northern Kenya largely as a result of pursuing top down policies instead of bottom up options (Amutabi 2006). Government agencies have tended to use development models from the north, for which there are no models for pastoralists. They lack proper development models rooted in the local culture and ethos of nomadic pastoralists of northern Kenya. This perception of development focuses attention on importing development paradigms and ideas from the North, and results in the absence of a maintenance culture, which is a necessary condition of sustainable development. Development of the rangelands can only succeed through bottom up approaches under social protection. This will be different from top down approaches which have tended to undermine the pastoralist ethos and survival mechanisms, seeing them as primordial.

Herders have occupied the same savannahs with wildlife in East Africa for over 2,000 years. Present research suggests that shared grazing between wild and domestic herds may be mutually helpful. Locking out and evicting pastoralists from national reserves and game parks through restrictive fencing does not solve the problem of rangeland use. It creates greater problems by forcing pastoralists into greater antagonism with farmers and other pastoral populations. Some NGOs in Kenya have moved in to limit environmental degradation in the rangelands, while creating structures and institutions of empowerment for pastoralists (Amutabi 2006). These include Action Aid, the Kenya Energy and Environment Organizations (KENGO), Kenya Pastoralist Survival Forum, The Pastoralists Forum, the Environment Liaison Center International (ELCI), and the Society for the Protection of the Environment in Kenya (SPEK). The problem has been that some of these NGOs focus on preserving the environment with very little attention given to the social protection of pastoralists.

During drought and after cattle raids, many pastoralists often lose large herds. Many become destitute while others die due to lack of sources of revenue and food. They clearly need social protection that targets supporting groups that have been excluded from formal and informal economic and social structures such as the labour market, especially women, youth and the disabled. Through a combination of interrelated activities, social protection aims at improving living and working

conditions for those dependent on the informal economy and other vulnerable groups who face challenges in finding formal employment. The intention of social protection is to provide mechanisms for people to survive against the ravages of nature, marginalisation and poverty, and reduce susceptibility among vulnerable groups such as pastoralists. Although there are attempts to develop infrastructural facilities as well as income generating capacities in northern Kenya, there is a need for people to be involved in some of the decisions in lieu of the top down approach that presently dominates government thinking and some parts of the NGO world.

There has been a lot of wastage in the use of resources in northern Kenya. There are twenty-seven national parks in the region, which generate a lot of revenue for central and local governments. Unfortunately, much of the revenue is lost in corrupt deals and wasteful practices. Since social protection encourages efficient utilisation and tapping of the environment and use of resources in a sustainable manner, many county governments in northern Kenya need training on how to apply social protection in their respective communities. Since social protection aims at promoting access to basic needs and enhancing potential and capacity of marginal groups, the intention of any intervention mechanism would be to focus on specific target groups. Social protection seeks to equip people with skills and knowledge, to allow them to protect themselves from vulnerability and disruptions, such as preventable diseases in cattle and humans, environmental degradation, catastrophes such as drought and flooding, as well as loss of livelihoods. Northern Kenya would be an ideal candidate for this type of knowledge (Amutabi 2009a).

Making a Case for Social Protection for Pastoralists in Northern Kenya

The Kenya Land Conservation Trust has pointed to the lack of commitment by the government in the interests of northern Kenya, given the lack of direction on the same, in Vision 2030. The Kenya Land Conservation Trust commented that 'Although Vision 2030 targets key areas and opportunities, some of which may complement the pastoral livelihoods of those in north-eastern Kenya, nothing specific was identified to support communities in this region [to] develop opportunities outside of the major towns or National Parks'. Clearly, northern Kenya needs social protection programmes in order to enable residents to survive catastrophic episodes they are forced to endure yearly due to factors that are clearly not of their making. Access to basic needs such as water and food is a human right which social protection should guarantee. Social protection consists of policies, formal and informal interventions as well as specifically designed structures to cater for vulnerabilities and lessen human suffering. Besides the harsh climate and their almost inhabitable physical terrain, pastoralists have often been excluded from much of the development in Kenya largely as a result of being on the fringes of the national economy and activities (Amutabi 2009a).

The government of Kenya tends to pay more attention to farming than to herding of animals, an approach that favours some sections of the country more than others. In agricultural policies, the focus is often on crops and exotic breeds, and not on the borana and zebu cattle which the pastoralists raise (Amutabi 2009a). The colonial government pursued similar isolationist and discriminative projects in northern Kenya. Zwanenberg has observed that,

The colonial view had consistently been that pastoral, and particular nomadic activities, were primitive, backward and to be discouraged. This view underlay the permanency of the stock control regulations, and especially the quarantine [screening] regulations, which precluded any official encouragement of stock trade (Zwanenberg 1973:224).

Policies that incorporate social protection vis-à-vis cattle are likely to alleviate the suffering of people in the region. The issue to highlight is that the life of pastoralists is intimately and intricately intertwined with that of their livestock. Any policy intervention should therefore have livestock in its framing. Livestock provides much of the livelihoods and sustenance of pastoralists (Ndege 1992). Therefore policies that incorporate livestock keeping in social protection are likely to alleviate the suffering of people in the region.

Northern Kenya needs social protection policies because it is evident that development policies in northern Kenya have not been working since the 1950s. Government policies and development approaches, models and programmes are inappropriate and potentially disastrous to pastoralists in northern Kenya, especially because they create dependency (Hogg 1982; 1986). Hogg has argued that it was the nature of the pastoralist society that allowed the development of dependent structures. This is different from the argument in this paper. The paper recommends social protection, arguing that it will not engender dependency because social protection allows for the creation of structures and institutions of empowerment. The problem lies with development approaches that have been used in the past that did not take cognisance of local voices and needs. Local dynamics and mechanisms should be incorporated into any preparation of development approaches and models for northern Kenya.

The United Nations Research Institute for Development sees social protection as involving prevention; the management and overcoming of situations which often adversely affect the quality of people's lives (UNRID 2008). Therefore, social protection consists of policies and programmes designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting well-organised labour markets, minimising people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capability to manage economic and social risks, such as joblessness, segregation, disease, disability, insecurity and old age. In northern Kenya, social protection mechanisms and strategies must by and large involve livestock because this is the economic backbone of the region. Any plans for social protection must revolve around the improvement of the livestock sector through provision of water and pasture.

There are six main areas in social protection that can be applied to northern Kenya. First is what is called social insurance programmes which are supposed to cushion people from risks associated with societal problems such as sickness, unemployment, destitution, being orphaned, injury, and old age. Northern Kenya has many individuals who need social insurance from the government because many of them have become victims of certain circumstances, largely because of government neglect and poor policies. Improvement of livestock quality and making sure that there is adequate water and pasture in the rangelands will improve the state of residents in northern Kenya. There has been much talk about providing water from the Tana and other big rivers to supply northern Kenya, but this has remained largely on paper. With the devolved system of government, many parts of northern Kenya are likely to experience rapid development if they receive adequate water supplies.

There are many young and old people who have often been exploited in the rangelands of northern Kenya. Child labour is rampant for example, where young boys and girls are employed as herd boys and girls and trained in handling dangerous weapons such as AK-47 and M16 for protection of herds (Simala and Amutabi 2005). Frequently girls are married off early in exchange for dowries, usually involving hundreds of livestock (Amutabi 2009b). Many adults have lost their livestock to raiders due to poor security arrangements and lack of proper insurance against theft of livestock. If farmers have insurance for their crops, it only makes sense for herders to be given insurance for their livestock as well; otherwise this would amount to segregation and discrimination. The region has many economically internally displaced people (IDPs) and economic refugees occasioned by bad government policies that have not given pastoralists social, economic and political security.

Second, there are social assistance programmes which are predicated on the provision of some kind of welfare service to the most vulnerable groups, many of which may not have adequate access to basic life sustaining components such as water, food, shelter, clothing, security and education due to policy neglect or marginalisation. Third, social protection takes care of environmental refugees as a result of drought, floods, earthquakes and other natural catastrophes. Such problems are common among pastoralists in northern Kenya largely as a result of a fragile ecosystem and harsh environment that receives very little annual rainfall.

Fourth, social protection focuses on micro-finance and micro-enterprises, popularised in Bangladesh, where the government needed to create an enabling environment in which people's vulnerabilities are minimised through credit schemes which do not require colossal collateral or complicated and sophisticated lending mechanisms. The aim is to address vulnerability at the community level, including through the provision of soft loans against major securities, especially to women, many of whom do not have property largely as a result of societal prohibitions

and inheritance laws and regulations. Some NGOs have tried to introduce micro-finance schemes and enterprises in northern Kenya in order to minimise vulnerability. But despite many years of operations in the region, northern Kenya residents remain vulnerable (Amutabi 2006). Fifth, social protection focuses on the market, especially around access and protection of consumers and suppliers. In northern Kenya, livestock marketing is brokered and controlled by agents from the south who often swindle pastoralists of their livestock through marketplace tricks and manipulation.

Why Northern Kenya Needs Social Protection

Northern Kenya needs social protection because pastoralists have been left out of many of the government development programmes in Kenya for many reasons. One of the reasons is that the focus in Vision 2030 is on agriculture, industry and infrastructure development in the major cities, which are all located outside the pastoralist regions. A critical examination of the current and previous budgets reveals that many development projects tend to be located in the south among farmers. Some scholars have suggested that herders have consistently received little or no attention from the government since the colonial days, but this should not be as an excuse because fifty years after independence all parts of Kenya should have equitable development.

Previous development plans in Kenya and Vision 2030 have not addressed the plight of pastoralists in political, economic and social realms, in ways that would integrate them advantageously in national, regional and global market places. The isolation of northern Kenya from the rest of the country has left the area to stagnate in general development (Dahl 1979). It is for this reason that many scholars think that the constitution promulgated in 2010 will assist the development of pastoralists and northern Kenya through devolution. In the devolved structure, county governments will have the final say on how funds are spent. Pastoralist counties in Kenya include Isiolo, Marsabit, Garissa, Mandera, Wajir, Baringo, Keiyo-Marakwet, Kajiado, Laikipia, Narok, Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot, and are likely to have more resources allocated to them in order to catch up with the rest of Kenya.

Although Kenya offers wide-ranging tourism products such as great diversity of flora and fauna in national forests and national parks, as well as coastal marine tourism and eco-tourism, very little passes to the common people in terms of direct earnings. Vision 2030 highlights many challenges and opportunities to take advantage of the development prospects in the tourism sector. It addresses some issues that are relevant to the possible development in northern Kenya, especially infrastructure development. Besides focus on tourist attractions, Vision 2030 seeks to increase and expand product choices for Kenya while improving the quality of destinations in northern Kenya such as Garissa, Isiolo, Marsabit, Maralal, Archers'

Post and Lodwar among others. Vision 2030 also mentions improvements in the general infrastructure and security of northern Kenya. Perhaps the most fascinating feature of Vision 2030 is the recognition of stakeholder participation, which calls for improved coordination and collaboration among private and public sector actors in the region.

Social protection is not only a concern for the government, but other stakeholders in development such as NGOs. Many scholars have pointed out that the problems of development in northern Kenya are predicated on institutional weaknesses and failure (Amutabi 2006; Fratkin 1998; Fratkin and Smith 1994; Hogg 1992); and Fratkin and Roth 1990). They argue that new changes are also occurring due to the influence of capitalism and globalisation. Commenting on the work of NGOs in northern Kenya, Elliot Fratkin has pointed out that new changes brought about by capitalism are hurting pastoralists in the region:

Pastoralists have increasingly shifted economy from subsistence production (producing mainly milk for the household consumption) to commercial production (beef and dairy products for sale both to domestic and export markets). This increased commoditization of livestock economy has led to large transformations of pastoral society, including increased polarization of pastoralists into 'haves' (owning private ranches) and 'have-nots,' with poor pastoralists working for wealthier kinsmen or migrating to towns in search of low paying jobs such as watchmen, or for women as maids or prostitutes (Fratkin 1998:22).

Kenya needs social protection due to the effects of globalisation. Due to lack of proper protection policies and breakdown of informal structures and institutions many pastoralists are ending up in urban areas performing manual tasks, and working as guards and prostitutes. These problems are occasioned by breakdown of informal and formal social and cultural structures and institutions.

The creation of the Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands has been regarded by others as a step back because it means that pastoralists were no longer regarded as part and parcel of the rest of Kenya. But this is negative thinking. Great efforts that seek to elevate areas that have previously been left behind must be applauded. The ministry has embarked on many development projects which need to be supported by county governments as encapsulated in the new 2010 constitution. The ministry needs to incorporate social protection into its programmes in northern Kenya in order to target all the pastoralists together with their herds. Pastoralists have suffered from drought and famine, as well as warfare and cattle diseases such as smallpox, rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases in the past. They need carefully prepared development interventions in health care, education and food security, which are likely to vastly enhance their quality of life.

Lack of clear government policies on livestock improvement compared to crop farming and agriculture in general has undermined the pastoralist economy and

exposed herders to exploitative middlemen from southern Kenya who often buy cattle during periods when pastoralists are most vulnerable (Amutabi 1999). Poor timing of offloading herds during drought and the right time to buy new stock for recovery after droughts have affected marketing of livestock by herders. Herders often sell when they are most vulnerable and are therefore often exploited by middlemen who buy their livestock at ridiculously cheap rates. There is need for social protection by the government, to buy the animals at reasonably competitive prices similar to the scheme the government has with cereal producers in Kenya. The Kenya National and Cereals Board often buys excess maize from farmers and places it in storage. This increases benefits for farmers because it saves them from exploitation by middlemen and commercial millers.

Through social protection pastoralists would be assisted by the government in selling and offloading herds at an advantage before drought sets in and the pastoralists in Kenya would be able to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century. Kenya needs social protection, more so in parts of northern Kenya which have been marginalised for a long time. This is because besides lack of potable water, northern Kenya suffers from persistent drought. Drought periods (1982–87; 1991–92; 1994; 2000; 2008–09; 2010–11) have plagued the northern region more than anywhere else in Kenya and have led to destitution both among semi-agriculturalists and pastoralists. Pastoralists' animals have died for lack of pasture and adequate supply of water. The droughts had the double impact of reducing agricultural productions and food security and led to serious outbreaks of famine in many parts of the country. Kenya was for a long time self-sufficient in food production, especially up to the 1980s, but is not any more as a result of frequent droughts. During the drought periods, agro-based manufacturing fell, and water shortages resulted in decreased production in the generation of electricity (as over 90 percent of electricity in Kenya is hydro-generated) and therefore in the industrial sector.

Due to recurrent famine in northern Kenya, some scholars have suggested that the region be given more attention by the state. Despite the incidence of perennial drought, famine, livestock diseases and insecurity problems have not been addressed in Vision 2030. While pastoralism usually implies nomadism, moving one's herds (with all or part of the human population) to available pasture and water, some pastoralists combine dry land farming with livestock keeping, a model of livelihood known as agro-pastoralism or semi-sedentary pastoralism. In eking out a living in these tough conditions, pastoralists have had to endure a number of problems. The lack of clear policies on social protection for pastoralists has implications for development in Kenya. Many pastoralists do not have access to clean water, good roads, schools and health services compared to their counterparts in the south. There is need for inclusion of more social protection structures and institutions among pastoralists in northern Kenya.

Land is an important resource for all Kenyan communities. In communal lands such as among pastoralists in northern Kenya, drought has often resulted in livestock and crop failure and hunger for many pastoralists. Subsequent to the drought have been poor and unreliable rainfall patterns since the 1990s, which has led to lower yields in agro-pastoralist activities along river valleys. Because of inheritance laws and regulations, the farm-holding size per household has decreased significantly due to continued subdivisions owing to inheritance practices. Over-cultivation has affected the quality of soils. Many of the soils which were low in fertility have deteriorated due to excessive cropping in recent years (Amutabi 1999). Rangeland productivity has been decreasing due to overgrazing, and high rural-urban migration by male household members has resulted in a shortage of farm labour.

Like other policy areas, social protection policies involve choices and priorities, for example between mere social safety nets and promotion of sustainable livelihoods, between short-and long-term alleviation and elimination of poverty, between universal and targeted programmes, conditional and unconditional schemes, food and cash transfers, etc. Criteria must be set for selecting which households, and who within them, should receive benefits. If schemes are conditional, then on what: participation in education, health, nutrition and, or work programmes? Is such participation by the poor and needy in fact constrained by demand or supply factors? Is it possible to improve institutional and management capacity?

Vision 2030 has not addressed the lack of capital and markets for livestock keepers in northern Kenya. There is a need for mechanisms and ways in which pastoralists can be incorporated in Kenya's development more meaningfully. Since the colonial period, Kenya has pursued policies based on the containment, pacification and sedentarisation of pastoralists. These policies have created hostility between the government and pastoralists, mainly in northern Kenya. Sir Charles Elliot, one of the colonial commissioners (governors) of the East African Protectorate (later Kenya), had no reservations about displacing pastoralists from their traditional lands: 'I cannot admit that wandering [ethnic] groups have a right to keep other superior races out of large tracts of land merely because they have acquired the habit of struggling over more land than they can utilize' (Kenya National Archives 1933-34:67). This kind of attitude dominated thinking in government even after Kenya became independent. There is a condescending attitude that seems to govern thinking about herders.

In the colonial period, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 gave the governor power to lease or sell land to settlers in Kenya. This saw many white settlers arrive in Kenya from South Africa and Britain (Maxon 1992). Colonial policy was to confine the pastoralists in 'native' reserves, while the authorities appropriated much of their free-range space for other purposes. Even after the Devonshire White paper of 1923 declared that the interests of natives were supreme when they conflicted with those of whites and Asians, things did not change for the pastoralists (Maxon 1992:

67). This attitude has not changed significantly many years after independence. In 2010 Kenya unveiled a new constitution after an acrimonious referendum, but the chapters, articles and sections on land still gave provisions for trust land in northern Kenya. This means that land ownership arrangements will still be different in the region compared with other parts of Kenya. The same argument used to undermine the pastoralist communal land owning culture is also used to denigrate land utilisation practices in the region.

Development stakeholders in Kenya use double standards in their discussion of land use patterns in northern Kenya compared to southern Kenya, and how they treat them. Formal and informal institutions are willing to grant loans and development opportunities to farmers in the south, but unwilling to do the same for herders. This has been going on for many years. Zwanenberg has noted that,

Pastoral peoples of Kenya ... did indeed live very close to the margins of existence all the time. They were exposed to recurrent food shortages and famines, and suffered greatly from diseases and malnutrition. They had to cope with an unreliable climate and frequent drought, and their technology, although well adapted to environmental conditions, was limited (Zwanenberg 1973:223).

Clearly land use policies have been discriminatory. Unequal development between northern and southern regions existed and is evident in the poor infrastructure, lack of policing and civil authority structures and institutions, lawlessness and high levels of insecurity and the dominance of an underground economy and other illegal activities in the north, compared to the rest of Kenya. There have even been suggestions to indicate that there was some collusion between southerners and colonial officials in exploiting northern Kenya. Why are the pastoralists the most marginalised people in Kenya despite the fact that livestock keeping has often made very high returns on domestic and international markets? Why have pastoralists not benefitted from good prices for their livestock like those in other parts of Kenya? It is possible that social protection would alleviate the suffering of pastoralists if intervention policies were created in order to harness all the potential in northern Kenya, and especially to improve the quality of herds in the region.

The colonial government's policy towards pastoralist communities was based on a perspective which saw pastoralists as practising an uneconomic and irrational herding system based on accumulation for its own sake (Fratkin 1998). Attempts have been made to undermine pastoralism as a practice, with the clear objective of gradually eradicating it as a mode of livelihood and lifestyle. Many NGOs have done this through funding irrigation projects such as Perkerra and Kiina on the Ewaso Nyiro River in collaboration with the government of Kenya both in the pre-independence period and still today. Introduction of cultivation and use of land through irrigation has exacerbated the plight of the pastoralist in arid and semi-arid areas. The effect of pastoralists' dependency on aid and

the vulnerable livestock sector, and the tendency for them to be 'empowered' as far as food supply is concerned, has been to deprive pastoralists of valuable pasture. Permanent water sources have been affected through diversion of water into irrigation canals. Many seasonal rivers such as Ewaso Nyiro and Turkwell that have increasingly been used in irrigation schemes are rendered dry most of the year. This has led to the deaths of many livestock leading to more pressure on the few water sources in the region. The result has been more conflicts over water and pasture in the region.

The indigenous land tenure system, where they practiced a 'communal' land tenure system in which sharing was less fractious and land was plenty, served pastoralists well for generations. Tenure in this context was thus a social and cultural institution: a relationship between individuals and groups or ethnic groups consisting of a series of rights and duties with respect to the use of land (Akong'a and Kareithi 1996; Birgegard 1993). In northern Kenya, sharing of resources has been rendered problematic by the continued existence of the colonial Trust Land Act, because of communal ownership of land and access to grazing fields.

Northern Kenya has some of the largest national parks in Kenya, such as the Samburu and Marsabit national parks, which earn Kenya significant revenue from tourist earnings as well as from harvesting some of the animals for export to foreign zoos through culling (Amutabi 2009c). Butherders have benefited very little from these activities. The government often sees the herders as a threat to wildlife and efforts have been intensified to fence them out using electric fences. Clearly this is unwarranted because the struggle between animal conservationists and Kenyan herders need not be hostile. In some areas, Kenya has had policies where residents around national parks and reserves receive a portion of the tourist revenues through local country councils, especially among the Maasai. This is done by use of game scouts and guards. Many herders in Kenya do follow the logic that wild animals, mainly ungulates like gazelles, wildebeest, zebras, and elephants are part of their environment and graze their animals freely alongside this wildlife. So long as these wild animals do not directly threaten their households or livestock, herders are enthusiastically preoccupied with their protection. There is therefore no good reason why eco-tourism and conservation that incorporates local herders as important stakeholders in conservation, as is done among the Maasai, cannot be extended to fellow pastoralists in northern Kenya.

A lot of the land loss in northern Kenya is due to political and economic factors as the government has been increasing its demand for foreign revenue gained by renting out land for commercial farming to Arab states for wheat, corn and rice, as well as for raising beef cattle, ostriches and turkeys. This has resulted in reduced and fragmented grazing areas and increased the impact of droughts and scarcity on pastoralists in northern Kenya. Fratkin has asserted, 'The process of commoditization divides up formally communal shared grazing resources, and

polarizes pastoral society into private ranchers and poor pastoralists'. Fencing has forced pastoralists to graze their livestock on an ever-shrinking range of inferior quality land (Raikes 1981). It might explain why droughts in 1999–2000, 2002–03 and 2010 led to more deaths of livestock and loss of human life in Turkana district compared to other districts in northern Kenya (Amutabi 2009a).

The other noticeable tendency in the approach of the government and some NGO operations in northern Kenya is an emphasis on modernisation-type projects such as privatisation of land among pastoralists, which has been going on in northern Kenya since the 1990s. The greatest hindrance to pastoralism in northern Kenya is the enclosure, privatisation and fencing of grazing lands which exclude former owners. Recognition of traditional land tenure is fundamental for the continuation of pastoralism in Kenya. Many herders in northern Kenya realise that this recognition will not come without great effort and pastoralists are progressively organising to defend their rights.

Modernisation and new technologies such as vaccination of livestock against many diseases as well as the introduction of artificial insemination have helped improve the quality of life of pastoralist herds. There are however some pursuits of modernisation that are inimical to pastoralist interests, such as fencing. Some policy makers in Kenya have also pushed for eco-tourism and the creation of group ranches. These modernisation projects, whose concern is with economic material improvement, do not much benefit the very poor, but the relatively wealthier elements of Kenya, particularly the African upper class who occupy senior positions in government. These projects also benefit senior politicians who have been allocating themselves pastoralists' land in northern Kenya through proxies. Many of the group ranches are managed by political cartels whose eco-tourism activities are dominated by the educated and elites in society. By incorporating Kenya's upper class from southern Kenya in the acquisition of huge chunks of land in northern Kenya, and by privatising it through issuance of land title deeds, the government and the international community are collaborating in exploiting pastoralists. The land question in northern Kenya is a 'human rights violation' because it is a form of exploitation.

Most common types of social protection include social assistance, where resources, either cash or in-kind, are transferred to vulnerable individuals or households with no other means of adequate support, such as to single mothers, the homeless, or the physically or mentally disabled. Pastoralists are socially coherent and dependent groups. When a family remains alone, it becomes vulnerable to raids and other calamities. The separation of northern Kenya from the rest of the country was part of the divide-and-rule policy and produced a form of economic apartheid. Since the white settlers were mainly in the south, they instituted quarantines protecting their livestock from diseases that they believed to inhere in the pastoralist herds in the north. Thus from 1912 up until today Isiolo town has been a screening

centre for onward livestock. Large blocks of quarantine facilities built during the colonial period are still in use. In this quarantine regime, animals had to be screened for 'native diseases' before they could travel south to where large markets such as Nairobi were located. The good news is that this is changing due to Vision 2030, which seeks to make Isiolo a major resort town for Kenya and replace its image as a quarantine, screening and holding town.

Quarantine laws were discriminatory and segregated against Africans. The laws and regulations sought to protect the herds of white settler ranchers from competing against pastoralists' livestock. The intention was to shelter settlers from open market competition. Government regulation denied pastoralists outlets for excess livestock leading to unhealthy congestion in their areas. Clearly, the laws were meant to protect white producers in Kenya and the colonial government did not care about what happened to the pastoralists. Quoting a Government livestock expert report, Raikes wrote in 1981,

For many years the pastoral native reserves have been in perpetual quarantine. This has been caused partly by the presence of disease, but largely by economic considerations. The expenditure at any time of comparatively small sums on veterinary services for these areas would have enabled them rapidly to be liberated from quarantine with "*disastrous effect upon the price of stock and stock products within the colony*" (Raikes 1981:118).

Quarantine still takes place in Kenya. There are warnings issued by veterinary officials from time to time against cattle diseases, such as foot and mouth, affecting mainly northern Kenya. Government officials are often too sensitive to transient and cross-border ethnic groups such as the Boran and Sakuye in northern Kenya, who often move back and forth across the international border. In the colonial period, screening focused mainly on Contagious Bovine Pleura Pneumonia (CBPP), a cattle disease, which was very prevalent in northern Kenya. George Ndege has pointed out that during the interwar years colonial policies regarding cattle movement and quarantine particularly hurt the pastoralists (Ndege 1992). Why has Kenya's independent government retained these quarantine laws? Research has revealed that CBPP, which made quarantine necessary and was the sole justification for it, has been eradicated since the 1970s, but the quarantine still remains in place. This has enraged many pastoralist leaders and the NGO community in Kenya. But the quarantine served other purposes in colonial Kenya. It has emerged that screening of livestock allowed the colonial government to gauge pastoralist economic production, and enabled it to keep track of pastoralists income for taxation.

Conclusion

Kenya's Vision 2030 is not sufficiently exhaustive and needs to do more for herders and pastoralists. Pastoralists in Kenya need social protection. Many of

their problems emanate from informal and formal institutional failure. Social protection, which consists of policies and programmes designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption or loss of income would be a fitting intervention. This chapter has shown that like other Kenyans, pastoralists are changing through their long history of contact with other societies. They also collaborate with other groups in economic, political and cultural realms.

Although Vision 2030 seeks to improve the state of people in the whole of Kenya, policies governing rangelands in northern Kenya must be friendly to herders. Pastoralists have shared the same space with wild animals, for many years in a symbiotic relationship. It is therefore wrong for wildlife conservation groups, mainly from Europe and the US, to advocate draconian measures that encourage the government of Kenya to lock out or evict or strictly restrict human activities within park precincts. For this reason the development of Isiolo into a resort city will enhance the status of northern Kenya. One hopes that Vision 2030 will not be hijacked by careerists in Kenya's civil service who have always undermined the role of stakeholders. It must be recognised that pastoralists would like to have input into what affects them. Eco-tourism was a good idea but it has been hijacked by elites and middlemen who have invested in hotels and tourist resorts at the expense of the ordinary people. Fault has also been found with the group ranches, which have been presented as an alternative to communal land ownership, for being manipulated by elites who have rented some of them to outsiders and pocketed the proceeds.

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