

**Rebuilding Herds by Reinforcing *Gargar/Irb* Among the Somali
Pastoralists of Kenya**

**Evaluation of Experimental Restocking Program in Wajir and Mandera
Districts of Kenya**



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Prepared by: Raphael Lotira Arasio

AU/IBAR
P.O. BOX 30786
Nairobi
Kenya

Feinstein International Famine Centre
School of Nutrition Science and Policy
Tufts University
Medford, MA 02155

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The views and opinions expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the institutions involved.

ACRONYMS

ALDEF	Arid Lands Development Focus
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASAL	Arid and Semi-arid Lands
AU/IBAR	African Union/Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources
CAHWs	Community-based Animal Health Workers
CAPE	Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology unit
CCPP	Contagious Caprine PleuroPneumonia
DSG	District Steering Group
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NORDA	Northern Region Development Agency
OFDA	Office for Disaster Assistance (part of USAID)
PA	Pastoral Association
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the evaluation of a restocking program in Mandera and Wajir districts of North-eastern Kenya implemented by NORDA (in Mandera) and ALDEF (in Wajir) following the drought of 1999/2001, through technical support from AU/IBAR/Tufts University-Feinstein International Famine Centre and financial assistance from OFDA/USAID. The program was experimental aimed to identify and assist those poor households that had not completely dropped out of pastoralism but were in danger of becoming one unless they were restocked, and to test if reinforcement of traditional support system, *gargar/irb/eima*, could sustain the initiative. 400 families (200 in each district) were restocked.

The evaluation assessed the status of beneficiaries 1.5 years after being restocked. The evaluation also focussed on the strengths and weaknesses of implementing the program, with detailed focus on selection of beneficiaries and willingness of communities to contribute for beneficiary families. The information gained from the evaluation would be vital in informing donors, NGOs and the Government on the use of traditional support systems to sustain restocking programs and how it could be widely applied in future. The evaluation sampled 3 of the restocked areas and 23 of the beneficiary families in each district.

The major findings were:

- ✓ Most of the surveyed beneficiary families had attained the “minimum survival” flock/herd size of 40 shoats.
- ✓ Diseases were a major threat to herd growth. Common diseases included Fever (*Qano/Tuya*) and CCPP (*Ferefekle/Riwein*).
- ✓ The restocking significantly contributed to reduction in dependence on other sources of food from 84.1% to 57.9% and increased access to food through livestock from 15.9% to 42.1%.
- ✓ Dependence on other sources of income dropped from 91.3% to 60.3% and this was compensated by increased reliance on income from sale of livestock and livestock products from 8.7% to 39.7%.
- ✓ The surveyed beneficiary families had substantially re-established themselves as pastoralists albeit a small restocking package.
- ✓ The beneficiary families were not only afforded the chance to return to pastoral lifestyle but also the opportunity to re-unite and strengthen social ties with family members they separated from during drought.
- ✓ The willingness of the community to contribute for and support beneficiary families was widely and hugely unreserved.
- ✓ A lot of time was committed to selection of beneficiaries, resulting in selection of the right people who still had the will and motivation to keep livestock and return to pastoral lifestyle.

In conclusion, the program substantially contributed to increased herd/flock sizes and access to food and cash income among the restocked families. The community’s willingness to support the restocked families was widely unreserved. The restocked families were afforded the opportunity to return to pastoral lifestyle based on a skill they are familiar with. Based on these results, restocking emerges as one major way of restoring pastoral livelihoods after a disaster and could be widely replicated and supported by policy and legislative framework. Incorporating community self-support systems and involvement is key to sustainability of restocking programs.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the restocking program

In 1999-2001, Wajir and Mandera Districts, like other ASAL districts and some parts of medium and high potential areas of Kenya were affected by drought. According to Drought Monitoring Bulletins by Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP), this drought was protracted and adversely affected the rangelands of Northeastern Kenya. Some of the observed effects were: depleted pasturage, drying up of natural water sources, weakening and loss of livestock, high levels of human malnutrition, migration of pastoral households to urban centres in pursuit of food relief, and numerous families rendered relatively destitute and vulnerable. Overall, the mechanisms for coping with drought among the pastoralists of the two districts were overwhelmed. Compared to the drought of 1991/92, this drought was described to have been rapidly dealt with in the two districts. Livestock deaths, for instance, were reported at an average of 10-20% compared to 60% during the drought of 1991/92. To mitigate the impact of drought, several interventions were instituted, which included food relief (60-70% of populations of both districts put on relief food), supplementary feeding for the under five's and the old, destocking, emergency human health care and veterinary drug subsidy, water trucking and borehole repairs, cross-border peace initiatives to allow pastoralists access pastures in Ethiopia and Somalia, among others.

Indeed, as a result of these interventions, the displaced and vulnerable pastoral households recovered from drought to some extent. But the big question remained, *what can be done to these populations after this, given that they are devoid of skills to survive in the new environment?* Many development practitioners and policy makers with special interests in pastoral development and drought management have and are still testing technologies and models in search for a viable and effective solution to this question.

In the past two or three decades, restocking has been increasingly suggested and tried as one of the ways to rehabilitate destitute pastoralists post-disaster in order to return them to their previous way of life. Proponents of restocking on the one hand argue that, in such greatly variable and unpredictable environment where pastoralists live, livestock keeping and pastoralism remain the most viable options to sustain pastoral livelihoods. Opponents on the other hand are of the opinion that, given the increasing frequency of drought and pressure on pastoral resources, other sources of livelihood should be sought for pastoralists. One apparent weakness of such forms of drought or post-drought interventions implemented so far is the little reflection and support for traditional coping strategies, perhaps due to lack of information on how communities function. Where they have been tried, it is either done too late when the target group is desperately pursuing alternative livelihoods or community mobilization is inadequate. This has often undermined traditional systems that pastoralists have relied on for a long time leading to lasting reliance on outside aid.

A study by Christopher Pratt (2001) on traditional early warning systems and coping strategies among the pastoral communities in Northeastern Kenya indicated the existence of a traditional community support mechanism, known as *gargar* or *irb* or *eima*, where community members assisted those impoverished by drought, disease or livestock raids. Clare Oxby (1994) also documented the existence of such support systems among the pastoral Samburu (known as *Esile*) and the Turkana (known as *Kejokokinit*) of Kenya. Alan King (2001) also reported the existence of *Kaplawach/Tiliantany* among the pastoral Pokots of Kenya. It is envisaged that the strengthening and wider application of such traditional coping and rehabilitation mechanisms is of paramount importance for continuation of pastoralism. Based on this premise, a community

based restocking program was initiated in Wajir and Mandera Districts following the drought of 1999-2001 to maintain poor households as pastoralists, even though on a small scale (experimental). The aim was to identify and assist those poor households that had not completely dropped out of pastoralism but were in danger of becoming one unless they were restocked, and to test if reinforcement of *irb* can complement and sustain the initiative. Principally, the community were to fully contribute for the poor households. However, given the widespread effect of the drought of 1999/01, and on realization that the traditional support system had been undermined for long by changing circumstances such as outside interventions and urbanization, some outside assistance was necessary to restock the poor households.

1.2 The intervention

1.2.1 Context

The community-based experimental restocking program in Wajir and Mandera Districts of Kenya was carried out between August 2002 and January 2003 under funding from OFDA/USAID. Arid Lands Development Focus (ALDEF) in Wajir and Northern Region Development Agency (NORDA) in Mandera implemented the program. The Feinstein International Famine Centre administered the funds and provided technical backstopping. This program aimed to a) reinforce the traditional community-based *irb* system through community dialogue, b) maintain some 400 potential dropout pastoral families as pastoralists through shared contribution from the community and outside, c) enable pastoralists to receive reasonable prices for their livestock and access cash through the sale of their livestock, and d) incorporate a 'lessons learnt' component of the *irb* system to 'familiarize' donors, NGOs and the Government for wider application.

During this program, 400 families (200 in each district) were restocked each with 20 shoats and one donkey. The community contributed 5 of the 20 shoats while the program provided 15 shoats and one donkey per family, except in one community (Ashabito in Mandera) where, as a result of high prices of donkeys, the community contributed 3 shoats and Ksh 2,000 per family to mark up donkey prices. In total, the community contributed 2,000 shoats against 6,000 shoats plus 400 donkeys provided by the project. The project targeted those who had 5-10 shoats with possibility of having 2 camels or heads of cattle. Priority was given to female-headed households with young dependent orphans so as to redress gender imbalance.

1.2.2 Localities covered by the program

In Wajir, the program was carried out in eight localities on the west of the District, namely: Turantura, Arbajahan, Griftu, Garsekoftu, Athibohol, Hadado, Shantaabag and Lagbogol. In Mandera, 5 zones comprising of 12 centres/villages were covered. These included: Harer hosle zone (Harer hosle, garbakole and karo), Lafey zone (Alango gof, Alango dasheg, Lafey), Bore hole Eleven zone (Borehole eleven and Dabacity), Ashabito zone (Olla, Ashabito) and Shimbir Fatuma (Shimbir fatuma, Fincharo).

These areas were selected on the basis that they: were suitable for rearing of shoats; had large numbers of internally displaced people as a result of inter-clan clashes and the drought of 99/01; prioritised restocking as a post-disaster rehabilitation strategy (in PRA exercises conducted in 2001); had limited or no restocking done before; had adequate pasture and water; animal health services were easily accessible; and experienced huge animal losses due to the drought of 99/01. In both Districts, the program was discussed and approved by the District Steering Group (DSG) (DSG coordinates relief and development activities in the district initiated by donors, government

and NGOs). In Wajir, the implementing agency had vested interests in its areas of operation. In Mandera, the DSG was more concerned with equitable distribution of the available opportunities to all the clans that resided in the district to avoid any political uproar.

1.2.3 Implementation strategies

First step in implementation of the program was to sensitise the community on *irb* system so as to measure the willingness and register consent of the community to incorporate it into the proposed restocking program. Targeted restocking package per beneficiary family and the relative proportions to be contributed by community and project were also discussed and agreed upon. Part of mobilization was occupied by discussions on operational arrangements for the program-key issues being formation of restocking committees by community (to comprise of 50% women), number of beneficiaries targeted per locality, selection of beneficiaries, price ceiling for shoats and donkeys, and purchasing, handling and distribution arrangements including the necessary memoranda of understanding to be signed.

The identification, selection and approval of beneficiaries took place in public. The implementing agency and restocking committees along with the community members did this based on the following criteria: female-headed households with young dependents; potential dropouts from pastoral life with 5-10 shoats and 2-3 camels/cattle; and willing to go back to pastoral life. For every selected individual, background information form was filled and kept with the implementing agency. In Wajir, the contractor selected by the restocking committees did the purchasing of livestock, while in Mandera the implementing agency bought livestock directly from livestock owners.

On distribution day, each restockee brought animals that were given as *gargar*. The purchased stock was also assembled at the same point. These groups of animals were counted and checked separately for any deformities, signs of sickness and suitability (in age and size) for reproduction. Those involved in the check up were the restocking committees, beneficiaries, staff of the implementing agency, CAPE Veterinary field officer and personnel from livestock department of the Government of Kenya. In Wajir, animals that were found to be lactating and expectant were left with the restockee while the rest were mixed with those of the project. In Mandera, animals brought by the restockees were left with them. Stock brought by beneficiaries and those of the project were branded with the acronym of the implementing agency, dewormed with Ivomectin (also controls ectoparasites) and vaccinated against CCPP before they were distributed. The branding was for identification and monitoring purposes and to minimize tendency to sell and return to one who contributed. Staff of the implementing agency, personnel from veterinary and livestock production departments, community-based animal health workers and CAPE veterinary field officer jointly did the treatments and vaccination. At distribution, the beneficiary, the restocking committee and the implementing agency signed an agreement form that stipulated restriction of stock sales or slaughter or gift-giving for one year, and monitoring of the restocked herd and restockee's return to pastoral lifestyle. Also signed was the stock delivery form, witnessed by an official of the Veterinary department. Animals obtained through the restocking program were given as a gift.

2. THE EVALUATION

2.1 Objectives of the evaluation

It was planned that after the implementation phase of the program, an evaluation was necessary to identify strengths and weaknesses of the program and to assess the status of the beneficiary

families, with a view to generate lessons that will assist to develop guidelines for a wider application of community-based restocking programs in future.

The objectives of the evaluation were:

- 1/ To establish the current status of beneficiaries vis-à-vis their position at the start of the restocking program;
- 2/ To establish the extent to which beneficiaries perceive the restocking program has helped them to re-establish themselves as pastoralists and stand future shocks;
- 3/ To establish if the selection of beneficiaries was done in a fair manner;
- 4/ To highlight what the community members perceive as the strong and weak points of the restocking operation for Mandera and Wajir Districts;
- 5/ To assess the extent of willingness, now and in future, of the communities to make contributions to poor members of the community.

2.2 Methodology of the evaluation

2.2.1 Selection of sample sites and restockee families

Using community resource maps, the restocked areas were divided into 3 zones based on distinct and unique geographical/environmental features, administrative locations and distances from the district headquarters. Out of the 8 restocked localities in Wajir and 5 restocked zones (comprising of 12 centres) in Mandera, 3 sites from each district were selected using simple random sampling. The list of beneficiary families in each selected site was got from the implementing agency. During field visits, the list was read to the restocking committee so that beneficiary families that had moved to very far localities can be removed from the sampling frame. Beneficiary families confirmed accessible were selected using simple random sampling. For every beneficiary family interviewed, views of a non- restocked neighbour were sought.

2.2.2. Methods used in data collection and analysis

Participatory Appraisal (PA) methods were used to collect the required data. These methods were proportional piling, semi-structured interviews, livelihood analysis, community resource and seasonal movement maps. Direct counts of livestock of beneficiary families were done. Focus group discussions were conducted with restocking committees and groups of restockee and non-restocked families. Fresh data on demographics was collected from the interviewed beneficiary families. Representatives of NGOs (local and international), Government departments, provincial administration and local authorities were also interviewed. Project reports and other necessary literature were reviewed prior to field visits. The evaluation was conducted in March/April 2004. Qualitative and quantitative data collected were organized in Excel spread sheet and analysed using SPSS statistical package (SPSS Version 12.0). Frequencies, means, medians and significant differences between and within groups (analysis of Variance) were generated.

3 FINDINGS

3.1 CURRENT STATUS OF BENEFICIARIES COMPARED TO THEIR POSITION AT THE START OF RESTOCKING

3.1.1 Livestock owned

3.1.1.1 Shoats

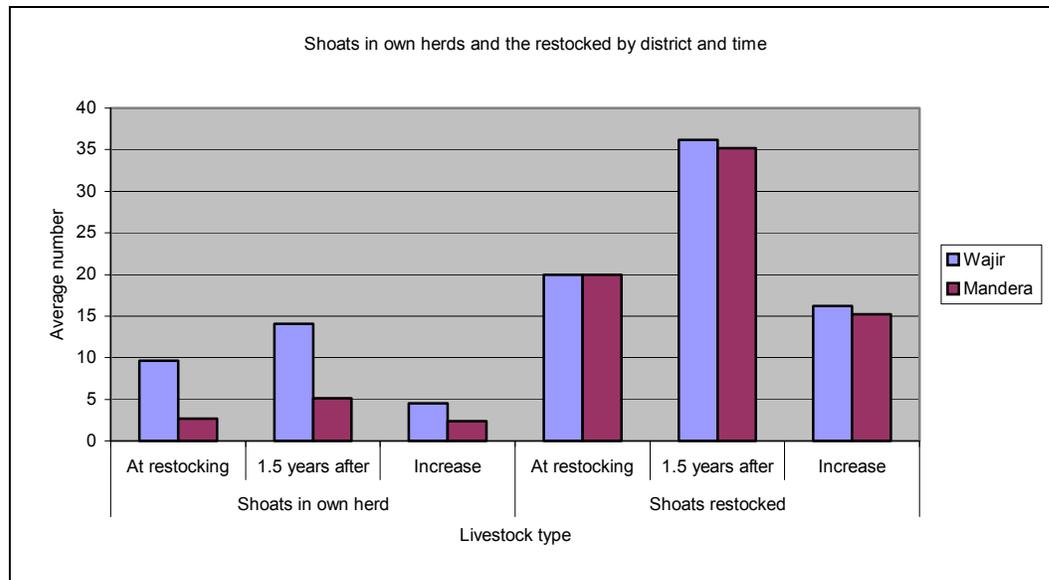


Figure 1: Shoats in own herds and stock obtained through the restocking program by district and time.

There were variations in the number of shoats in the own stock of restockee families by district at the time of restocking (Figure 1). The restocked families in Wajir had a mean of 9.6 shoats in own stock while those in Mandera had a mean of 2.7 shoats. The low mean number of shoats in own stock of beneficiary families in Mandera District was attributed to their tendency to make the community contribution (5 of the 20 shoats given by the program) from their own stock, leaving the parent own stock with few or no animals; beneficiary families in Wajir District got their community contribution from relatives and clan members.

In Wajir District, the restocked families in Griftu recorded a higher mean number (12.1) of goats in own stock than the other surveyed areas of Arbajahan and Hadado, while in Mandera District, no variations were observed in the number of shoats in own stock within beneficiary families across the surveyed areas. Griftu was said to be a very good area for rearing shoats.

After 1.5 years (at the time of the evaluation), the percent increase in number of shoats in own herds was higher among the beneficiary families in Mandera (88.9%) than in Wajir District (46.9%). This opposite scenario was said to be as a result of most beneficiary families in Wajir subsisting (through sales and slaughter) on shoats in own stock. Most beneficiary families in Wajir had moved distances away from centres into the pastoral range, limiting their chances of getting involved in supplementary sources of food and income; major source of food and cash income was therefore livestock slaughter and sales, unlike their counterparts in Mandera District.

The cost of living (high prices of consumer goods) was higher in Wajir than Mandera, necessitating sale of larger number of animals to cater for family's basic subsistence needs. Mandera District had a large catchment area for cheap consumer goods; from Ethiopia and Somalia.

Through the restocking programme, each beneficiary family in both districts was given 20 shoats. At the time of the evaluation (1.5 years later), these shoats had grown by a mean number of 16.2 (81%) and 15.2 (76%) among the beneficiary families in Wajir and Mandera respectively. Attempts to include even the lost offsprings in the calculations revealed that the expected mean number of young ones after 1.5 years was 24.5 and 20.5 for Wajir and Mandera respectively. The lower rate of growth in Mandera District was attributed to environmental effects (was drier than Wajir) and to many abortions that occurred (incidentally during the dry season and also possibly due to diseases). In both districts, most young ones were lost through diseases (neonatal mortality), and additionally through slaughter despite the restriction particularly in Wajir District. Herd growth among the beneficiary families in Wajir District was also affected by sales and slaughter of some parent stock animals obtained through the restocking program.

Overall, in terms of shoats' ownership, combining the current number of shoats in own stock and those obtained through the restocking program, most beneficiary families had crossed the "minimum survival or viable" herd/stock size of 40 shoats. This was said to be the minimum stock size required by a monogamous family with 4 children to return to pastoral life. The favourable herd growth among the beneficiary families in both districts was attributed to low disease incidences (due to purchasing of livestock from within and because of improved access to veterinary services), reduced conflict (one could lose a whole herd during conflict), favourable weather in the past one year, selection of the right people still motivated to keep livestock and support from relatives though stressful (assisted to restrain immediate sale of livestock which otherwise happened among some beneficiaries), right size, age and sex combination of animals distributed; these reasons equally presented in both districts.

3.1.1.2 Causes of losses in shoats in own stock and those obtained through the restocking program

The evaluation revealed that the common causes of losses in shoats in Wajir and Mandera Districts were diseases (*Othur*), slaughters (*Kaloshe*), sales (*Gathashe*), gifts (*Zadaka*) and wild predators (*Dhugak*) (Figure 2). In both districts, diseases equally emerged the major cause of losses in the adults and offsprings of shoats in own stock and the restocked. The offsprings suffered many losses through disease than adults. Commonly mentioned diseases in both adult and young animals were Fever (*qano/tuya*), Bloat, sheep/goat pox (*baga*) and CCPP (*ferefekle/riwein*). Most young animals died of starvation (*Alu*) during the dry season. Other diseases reported in adults were retained placenta, water poisoning, ectoparasites and endoparasites (*gorian*), hard tongue, bottle jaw (*mathabarar*), diarrhoeas (*alpati*), foot rot and orf. Abortions were countless.

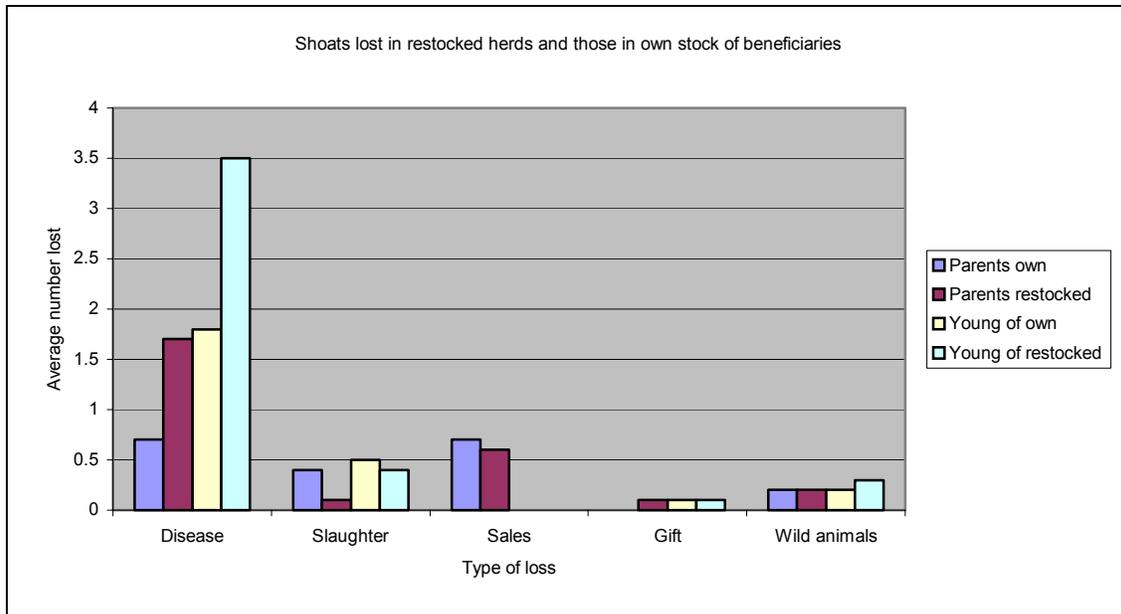


Figure 2: Causes of losses in shoats in own herds/flock and those obtained through the restocking program.

Most beneficiaries in Wajir slaughtered and/or sold some shoats both in own stock and those obtained through the restocking program than their counterparts in Mandera. Sales and slaughters highly affected shoats in own stock. Mostly sold were the adults while young ones were mostly slaughtered. Slaughters were in form of home consumption by family, reading qoran to bless the family and animals, perform rituals, for entertaining visitors, and during *idd-ul-fitir*

Most kids/lambs both in own stock and in shoats obtained through the restocking program were also lost through wild predators. The commonly mentioned wild predators were hyena (*durowein*), fox (*dhuhaha*), lion (*libiya*) and wild cat (*gutheguthena*). Adults and the young were also given out as gifts.

3.1.1.3 Cattle and camels

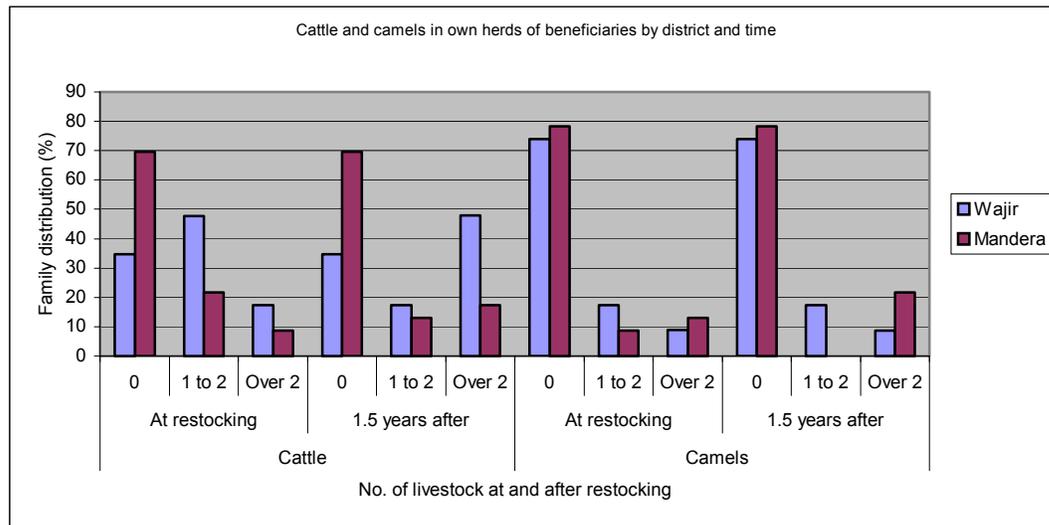


Figure 3: Cattle and camels owned by beneficiaries at and after restocking.

The Surveyed restockees in Wajir District had more cattle in their herds at the time of restocking than those in Mandera District. The restocked families had a mean of 1.7 and 0.6 heads of cattle in Wajir and Mandera respectively. Less than half of the restocked families (47.8%) had 1-2 heads of cattle while more than half (52.2%) had no cattle (Figure 3). Most of the cattle were got through milk loans. Dictated by the number of parent cattle in the herds at the time of restocking, after 1.5 years, the restocked families in Wajir District had proportionately more calves than those in Mandera District. No losses were reported in the parent cattle and also among their offsprings. Restocked families reportedly took good care of the loaned cattle because they were key to supply of milk to the family and also to avoid complications of paying back to the owner if it dies.

For camels, beneficiary families in both districts had a similar number at restocking and 1.5 years after. The mean number of camels owned at restocking and 1.5 years after restocking was 0.7 and 1.1 respectively. Over half of restocked families (70%) in the 2 districts did not own camels at the time of restocking and 1.5 years later.

3.1.2 Access to food and cash income by the beneficiary families.

3.1.2.1 Access to food

The common sources of food were food purchased from cash income from sale of livestock, meat and milk consumed at home, relief food or food for work, remittances from relatives, and food purchased from cash income from sale of wild products, casual labour and business (Figure 4).

In Wajir and Mandera Districts, before restocking, beneficiary families got most of their food from relief (27%), remittances from relatives (24%) and food purchased from cash income from sale of wild products, casual labour and business (35.2%). Food from cash income from sale of livestock, meat and milk consumed at home only contributed a small proportion (15.9%) of total food.

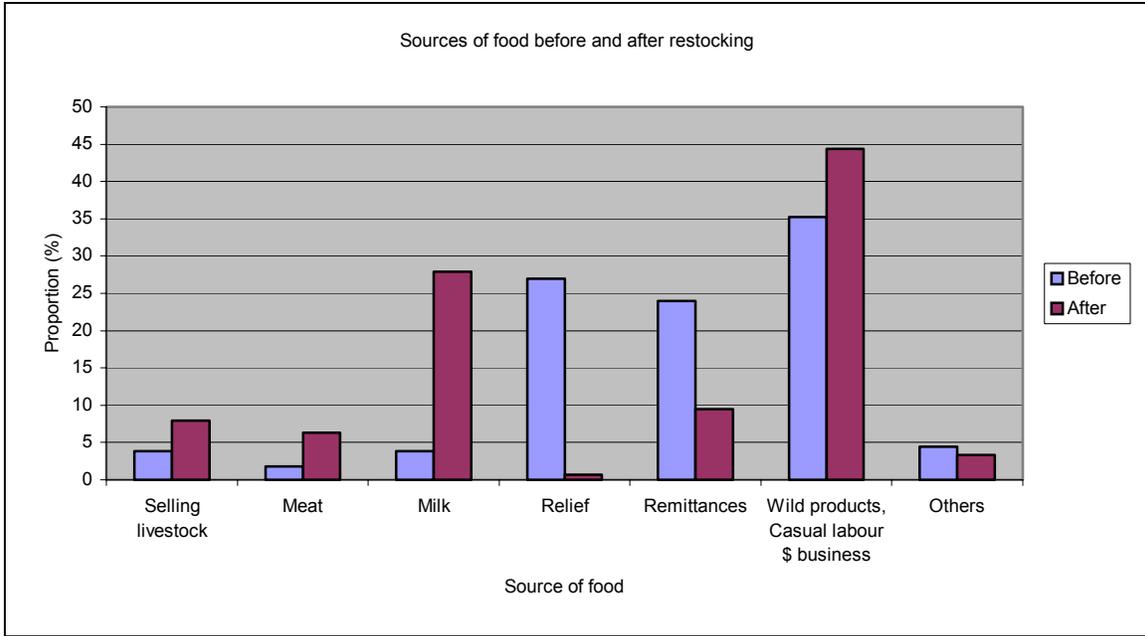


Figure 4: Proportion of food from different sources before and after restocking.

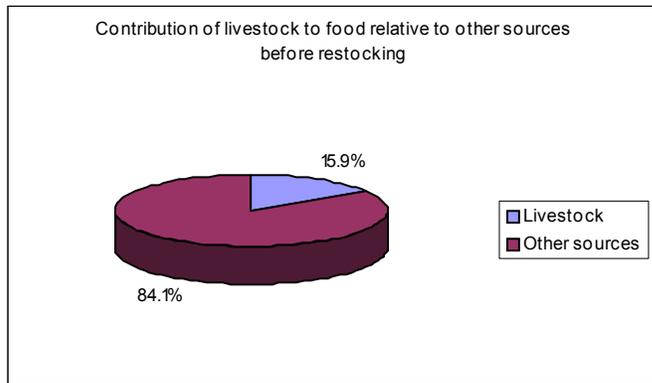


Figure 5: Contribution of livestock to food relative to other sources before restocking.

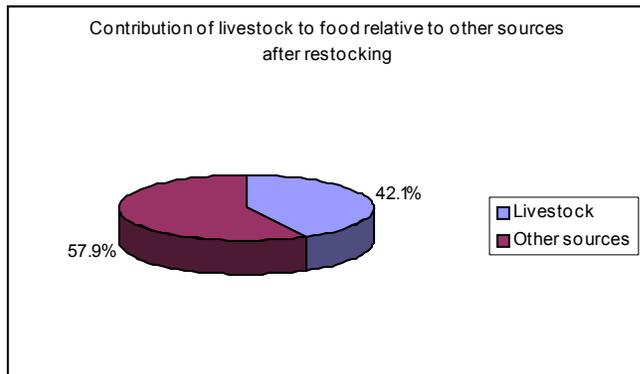


Figure 6: Contribution of livestock to food relative to other sources after restocking.

After restocking, there was significant reduction in food from relief from 27% to 0.7%. Remittances from relatives also reduced from 24% to 9.5%. Food purchased from cash income from sale of wild products, casual labour and business remained substantially high (44.8%). Food

from cash income from sale of livestock plus meat and milk consumed at home rose from 15.9% to 42.1%, with milk contributing 27.9% followed by food from livestock sales' income (7.9%), then meat consumed (6.3%). Food from livestock sales' income and meat consumed mainly came from own stock while milk consumed was mainly from goats obtained through the restocking program. It was reported that during the wet season, an average of 12 shoats were lactating per beneficiary family, each shoat producing a daily average of 1 litre of milk, and 7 litres of milk was available for daily home consumption, whereas in the dry season, an average of 8 shoats were lactating each producing an average of 0.5 litres of milk daily, and 2 litres of milk was available for daily home consumption.

The reduction in food from relief could be associated with lack of it after restocking. Relatives' support through remittances reduced because beneficiary families also had animals of their own to depend on. Reduction in food from relief and relatives was compensated by food from livestock (livestock sales, meat and milk) and from sale of wild products, from business and casual labour. The Somali community is endowed with business acumen and most of the beneficiary families were conducting some small-scale business. It is imperative that restocking contributed to reduction in dependence on other sources of food from 84.1% to 57.9% and an increase in food availability through livestock from 15.9% to 42.1%. It suffices to say that if the restocking package had been bigger (more than 20 shoats), much food would have been compensated by livestock than other sources.



Plate 1: A beneficiary from Harer hosle, Mrs. Halima Abdulahi, milking a goat she obtained through the restocking program.

3.1.2.2. Access to cash income

The available sources of cash income for the beneficiary families in Wajir and Mandera Districts were livestock sales, sale of livestock products (mainly milk), remittances from relatives, casual labour, sale of wild products and business (Figure 7). The forms of casual labour were construction works, serving as watchmen and qoranic school (*duksi*) teachers, desilting sand dams (cash for work), herding animals of the rich and constructing traditional huts (*horri*). Wild products included firewood, charcoal and gum arabica. Forms of businesses included operating a tea kiosk, a small commodity shop, selling miraa, milk trade, brokering in the trade of livestock, hides and skins. Before restocking, beneficiary families got most of their cash income from remittances from relatives (28%), casual labour (25.8%), wild products (20.2%) and business (13.8%). Sale of livestock and livestock products contributed 8.7% of total cash income.

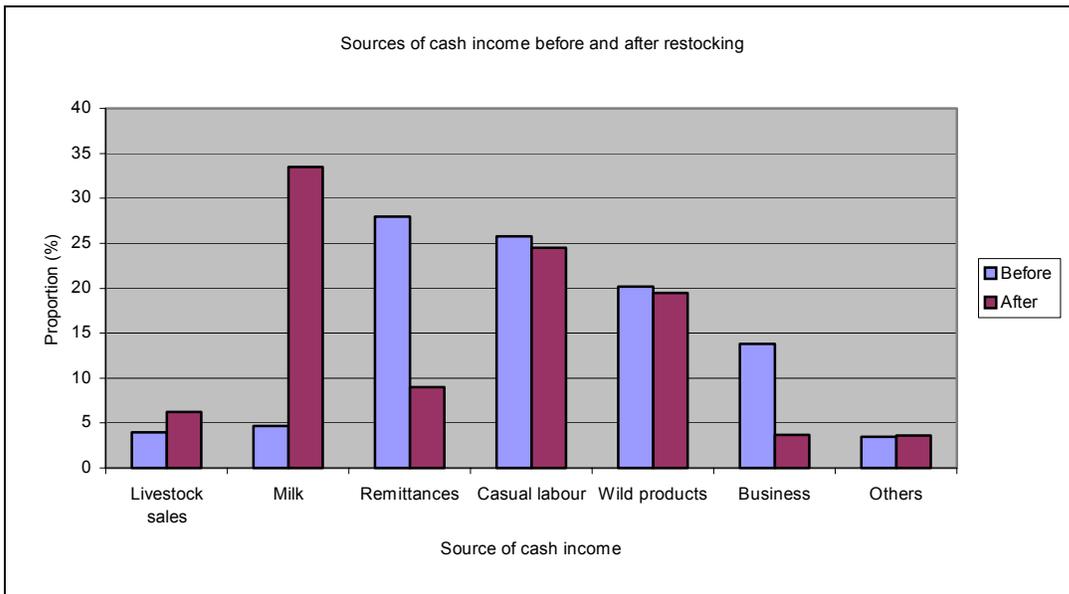


Figure 7: Proportion of cash income from different sources before and after restocking.

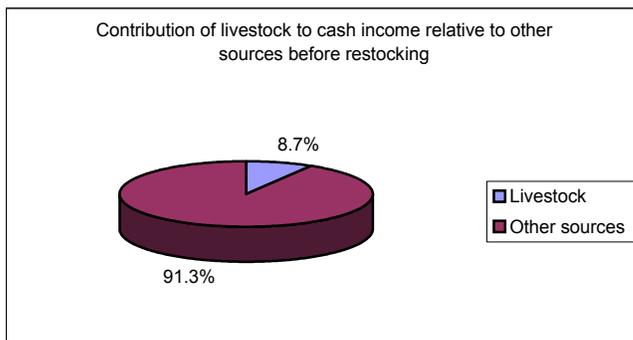


Figure 8: Contribution of livestock to cash income relative to other sources before restocking

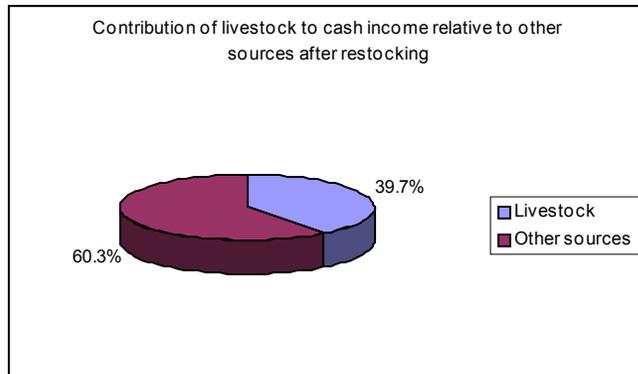


Figure 9: Contribution of livestock to cash income relative to other sources after restocking

After restocking, remittances from relatives significantly dropped from 28% to 9%; proportion of income from business dropped from 13.8% to 3.7%; cash income from casual labour dropped from 25.8% to 24.5%; and income from sale of wild products slightly dropped from 20.2% to 19.5%. Income from sale of livestock and livestock products substantially rose from 8.7% to 39.7% of total cash income, with sale of livestock products (milk) contributing the largest proportion (33.5%). Most of the livestock sold were from own stock, while most milk sold was from goats obtained through the restocking program. It was said that a daily average of 5 litres and 3 litres was available for sale per beneficiary family during the wet and dry season respectively. Cash income obtained was mostly used in purchasing food and clothing, paying for water for livestock, buying veterinary drugs and starting petty businesses.

It is worth noting that as a result of this restocking, dependence on other sources of income (business, casual labour, sale of wild products, relatives) dropped from 91.3% to 60.3% and this was compensated by increased reliance on income from sale of livestock and livestock products from 8.7% to 39.7%. Drop in cash income from other sources was said to be as a result of beneficiary families switching most of their efforts to herding.



Plate 2: A lorry carrying milk to Mandera market for sale.

3.1.3 Definition of “minimum viable herd” and expected average contribution of livestock to food and cash income by the non-restocked members of the community

Views of the non-restocked members of the community living in the neighbourhood of the restocked families regarding a ‘minimum viable herd’ and the expected average contribution of livestock to food and cash income were sought. This information was used to verify what the restocked families expected as a viable herd and the expected relative contribution of livestock to food and cash incomes.

The non-restocked members of the community defined a minimum viable herd based on wealth categories (according to number of livestock owned) of community members, and the size of a household. They reiterated that a monogamous family with 4 children requires a minimum herd/flock size of 40 adult shoats, 10 heads of cattle and 15 camels for it to be self-reliant. This type of family would belong to the poor wealth group. Wealth definitions are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Wealth definitions among the Somali pastoralists of Wajir and Mandera Districts.

Wealth category	Shoats	Cattle	Camels
Rich	>100	>50	>60
Medium class	50-100	20-50	20-60
Poor	≤40	≤10	≤15
Poorest	10	1	1

With regard to restocked families, before restocking, most of them were said to fall belong the ‘poverty line’ and had an average of 10 shoats, 1 head of cattle and 1 camel. The assistance they got through restocking was said to have enabled most of them attain the ‘base line’ number of shoats and an average level of sufficiency. They suggested a starter-restocking package of 40 shoats in future.

The non-restocked community members also defined the expected level of reliance of restocked families on livestock. It was revealed that livestock would play a key role in the survival of beneficiary families if it contributes about 60% of total food and cash income.

3.2 EXTENT OF RETURN TO PASTORAL LIFESTYLE

Most of the beneficiary families maintained contact with the centers. This could be attributed to several reasons. First, the small size of restocking package given (plus very few animals in own stock) was obviously not enough to immediately sustain someone fully in the pastoral range. Secondly, the animals given were not in milk. Thirdly, most of the beneficiary families had large members. Fourth, the implementing agencies did not give any accompaniments in form of food and/or veterinary drugs. Fifth, the one donkey given was not enough for adequate pastoral mobility (carrying luggage and fetching water). Sixth, there was restriction on immediate sales of restocked herds for family needs. Seven, restocking was carried out at the beginning of dry season when the community had strained resources to support the beneficiary families. All these factors were reported to have caused dilemma on the decision to move away from centers after restocking, not only to the restocked families but also to implementing agencies. In Wajir, the implementing agency advised the beneficiary families to join their relatives in the grazing fields for additional support, drawing its decision from a traditional perspective of social and economic support. In Mandera, the implementing agency stuck to the condition of the MoU that the beneficiary families need to move back to pastoral rangelands; no additional advice was given. In spite of this dilemma, some positive points were noted:

- ❖ In Wajir, at the time of evaluation, a majority of the sampled beneficiary families (89.8%) had joined close relatives and/or clan members at the grazing fields. Only a few came together to herd as groups of 2-3 families (7.2%) or herd individually (4.0%). Most of those who joined relatives were 40-50Km from the restocking centers, those herding as groups were 20-30Km away while those herding individually were at the precincts of 5-10Kms from the restocking centers. In Mandera, only a few of the sampled beneficiary families (12.7%) had joined close relatives and/or clan members at the pastoral range or were herding as groups (10.4%). A majority of them (76.9%) were however herding individually and concentrated around the centres.
- ❖ Those who joined close relatives/clan members at the grazing fields were supported by being given milk loans, milk from animals, food, and burden animal during movement. The restocked families in return offered mainly labour for herding, watering, being sent to centers to purchase foodstuffs, pasture-surveying patrols, and boma fencing during migrations. Restocked families were also involved in making decisions about movement of livestock to areas of better browse and pasture, water, and places of low disease burden. Restocked families who were herding as groups assisted each other in similar ways as above, but in a strained manner. Restocked families closer to the centers depended mainly on relatives at the centers and on their own efforts through alternative livelihoods, further restricting them to centers. Closeness to centers was more pronounced in beneficiary families in Mandera than in Wajir. Those who joined clan members at the grazing fields did not receive as much support as those who joined close relatives. It is therefore worth noting that joining close relatives or clan members at the pastoral range significantly contributed to return of beneficiary families to pastoral lifestyle.
- ❖ In Wajir, albeit most beneficiary families moving considerable distances away from distribution centers, their regular contact with the distribution centers was inevitable because:
 - ✓ School-going children had been left at the centers, forcing the parents to occasionally rotate between the livestock camps and the centers. It was found that over half of surveyed restockees (60.9%) had their children in school. Most restockees explained that they took most of their children to school out of a realization and observation that better off families in pastoral areas are those that took their children to school and are now employed or doing business. This idea has increasingly caught up with most pastoralist communities in the recent past though variable.
 - ✓ In most cases, women were found at the livestock camps together with non-school going children of less than 5 years while men were found at the centers taking care of the school-going children. In a polygamous family, every wife had a duty of being at the livestock camp at a particular time. The husband and the wife who remained at the centers were involved in other family-support activities such as casual labour and petty businesses. Those in the grazing fields struggled to supplement the support from relatives by selling firewood. It was observed that women were keen about returning to pastoral lifestyle than men.
 - ✓ There was increased stress on the joined relatives during the dry season. Support to beneficiary families in terms of food, veterinary drugs and burden animals drastically reduced, adversely affecting those who joined “weak” relatives. The joined relatives switched most of the efforts to their families and livestock. Consequently, restockees with “weak” relatives decided to move closer to settlements to easily access water, be closer to working relatives for support and engage in alternative family support activities; with some restocked families

returning back to the centres. Some associated closeness to centres with the usual dry season movement pattern in pursuit of water at watering points consented to be established around settlements, an argument that was rather unconvincing in the face of variability in locations of livestock owners (including restockees) from settlements in the same season. Dry season therefore was and remains a major threat to survival of restockees in the pastoral range environment. This suggests the need to redefine the level of support expected from relatives and that of the project in order to ensure conducive survival of restocked families at the pastoral range environment at all seasons.

- ❖ In conclusion, in spite of the milestones, the beneficiary families were afforded the chance to return to pastoral lifestyle. Future restocking programs have to focus on abetting or reducing the potential barriers or weaknesses mentioned above that interfere with return to pastoral lifestyle.

3.3 ORGANIZATIONAL AND IMPLEMENTATION ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM

3.3.1 The selection process

3.3.1.1 Selection of restocking committees

It was noted that the community selected restocking committees in public through open gatherings and based on a criteria they had set (Box 1). The committees performed roles and responsibilities that highly reflected and represented the interests and participation of the community in the implementation, supervision and monitoring of the restocking program (Box 2).

Box 1: Criteria for selecting members of a restocking committee

<p>Criteria for selecting members of a restocking committee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Active and reliable ✓ With past record of being impartial in administering and judging issues ✓ Strong believer in the Muslim faith ✓ Comes from the area ✓ Livestock keeper ✓ Member of Pastoral Association to be included (particularly in Wajir where PA existed) ✓ A restockee to be included (specific to Mandera; the chairman of the committee in Lafey was a restockee).

Box 2: Roles and responsibilities performed by restocking committees

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Supervised and monitored restocking activities along with the implementing agency. ✓ Selected beneficiaries ✓ Appointed livestock purchaser (In wajir) based on trustworthiness, comes from the area, livestock keeper, handles enough money ✓ Monitored the purchase of livestock to ascertain that they were of the right size, age and sex ✓ Monitored return of restockees to the range environment, growth of their herds, adherence to set conditions of monitoring and prohibition of sale of restocked herds ✓ Oversaw how community contribution was done and handled. ✓ Campaigned for revival of the traditional systems of assisting the needy ✓ Together with staff of Livestock personnel assessed the fitness of animals to be distributed. Additionally, they participated in the distribution.
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- ✓ Appointed a monitor (paid by the implementing agency) whose roles were to keep records of beneficiaries, monitor herd growth and send monthly reports to implementing agency, report to the implementing agency those that have got their community contribution and are ready to be restocked. The monitor was to fulfil the following requirements: knows how to read and write; at least educated up to Std 8; comes from the area; trustworthy; and parents own livestock.

It was found that in areas where several clans existed, every clan was given a position in the committee. A committee consisted of 6-11 members, with women constituting 40% of the committee. Performance of women committee members in the implementation process of the restocking program was found to be low owing to over-involvement in family-survival activities, particularly in petty businesses such as selling tea kiosk, milk and miraa (*Khat*). However, during the evaluation, most women members of restocking committees attended the discussions and freely expressed their views, a good indication that involvement of women in decision-making among the restocked communities was upheld. Based on this revelation, increased activity of women members of the committee is vital and opportune in future given that most of the targeted beneficiaries are women. It is conceivable that the need for committees as community representatives in development activities cannot only be restricted to restocking activities but is opportune for wider application in other grass-root development interventions.

3.3.1.2 Selection of beneficiaries

The identification, selection and approval of beneficiaries took place in public. The implementing agency and restocking committees along with the community members did the selection based on the criteria that was set up in public and harmonized with the opinions of the implementing agency (Box 3). The screening of potential candidates took place at several stages: sub-clan, clan, committee, implementing agency and public gatherings. The number of beneficiaries allocated per locality was decided and determined by the implementing agency based on the available resources and number of internally displaced people reported to be in an area.

Box 3: Criteria used in the selection of beneficiaries

- ✓ Recent pastoral dropout (stayed at the settlement for 2-5 years), with 5-10 shoats plus or minus 2 camels and/or 2 heads of cattle, without a burden animal.
- ✓ Female-headed households with majority of household members being children of between 5 and 10 years.
- ✓ Presence of herding labour
- ✓ Willing to go back to pastoral life
- ✓ With limited sources of livelihood.
- ✓ No record of mismanagement either through poor herding or frequent sales.
- ✓ Must be from the area to be restocked.
- ✓ Every clan (where they were many) to be represented.
- ✓ To have a relative in the range who can offer additional support (specific to Wajir)

The evaluation revealed that out of the surveyed sample of restockees in Wajir and Mandera (Figure 10 shows family demographics):

- Majority of the beneficiaries in both districts (95.7%) were females. Males constituted a small percentage of the beneficiaries (4.3%) and these were found to be males that were taking care of orphaned children.

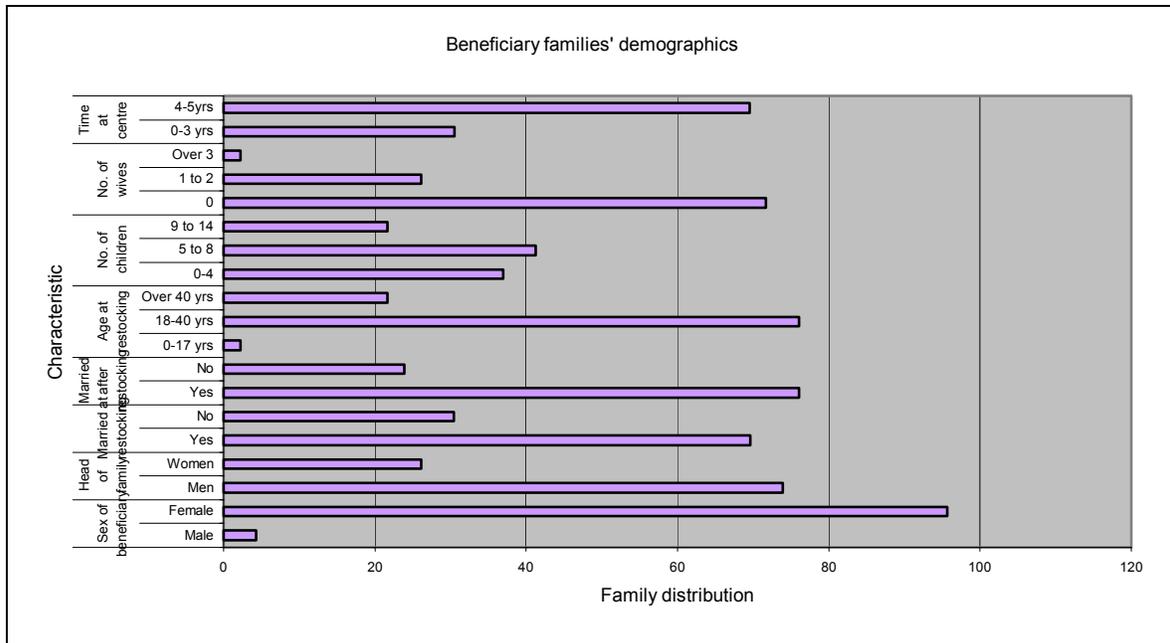


Figure 10: Demographic characteristics of beneficiary families

- Despite a majority of beneficiaries being females, over half of the families (73.9%) were headed by men. The analysis indicated that, at the time of restocking, most beneficiary families (69.6%) were married. Interestingly, after restocking, the percentage of married families increased from 69.6% (at restocking) to 76.1%. This could be explained by two reasons; first, some of the beneficiaries were below 18 years and were reportedly female children of age that were taking care of their orphaned siblings. Secondly, in most pastoral areas, the strength and ability of a woman to survive or be successful in taking care of livestock is believed to be partly dependent on presence of a male, whether as a son, husband or a male relative, thereby making remarriages common. In addition, support of a male is seen as a form of security in herd management and also in the community social networks.
- By age categories, most of the restockees (76.1%) were of middle age (18 to 40 years), with only a few being of age above 40 years (21.7%) and below 18 years (2.2%). Beneficiaries below 18 years were reportedly female children of age that were taking care of their orphaned siblings. Restockees over 40 years were reportedly taking care of their orphaned grandchildren.
- Based on marriage status, over half of the restocked families (71.7%) were monogamous, with a few being polygamous with 2-3 wives (26.1%) and polygamous with over 3 wives (2.2%). There was unresolved debate on whether large polygamous families with 3 wives and more should be restocked given the small restocking package offered. In monogamous families animals given were under direct control of the wife to avoid misuse from husband through unnecessary selling or wanting to marry another wife. This was to ensure growth of the restocked herds in the short term and not meant to jeopardize family relations. In a polygamous family, animals were entrusted with the husband to avoid direct claim from either of the wives.
- In this evaluation, the number of children in a family was used to determine the size of the household. The largest families (21.7%) had 9-14 children; moderate ones (41.3%) had 5-8 children while small ones (37%) had 0-4 children.
- The length of time taken by a displaced pastoralist at a centre is critical in gauging the willingness to return to a pastoral set up after being rehabilitated. In addition, it would

also help to assess the timeliness of the rehabilitation. In this evaluation, a majority of the restocked families (69.5%) had stayed at the centres for 4-5 years before restocking, with Wajir having almost all (91.3%) of the families staying at the centres for 4-5 years. In Mandera, most of the beneficiaries (52.2%) had stayed at the centres for shorter periods of 0-3 years before restocking. Most of the beneficiary families in Wajir were reportedly those displaced by the Elnino (Wajir landscape is highly susceptible) and the Bagalla massacre of 1998 (between the Somali and Borana at the west of Wajir) while those in Mandera were largely displaced by the drought of 99/2001. This implies that the intervention was more timely for Mandera beneficiaries than those in Wajir if the motive was to immediately return them to pastoral life before they start adopting and adapting to alternative livelihoods.

- The average number of shoats owned by beneficiaries before restocking was 9.6 shoats for Wajir and 2.7 shoats for Mandera; 2 and 1 heads of cattle for Wajir and Mandera respectively; and 1 camel for beneficiaries both in Wajir and Mandera. None of the beneficiaries had a burden animal before restocking.

The implementing agencies and restocking committees complained of limited time to carry out the selection process if most of the vital comparative scenarios aimed at obtaining detailed and precise background information about beneficiaries were to be considered. Indeed, as more social and economic scenarios are considered, the situation becomes increasingly complex, qualifying the need for adequate time and expertise. It was not vividly clear how the committees and the community came out of the intricacy, but for Wajir project, it could be partly attributed to involvement of personnel who had worked with Oxfam restocking projects for over 20 years. The Wajir project was also constantly consulting with Oxfam's Wajir Pastoral Development Project that had diverse experience from its past restocking projects. Furthermore, the Wajir project must have drawn its experiences from an Oxfam-funded restocking program they implemented in 1998/2001. Selection of the right beneficiaries has been echoed as key to success of most community-based programs; the practical example is the community-based animal health workers' (CAHWs) training programs. It is conceivable therefore that if more time, expertise and research are devoted to the selection process, the right beneficiaries will be selected and this will ultimately translate into a successful restocking program. In this regard, a special study on selection criteria of restockees is recommended, with a view to coming up with a model that can well explain the significance of various social and economic factors in the selection criteria and looking at the role of selection process in sustainability of restocking programs and for its wider application in future.

In the surveyed areas, there was little displeasure about the beneficiary families. This could be attributed to clear selection guidelines and, intensive and extensive involvement of community in most stages of project design and implementation. Minor traces of bias and favouritism were cited in areas that had several clans and sub-clans where available chances were shared without a clear procedure. Some clans and sub-clans consisted of members of one family lineage that were coincidentally better off, creating a possibility of some well off members being selected as beneficiaries. In Wajir, in the absence of a deserving individual in a clan or sub-clan, the chance was unanimously relocated to a deserving case in another clan or sub-clan. In Mandera, in areas occupied by more than one clan/sub-clan, state of poverty of individuals was considered in allocating available chances rather than sub-clan allocation. Minor cases of bias were generally dealt with in the following ways:

- ❖ The issue was taken back to the community and discussed in an open gathering. The name of the person alleged to be selected unfairly was mentioned, reasons for disqualification stated, and a deserving case suggested and replaced after community reaching a consensus.

- ❖ Implementing agency carried out independent investigations into the alleged case(s) of bias. Findings of the investigations were shared with the restocking committee and the entire community in a public gathering.
- ❖ Where necessary, an independent panel composed of local community members was formed to listen to complaints and advise the committee and the general public accordingly.

There were complaints that the number of chances allocated per area was small against a larger number of deserving cases. This incidentally made the selection process very hectic and complicated. However, due to intensive discussions and consultations at public gatherings and at other levels of the community (PA, administration and DSG), such disparaging concerns were defused. Unity and transparency of the committee as well as open discussions by the implementing agencies were paramount in convincing the community members.

3.3.2 Types of animals distributed

3.3.2.1. Shoats

- The restocked families were satisfied with the type and sex combination of animals (shoats) given. The average combination of project's animals per restocked family was 1 ram, 1 buck, 9 does and 4 ewes. Community contributed 5 female shoats. The female goat: sheep proportions varied from one locality to the other based on suitability in adapting to the particular environment and wishes of the restockee families. The only resentfulness was on the number of shoats given. The small number of restocking package was attributed to limited finances committed to the project, many deserving cases that were to be assisted, and experimental nature of the project. There were sayings in Somali community and the Holy Quran that could give guidance to the required minimum restocking package (of 40 shoats):
 - ✓ Quran says, when one has 40 shoats, he is a giver (to pay alms, *zakad*).
 - ✓ Somali proverb: *Forty goats and four children, which one comes first?* That means, with 40 goats and no children, the flock/herd has the chance of growing whereas when you have 40 goats and four children, chances of growth of the flock/herd are limited.

3.3.2.2 Donkeys

- Wajir program gave mainly male donkeys while the Mandera one gave mainly female donkeys. At the time of the evaluation, the Mandera donkey herds had grown to 2-3 donkeys. In Wajir, loss of the one donkey to disease or other causes immobilized the beneficiary family. It was easy for the Mandera program to get enough female donkeys because of a wide catchment area; donkeys also sourced from Somalia and Ethiopia.
- Donkeys were highly preferred because, besides their use during migration, they were used to carry fuel wood to urban centres, to carry commercial goods for small-scale businesses, can survive closely with shoats, can adapt to any environment, easily managed by women (majority of targeted beneficiaries) and ease of using it to draw water frequently.
- It was suggested that in the future programs, 2 male donkeys or 1 female donkey or 1 female donkey and a camel would be sufficient as burden animals. A camel was said to be suitable for long distance migrations and can also carry a lot of luggage than a donkey.

3.3.3 Purchasing and holding of livestock

The following was noted:

- In wajir, through the restocking committee, the community selected the purchaser; discussed, agreed and signed the terms of contract such as price, source of livestock (mainly from within), type, size and sex of livestock required. The same terms of contract were read to the entire community in a public gathering to avoid blackmailing by the purchaser.
- In Mandera, livestock were purchased by implementing agency from individual livestock owners at the day of distribution. Individuals wishing to sell livestock reported the number available to restocking committees who kept records, ascertained the suitability of animals and reported to implementing agency that the required number of animals was attained and ready for distribution. The community had earlier been sensitised of prices, size, sex and type of animals expected.
- In both districts, livestock were purchased from within the locality to be restocked. This was to minimize cases of disease transfer, avoid management problems associated with animals brought from different locations and to redistribute stock rather than overstock the area to be restocked. Local purchasing also provided particular areas with market for their livestock, money being used to start businesses and take children to school.
- At the time of restocking, the prices of goats and donkeys were reportedly high. This was associated with the normal price hike during the wet season. In future, livestock price estimates (for the restocking program) should be based on price information collected from the markets over a period of time, which takes into account seasonal variation in prices.
- In a market economy created by the restocking program, it was possible that some animals could be sneaked from outside. However, the traditional livestock brands/marks (specific to clans and sub-clans) were used to identify the origin of the animals.

3.3.4 Assessment and distribution of livestock

- The implementing agency, the restocking committees and personnel of livestock production and Veterinary department did the assessment and distribution of livestock. The community had their own ways of assessing the health and production potential of an animal (Table 2):

Table 2: Community criteria of assessing the health and production potential of animals

Quality type	Description	In community contribution	In project contribution
<i>Lamaqatan</i>	Weak, too young, defective teats	Very few and were retained by restockees	Very few and were rejected and replaced
<i>Lamadidan</i>	Alert, good teats, block body complexion, mature age	Were the majority	Were the majority
<i>Lamahelan</i>	Pregnant, in milk	Very few and were retained by the restockee	Very few and were distributed with others

- Weak animals, known as *Lamaqatan*, both purchased and contributed by community were rejected and replacements demanded, whereas animals of very high quality and

economic value (lactating and expecting), known as *Lamahelan*, were left to the beneficiary families. *Lamaqatan* and *Lamahelan* were however very few. Most of the animals contributed and purchased were of average reproductive size and age, known as *Lamadidan*.

- In Wajir, animals contributed by community were mixed with those purchased and then randomly distributed. In Mandera, community contributions were left to the beneficiary families. The Mandera scenario could encourage beneficiary families to contribute stock from their own herds, thus contravening the principles of community contribution.
- Distribution of livestock did not take place at the same time within and across the targeted localities, owing to difficulty in getting the required number and quality of animals at the same time.

3.3.5 Timing of the program

- Time for implementing the project was too short (only six months). Mobilization was done at the inter-phase dry spell (*Agai*- June to October) while distribution of livestock was done at the start of short rains (*Dheir*- Nov to Dec). Due to difficulty in getting the required number of animals (both community contribution and the purchased) some beneficiaries were restocked at the start of dry season.
- In future, for easy take-off of beneficiaries, distribution of livestock should be done at the start of long rains (*Gu*- April-May). Meaning that other procedures preceding distribution should be carried out during the dry season (*Oreet*- Jan to March). However, investigation on the effect of time/season (within a year) on various stages of a restocking program need to be done so as to come up with an appropriate model of timing restocking programs.

3.3.6 Monitoring of restocked herds and families

The following was noted:

- Monitoring was done by implementing agency and restocking committees through a monitor proposed by community (for Wajir) or directly employed by the project (for Mandera).
- Personnel of veterinary and animal production departments also accompanied the implementing agency during monitoring to assess progress and give advice on proper management techniques.
- Aspects mainly monitored were: movement of restockees to pastoral set up, herd growth and any livestock management problems
- Monitoring was done only once by the implementing agencies 3-4 months after restocking, for a short period of 2-3 months. Attempts to do lengthy monitoring were thwarted by limited funds. In fact the implementing agencies had to seek for additional sources of funding the monitoring phase of the project.
- Data on herd growth was collected directly from beneficiaries (in Wajir) and sometimes from contact persons in urban centres (reported in Mandera) in cases where beneficiaries could not be traced.
- Reliability of data collected during monitoring was questionable given the collection style and capacity of monitors. Additionally, the manner of recording and storage was poor, making it difficult to subject such data to analysis and making use of it for future reference, triangulation and research.

- In the course of evaluation, it was observed that environmental degradation through firewood collection by beneficiary families as a source of livelihood was eminent and this raises some concern on management of environment. This should be included in the future monitoring in form of raising awareness to beneficiary families on the need to conserve the environment.
- Monitoring has to be recognized as one of the most important phases of a restocking program and, sufficient funds, time, and appropriate skills have to be devoted to it. Long term monitoring of such programs should focus on the following aspects (Box 4)

Box 4: Suggested guidelines for long-term monitoring of restocking programs

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|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Extent to which beneficiary families are reciprocating by paying <i>gerger</i>, <i>irmanzi</i> and <i>zakad</i> to poor members of community. ✓ Level of independence of beneficiaries from relatives who have been supporting them. ✓ Extent of social recognition of beneficiaries by community- decision making, (re)marrying. ✓ Herd growth across years and shocks. ✓ Extent to which external support is still needed to restock other deserving community members. ✓ Extent to which beneficiaries have diversified their herds. ✓ Amount of income from sale of restocked herds and their products, the use of that income, and level of sufficiency reached by the beneficiary family in meeting its subsistence and other needs. ✓ Access to food through livestock and their products. ✓ Level at which livestock has become a major source of livelihood against other sources. ✓ Re-union of families displaced by disasters. |
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3.4 CURRENT RESTOCKING VS THAT OF OTHER AGENCIES

In reference to other programs implemented in the same region by other agencies at almost the same or different times, the community members made the following comments, with special reference to the restocking program of ALRMP that had been implemented at almost the same time (experiences fresh in the minds of community members) (Table 3)

Table 3: Current restocking program compared to those implemented by other agencies in the same region at almost the same time

Characteristic	Currently evaluated program	ALRMP	General
Food accompaniments	None	?	All stakeholders involved
Livestock purchasing	Community selected the purchaser (Wajir) Project buying directly (Mandera)	Contracted a purchaser in line with G.o.K procurement procedures	Few people targeted yet deserving cases were many
Area of livestock purchase	From within the restocked areas	From outside restocked areas and was blamed for CCPP spread from mandera to Wajir and denying the community the market dividend	Limited to few areas yet the districts are vast
Type and number of livestock distributed	20 Shoats and 1 donkey	40 Shoats and 1 donkey	Limited finances
Ratio of community: project contribution	5:15	12:28	
Selection of beneficiaries	Fair and transparent	Suspect	
Manner of distribution	Community and project contribution mixed and randomly distributed by agency's and GoK staff and Restocking committee (Wajir) One made to retain community contribution and randomly given the project's (mandera)	One made to retain community contribution and personally select the project animals from a pool, a situation blamed for imbalance in quality of animals received by different individuals and suspicion about nature of community contribution.	
Handling of community contribution	Community contribution ascertained by committee (Wajir) Some restockees brought animals from their own herds	Suspect	
Presence of veterinary services	Adequate but unaffordable	Poor access to animal health services and this was blamed for enormous livestock deaths	
Number of areas and people restocked	Restocked many people in an area with few animals	Restocked few people in an area with many animals	
Level of community sensitisation, mobilization and selection of beneficiaries	High, fair and open	Low and suspect/corrupt	
Herd growth	Very encouraging- attributed to timing, good year and luck	Very low-attributed to wrong people targeted, poor animal health services	

3.5 EMERGING TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

From this study, two terms emerged: “original” or “past” traditional restocking mechanism referring to one which entirely depended on community contribution; and “hybridised” or “current” traditional restocking mechanism arbitrarily referred to one which draws its contribution from both the community and external support. In both systems, community contribution was paramount. It is envisaged that, other factors being constant (though difficult to assert given the current weak responses to pastoralists’ problems, changing needs and aspiration of pastoralists as a result of modernization, destabilized traditional coping mechanisms, and discord early warning systems among other reasons), when numerous families are restocked and herds have grown, the latter system is expected to gradually disappear giving way to the former. This could only be if the process becomes a continuous rather than ‘a one-time’ intervention as it is practised currently. It is important to note therefore that the term “hybridised” traditional restocking system should not be misconceived to mean a completely new form of restocking or a replacement to the old traditional restocking mechanism, but a support or pillar system aimed at reinforcing and eventually restoring the old traditional restocking system. Communities in the surveyed areas explained that support for the old traditional restocking system is necessary today because, in the recent past, the system had been weakened by frequent droughts, outside food relief interventions, widespread destitution and changing lifestyles of community members due to modernization.

Community members further elaborated on the perceived similarities and differences between the two terms/systems against some qualities (Table 4).

Table 4: Similarities and differences between the old and hybridized traditional restocking systems

Quality	Old traditional system	Hybridized system
Circumstances to be rehabilitated	Raids, drought, decimation of livestock by disease outbreaks, family generally poor	Seen mainly as post drought intervention
Source of assistance	Close relatives, friends, clan,	External assistance in addition to that of old system
Animal attributes		
a) Number of animals given	Depend on type and magnitude of the problem and reasons thereof and relatives’ willingness to assist, but relatively low	Depends on available resources from outsiders but relatively high
b) Species, sex and age of animals given	Any species of mature age but mainly females of good quality	Mainly female shoats of mature age and good quality
The organizer (Who coordinates?)	Community through obvious involvement of close relatives or sometimes through council of elders for those without close relatives	Community and outsiders through a restocking committee
Other support pillars	Working relatives and <i>zakad</i>	Working relatives. System need to be harmonized with <i>zakad</i> contributions

Motivators of community contribution	Social ties, human feeling, religion	Outside contribution in addition to those in old system
When done (Frequency)	Continuous but increased when there is a major calamity	Mainly after a calamity occurs and currently specific to drought
Implementation procedures	Community contribution and monitoring	Besides community contribution, there is selection, purchasing, and distribution, monitoring e.t.c.
Monitoring herd growth and performance of beneficiary families	Done by relatives	Done by restocking committee, implementing agency and relatives
Request for contribution	Passive between family relatives	Active mobilization because the system to be reinforced had been weakened in the recent past

3.6 WILLINGNESS OF THE COMMUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE/SUPPORT NOW AND IN FUTURE

The evaluation revealed that:

- ✓ Almost all of the surveyed beneficiaries (100% in Wajir and 98% in Mandera) expressed to have been contributed for by the community. Only a few of the surveyed stock recipients (2%), particularly in Mandera, made the community contribution from their own stock; this was only in Dabacity (Borehole Eleven Zone). The stock recipients in Dabacity attributed the difficulty in getting community contribution to: close relatives being far and could not be reached within the project period; and those who had close relatives nearby had equally poor relatives. It appeared however that the general community in Dabacity was not well sensitised. In other parts of Mandera and the whole of Wajir, those beneficiary families without close relatives nearby or their relatives were equally poor, were contributed for by the particular clan or entire community with or without intervention of the restocking committee. In Mandera, in addition to stock recipients contributing animals from own stock, the idea of making them to retain animals contributed by the community creates suspicion that the animals could later go back to contributors or could further influence stock beneficiaries to bring stock from their own herds with the hope of retaining them. This scenario certainly compromises the integrity, purpose and reinforcement of community contribution. In Wajir, the restocking committees, either directly or through field monitors, were secretly monitoring the community contribution process so as to ensure that the contributed animals were coming from relatives and not from stock recipient's own flock/herd.
- ✓ Beside the *gargar/irb*, most restockees reported to have received milk loans (mainly in form of cattle) from their close relatives, friends, and/or clan members. Direct counts of cattle owned (reported to be mostly milk loans) indicated an average of 2 heads and 1 head of cattle for each stock recipient in Wajir and Mandera respectively. Close relatives (both in town centres and livestock camps), clan members and the general community offered additional support in form of foodstuffs, herding company and burden animal. Communities in Wajir were more supportive than those in Mandera. This was because, in the livestock holdings, the communities in Wajir had more livestock (in type and numbers) than in Mandera, hence more support to beneficiary families. In Wajir, the

implementing agency advised (though expected to be voluntary) the stock recipients to join their relatives in the pastoral range for additional support; the stock recipients in Mandera were not given the same advice.

- ✓ It was worth noting that communities in both districts supported stock recipients with veterinary drugs. In Wajir, Pastoral Associations (PAs) provided free drugs to some beneficiary families who could not afford. In Mandera, the community in Harer Hosle contributed an amount of Ksh. 700 to each beneficiary for purchase of veterinary drugs. This support was also reported in other surveyed areas of Mandera District, though not quantified.
- ✓ In both districts, the feeling to help the poor was unreserved. In Wajir, the community in Hadado restocked two more families with 20 shoats each and only requested the implementing agency to provide 2 burden animals. In Mandera, as a result of high prices of donkeys, the community in Ashabito agreed to reduce the *irb* contribution to 3 shoats per family to be restocked and the equivalent of 2 shoats contributed in cash (Ksh. 2,000) to finance shortfall for the purchase of donkeys. This indicates that the community recognized the importance of restocked families being mobile to access areas of better pasture and browse in the pastoral range for better growth of restocked herds.
- ✓ Deserving members of community that were left out due to limited resources in the program were absorbed in the normal social and religious networks of *gargar*, *zakad*, *irmansi*, although not adequate to sustain them fully.
- ✓ Although conditioned not to give out as a gift or sale or slaughter restocked herds for a period of one year after distribution, some beneficiaries reportedly paid *zakad* and *gargar* to the poor. These beneficiaries said they could not hold their excitement and appreciation any longer than it could affect their social, cultural and religious obligations. The practice of giving gifts, paying *zakad* and *gargar* is part and parcel of such communities and is aimed at building social networks for purposes of future survival. It is also important in facilitating immediate re-entry into pastoral networks and adhering into cultural obligations to assist the poor. This is a clear indication that the restocked families were willing to be at the forefront of making contributions in future. They cited small restocking packages as a hindrance to future contributions, suggesting that the restocking package should be raised to 40 shoats per beneficiary family. Beneficiary families and the community in general were willing to contribute 30% (12 of the 40 shoats).
- ✓ Another notable aspect was that the community reportedly contributed animals of good body condition, better reproductive and production value and of right age and sex. This type of animals was referred to as *lamadidan*. This type of animals was either expectant or in milk (given together with an offspring).
- ✓ Overall, the willingness of the community to contribute for and support beneficiary families was hugely unreserved, although the outside support could be mentioned to have played a significant role in motivation. This concept may not only serve restocking programs but also other development programs implemented in the same or different region (s) aimed at sustainability. The precedence has been set!

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on this evaluation, the following conclusions and recommendations can be made:

1. Herd growth and livestock diseases

Herd growth was very encouraging but diseases were a major threat. Access to veterinary services and drugs at the community level was observed to be through Community-based animal health workers (CAHWs). The link between the CAHWs and the community was good, but prices of veterinary drugs were reportedly very high. The issue of price of veterinary drugs need to be urgently addressed by the implementing agency along with the community to mitigate further livestock losses.

Many kids and lambs were reported to have died during the dry season due to starvation (this is the period they were born). Restocking program should be planned and implemented in such way that, lambing/kidding takes place in the wet season. If lambing/kidding should inevitably take place during the dry season, then if possible, supplemental feeds should be provided to the reproductive stock so as to increase milk production and more milk becomes available to the young.

2. Access to food and income

One of the immediate benefits realised by beneficiary families from the restocking animals was milk for sale and for home use. There is need to improve milk markets and marketing in the region so that beneficiary families can fetch good money for their milk

3. Selection of beneficiaries

As more social and economic scenarios are factored into the selection criteria, the situation becomes increasingly complex. It is therefore important that adequate time and expertise (that of the community and experiences from outside) are devoted into this exercise.

4. Weaknesses of the program

It was revealed that:

- ✓ The restocking package of 40 shoats was small
- ✓ 1 burden animal was not enough for pastoral mobility
- ✓ Many deserving cases were left out due to fund limitations
- ✓ Many deserving areas were left out (the program was a piloted one)
- ✓ Implementation period of the program was short

All the above need to be increased.

5. Monitoring and data storage

Data on demographics and monitoring of beneficiary families was not recorded and stored well and was therefore unreliable for reference, triangulation and research. There is need to build the capacity of implementing agencies on this. Additionally, sharing of information and experiences between implementing agencies carrying out the same activity in the same region at almost the same time should be encouraged.

6. Community contribution

Community self support system, *gargar*, was not new to the Somali pastoralists of Wajir and Mandera Districts. What they required was a boost. There was unreserved willingness of community members to contribute and support beneficiary families. Contribution and support was in form of small stock, milk loans, alms, veterinary drugs and burden animal. However, this support was strained, and it requires that in future restocking programs:

- ✓ The restocking package is increased to 40 shoats
- ✓ The number of burden animals is increased to 2, preferably females
- ✓ Some accompaniments in form of food and veterinary drugs to be provided for about 6 months

7. Frequency of restocking programs in the area

Restocking programs have been “one-time” post drought interventions. Due to widespread destitution in the communities, this intervention should be continuous (of course with the aspect of community contribution) to a level where the communities become relatively stable economically.

8. Expanding and strengthening *irb/gargar*

- a) *Role of religious payment of alms, zakat*: In these communities, the religious form of assisting the poor is eminent. It is envisaged that, this form of assistance can reliably supplement *irb/gargar* contributions. Ways of harmonizing or synchronizing the two systems of support should be sought.
- b) *Policy and legislative framework*: Although for many years, NGOs and to some extent Government have done a lot of work on restocking, there seems to be limited policy and legislative framework to support it at national level.

9. Standing future shocks (Contingency measures)

To reduce the effect of future shocks (disasters) on livestock given and on beneficiary families, and to strengthen the ability of other community members (livestock keepers) to assist the poor in future the following measures should be put in place:

- ✓ Check the encroachment of pastoral rangelands with settlements and administrative centres
- ✓ Increase access to veterinary services and drugs as well as disease surveillance
- ✓ Improve the response to pastoral problems (disasters) by developing a modest early warning system and response network. Traditional and conventional early warning systems should be harmonized and institutional sustainability sought
- ✓ Develop organized livestock markets for emergency destocking/off-take
- ✓ Develop appropriate policy and legislative framework that supports pastoralists and pastoralism
- ✓ Build the capacity of local communities to respond to and manage disasters
- ✓ Current conflict resolution activities against inter-clan clashes need to be supported and enhanced.

10. Further studies

As a result of this evaluation and in the light of strengthening such restocking programs in future, the following further studies are suggested:

- ✓ Significance of various social and economic factors in the selection criteria and the role of the selection process in sustainability of restocking programs
- ✓ A detailed wider study to look at several aspects of restocking, in programs implemented by different agencies in the same region at almost the same or different times, in the light of planning for a future unified approach
- ✓ Long-term monitoring of beneficiary families for 4-5 years through half year or annual spot checks so as to track herd growth and status of beneficiary families and their aspirations to remain as herders within and between years and shocks.