

# CHANGES IN THE ARID LANDS

The expanding rangeland: Regional synthesis report and case studies from Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is an increasing awareness that enormous change is on-going in the arid lands. The next ten years will be a period of transition and new opportunities, as families who struggle to make ends meet, continue to try to educate and feed their children and search for jobs in the rural towns. Future aspirations are being shaped by the on-going changes. In the aftermath of the drought and famine of 2011, capturing and understanding these changes was a starting point in efforts to work differently and better. The Red Cross, OXFAM and Save the Children agreed to undertake a research study that would take a snapshot of changes affecting people's lives today, but also look at how, over time, those changes may transform their lives.

This research had us speaking with people in Shinile and Jijiga (Ethiopia), Togdheer (Somaliland) and Turkana (Kenya), about their current situation and their hopes for the future. Fundamental questions looked at the changes in the dry lands, what we expect to see ten years from now and what our role is in supporting people to achieve their desired future. Aspirations themselves may not translate into plans or reality, but they do indicate a direction that people intend to take. The research findings show certain common elements of the direction towards a better future in the different research locations, including:

- Across the board, education was listed as the number one method to reach one's aspirations; either for the interviewees themselves, or for their children and grandchildren. Parents – no matter where they live – hope for their children to be educated and to get jobs.
- Almost universally, youth and children (accounting for around 60 per cent of the research population), including those from pastoral settlements, aspired for non-traditional business or professional futures. The younger the children the more likely they were to want to be a professional.
- The more settled and urban the people, particularly those over 30 years of age, the more they look towards commerce for their future and better income opportunities. Urban populations account for 20 to 35 per cent of the populations in the research areas.
- The roles of men and women are changing. The current generation is willing to adapt and transform their roles in order to achieve a bigger aim: educating their children to open the doors of opportunities and ensure that their kin are taken care of. Women are increasingly willing to take on professional careers or manage businesses, changing their traditional roles taking care of the house and the family.
- Livestock remain important, but the rangeland is expanding. Families expect to continue to exploit both traditional and non-traditional opportunities, in the same way a traditional pastoralist exploits the different natural resources and seasons available to him. Seizing a new opportunity – education, commerce, or a home in town, can occur concurrently with traditional activities such as a rural home, keeping animals or tending farms.
- The existing kinship and strong feeling of belonging underpin the social fabric of the pastoralist societies throughout the dry lands, thinking in terms of rural-urban divides may be inappropriate. We should look at a complex future where collective action seeks to exploit new opportunities, while protecting the patrimony and cultural heritage through a strategy of mutual assistance.
- Drought was rarely mentioned as a challenge to future plans – even though these are considered chronically drought prone communities.

The responses differ from what might be expected from these pastoral communities, but it reinforces the importance of giving people a voice, particularly when discussing their future.



## Ten years from now this may mean....

### People will be living in different places

As they exploit new and emerging opportunities, this may lead to new and increasing settlements. In the research locations this is being driven by improving infrastructure, education, government policy, notions of modernity and changing values.

### People will be doing different things to make a living

Some people (i.e. most of the children and youth) will be moving towards professional and commercial pursuits, whilst others (i.e. adults and elderly) are more likely to rely on animals. Livestock will likely remain a dominant force in the rural economies, although who owns the animals and how they will be cared for will become more commercial and in the hands of fewer people.

### Livestock at the core

Nonetheless, in all three locations, livestock will continue to be at the core of the economic and ethnic identity: this is unlikely to change in the next ten years, even if how and who keeps animals does. The economic benefits of livestock, an available labour force and a favourable policy environment continue to contribute to its sustainability.

### The cultural fabric will be changed

Traditional kinship networks will still exist and will continue to be important to enable exploitation of the expanding rangeland and new opportunities as well as providing mutual support between those in the rural and urban areas. We are also seeing changing roles for youth and women, being shaped by different contexts and opportunities.

### Increasing demand for education and information

Literacy together with changing access to media, information, mobile telephones and other technologies will bridge the distance between the communities and the outside world. Awareness of the benefits of education and the opportunities it offers may increase pressure on the education system to marry the needs of urban and rural, and settled and migratory communities, and to ensure that those aspiring towards education are able to complete their studies and learn skills that will help them succeed in achieving a better future.

### Challenges around integrated local planning and sustainability of natural resources

When people's quality of life is enhanced, their efforts and commitment to ensure the well-being of their resources are also enhanced. The dwindling lack of natural resources, charcoal production and the fragmentation of land will continue to be both a coping strategy and an unfortunate state of affairs. Although a sustainable environment is not mentioned as anyone's aspiration, it is an implicit need for a better future by bringing together issues of land use planning, water management, biodiversity conservation, and the sustainability of industries and businesses.

### Economic stratification

The meagre rural economy in these remote areas and the challenge of competing in the national labour market amidst a burgeoning youth entering the labour market will mean that many of these aspirations are likely to be unfulfilled. While providing crucial economic opportunities, it may increase economic stratification and in the medium term, entrench rural poverty and increase further the urban pull.

## The key questions for us...

"Are we programming based on past assumptions?"

The research, through the voices of the respondents, changes a picture from one of famine, drought and conflict to one of an area undergoing social, political, economic and environmental change with related risks and opportunities. Our ability to engage with this change, listen to communities, and work with them to achieve their aspirations is the challenge we must take up. This research is a step towards understanding the on-going changes and supporting vibrant and optimistic communities to achieve their future aspirations. The research findings indicate that it is not what we do, but how we do it that is important. This suggests certain adjustments to our programming and it raises key questions for us, within the aid sector.

1. What can we do to support these people to reach their aspirations and overcome the obstacles they might find on their way?  
One key element of how to intervene is to work with the potential of the context, the existing resources. To do so, it is crucial to understand that context better. We might want to shift from asking them what they need, now, to what do they want to reach? What their development pathway is? We need to ask, but more importantly we also need to listen. The picture that the research paints is one of communities as active agents making informed decisions on the future that they want to see, for themselves and others.
2. Education at the centre of aspirations  
A key point emanating from this research is the importance of education across the research locations as a means to achieve aspirations. Against a backdrop of high unemployment, especially for youth, education also means support in terms of skills development and professional training with quality education and the enabling environment that translates education into jobs.
3. We need to manage the risk and not the crisis  
This research also emphasises the need for a risk management approach, instead of a crisis management one. Though times of crises (i.e. drought) can have deep rooted impacts on livelihoods and development pathways, people interviewed spoke of risks in terms of impacts on their ability to realise a longer-term goals, not a period short-term of hardship or crisis.
4. Expanding rangeland and systemic interactions  
"Engaging with change" means to understand the current context, its capital, and the changes occurring. There are existing resources, strengths and capacities to build upon. This means maximising opportunity by minimising cost: Our different mandates provide opportunities to focus on equity and equitable growth, where innovation and knowledge transfer become the cornerstones of a dignified support. We should invest in becoming learning organisations, and apply our knowledge in our programming.
5. Changing context and inequalities  
The on-going change in the arid lands raises questions of who exactly is benefiting the most from this change. The economic expansion of the livestock industry may exacerbate existing inequalities. Settlement and changing lifestyles are spurring processes of enclosure while the role of women as income generators and change agents is increasing. We need a better understanding on how these changes are affecting communities.
6. Are we fit for purpose  
The changes we recorded in our study are subtle and are re-balancing the role of livestock and people in the dry lands. They also offer a set of opportunities for us, aid organisations, to engage with these changes in a better way. To be able to meet this challenge we need to reflect on our current ways of working and ensure that we invest in the resources and appropriate organisational changes to achieve this.

# 1. REGIONAL SYNTHESIS REPORT

THE EXPANDING RANGELAND

BASED ON CASE STUDIES FROM ETHIOPIA, KENYA, AND SOMALILAND

There is an increasing awareness that enormous change is on-going in the arid lands. The next ten years will be a period of transition with new opportunities, as families who, at the same time as struggling to make ends meet, will educate and feed their children and search for jobs in the rural towns. Future aspirations are shaping and being shaped by the on-going changes.

In the aftermath of the drought and famine of 2011, capturing and understanding these changes was an agreed starting point in efforts to work differently and better. The Red Cross movement, OXFAM and Save the Children were involved in the drought and famine responses of 2011. They had worked in those arid land communities prior to 2011 and continue working there today. By mid-2012 they jointly agreed to undertake a research study that would take a snapshot of changes today, but also looks at how those changes may transform the lives of these pastoral communities, for both the young and the old.

## 1.1 THE RESEARCH

### The question

The research sought to give voice to the people of pastoral and non-pastoral, chronically drought affected communities in the arid lands about *what they want to do with their lives*. It may seem an absurdly obvious purpose now, but it was absent before, whereas in place of their vision of the future were long-standing assumptions made by humanitarian and development actors.

The predominant narrative of what these people want to do with their lives is a traditional, pastoral one, where their lives focus on raising animals and continuing in a tradition of pastoral transhumance little changed over centuries. External factors – principally drought – were said to be driving growing numbers of pastoral *drop-outs*, a term strongly connoted with failure to describe those who had lost their herds and moved to live in settlements and peri-urban areas. From this narrative, the impacts of the 2011 drought were explained.

The research was prioritised because the predominant narrative did not fit with an observed rapidly changing socio-economic landscape in these communities. The predominant narrative did not take into consideration vast increases in population (approximately six times greater than 50 years ago), growing materialism and commercialisation, and increasing connectedness to the world outside their community (internet, *boda boda*, *matatu*, buses, mobile money, television, newspapers and radio). The narrative needed to be updated. The starting point was to ask people what they want for the future.

### The methodology

The question being asked determined the design of the research. There was confidence that honest answers could be elicited, if the design of the research focused on creating informal, respectful conversations. Interviewers were drawn from the local community to allow for culturally appropriate conversations to occur in mother-tongue. Closed response forms and questionnaires were not used for two reasons: firstly, it would impede and restrict the informal, natural flow of conversation, and secondly, responses could not be pre-coded or classified. Enumerators were trained to conduct brief informal conversations around three basic questions: *What do you want to be doing in ten years' time? How will you get there? What problems do you anticipate along the way?* Ten years was chosen as the benchmark time period in order to capture medium to long term aspirations linked to on-going changes. Geographic areas for the research were identified.

Sampling was purposive to capture a range of known conditions and experience (rural, settled, rural town and urban town). Transect walks were conducted in each location, and interviewees were randomly identified. Focus group discussions were also held around the research questions to triangulate information alongside key informant interviews with local government, stakeholders, and line ministries in each location.

Interviews were recorded and answers summarised into a database, and responses analysed by age, sex, location, ethnicity, and livelihood. Findings were also reviewed with the location's research team and local staff of the organisations. Interpretation of the findings used two frameworks: The Driver, Pressure, State and trends, Impact and Response Framework (DPSIR) and the Integral Theory (see Annex 1 for more details). These respective frameworks provide an integrated approach to social, economic and environmental drivers and pressures on an area and an approach to link internal-individual and external-collective thoughts and actions and understand how they feed each other and shape the future.

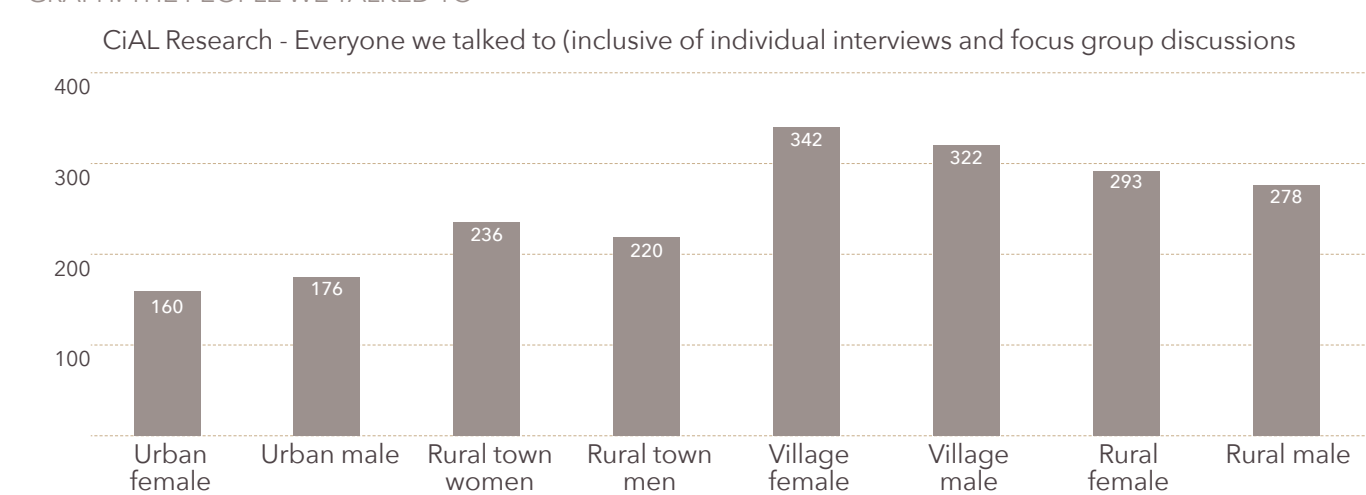
### Limitations

The research design allowed a respectful and informal interview process which provided honest insights into the situation and aspirations. Local staff and interviewees were very satisfied with both the process and results. However, there are limitations to this design.

The data collection methodology limited the data analysis that could be done on the findings and limits statements that can be made for the sampled population. The sample frame does not allow for statistical analysis. These were considered trade-offs however. Given the nature of the research, the design team felt that a sample frame and more quantitative data collection methodologies would compromise the quality of the data and ultimately diminish any statements based on the data, even if they would be statistically significant. Notwithstanding those statistical limitations, the research team is confident that the findings demonstrate trends representative of those interviewed.

The design team also debated to include wealth ranking as part of the criteria of selection of interviewees however, out of concern of introducing bias into the research, this was decided against. During the data analysis process, indicators of wealth were inferred based on interviewee responses. It was found that the wealth composition of the interviewees broadly reflected Household Economy Analysis wealth rankings conducted in those communities. Wealthy interviewees were under-represented – which led the team to ask whether, given the changing socio-economic nature of these communities, the wealthy are still to be living there or whether they more likely to be found in urban areas?

GRAPH: THE PEOPLE WE TALKED TO





The Result: A Story of an Expanding Rangeland

The findings were consistent and reflected efforts to exploit an *expanding rangeland* of opportunity. The notion of expanding rangeland is used to reflect what appears to be a broader vision (spatially and substantively) of opportunities that exist to these pastoral and arid land communities and how they hope to exploit them.

Approximately 2,000 elders, women, men, youth and children were directly interviewed in Turkana, Shinile and Burao (see Annex 2 for a summary of the interviews). Interviews were conducted almost equally with men and women. Most of the interviewees were estimated to be between the ages of 15 to 55. Their vision ten years into the future was framed around a better state of economic well-being. Table 1 summarizes the aspirations across the three locations. Aspirations differ clearly across age groups, but within each age group there are similar aspirations by the different sexes.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN TEN YEARS' TIME

AGE GROUP	WOMEN	MEN
· Adult / Elderly	· Alternative livelihoods (Women groups) · Diversified income source · Education	· Improve current livelihoods · Diversified income source · Education
· Youth	· Business (Non crop/ non livestock)	· Business (Non crop/ non livestock)
· Children	· Education leading to a professional career	· Education leading to a professional career

A common thread found across all responses, was a future in which the *community* or rather *social and family networks* continue to play an important role. While there may be different aspirations for the future across age groups, it may be more accurately interpreted as a collective aspiration, with different sub-components that are inter-linked. Interviewees in this regard were fairly consistent across the three locations. For example, the aspiration for education and employment of the youth is equally shared amongst the parent, grandparents and children. In turn, the ability of the parents to continue to live comfortably in their rural areas is based on the understanding that their educated, employed children will be able to care for them. Included in the youth and children's aspirations is the wish to be able to care for their parents as a result of having education and employment. The linkages extend beyond the nuclear family to the extended family. Interviews often reflected on the role that assistance from extended family members plays; current and future aspirations equally value being able to provide assistance to others.

Interlinked aspirations and an ethos of collective assistance and well-being support efforts to exploit non-traditional opportunities for these pastoral communities. Interviewees described how a family may fragment with the father remaining in the bush with the animals, while the mother is moving to town to be closer to basic services and income opportunities. Children may stay further afield with the extended family in order to attend school. These can be seen as strategies that both extend the households ability to access resources as well as minimize the risks. In the past, similar strategies would have been utilised in more traditional pastoral pursuits. The same strategy is evident through interviews today, but in the pursuit of non-traditional pastoral pursuits. In this sense, summarising these aspirations as urban migration at this point in time is inaccurate and incomplete.

Equally, although it may be true for some being pushed out at the margins, the concept of "pastoralist drop-outs" would also be incomplete against a picture of pastoralists in transition. Rather, interviews reflect an awareness of, and value for, income opportunities and basic services existing in urban centres. Accessing those opportunities is not necessarily done by moving en masse into town, but by moving part of the family to town, permanently or temporarily. Likewise, urban resources can also be accessed when needed, through relationships with extended family living in town. In this regard, seasonal pastoral migration or transhumance effectively enables a household to access a wider range of opportunities over an even greater rangeland.

Answering the question: *What people said*  
When asked what people want to do with their lives, answers were consistent within communities and across the three locations of the research:

- Education of the children and youth is perceived to be of critical importance for a better future – by everyone. Education was listed as the number one method to reach one's aspirations; either for the interviewees themselves, or for their children and grandchildren. Parents – no matter where they live – hope for their children to be educated and to get jobs.
- A better future is found through professional careers or commercial pursuits. Most adults however, are largely content where they are, but with some modest improvements in income and security. Youth and children across the research locations, including pastoral settlements, aspired for non-traditional business or professional futures. The younger the children the more likely they were to want to be a professional. Across the research locations, children and youth account for around 60 per cent of the population.
- A better future is found in urban areas – locally or further afield – where commercial and professional opportunities exist. This does not exclude economic opportunities in rural areas, but as part of a life which is increasingly settled and urban. The more settled and urban the people, particularly those over 30 years of age, the more they look towards commerce for their future and better income opportunities. Urban populations account for 20 to 35 per cent of the populations in the research areas.

- Pathways to realise these aspirations consistently made mention of assistance by the extended family or through the collaborative efforts of family. Similarly, an often reported product of future aspirations is the ability to assist others in the community.

*What people didn't say*

There was as much consistency in what was not reported in interviews, as what was said:

- Drought was often used to explain how a family came to be impoverished, but it was rarely cited as an obstacle to future aspirations.
- Future aspirations were not framed around livestock, indeed livestock was not even mentioned – except by some adults and elderly. In Turkana, many interviewees did say that a better future was one without livestock.
- There were no limits or guidance placed on what women could or should do.
- While adults and some youth could articulate practical actions they intended to take to move towards their ten year aspirations, young people had very little to say about how they would complete their education or get employment afterwards.

Perhaps ironically, what people didn't say seems to have a greater impact on the non-pastoralists conducting the research than the pastoralist people that were interviewed. Simply, it does not fit with the narrative used to explain people living in these communities; they are not doing what they are supposed to! The almost complete absence of livestock from future aspirations and strategies to realise those aspirations is surprising. Equally surprising to outsiders is the lack of romanticism for traditional lifestyle and custom.

## 1.2 THE CHANGES - Why are their lives changing?

Interview responses reflect a series of external and internal changes, which reinforce each other, to influence aspirations. Changing aspirations and the *expanding rangeland* were explained to be the product of several factors: failure, extreme hardship, danger, poverty, awareness of the world around them, a remarkable sense of optimism and opportunity.

The objective of the research was not to capture nor explain drivers of change, but rather to understand where people want to be in ten years' time and how they expect to get there. Through the conversations, many interviewees shared their views of what is driving change for them personally or in their community. Those explanations described both positive and negative factors driving change. The challenges they describe were often enormous, but in spite of past or current hardship, they face the future with optimism. Self-portrayal as passive victims was rare. In contrast to seeing drought as the critical factor of poverty and change, they gave a much more robust analysis of factors driving change.

Listening to their stories, it is clear that perceiving people as passive victims of drought grossly oversimplified a process of change and under-estimated their abilities and tenacity. Drought, as a driver of change through the loss of livestock assets, was a real and significant problem for those interviewed, but for them it was not the most important driver of change in any of the locations.

There was not one single principal factor of change across the three locations, but rather there was one clear factor of change in each community: *Khat* in Togdheer, cross-border trade in Shinile, and insecurity with the neighbouring Pokot communities in South Turkana.

### Khat, Somaliland

Interviewees in Togdheer overwhelmingly made reference to *khat* as one of the most important forces of change. Many interviewees chewed or sold *khat* or at least made reference to its pervasiveness, value or insidiousness in communities and that it is now being chewed by men, women and children. They also claimed that people spend considerable proportions of their household income on it. It was also linked to wider impacts such as changes in how people keep animals – a focus more on goats, which are easier to tend, and can be sold more easily to pay *khat* debts. With the males chewing *khat*, the responsibility of looking after livestock increasingly becomes the role of women.

People are also moving to town to for jobs and the income much of which will be spent on *khat*. Women dominate the *khat* sale business both as a means of survival and as a spring board to achieve longer term goals. *Khat* consumption is also strongly linked with environmental degradation through deforestation and charcoal production. Togdheer region is the largest producer of charcoal in Somaliland and provides quick income for many of the youth involved (Candlelight, 2012). It is estimated that one-third of all of the producers in the region are in the charcoal business solely to get cash for *khat* consumption (ibid). The physiological and economic impacts of *khat* were also reported in interviews to be linked to increasing rate of divorce and early marriages.

### Cross-border trade, Ethiopia

Cross-border trade with Somaliland and Djibouti was reported to be a traditionally significant source of income in Shinile and Jijiga Zones, through sale of livestock, involvement in commodities trade (food and merchandise) and through renting camels as pack animals to transport informally imported goods, more so than domestic trade. The Djibouti-Dire Dawa railway meant that official trade links were existent, although much of the cross border activity remained informal to avoid taxation and other limitations. The main exports via this informal route have been livestock, while imports consisted of merchandise including textiles and electronics, as well as food items such as pasta and sugar (Teka & Azeza, 2002).

However, much of this income stream has been lost. The railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa has not been functional for the past five years. More importantly, the border patrols were said to have dramatically reduced contraband trade and in particular informal livestock trade. This loss of income has apparently made animal ownership less lucrative for small scale livestock owners, hence increasing the attractiveness of livelihood diversification strategies.

### Insecurity, Kenya

In the opinions of those interviewed in South Turkana, insecurity is the single most important factor of change. Historically, cattle raiding and conflict was seasonal and linked to control over grazing resources. Interviewee stories now tell of raiding that is more commercial, and attacks unrelated to raiding that are random, not discerning of age or sex, and deadly. Gone also are the arrangements for inter-community peace-making and the community is left with unchecked, endless reciprocal violence. With no government protection or justice, interviewees reported they were both acting to protect themselves and avenge the death of others but mostly, people reported abandoning livestock and the rural settlements for the safety of town. Children were increasingly being educated to ensure that future generations will not be exposed to a life of fear and danger.

### Poverty and changing world view

The depth of poverty reported in most of the interviews, particularly in Turkana, was profound. Interviewees regularly described an incredible daily hardship. Escaping that hardship was a consistent driver of change across all three locations. The research team could generalise the aims of the parents as to establish a minimum level of subsistence and security for their families, with hardship being a critical driver of the mushrooming demand for education. Children have no intention to live amidst the hardship of their parents, nor do the parents want it for their children. Education and employment may be the aspiration, but extreme hardship borne of profound poverty may be driving it.

For those who know these communities even ten years ago, the remarkable change in aspirations is mirrored by a similar magnitude of change in communities' awareness of the world around them. Mobile phones are ubiquitous. Former isolation is diminished by mushrooming settlements and armies of motorbike taxis (*boda boda*) at main junctions. Electricity, television, radio and in its infancy, internet based social-media, are finding their way into these communities and decreasing the physical and social divide between them and the wider world. Awareness of these communication channels is vastly different to similar discussions that one might have had with children a decade ago.

Some drivers of change may be more universal and influential than others, but the changes in aspirations and the efforts to exploit an *expanding rangeland* are better understood as the product of a range of factors.



Photo: Colin Crowley/Save the Children



### 1.3 THE FUTURE – Bridging aspirations of tomorrow with today's reality

#### What might the future look like?

The research was undertaken with the aim to provide the opportunity for people of these three communities to lay out their hopes and aspirations for the future. It also gave the research team a window into the factors of change at play in their communities. It documented the experiences today and a vision of tomorrow, vastly different than the predominant narrative, which frames policy and programme design in these pastoral or agro-pastoral communities.

Aspirations change over time and dreams don't always come true. There is also a strong link between resilience and having aspirations with a desire for improvement (Frankenberger et al, 2007; Frankenberger and Nelson, 2013). Considering these aspirations, the current situation and the challenges that will be faced by people from these communities, what kind of future could we expect?

The discussion below highlights key changes we might expect, based on the research conducted. Overall, given the divide in aspirations between adults and youth and considering that approximately 60 per cent of the population is below the age of 25, future trends may be more influenced by the aspirations of the youth. However, for most, the next ten years will be a period of transition moving towards a future state of living that will be different from that of today.

#### People will be living in different places

As people exploit new and emerging opportunities, it may lead to new and increasing settlements. According to the research findings, this trend is being driven by improved infrastructure, education, government policy, notions of modernity and changing values.

Current rates of urbanisation may be accelerated as youth leave home, enter the labour force and as more children are born in towns. Population growth in the cities located in the Somali region of Ethiopia, from 1994 to 2007, grew at 2 per cent above general population, which may be an early indication of a future trend of increased urbanization (CSA 1994, 2007).

Within Togdheer Region, Somaliland, the number of new settlements is increasing rapidly. Those who used to move to peri-urban areas are also moving to new settlements with the multiple aims of having access to private land, natural vegetation, water and their own sub-clan leadership.

We may see an ageing of the population in the villages, as current rural young families are not being replaced. Populations in rural towns and urban centres may be younger.

Enhancing this trend over the next ten years, permanent settlement and land enclosure is seen as a way to access benefits. Services such as education, transport links (current and planned) and safety net programmes including the Productive Safety Nets Programmes in Ethiopia and Kenya are increasingly clustered around settled areas. In Ethiopia it was reported: *"The kebele leaders have told us not move anywhere with our livestock if we want to access the safety net. We are therefore forced to stay."* As people exploit options in the coming years, it will pay to remain in a settlement.

#### People will be doing different things to make a living

Some people (i.e. most of the children and youth) are aspiring towards professional and commercial pursuits, whilst others (i.e. adults and elderly) are more likely to rely on animals.

Currently, household economy data and other assessments have documented a range of activities employed in these communities to make a living; casual labour, small businesses and charcoal selling are the most predominant. These activities are likely to become the norm for a growing number of people over the next ten years. Rural economies remain weak with few opportunities despite a growing number of people searching for those opportunities. The rural economies may grow and be more diverse, but for the immediate future current sources of income generation will continue, as parents seek to feed and educate their families.

Rearing and selling small ruminants as well as small scale horticulture or fodder sales may become more important in the coming years. Both opportunities build on existing capacities and are growing markets. Livestock will likely remain a very important economic activity, and is discussed in its own section below.

We will see an incremental transformation in how people make a living as youth leave school and enter the labour force locally, nationally and regionally. While it may gradually change the amount and type of commercial opportunities or labour employment in towns, it may also increase remittances to rural areas, as it has in other parts of these countries. Important factors identified such as the railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa, oil exploration in Turkana and the Hargeisa-Berbera road may be game-changers in terms of future income opportunities in these communities. No doubt there will be a negative side to these changes, but they may also bring opportunities that do not currently exist.

#### The cultural fabric will be changed

Traditional kinship networks will still exist and will continue to be important to enable exploitation of the expanding rangeland and new opportunities, as well as providing mutual support between those in the rural and urban areas.

We are also seeing changing roles for youth and women, being shaped by different contexts and opportunities. Mothers for example will increasingly be involved in generating income for the household, as well as looking after the home. This trend may evolve further as educated young girls enter the work force seeking managerial or professional careers.

In each research location, dividing the family to access resources was also common. A husband may split the family or take multiple wives, to simultaneously access rural opportunities as well as urban ones.

Kinship networks, as discussed, are currently an important factor enabling people to exploit opportunities in an expanding rangeland, and are expected to continue to play that role over the next ten years. It will mean notions of extended family and mutual assistance in village life will be extended across a much greater geographic area. Some children will live for long periods in towns with aunts and uncles. Wives may raise children in towns, while husbands are away caring for animals or finding work. Other family members in urban centres will be expected to contribute to overall family income and, in turn, will expect access to rural resources.

#### Increased demand for education and information

Literacy together with changing access to media, information, mobile telephones and other technologies will bridge the distance between the arid land communities and the outside world. Awareness of the benefits of education and the opportunities it offers may increase the demand for more education. Increasing pressure is being placed on the education system to marry the needs of urban and rural, and settled and migratory communities, and to ensure that those aspiring towards education are able to complete their studies and learn skills that will help them succeed in achieving a better future.

Kenyan and Ethiopian governments have substantially increased investment in education and efforts to expand rural enrolment in Turkana, Shinile and Jijiga. However, although enrolment is increasing, many poorer children are still unable to complete their education. In Ethiopia, of the 71 per cent of children from the poorest quintile of households enrolled in 2004, 65 per cent completed Grade 4 and 42 per cent completed Grade 8 (Tefere, 2010). Education alone will not be able to deliver employment expectations. Disillusionment of youth in ten years is a possibility and expectations of transformation must be tempered, unless job creation is prioritised as well, but on the other hand, one must not discount pastoral ingenuity and tenacity to create employment for themselves and others.

### Challenges around Integrated Local Planning and Sustainable Use of Natural Resources

The next ten years may see a greater demand and more competition for available natural resources, with weak formal or informal mechanisms to manage them. Charcoal production, browse for small ruminants, rangeland for larger animals, farms as well as a continuing dependence on those natural resources for medicines, and crisis foods were all activities which interviewees planned on doing as part of their long or short term strategies. These activities are increasingly commercial, a function of urbanised or settled living, and underline the fact that private ownership and fragmentation of land remains dependent on the same natural resource base.

At the same time, the collective use and management structures which formally supervise land use, are being undermined by this same process of change. It is not clear what alternative regime may emerge. Notionally, formal and decentralised local government is responsible for the management of these resources, yet these bodies are new and still growing the capacity to address issues of integrated planning and land management. In the absence of formal mechanisms, there is the risk that smaller, yet more powerful interests will control resources that are of interest to them and to the exclusion of others. Uncontrolled individual ownership and fragmentation of common lands will likely be the defacto result of unplanned development, which could have significant consequences for livestock keeping and the biodiversity which enables the use of other land resources. Lastly, uncontrolled use of common lands, for example around settlements or towns, may lead to rapidly, depleted resources, erosion, and the loss of the coping options for particularly poorer households.

Within Togdheer Region, Somaliland, interviewees and agency staff reported growing conflict between older and newer settlements and also a decline in the mobility of livestock due to enclosures and increasing deforestation. Planning and environmental issues, illustrate well the opportunity and challenge of the future. They are central to enable people to meet their daily needs and are the building blocks of a better future. Yet the number of people depending on those resources and competing interests for those resources in the absence of a rational management regime, may undermine and threaten the potential and sustainability of these common resources.

### Livestock at the core

In all three locations, livestock is at the core of the community's economic and ethnic identity, which is unlikely to change in the next ten years, even if the roles and responsibilities of how and who keeps animals does. Its economic benefit, an available labour force and favourable policy will continue to contribute to its sustainability.

Who keeps which animals is likely to change. Most of the people interviewed had few animals and many had none. It was far more common to have interviewees speak of the small-ruminants (sheep and goats) they owned rather than large species (cattle and camels). This is consistent with trends found in household economy data collected from these communities, and Government of Ethiopia data which suggest that livestock generally, and large ruminants specifically, are owned by a small proportion of pastoral communities who are also classified as wealthy (Catley et al, 2013). Given population growth, the absolute number with large ruminants may be no different than 50 years ago. However, it does mean that most people in these pastoral communities no longer depend on livestock, or at least large ruminants, for their livelihood.



Photo: Tugela Ridley/Save the Children

How people will keep animals is also evolving. Small ruminants were referred to as an important complementary, if not primary source of income. Goats, like their current owners, are not migratory but stay within settled areas. For most people interviewed, goats will likely be an important source of income to meet school, health or other regular expenditures that are a function of the sedentary lifestyles and changing aspirations. It is a more commercial pursuit than traditional. Already, in this context in Togdheer, it is leading to changing roles of mothers who are both looking after these animals and able to control revenue related to their sale.

Our interviews included few wealthy people, and thus had few direct reports on why and how people are keeping larger animals. Other reports indicate growing trade in cattle and camels – both in terms of animals sold and value, evolving towards more commercial, not subsistence, systems. These changes will in turn will likely impact economically in the communities where the research was conducted. Over the next ten years, increasing trade and cash flows from the commercial livestock sector can create local demand for goods and services, new skills, and resources (transport, communication and finances). There may be a changing demand for subsidiary services such as restaurants, hotels, mechanics, book-keeping and most certainly paid labour.

Despite these changes, it is likely that livestock will remain a dominant force in the rural economies as well as in terms of cultural identity. Nothing in the interviews indicated that the type or number of animals owned influences one's sense of identity as a pastoralist. What was reflected in the interviews is that as a pastoralist community, social networks and mutual assistance will remain cornerstones. In such a context we should consider the indirect value of livestock trade not only in terms of revenue for a household, but possibly also in terms of potential trickle down benefit through structures of mutual assistance.

### Economic stratification

Budding rural economies and challenges of competing in national labour markets may mean that the gap between aspirations and actualisation may remain. In the absence of new opportunities and with an unwillingness or inability to return to subsistence pastoralism, many will turn to casual labour, charcoal burning or other poor forms of income generation to support their families. Similar trends have been seen in other pastoral communities, where the poor work for, or tend the livestock of, the wealthy who live far away. While providing crucial economic opportunities, it may increase economic stratification and in the medium term, entrench rural poverty.

In future, we may find that the younger people remaining in rural areas, are poor and uneducated; those unable to leave. A concern will be the risk of entrenched chronic, rural poverty of those poorly positioned to adapt to the changing world.



## 1.4 THE RESPONSE – What does it mean for us?

“Are we programming based on past assumptions?”

The results of the research in Togdheer, Turkana, Shinile and Jijiga, through the voices of the respondents themselves, changes the mental image of these areas from one of famine, drought and/or conflict to one of vast social, political, economic and environmental change with associated risks and opportunities. These changes are interlinked and strategies that will help some to realise their aspirations may in impinge on the well-being of others (i.e. charcoal sales). The changes are on-going and dynamic and this research only provides a snapshot. This research is a step towards understanding the changes taking place.

The findings from this research will also present challenges to future policy and programming. Will policy and programming be framed around narratives of future vulnerability, poverty, underemployment, unemployment, deviance and failure or will it be framed around the potential for better, more successful future? It implies that *unless policy counters the more negative narratives...the potential contribution of young people to national development will not be realised.* (Anyidoho et al, 2012 p 110)

This section explores some of the key questions we should ask ourselves in our role of humanitarian and development actors in this dynamic landscape. Many of findings from the research suggest that it is not **what** we do but **how** we do it that is important. This suggests certain adjustments to our programming and raises key questions for us, within the non-government sector.

### 1. What can we do to support people to reach their aspirations and overcome the obstacles they might find on their way?

One key element of how to intervene is to work with the potential of the context, the existing resources. To do so, it is crucial to understand the specificities of that context. The aim is to support the growth and development of these developmental pathways even in times of crisis.

To do so, we might want to shift from asking them what they need – now – to what do they aspire to achieve? We need to listen and hear people describe their pathway to development. Only then can we ask, “how can we help?”

### 2. Education at the centre of aspirations

A key point emanating from this research is the importance of education, across all research locations, as a means of achieving aspirations. Seen as a fundamental pathway for development this raises questions on how best to support the provision of quality education, including during periods of crisis. Against a backdrop of high unemployment, especially for youth, education also means ensuring skills development and professional training to translate education into jobs.

### 3. We need to manage the risk and not the crisis

This research also emphasises the need for a risk management approach, instead of a crisis management one. While times of crisis can have deep rooted impacts, the interviews emphasised that drought was only one factor of change. It means we must understand what actually adversely affects people in their changing situations. Risks appear to be more economic and long-term in nature – for example the risk of not finding a good job for a younger person.

During periods of crisis, we must identify *no regrets* activities to build on existing systems and support them to function even during periods of stress.

## 4. Expanding Rangeland and Systemic Interactions

We must not try to maintain an outdated status quo but *engage with change*. When examined alongside population dynamics, urbanisation and rural settlement growth, the implications of the changes described on planning and resource management are profound. “*Engaging with change*” would mean to understand the current context and its capital, and their relation to the changes occurring. It challenges us to understand changes around the population of concern in our activities. Against livelihoods in transition are our traditional target populations appropriate? Can we target the most vulnerable without consideration for the expanded rangeland in which they function and their roles in that system?

These questions point to the need to engage and support the social-ecological and economic systems around changing livelihoods and in our risk management approach. This also implies that there are resources, strengths and capacities to build upon, to add to, and to complement. We might look to *find leverage points*, through involvement and engagement with local authorities and decentralised systems and in the potentials for integrated planning.

This could mean *maximising opportunity* by minimising cost. Our different mandates provide different opportunities to focus on equity and equitable growth, where innovation and knowledge transfer become the cornerstones of dignified support. Our organisations should invest in becoming learning organisations, and apply our knowledge in our programming.

## 5. Changing context and inequalities

The reality of dynamic change and transitioning livelihoods within the arid lands cannot be unpacked without addressing the question of inequality. The on-going changes raise questions as to who is benefiting the most from this change. Settlement and changing lifestyles are spurring processes of land enclosure. Commercialisation of the livestock industry may widen existing economic inequalities. While the transition from pastoralism for some may be voluntary, we must be aware of those at the margins for whom it may not be and the support that they require.

In Turkana, Kenya, whether due to the conflict with Pokot or poverty, most women interviewed have taken on non-traditional roles, which may in turn foster more change. While these changes may be more subtle than urbanisation or enclosure, it marks an enormous and possibly irreversible change for 50 per cent of the community. This is mirrored in Somaliland, where the majority of female respondents (58 per cent) expressed aspirations for commerce or professional employment. The role of women as income generators, and positive agents of change, is increasing however, more consideration is needed on the impacts of the changing context on women and their risk profiles.

Education does not automatically equate to employment and many emerging livelihood strategies may have negative short and long term repercussions due to a lack of quality employment opportunities. The changes underway take place against a background of systemic and structural inequalities. We need to be cognisant of this and require a better understanding of how these changes are affecting the most vulnerable and those already at the margins if we are to work to support equitable development pathways for all.

## 6. Are we fit for purpose

The changes we recorded in our study can be considered both positive and negative, rebalancing the roles of both livestock and the people of the arid lands. The changing contexts offer an opportunity for us, as an aid sector engaged in both longer term development and humanitarian response, to engage with these changes for more effective programming. Continuing our approaches based on outdated constructions of the dry lands and a lack of understanding of the changing context does not correspond with our shared values of accountability and sustainability nor answer the question of the added value of our work. Silo mentalities, artificial divisions, and predetermined constructions in our engagement with communities can lead to inflexibility and inappropriateness of response. For us to be able to meet this challenge we need to reflect on our current ways of working and ensure that we invest in the resources and appropriate organisational changes to achieve this.

## 2. THE SOUTH TURKANA REPORT, KENYA

South Turkana and Lodwar were identified as the target area for the research in Kenya<sup>1</sup>. South Turkana is made up almost exclusively of people of the Turkana tribe. The people of South Turkana have historically based their lives around pastoral and subsistence livestock keeping, but uniquely, also incorporated complementary farming on the Turkwell River into their livelihoods.

This research methodology was designed to elicit unrestricted and open community conversations around the research questions. As such closed forms and questionnaires were not used. Instead purposive sampling was employed and interviewers listened to who they found while conducting transect walks in the target communities<sup>2</sup>.

In order to prompt people to share their stories, the following three questions were utilized:

- What do you imagine your future to be in 10 years time?
- What are you doing today that will help you to get there?
- What problems do you imagine you will face on your way?

To further ensure that the diversity of situations and aspirations were captured, the research team identified and conducted visits in three types of locations within the South Turkana and Lodwar areas:

- Rural/village locations: *Kaputir, Kakong, Nakwam* and *Juluk*
- Rural/town location: *Kainuk*
- Urban/city location: *Lodwar*

Interviewing in different types of locations was felt to be important as locational experience may influence one's aspirations or future plans, even if all are Turkana's. In total, approximately 1,000 people were interviewed<sup>3</sup>. Interviewers were drawn from local members of the Kenya Red Cross Turkana Branch. Interviews were conducted in local language.

South Turkana has a population of 226,379 (GoK, 2009). Almost 20 percent of that population is urban and 80 percent rural (GoK and our own estimates). Sixty percent of the total population is under 20 years of age (GoK, 2009). Most rural people are classified as poor (defined by livestock holdings) and make a living from a mix of small livestock (goats primarily), farming, charcoal sales, small business, casual labour, wild food and food aid. The rural wealthy derive most of their income from larger livestock (cattle, camel). The District reported extreme levels of acute malnutrition during the 2011 drought (GAM rates of 40 per cent). The field work was conducted from 25th September to 4th October, 2012.

Section 1 of this report gives us a snapshot of the aspirations captured in South Turkana and starts to analyze what this means for the people we spoke to. Section 2 highlights some of the key changes and forces of change highlighted through the interviews. Section 3 flags key strategies interviews intend to utilise to realise their aspirations as well as challenges they may face. The final section, Section 4, uses aspirations to indicate what the future of this community might look like ten years from now.

<sup>1</sup> Target areas were identified according to organisational presence and therefore the views captured in this study are not representative of all livelihood zones. However, as shown in the Regional CiAL report, notable similarities were found in trends across all three diverse areas that were the subject of study.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1 and Annex 1 for more details of the methodologies used during this research.

<sup>3</sup> Annex 2 provides a breakdown of the number of interviewees by location, age, gender, livelihood and wealth ranking.

### 2.1 A Vision of the Future: Aspirations in Their Own Words

The reader will note that the aspirations that follow are overwhelmingly framed in ways to make a living or where people might live. In part it reflects the questions posed to them, but it also reflects Turkana culture. People may aspire to make a living in the ways reported, but perhaps more than anything else, it is associated with a better lifestyle or level of well-being. Overwhelmingly, aspirations reflect pathways out of insecurity and extreme poverty.

Aspirations can be grouped into four broad categories:

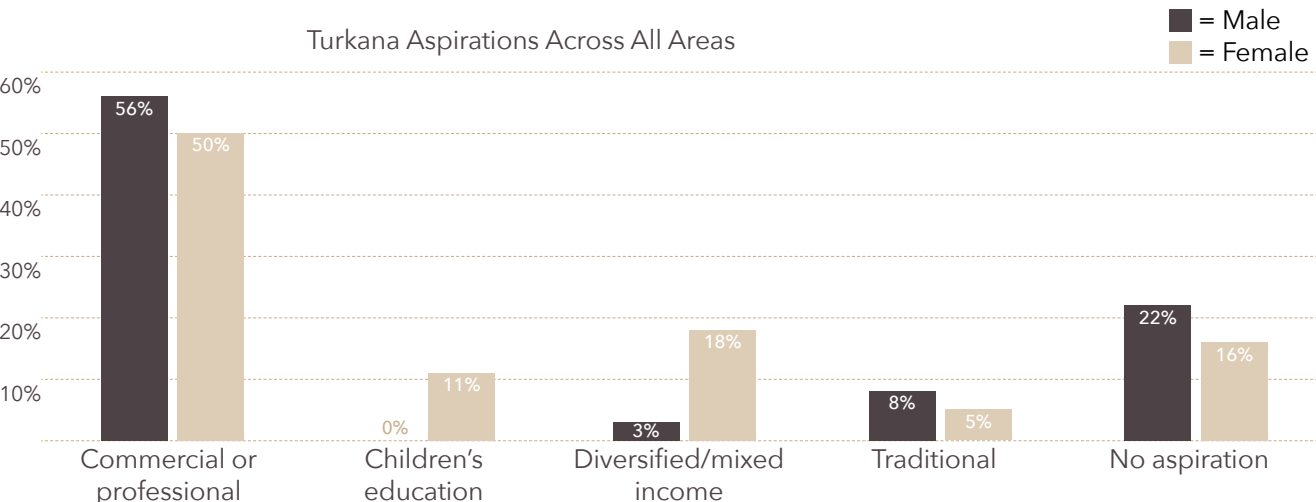
- Purely commercial or professional pursuits
- Diversified livelihoods/mixed income through agriculture or other opportunities
- Traditional - Little or no change except peace
- No Aspiration - None expressed

Most surprising was the absence of aspirations based on livestock, except amongst a few adults and elderly.

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN TURKANA

AGE GROUP	WOMEN	MEN
• Adult / Elderly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alternative livelihoods (i.e. Women groups)</li> <li>• Diversified income source</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve current livelihoods</li> <li>• Diversified income source</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• None</li> </ul>
• Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business (Non crop/non livestock)</li> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business (Non crop/non livestock)</li> <li>• None</li> </ul>
• Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education leading to a professional career</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education leading to a professional career</li> </ul>

GRAPH 2: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN TURKANA BY GENDER





### 2.1.1 Aspiration: purely commercial or professional pursuits

Purely commercial or professional types of aspirations were the most commonly reported. Commercial pursuits are generally small businesses (trading, hoteli, shops, transport and the like), while professional pursuits refer to professions such as nurses, doctors, pilots, police, etc. Children and youth almost universally reported these types of aspirations whether they came from the rural villages, or from Kainuk or Lodwar. Children, particularly those attending school, were more likely to want to have a profession, whilst youth, who may have had less education, tended towards commercial activities.

These types of aspirations were also found amongst young families. Women, almost entirely, aspired towards non-traditional income opportunities, with girls interested to exploit opportunities in peri-urban or urban areas (Lodwar or elsewhere in Kenya). Single mothers particularly were interested in commercial activities. Adults in Lodwar tended towards commercial or professional opportunities. Migration from a smaller settlement to a larger one was generally a part of these aspirations, but more so with interviewees from rural settlements than in Kainuk or Lodwar.



*"We are married and have some children. Our future aspiration is to move to the peri-urban areas and engage in some business, attend adult education and send our children to school. How can we use this mobile unless we learn?"*

- Juluk village

*"I have one of the largest food stuff shops in the town of Kainuk. I grow up in Kainuk but my relatives are in the villages of Turkana. In the early time I use to collect milk from the pastoralists and sell in the town. Gradually I was involved in periodic markets where I sales livestock in the Pokot market days and buy Sorghum and Maize from the same market and resale the crop in Kainuk, the conflict was not serious at that time. Gradually I promote my business to big shop in the town. I have also some livestock mainly serving as source of dairy products to my family. I have two wives and the first has six children and the second has four children and all are attending school. Four children from my three sisters who live in different villages are also living with me and attending school. Moreover, during irregular drought and I am sending some food stuff to relatives in the village and sale some of my products on credit basis. My future aspiration is to improve the business with different commodities and qualities."*

- Kainuk

*"I left my village Juluk, five years back when my father and mother were killed and all the livestock were taken by the Pokot. I had no any close relative in the town of Kainuk, however, I use to come frequently to the town to investigate the opportunity and start with daily labour and also observes the mud block production. I start the business around the riverbank in the past two years. The business has good market. My aspiration is from my savings I would like to have some shoats and irrigated farm to produce vegetables. I have also a plan to marry from the rural area and construct my own house at Kainuk and strongly working with my wife to improve our livelihood."*

- Kainuk, 34 (right)

*"My name is Jane and I am blessed with seven children, I was staying at Amolem before moving to Kainuk in 1996, due to clashes between Turkana and the Pokots. My husband was killed and that is why I had to migrate to this place. I have a farm where I grow different crops but the elephants damage the crop. I have also a small shop to sell food. We do have lots of orphans children in this area, and their parent were killed by Pokots and took away all of their livestock. Thus we are requesting for a children's home (orphanage) so that they be able to have hopes of life in future instead of children roaming around the town. My aspiration is to be successful business so that that I am able to sustain my family and also improve the living standards of my community."*

- Kainuk

*"I am a 15 year old girl, when I grow up I would like to be a doctor. I will work hard to achieve a good grade, I am now grade eight. My parents are poor they couldn't afford for our daily meals: we go to school to get food. We are six in our family. My father is a daily worker while my mother does some farming and we usually eat once a day complemented with wild food. Diseases like cholera and typhoid are widespread in our locality and the health centre has no medical equipment and drugs."*

- Juluk village

### 2.1.2 Aspiration: diverse/mixed income through agriculture or other opportunities

Aspirations to improve one's situation through agriculture or mixed income opportunities were commonly reported by adults or elderly and some youth. They want to see improvements in their future, but they are not wishing for great changes in where they live or what they do. Their improvements are ones that will provide them more physical security from Pokot attack or more money to provide a better quality of life for their children. These aspirations are less to do with reflections of what they wished for themselves. They are aspirations of parents who want security for their family and the means to ensure their children study (and get good jobs in the future). Migration was generally not a part of this aspiration.

*"Currently I am looking after the six children of my two daughters. The two daughters are engaged in daily activities in the village and some times in the farm. They drop the children in the morning and take them back in the evening. As a grandmother I feed the children by fetching wild plants from a bush with distance of more than ten kilometres. Usually the wild fruits are bitter in taste and need more than 15 hours boiling. The husband of one of my daughters is depending on charcoal making, while the second husband has migrated to find a job in the new exploration of oil. I have all these problems after I had lost my husband and all animals by the Pokot a decade back. My future aspiration is just praying for peace and security of my daughters and grand children to have secured life."*

- Kaputir, 75



*"I have three children. We have some farm land but lost all our livestock by the conflict. Our crop production is also a failure. Now my husband and I are engaging on the most disliked job just to survive. He is making charcoal, while I am engaged on the sale of local drink. My future aspiration is to stay in the village and improved my livelihoods and sends the children to school."*

- Kakong vilage, 23

*"I am a widow. I lost my husband three years ago due to TB. I felt depressed; he was the core provider of the family. I have a son who is taking Bachelor in business management at Moi University, but dropped out of the university due to shortage of fee. I sell vegetables but not sufficient to sustain the family and send some of my children to my relatives so as to reduce the burden. My aspiration to strengthen my business and collect some money to cover the university fee and the son supports the family when employed without moving from the village"*

- Juluk village, 59

*"I am married to seven wives with a total of 26 children. Originally I am from Kakong, but I moved from that place many years back and since I have never wanted them to visit that place. The reason why I moved that place while still young was because that place is commonly known in Turkana as battle field of war. As the name suggest kakong means 'stay awake while eyes wide open'. Any time while in that place especially when you have some livestock you expect anything to happen because our enemies don't send any request or any alert that they are coming, this made me to feel if I do away with this so called livestock and I will never collide with the Pokots. So I decided to come here in Kainuk and start doing some agriculture and do away with livestock completely and that is why in this compound of my home you have not even had any smell of livestock."*

- Kainuk, 71

*"My name is Ann Ekiru. I am a mother to six, in bad luck I lost two of my children; one was shot dead by the Pokot when swimming in the river, and a daughter who died in the hospital while receiving treatment. I am staying with four children, three sons and a daughter. I divorced from my husband when he used to beat me whenever he was drunk. I escaped to my parents and engaged in the sale of sand soil for construction from the river. Unfortunately I got TB and was forced to quit the job and now depend on my parents. My aspiration is with the recovery of my health to educate my children with other small business in the village."*

- Juluk village, 27

*"I am 40 years old. I used to work as a waiter in Lodwar town, but now am not working because of health issues. It was found that I was HIV positive but I could not believe it. Going back to the rural wife with two children was a big challenge. However, with the assistance of counselling and guidance I disclosed to my wife and asked her for testing. She was tested negative. I was exposed to my relatives they stop visiting us. After having another three children found to be negative I stopped any sex to avoid any risk as the whole family is depending on the vegetable business of my wife. Hence my future aspiration is to educate our children and support my wife with what I can"*

- Juluk, 40

*"I have nine children and a farm. After I had lost more than 30 shoats, I have no intention to rear livestock again. I was serving as a teacher in a school, but the project has been phased out and I have no job now. My future aspiration is to work on the farm and produce crop and vegetables to the urban areas. With the drought the volume of water decreases and demands to have water pump increases and by saving some money I can have a pump and improve the business. I am also aspired to support my children to be educated."*

- Kakong village, 38

*"I am blessed with three children; two are in school while the other one is six months old. I came to this village fifteen years ago, and therefore am a pastoralist and a farmer. I plant maize, wheat, banana and sorghum and thus am able to sustain my family. I have not enough equipment for irrigation, moreover the elephants destroy our crop and the Pokot kill our family during framing. Our children are learning under a tree with one teacher, who is not even qualified; he is just helping the community. We have class one to three, class four to eight has to move to Echakun Primary school which is 10 kilometres from here. We have also twenty cows and fifty goats. My husband is looking after them. He is around 200 kilometres from here. I would like to improve the agricultural skill to increase production and diversify the livelihoods."*

- Juluk village

*"My husband used to be a driver and lost the job when he was sick. We had about eight children; most had died due to the outbreak of disease in the locality. The other two remaining are the daughters who are currently drop-out from school due to the pregnancy by the poor men from the village. I have both of them here struggling working hard with our farm land and small shop. My future aspiration is to strengthen the farming and the small shop and send my daughters to school again and improve their livelihoods."*

- Nakwamoru Village



### 2.1.3 Aspiration: traditional - little or no change, except peace

People of all ages and wealth groups in peri-urban or urban areas did not express plans to return back to rural villages or traditional lifestyles, although they identify with the rural area and may buy land or animals there. Staying in situ and ensuring peace was not a common aspiration, and was mostly reported by rural adults or elderly. These interviewees do not seek many changes from their current situation beyond perhaps some small improvements. Drought and conflict figure in these aspirations. Younger people with this aspiration are passionate about their community. They feel they are under threat by the enemy, the Pokot, and want to protect their patrimony and people.

*"Now I am about 76 years old with 10 children. Last year June I lost all my livestock, which included camels, cattle and donkeys. Now I am totally depending on the community support and use of wild food. My future aspiration as an elder is to support the prevalence of peace and security in the community with peace keeping stakeholders."*

- Nakwamoru, 76 (right)



*"I cannot have any bright aspiration in the future due to the very complex and diverse problems in our locality. The community has totally lost confidence on the political leaders who have a deaf ear to the chronic conflicts and death of human beings. Last month (August) already six people were killed and more than 500 shoats and about 60 cattle have been taken away by the Pokot. Due to the frequent killings, widows and orphanages are dominating in our village. We cannot practice safe farming around the river bank nor move with our shoats due to ambush attack. Therefore, my aspiration is to defend the community and land grabbing by the Pokot."*

- Kaptuir, 30 (right)



*"I am now an age of 17 and attending school at grade eight. My future aspiration is to become a policeman and serve my community to assure peace and security".*

- Nakwamoru, 17



Photo: Colin Crowley/Save the Children

### 2.1.4 Aspiration: No Aspiration - None expressed

There were only a few interviewees who had said they had no aspirations at all. These people were exclusively adults, who had experienced extreme hardship. They were destitute, or simply without hope. They were generally victims of conflict with the Pokot and/or drought as well. We have included them here as a testimony to the extreme conditions in South Turkana. Perhaps the same situation, which has rendered these people destitute, is the same one driving so many others, particularly the youth and their parents to seize new and different opportunities.

*"I am an age of about 50 with three wives and 12 children. I was one of the richest people in the community owning all types of livestock and huge number. Gradually I have lost all livestock due to the conflict. Now the family is depending on charcoal making, community support and food aid. All children are sent to school because of the feeding centres. But we have problems in the weekends when the school is closed and no food for the children. I cannot see any bright future after such disaster crisis."*

- Ngiorroko Epetet, Juluk village, 50

*"I have no any clear aspiration to move or stay behind. We have four children and a small farmland. My husband generates income by renting his motor bicycle as a means of transport. However, the income is not sufficient to support the family. The farm is far from the river and needs pump to irrigate as already the water level is decreasing due to drought. Rearing of small animals has a potential but we are afraid of risk of raiding and killings. I am sending my school age children to school and yet I have no idea what my future need to be under conflict and insecurity conditions."*

- Nakwanom village

## 2.2 Key Factors of Change

Behind the aspirations documented, certain key change factors began to emerge. These factors help to explain changing aspirations of this formerly traditional, pastoral community. In part these factors are external, imposed from or simply existing in the world outside of South Turkana. Equally, there is a demand for change emanating from within. For example, education once externally imposed is demanded now; an educated, literate population has a different world-view which in turn is creating a demand for new things and ways of living. Beyond education, there is simply desire to improve and better on one's current or anticipated future condition. Conflict and education may be the most influential factors of change. Also, changing land tenure patterns, poverty and gender roles are important dynamics in this process as well.

### 2.2.1 The Most Important Change Factor: Conflict

Conflict may be the most influential driver of change in South Turkana. Conflict, a traditional feature of South Turkana, is changing with consequences more widespread and severe than ever before to the point that it has overwhelmed the community of South Turkana.

Survival has necessitated families and communities to split. The social fabric of their life has been undermined. Traditional forms of reconciliation are said to be declining. In turn, the loss of traditional sources of income has necessitated activities such as charcoal collection or farming, against a backdrop of a rapidly growing population.

*"I am attending school at class six. My future aspiration is to become a soldier. Definitely I will be given a gun and ammunition. Then I will take revenge to the enemies who have killed my beloved mother. I have also an aspiration that all the youth in our community will be employed as soldiers and none of our enemies will come to steal our livestock or kill our parents while doing their work on the farm."*

- Juluk, 16

*"I was born in Lokichar, we came here Lomokomol village in Juluk location with the missionaries in 1969. ...we would visit west Pokot and they would visit us. ... Life was smooth until the missionaries left and we started fighting amongst ourselves, grabbing the resources that would have benefited us. Since then to date we have changed, leaving behind so many people in extreme poverty, death cases, loss of livestock, and diseases increasing. ... our children have turned to be like wild animals killing each other without mercy, our leaders inciting us to fight amongst ourselves and other neighbouring communities. As we are seated here, I am a mother of nine children but only three have survived; the rest died while looking for the livestock. ...."*

- Juluk, 44

### 2.2.2 Education

Once imposed, education is now considered essential. Education is as much about a change from within as one imposed from outside. Education is seen as a vehicle for a better life, not an end in itself. It is believed to be a pathway to employment, income and, implicitly, the perceived improvements of an urban life. Part of the reason for the demand for education may be the extreme poverty and the hardship and dangers of life in South Turkana. But also, people may simply have growing awareness of, and attraction to, the relatively easier, safer lives and material comforts of other Kenyans. Interviewed people in South Turkana are actively choosing education to change their world.

### 2.2.3 Land Tenure

Changing conditions and opportunities are encouraging formerly migratory households to settle or establish themselves in urban centres. Interviewees highlighted factors such as security (reducing the risk of attack from Pokot), access to basic services (schools and health), and new income opportunities, as factors which have led or will lead them from the rural places to larger centres such as Kainuk or even Lodwar. People also reported they decided to settle or create settlements simply to access relief commodities. These multiple drivers have resulted in a patchwork of settlements along the Turkwell River and the main Lodwar road.

### 2.2.4 Changing Social Fabric: New Roles and Responsibilities for Women

Different factors have caused women to assume non-traditional, income generating roles. Many women described themselves as widows as a result of conflict. Some are single mothers as their husbands left them to find work after losing their livestock. Married women have had to find different ways to gain income once their family lost their livestock. The result of all of these situations is that women have been compelled to take on non-traditional roles for themselves – as a head of household, small business woman, selling brew, selling charcoal, or leaving the village to live in town.

## 2.3 How to Achieve Aspirations and Overcome Challenges

The research was also concerned with learning how people intended to realise their dreams or aspirations. We also wanted to know what obstacles were anticipated and how they would be overcome. In most interviews, there was a confidence that their aspirations – at least in some degree – would be realised. Interviewees were quite optimistic about their future. Plans to realise aspirations were broad and seemed to hinge on education or help from kinfolk. Interestingly, there was no sense of obstacles in the future. It became clear that a challenge may be for the youth to translate education into employment or income. As well, most interim income options, in part or in whole, depend on exploiting local natural resources. The capacity of the resource base to meet these growing demands over time may present a future challenge.

### 2.3.1 Education as critical strategy

Almost universally, education is seen as a critical strategy to realise any future aspiration. Children and youth who want commercial or professional careers recognise that they must complete their education. Parents want their children be educated to have good lives themselves but also to contribute to the parents in old age and to assist the community in general.

*"I am with three kids. The father is in South Sudan for some employment and very rarely visits us. I am now with the mother of my husband and engaged in charcoal making to assist the family. My aspiration is being a young woman to go back to school and achieve my dreams of being a nurse in the village and support my children to be educated."*

Mother, Nakwamoru village

### 2.3.2 Turkana culture and the expanding rangeland

Kinship relations are enormously important in Turkana culture. Such aspirations should be interpreted not simply as individualistic goals, but as part of a collective strategy. It is through this collective effort that new opportunities can be seized. Maybe there is not a blueprint for this collective effort, but the interviews gave a clear sense that even in a changing context mutual assistance is fundamental. Whereas in the past, collective effort was focused around the village and grazing lands, now, that life is revolving around an even broader area from village to town and city, to pursue opportunities beyond cattle rearing.



### 2.3.3 Livestock keeping in this changing world

When discussing a pastoral community, such as the people from South Turkana, any discussion of the future is obliged to consider the imminent role of livestock in people's lives. Reflecting the limits of this research's methodology, this important economic and culture feature was not included in responses. However, its omission is still useful, even though it has been highlighted by the research team, not the interviewees. The research team feels that even with enormous changes in aspirations for the large majority, it is likely that livestock will not only continue but may thrive, even if it is not an *aspiration* of the majority. While it may mean that most people will not make a living from livestock keeping, proportionately smaller parts of the community will. The proportionately few households holding the majority of livestock, (particularly the larger species, cattle and camels) are successfully adapting to changing conditions and context. Cattle-keeping is increasingly becoming more commercial and the value of that trade is rising and is expected to continue to do so for the coming years (Dyer, 2012). They are developing the means to overcome Pokot insecurity, changing access to land, pasture and water, and are exploiting commercial opportunities despite a difficult marketing environment.

### 2.3.4 Agriculture amidst these changes

There is much discussion about the role of agriculture in the future of South Turkana, by exploiting the Turkwell River. There is also a potential demand for locally grown produce, particularly horticulture or fruit crops. Many adult interviewees intend to establish or expand their small farms, and speak mostly of local sales. It is envisioned by interviewees to be a complementary source of income, not large scale operations. Adults more often wished to pursue agriculture. It was not something the children or youth aspired towards. Perhaps small scale agriculture will be an increasingly important complementary activity for parents over the coming years, but the majority of children did not demonstrate any interest in becoming farmers.

Given the poor infrastructure and small, local market it might be limited to small-scale agriculture opportunities to complement incomes. Recent studies have pointed out that large scale irrigated agricultural schemes, such as Katilu, are viable for the period in which the government provides subsidy only and other private sector irrigated agricultural schemes are likely to be run by those from other parts of Kenya or from outside of Kenya. Either option would likely have little relationship to the aspirations and strategies of the people we interviewed. Except for a few, agriculture is seen to play a complementary role amidst current income strategies.

### 2.3.5 Oil exploration: the wild card

Potentially the most important opportunity or challenge in the future may come from the oil development in Lokichar, South Turkana. It can create increased income from direct or secondary employment or new commercial opportunities not possible currently in these isolated, rural economies. It may also lead to potential improvements to infrastructure (transport, communications, and finance) and increased trade. The opportunities it may create are simply not available to the current rural economy driven by the livestock trade. Conversely, an oil industry may also change the current power structure, introduce many external people and have potential environmental consequences. The rush of change, both good and bad, precipitated by the oil industry and oil money may also have a profound influence on Turkana culture and identity, with implications far beyond economic ones.

## 2.4 The Future: Which Way Forward?

Aspirations presented here reflect a dynamic period for the people of South Turkana. They point towards dramatic changes in the coming years. They also tell of an unbelievable level of hardship and grinding poverty. In spite of this hardship, the research did not note a sense of failure or despair. Rather for most, there is optimism and a sense of opportunity. Perhaps this is the most important lesson for those seeking to assist and work with South Turkana communities; learning to see past hardship and adversity, being able to see the opportunities lying ahead.

Aspirations make one thing clear, for the interviewed people of South Turkana their vision of tomorrow is not to recreate the past, whether imposed from without or driven from within. They remain *pastoralists*, but their aspirations are no longer about nomadic pastoralism and subsistence. While they expect animals to feature in South Turkana life, most do not expect to look after those animals. Instead they expect to contribute to their families and community by exploiting new opportunities.

The people interviewed aspire for a *better future*, which is not their current life of danger and poverty. For many, that better life will be made possible by living in Kainuk, Lodwar or farther afield. It will be a life of employment or business that will give them the ability to buy not only the things they need to subsist, but also the comforts they see other Kenyans enjoying.

The future is one of exploiting an *expanding rangeland*, which will continue to require collective effort and success, and the livestock trade may well be the most significant component of the rural economy in ten years, even if less people are engaged in it.



Photo: Bert Wander/Save the Children

### 3. THE SOMALI REGION REPORT, ETHIOPIA

The Woredas of Shinile and Awbere, situated respectively within the Somali Region Zones of Shinile and Jijiga, were identified as the target area for the research<sup>4</sup>. According to the 2008 Livelihood Zoning exercise, 80 per cent of the population in Shinile Woreda is classified as pastoral, with the remaining population being agro-pastoral. The study area of Jijiga also falls within the agro-pastoral livelihood zone (Save the Children UK, 2008). Shinile Woreda is located close to the large urban centre of Dire Dawa with a population of over 300,000 (CSA, 2004).

This research methodology was designed to elicit unrestricted and open community conversations around the research questions. As such closed forms and questionnaires were not used. Instead purposive sampling was employed and interviewers listened to who they found while conducting transect walks in the target communities<sup>5</sup>. In order to prompt people to share their stories, the following three questions were utilized:

- What do you imagine your future to be in 10 years time?
- What are you doing today that will help you to get there?
- What problems do you imagine you will face on your way?

In total 396 interviews were conducted within these communities between 24 October and 2 November 2012 by staff members from Oxfam GB. Interviewers were careful to select individuals representing men and women from different age groups representing children, youth, adults and the elderly<sup>6</sup>. Further to these individual interviews, group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted in order to triangulate the information elicited through the individual interviews.

To ensure that the diversity of situations and aspirations were captured, the research team identified and conducted visits in three types of location within the target Woredas:

- Rural/village locations: *Harrawa, Gaad, Jedene, and Gadab*
- Rural/town locations: *Shinile and Mermersa*
- Urban/city locations: *Dire Dawa*<sup>7</sup>

Section 1 of this report gives a snapshot of the aspirations captured in Shinile and Awbere; Section 2 highlights some of the key changes and forces of change highlighted during the interviews; Section 3 flags key strategies as well as challenges identified; and Section 4 uses interviewees' aspirations to indicate what the future of this community might look like 10 years from now.

<sup>4</sup> Target areas were identified according to organisational presence and therefore the views captured in this study are not representative of all livelihood zones or clans within the Somali Region. However, as shown in the Regional CiAL report, notable similarities were found in trends across all three diverse areas that were the subject of study.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 1 and Annex 1 for more details of the methodologies used during this research.

<sup>6</sup> Annex 2 provides a breakdown of the number of interviewees by location, age, gender, livelihood and wealth ranking.

<sup>7</sup> Although Dire Dawa does not fall within Shinile Woreda, its proximity makes Dire Dawa a draw for rural populations and a focus of commerce.

#### 3.1 A Vision of the Future: Aspirations in their own Words

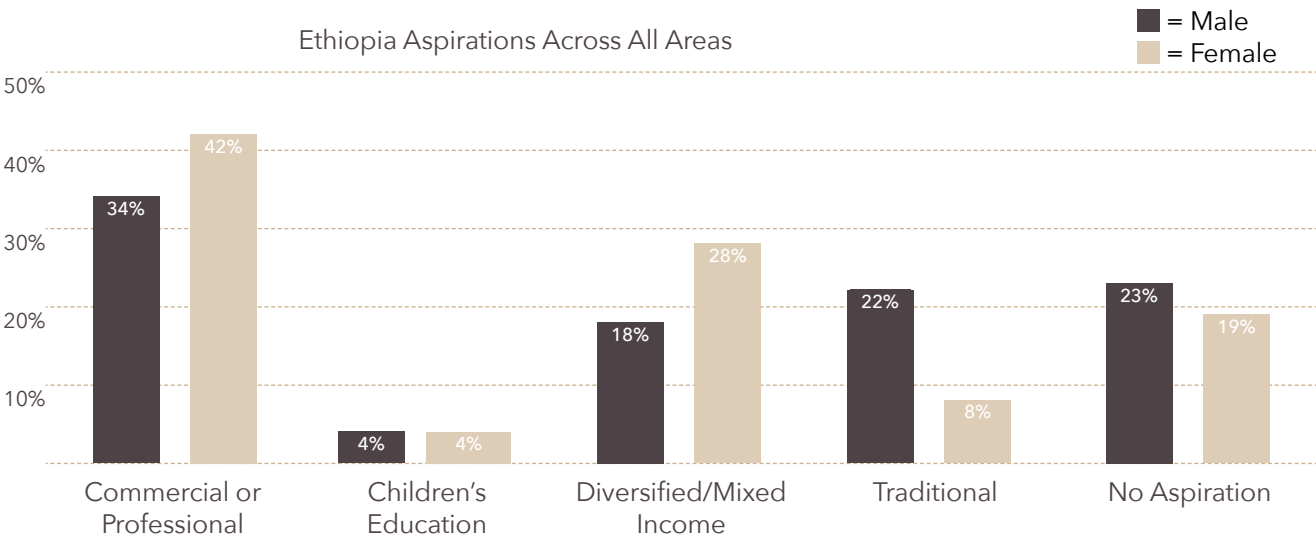
In analyzing the responses provided by respondents from target communities, aspirations could be categorized into four main groups:

- Seeking income from professional activities
- Diversified livelihoods/mixed income and/or invest in commercial activities
- Traditional – Maintain current livelihoods
- No aspiration – Absence of aspirations

TABLE 3: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN ETHIOPIA

AGE GROUP	WOMEN	MEN
• Adult / Elderly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alternative livelihoods (i.e. Women groups)</li> <li>• Diversified income source</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve current livelihoods</li> <li>• Diversified income source</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>
• Youth	• Business (Non crop/non livestock)	• Business (Non crop/non livestock)
• Children	• Education leading to a professional career	• Education leading to a professional career

GRAPH 3: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN ETHIOPIA BY GENDER





### 3.1.1 Aspiration: professional livelihoods

It was notable that the respondents under 18 years of age overwhelmingly wish to pursue professional careers, as they believe this will lead to an urban lifestyle characterized by access to goods and services. This was particularly the case for school attendees, where 100 per cent of respondents are aiming for such livelihood options. As 45 per cent of the population in Ethiopia is under the age of 15, this strong-stated desire to move away from traditional livelihoods represents a significant finding. While the majority of adults did not wish to pursue professional careers themselves, they did wish this for their children – most adult women stated their main aspiration as providing an education for their children as a route to future wealth.



*"I am 25 with two children. Due to the serious problems of drought, Prosopis and water shortage, I want to move to an urban area and start a small business so I can send my children to school. This will help them to get good employment in the future."*

- Jedene, 25 (above)

*"I have a total of 18 children. Already two of them are employed and helping the family, another two are attending university and the others are students. My future aspiration is to make sure all my children are educated and employed and are able to assist their family."*

- Elder person, Dire Dawa

*"I am 12 and attending grade 8. My future aspiration is to be a district administrator in an urban area. I would like to have a total of 12 children from two wives located in urban and rural areas."*

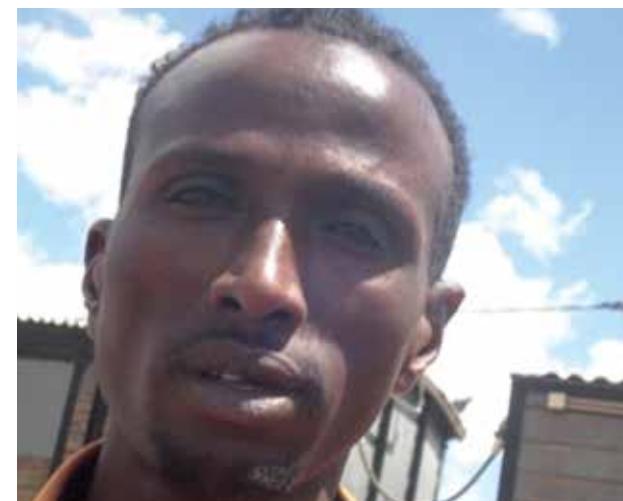
- Mermersa, 12

*"I am 15 years old and I am a student. My parents and all of my sisters and brothers live in Harrawa and own some livestock and some land. My mother sells spices in a small store. I want to become a doctor and live in a town. I want to get married and have only two children."*

- Harrawa, 15

### 3.1.2 Aspiration: diversified/commercial livelihoods

According to interviews conducted, approximately half of the adults, and in particular women<sup>8</sup>, wish to improve their current livelihoods through diversification. Small businesses and new types of farming were the most common forms of diversification, with many expecting new opportunities to open with the promised re-opening of the Dire Dawa-Djibouti train line and the expansion of boreholes leading to improved access to irrigation.



*"I have two wives; one who has a business in the village and the other who works on the land and livestock. My future aspiration is to expand my livestock and to enclose an area for crop and vegetable production as the government is already drilling boreholes for irrigation. We will also increase our selling of milk. Moreover, my wife will strengthen her business in the village and send her children to school."*

- Harrawa, 28 (above)



*"I am generating an income through sale of vegetables, mainly potato, in the town of Shinile. My husband is a daily labourer and also makes charcoal. From my savings I purchased two sheep and I am also in the safety net programme. I want to support my children with my business, which I will improve with the functioning of the train in the near future."*

- Shinile, 35 (above)

*"Many women in the rural and urban areas are involved in the khat business. Unfortunately most of the trade is conducted on credit bases and many customers take a long time to pay back, while others migrate without paying. I do it now, in the absence of other options but my aim is to save and become businesswomen through trading food commodities like sugar."*

- Shinile

*"I have four children. We have a small shop in Dire Dawa to sustain our livelihood. At the same time I assist my mother in the village with some commodities and cash, while she also send us some milk and butter. My future is that I will save my income to open a small shop with some imported cloths and improve my business."*

- Dire Dawa, 30

<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of women interviewees fall into both 'professional' and the 'diversified/commercial livelihoods'. Many express aspirations in terms of children's access to education and professional careers, while their main strategy for achieving this is seen as diversification.



### 3.1.3 Aspiration: traditional livelihoods

Approximately 15 per cent of the people that were interviewed expressed that they wish to remain or invest in exclusively pastoral or agro-pastoral activities. This group included approximately 70 per cent of the elderly interviewees and was overwhelmingly male. A minority of children and youth also expressed such aspirations, although these children often stated that this was because of a sense of family duty. Nearly all, and in particular adult and elderly interviewees, highlighted the difficulties affecting their livelihoods but nevertheless saw their future goals in terms of number of livestock owned. It is likely that wealthy livestock owners, 10-15 per cent of the population (Save the Children UK, 2008), act as strong role models. Unfortunately during this research very few wealthy people were found to interview, hence their viewpoint might not sufficiently be presented in this study.



*"I am the eldest son in his family. I look after the family's cattle and shoats while my younger brother and sisters are going to school. I wanted to go to school as well, but my family needs me to look after the animals or we will lose them. I now want to help my parents and in the future I will live as agro-pastoralist with my own animals and land."*

- Jedene, 9

*"I have eight children. I used to have a lot of livestock including camels, cattle and shoats but most of them vanished due to the prolonged drought. Today I still have shoats but very few cows. Most of my children are married. The two school age children look after the shoats and cows. My wife and I are getting older and would like to give the children responsibility in managing the livestock."*

- Harrawa, 65

*"I am 30 years old and have one wife and three children. I am working in the port as daily labourer or other places that need workers, but the money I get is very little and sometimes there is no work. I have no choice as I have no livestock or savings left. I want to return to my village and buy some new livestock so that I can engage in livestock trade."*

- Dire Dawa, 30

*"I have some farm land and some cattle. I want to educate my children while practicing animal rearing and farming. My serious problem is the drought which has diminished my livestock and made it difficult to harvest any crop. I am hoping the government will establish water points like in other areas."*

- Jedene, 39



The final group worth noting, characterized by a further 20 per cent of our small sample, felt either unable to make plans due to insurmountable obstacles, or had religious reasons for not wishing to express future hopes. This group was made up exclusively of poor households and tended to be older adults. The majority of this group is currently engaged in insecure petty trade or daily labour, comprised predominantly of charcoal selling. Those interviewed did not feel that they were adequately supported by other community members, meaning that reliance on traditional social support mechanisms may not be enough to ensure a life of dignity for the most vulnerable.

*"Today I have no livestock and support my family with the sale of wood and charcoal. The money I generate burns quickly like the charcoal and I never dream of any savings to have small animals. I have no long term plans except daily I think of feeding my children. My relatives and clan cannot assist me as they are also poor due to loss of their livestock."*

- Omer Farah, Shinile, 33

*"What happens tomorrow is the work of Allah. Having hopes for the future and arguing about the past are sins. Let us talk only about today."*

- Elder person, Gaad village, 65

*"I used to have a lot of shoats and cattle but lost all of them due to drought, disease and some were sold to buy food. Today my main source of income is the sale of fuel wood and charcoal and also food assistance. I have no future aspiration as I cannot change my life. My relatives and ethnic groups are also equally poor."*

- Mohamed Memune, Jedene, 34



### 3.2 Key Factors of Change

In conducting this study of aspirations some of the major change factors shaping aspirations, perceived by respondents, were identified. These include:

- Land fragmentation
- Social change
- Trade policies

These key factors of change are also seen to interplay with other important changes such as drought, demographics, the institutional environment and environmental degradation.

#### 3.2.1 Land fragmentation<sup>9</sup>

While in the past the vast majority of land was publicly owned and utilized for grazing purposes, several factors have led to increasing privatization and fragmentation of this traditional land system.

Firstly, as part of the Government of Ethiopia "Growth and Transformation Plan: 2011-2015," there is a push to improve livelihoods in the Arid Lands through encouraging agriculture through the establishment of irrigation systems. As such, land ownership is increasingly being seen as a new option of securing income through irrigated agriculture. In addition as the Government of Ethiopia is seen to be allocating land to private investors for farming, with compensation offered to those holding private ownership, land ownership is also being seen as a valuable investment. As Ahmed Adan shared: *"my new land is close to Dire Dawa; the government has assigned part of it to be sold to private investors. This means that I will get 12,000 Ethiopian Birr in compensation, which I will use to start a business in the city"*.



Photo: Jim Staley via Flickr under license

Finally, the spread of the invasive weed *Prosopis* has also had an impact in limiting the amount of public grazing land available. In the words of Habiba Terir, age 70: *"One of the serious problems for the suffering of pastoralists is the Prosopis. It not only occupies the pasture, but also acts as a good habitat for hyenas to attack from. Every day donkeys and camels are being attacked. Under the safety net program there is an attempt to clear Prosopis, but the plant is regenerating so fast that it makes no difference."*



Photo: cliff1066™ via Flickr under license

In particular two trends were highlighted by interviewees as transforming traditional social norms and practices. The first of these in khat consumption, which is seen as widespread amongst the male population including elders, adults, youth and children and has arrived with a combination of challenges. A common story revolves around men selling their livestock to cover khat credit, while others divert emergency food support to cover khat expenses. The burden of this falls on women as they continue undertaking heavy work, with little benefit. As Moker, age 65, explained: *"We have a safety net program. However, the grain distribution is unfair as it is managed by men - they consume khat on credit and cover the credit by siphoning the grain to the khat dealers. Many poor women like me don't have access to grain nor do we have any power in the decision making."*

The second change is related more directly to marriage. While those who attend school, or are living in urban areas, are now more likely to delay marriage for longer than in previous times, in rural areas the trend is clearly the opposite. Here extended families struggle to provide for all household members and so early marriage is encouraged as a way to reduce household expenditure. As one adult woman from Mermesa town explained: *"Traditionally girls were married at around 20 and needed to have household skills prior to marriage. Similarly the boys needed to have assets of livestock and competence in managing a household. Today the young generation is getting married at an early age with no experience and assets. This is an unhealthy trend as I cannot see how they will pay for their children."*

#### 3.2.3 Trade policies

Shinile and Jijiga Zones have long been considered centres of cross-border trade with Somaliland and Djibouti, with trade links fostered through shared ethnicity and cross-border pastoral movements over many years. The proximity to large urban centres across both borders and access to external infrastructure such as ports also increased the attractiveness of cross-border trade as opposed to domestic trade. The Djibouti-Dire Dawa railway meant that official trade links were existent, although much of the cross border activity remained informal to avoid taxation and other limitations. The main informal exports via this informal route have been livestock, while imports consisted of merchandise including textiles and electronics, as well as food items such as pasta and sugar (Teka & Azeza, 2002).

Such trade has traditionally provided an income for a large segment of the population in the areas of study through sale of livestock, involvement in commodities trade (food and merchandise) and through renting camels as pack animals to transport informally imported goods. However, in recent years much of this income stream has been lost. The railway from Djibouti to Dire Dawa has not been functional for the past five years. More importantly, the patrolling of the border and associated fines have become increasingly strict, meaning that contraband trade and in particular informal livestock trade now presents far higher risks. Although the large scale and hence wealthier livestock traders appear able to circumvent these restrictions, it appears that many small-scale livestock traders now feel "it is impossible for them to become formal exporters due to the cost... [meaning] they may be forced to stop trade altogether" (Oxfam GB, 2012). In addition rental from pack animals has almost entirely ceased.

<sup>9</sup> See 'Rangeland fragmentation in traditional grazing areas and its impact on drought resilience of pastoral communities: Lessons from Borana, Oromia and Harshin, Somali Regional States, Ethiopia', Fiona Flintan, Boku Tache and Abdurehman Eid, REGLAP, September 2011 for case studies of land fragmentation causes and outcomes in neighbouring localities of Somali Region.



### 3.3 How to Achieve Aspirations and Overcome Challenges

Respondents highlighted a number of strategies to achieve their aspirations including investment in education, transformation of the social fabric and diversification of livelihoods. These strategies can be seen as a reaction to, or as a supporting structure for the factors of change outlined above.

#### 3.3.1 Investing in education

Supported by government investment in education and efforts to expand rural enrolment, the population of Shinile and Jijiga are prioritizing education. For the children themselves, education brings the promise of professional careers, the ability to earn higher incomes and a way to access their interpretation of the trappings of wealth.

While mothers also desire a 'better' future for their children, they, and adults in general, see education as a way to ensure their well-being through an assured supply of remittance. This is felt to be a tried and tested method for improving household income, in particular for middle or better-off households. As Yousef Awaden, aged 62 explained: *"I have five children. Two of them are now working in Djibouti, and are helping me with some money. The better-off families here get enough remittances from children working in urban areas that they can easily maintain and buy new livestock."*

#### 3.3.2 Transforming social fabrics

Traditionally, extended families based in the targeted Woredas lived in the same village or town, with male members or entire the families migrating during dry periods in order to access pasture and water for their animals. In contrast, during the course of this study interviewees depicted an invisible web of relations is being witnessed in which family members are located in different areas and hence are able to access different benefits, which work together to create an overall livelihood strategy.

For the majority who are pursuing diversification of income sources, this splitting offers the opportunity to access income streams associated with land, trade and relief aid. An example of this is Hasan Musa, aged 28, who has two wives: *"the first is engaged in business in the town and the other is in the village maintaining the land and animals - we send the crops produced to town for sale, and milk for consumption, while income from the business comes from the town to support the village life. My wife is also enrolled in the PSNP programme which helps to support our business."*

Not everyone sees this as a good thing, as outlined by Husen Ege, an elder, who states: *"Many women and children are being moved to towns and ignoring their livestock, just to get the few kilos of grain given to them as food aid."* However, for most this is a way to complement their incomes and build resilience in a world when only having one stream of income is no longer deemed effective.

#### 3.3.3 Livelihood diversification

As part of this process of change, many new livelihood diversification strategies are being applied by those within the target Woredas. The following expands on the three main strategies which were seen:

- Commercialization of land and water
- Livestock as a 'buffer' fund
- Engagement in khat and charcoal



Photo: Colin Crowley/Save the Children

**Commercialization of land and water:** As access to public grazing land and water reduces, and government irrigation schemes move forwards, land is being increasingly recognized as an asset that can increase a household's overall income as part of their diversification strategy. Households from all wealth groups are enclosing plots that can then be used both for growing crops and as a source of rental income to pastoralists who wish to graze their animals.

Alongside the growing recognition of land as a privately owned commodity, water is now also being exploited as a source of income, mainly for middle income and wealthy households. Plastic lined ponds or berkads are being created, with privately owned depressions also increasingly being used as source of water for sale.

As outlined previously, splitting of the household enables both pastoralists and agro-pastoralists to maintain access to areas of land in different locations and to take advantage of these new commercial advantages.

**Livestock as a 'buffer' fund:** In reaction to many of the issues outlined previously, livestock keepers are seen to be shifting away from cattle to ownership of goats and camels which are more drought resistant. For poor and middle income households, herds also now tend to be smaller, and do not represent a significant proportion of income. Instead goats are reared in order to provide milk for children and to act as 'buffer fund' for the household, to be sold in times of hardship. For the middle income group, camels are also reared for their drought resistance, continuous availability of milk in the household, and for transportation as part of the increased rural-urban linkages.

These small herds were found to be maintained by most households across all locations, with those in urban areas having their animals looked after by rural relatives. As herds are small, livestock are often combined into one herd that is mobile, and looked after by a nominated extended family member. Alternatively they are kept close to the homestead and watered and fed utilising water from boreholes, or berkads, and fed using crops grown on private land, or sometimes food aid.



Engagement in *khat* and charcoal: Interviewees stated that the most significant income source for poorer households was found to be charcoal production and sale.

While for these households, charcoal assures daily survival, middle income households also see it as an income supplement alongside other activities, which together form part of their income diversification strategy.



Photo: Malcolm Manners via Flickr under license

The other reliable source of income which is available in the area is *khat*. While men have been the primary consumers, paradoxically women seem to be the ones trading it with *"many women in the rural and urban areas involved in the khat business."* (Amina Gede, aged 30).

Unfortunately both sources of income do not offer high returns for the majority of those engaged in them, due to high competition pushing prices low, inability to reach scale and inability to force credit repayment. For the poorest people who depend on these incomes, these strategies can often become a poverty trap from which people find it difficult to escape.

### 3.4 The Future: Which Way Forward?

Despite the documented challenges facing communities within the Somali District, the majority of the population believes a 'better' future is attainable. In this future, the more urban and settled population is larger than the rural population. Cities and towns have grown considerably, with vibrant market-places in these growing towns consisting of varied small businesses owned by both women and men. There will be an enlarged professional class with the majority of households having a varied livelihood base, and strong links to rural areas. Those in rural areas will utilize a variety of livelihood options to generate income and will sell items for trade in urban locations. A smaller, wealthy class of rural pastoralists will continue to trade livestock in neighbouring countries. They will benefit from increased services, will have large herds, and will maintain grazing, whilst enabling their children to attend school.

Aspirations to access new and emerging opportunities are evident for a significant percentage of the people interviewed. The willingness of respondents to achieve these goals is also evident with people actively engaging in strategies to this end. Education, expanding settlements, new and emerging social roles and expanding social networks and interactions are seen as key to achieving these. However on the negative there is still an aspirations gap. The major reason for this gap is seen as the current lack of employment or income opportunities. In the face of this, and to try to overcome this gap, people are also engaged in strategies with negative environmental and social impacts. These include the trend to early marriages, sale of *khat*, charcoal production and women taking on unwanted new burdens.

Change is clearly happening. Whether we believe it is the right way forward or not, communities are already making their own decisions, enacting their own strategies, and coping with the challenges that they are facing. Our ability to engage with this change, listen to communities, and work with them to achieve the multiplicity of their aspirations, is the challenge we must take up. This research is a step towards understanding the changes taking place and supporting vibrant and optimistic communities in their future aspirations and the paths that lead them there.

## 4. THE TOGDHEER REPORT, SOMALILAND

The areas chosen for this study within Togdheer region in Somaliland were selected to give a sample of aspirations from across the rural to urban landscape<sup>10</sup>. The population of Togdheer is estimated at 402,295 people, of whom 30 per cent reside in the urban areas, 65 per cent engage in nomadic pastoralism and about 5 per cent are agro-pastoralists (FSNAU, 2011). There was no questionnaire to be filled out and no pre-appointments sought with communities<sup>11</sup>. Instead, interviewers listened to whom they found while conducting transect walks in communities.

In order to prompt people to share their aspirations, the following three questions were utilized:

- What do you imagine your future to be in 10 years time?
- What are you doing today that will help you to get there?
- What problems do you imagine you will face on your way?

To ensure that a diversity of situations and aspirations were captured, the research team identified and conducted visits in:

- Rural/village locations: *Arori plains, Beerato and Qolqol*
- Rural/town location: *Oodweyne*
- Urban/city location: *Burao*

The field study took place from the 26th of August to the 7th of September 2012, facilitated by staff from Save the Children Somaliland and the Somaliland Red Crescent Society. A total of 206 individual interviews and 159 group discussions were conducted<sup>12</sup>. Interviews were not specifically sought based on household wealth ranking or profession, as this may have encouraged communities to see the research as "another NGO exercise."

*Section 1* of this report gives us a snapshot of the aspirations captured in Togdheer. *Section 2* outlines some of the key changes and forces of changes highlighted through the interviews. *Section 3* presents the strategies being implemented and challenges identified to achieving aspirations. *Section 4* looks at what this may mean for the future and provides a conclusion to the Somaliland research.

### A Vision of the Future: Aspirations in Their Own Words

From the responses we received, the aspirations that were expressed in Togdheer Somaliland could be categorised into three broad aspiration trends:

- Purely commercial or professional pursuits
- Diversified livelihoods/mixed income through new opportunities
- Traditional – Maintain current livelihoods strategies with minimal livelihood changes

The quotes below taken from the interviews across the research locations emphasize and reflect these trends.

<sup>10</sup> Target areas were identified according to organisational presence and therefore the views captured in this study are not representative of all livelihood zones or clans within the Somali Region. However, as shown in the Regional CiAL report, notable similarities were found in trends across all three diverse areas that were the subject of study.

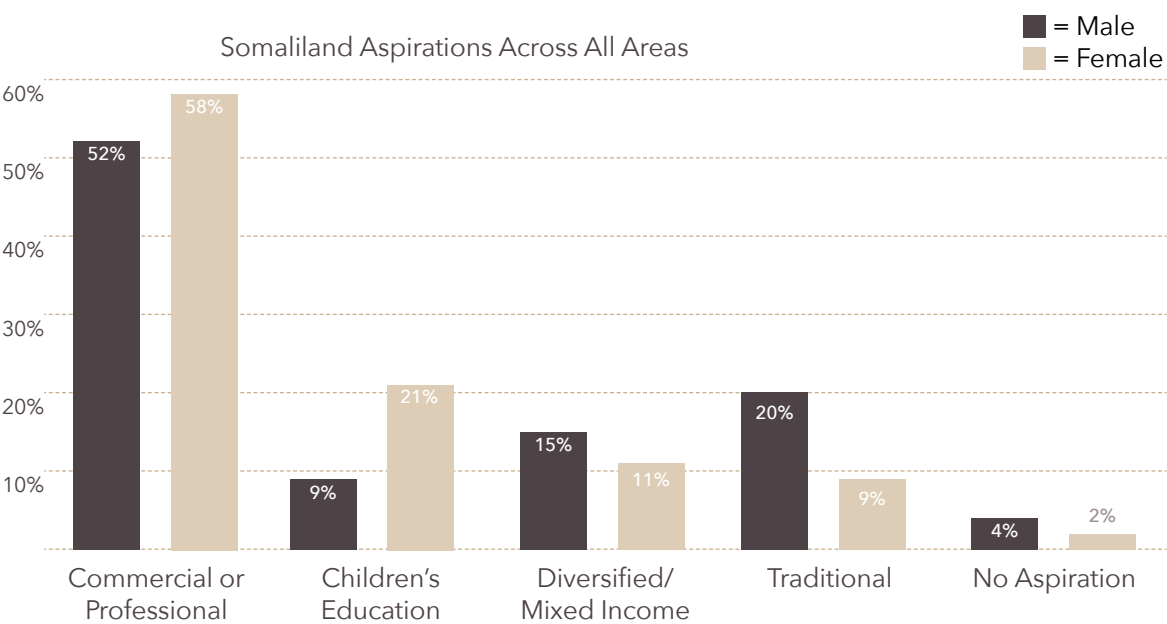
<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 1 and Annex 1 for more details of the methodologies used during this research.

<sup>12</sup> Annex 2 provides a breakdown of the number of interviewees by location, age, gender, livelihood and wealth ranking.

TABLE 4: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN SOMALILAND

AGE GROUP	WOMEN	MEN
· Adult / Elderly	· Alternative livelihoods (i.e. Women groups) · Diversified income source · Education	· Improve current livelihoods · Diversified income source · Education
· Youth	· Business (Non crop/ non livestock)	· Business (Non crop/ non livestock)
· Children	· Education leading to a professional career	· Education leading to a professional career

GRAPH 4: SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS IN SOMALILAND BY GENDER



4.1.1 Aspiration: Purely commercial or professional pursuits

Aspirations for solely commercial or professional futures were commonly expressed from children and youth respondents across both genders. In the case of commerce, aspirations referred to businesses such as tea shops, sale of local beer, restaurants, vending, and transportation. Professional aspirations referred to professions such as politicians, doctors, nurses, veterinarians. We note that although these were expressed exclusively as a main aspiration, focus in reality they would likely be implemented in combination with other strategies. The majority of respondents in these categories expressed aspirations for movement to urban areas or urban based commercial or professional employment. Children and youth in village settlements conveyed aspirations primarily none-livestock or crop based and towards business and professional roles. This was also true in the peri-urban and urban settlements. The majority of adults in urban locations reported commerce as their main aspirations.

*"I keep animals in the rangeland. I have 11 brothers and sisters. Some have been married and live in different villages, others are attending school in different villages with relatives, and two others are younger than me. I have an interest to attend school and would like to go to the village and do some business when grown up."*  
- Arori, 12 (right)



*"I have two children and small shoats here in Arori. My future aspiration is to move to Burao, sell the livestock and do some small business. Already in my age group there are those who are migrating to the urban areas and have some business."*  
- Arori, 19 (right)



*"I never attended school, as my family was too poor to send me. When I was living in Burao my husband was employed in a private company and I was engaged in the sale of khat. Unfortunately the company closed and my husband was unemployed and life became difficult in town with three children. I moved to my relatives, with my children, to Oodweyne and am now supporting them with the sale of charcoal. It is not a good business. Most clients buy with credit while the charcoal makers need advances. My future aspiration is to travel to abroad, hopefully to an Arab country, be employed and support my children. The challenge is getting a passport and I will try my best to achieve my vision."*  
- Oodweyne, 24

*"I have seven brothers and sisters and none of us are attending school. I am currently keeping camels. If my parents allowed me I would like to go to school, but I am not sure what will be my future aspiration."*  
- Arori, 14

*"I am attending grade 7. My aspiration after completing secondary school is to travel and go to Sweden to my sister and learn in university."*  
- Beerato, 17

*"I am unmarried. I have nine brothers and sisters. We used to live in Berbera and moved to Burao. My future aspiration is to become a minister of Somaliland."*  
- Burao, 24

*"I have two wives and a total of eight children. Both my wives are living in different villages and I support them with my income from construction work in Burao. My future aspiration is to become a contractor and support my children to finish their education."*  
- Burao, 43



#### 4.1.1 Aspiration: Improved income through new or mixed income opportunities

The aspiration for improved incomes or diversified livelihoods alongside current activities was slightly less common. Many adults and the elders across locations expressed aspirations for improvement of their current situation/livelihoods or diversification of income. Adults and elders in pastoral settlements aspired towards business complemented with livestock and crop. In the village adult aspirations were largely towards business, while elders aspired for a combination of livestock keeping and farming. In the peri-urban and urban locations adult aspirations were distributed between livestock, crop and commerce; also reflected in the elders' aspirations.

*"I have five children. I had a plan to send them to school, but I have no relatives in Burao and other villages are very far. I cannot afford to cover the education fees if I sent them by myself. Last year I had about 15 goats, today I have five. We sold them to cover household expenses. My husband does not have a job and chews khat. I have started a small tea shop in the rangeland yet not many come except in a good year. My aspiration is to have more children and move to the village to educate them and engage in business."*

- Arori, 32

*"Currently I am a livestock keeper living near Qolqol village. I have eight camels and more than 60 shoats. None of my children have attended school. The expansion of private enclosures and settlements are considered serious challenges in our locality. My future aspiration is to move to the village of Qolqol and send some of my children and do some small business in addition to livestock keeping."*

- Qolqol area, 35

*"I was 19 years old when I left Hargeisa and went to Ethiopia as a refugee where I married and had two children. After five years we were repatriated to Burao and have been in this camp for over eleven years. I have four more children and am sending them all to school. My husband is a labourer in town, while I have a small tea shop in the camp. Part of the school fees are paid by relatives in the village. My aspiration is to support all my children to finish school. Until they are employed and take us out from the camp I have no any plans to leave. Others have moved to town and have businesses due to their children's support."*

- Burao

*"Many of my children are students except one who is a teacher in Burao. Prior to the civil war I was employed in Burao, during the war I was an IDP in Ethiopia, and now I am back and engaged as a meat vendor in Oodweyne. I also sell some household utilities and cosmetics and rear some small shoats. The frequent drought in the rural areas has badly affected my business supply and I have needed the assistance of my relatives. My future aspiration is to be a wholesale merchant and educate my children."*

- Oodweyne, 50

*"I originally came from Ashado village. I have six children and we sold some of our shoats and moved to Oodweyne to start a small restaurant business, while my husband is a broker in the livestock market. We also sent our children to school. My future aspiration is to save some money and improve the business. We have no plans to go back to the rural areas, but we keep some animals with our relatives to support us."*

- Oodweyne, 35

*"I have just come recently from the nearest village to Oodweyne. I am 24 and have three children. I sold my shoats to buy a donkey cart to transport water in Oodweyne. Now after shifting to town my wife and three children are sustained with the income of water transportation. My aspiration is to save some money and transfer to other businesses and support our children to attend school."*

- Oodweyne, 24

#### 4.1.2 Aspiration: Staying within current location and livelihood strategies with minimal livelihood changes

A less common aspiration was of those content with their current situations and livelihoods with little change wanted. Better-off and some of medium and poor pastoralists stated the aspiration to remain as pastoralists through increasing their livestock number and types. This aspiration also tended to reflect those of some of the elders and was also linked to aspirations for the wider community in general or religious aspirations.



*"All my relatives are supporting each other. My future aspiration is to revitalize the role of our traditional institutions and educate some of my children. The big challenge is deforestation due to charcoal making and absence of rules and regulations in the community."*

- Elder person, Qolqol (left)

*"Currently I am assisting in the delivery health centre. Prior to the civil war, I had a business in Hargeisa. I was a refugee in Ethiopia and had some livestock and camels. In 1991 I sold all my livestock and settled in Burao. After tasting urban life, to be in the rural with livestock is a challenge. We must change the ways of the young generation especially with charcoal making, khat and early marriage and divorces."*

- Oodweyne, 75

*"I am glad to remain a livestock keeper. I have three wives located in Hargeisa, Europe and Arori, and 30 children. Most of my children have been sent to school and I have to cover their school through livestock sale. I also receive some support from my wife in Europe. Some of my relatives and daughters have also come from other villages with their children to live with me. A challenge is that the younger generation is marrying early and are having more children and at the same time moving to urban areas."*

- Arori, 75



Photo: Philip Crabtree/Save the Children

## 4.2 Key Factors of Change

Aspirations are influenced by the contexts surrounding individuals and conditioned by external shocks. In conducting this study of aspirations some of the major change factors shaping aspirations, perceived by respondents, were identified. These include *khat*, transforming social fabrics, and societal role changes. From the research these emerge as key and interplay with other important changes such as drought and flood frequency and magnitude, demographics, and the environment.

### 4.2.1 *Khat* Consumption

Increasingly *khat* consumption is playing a major role in the social, environmental and economic changes occurring in Somaliland. *Khat* chewing is now a wide spreading habit amongst the male population across all of the study areas; they are chewing from the age of 15. It has come with a combination of challenges and effects. The availability of *khat* on a credit basis means that many pastoralists sell their livestock to cover *khat* expenses diverting funds from other expenses. A common tale was of husbands selling a family goat without telling the family to cover a *khat* debt, or a son selling milk unknown. The availability and economics in the sale of *khat* also acts as an attractant on the rural to urban continuum with lower prices and better availability moving closer to the urban areas. Interviewees estimated that the daily expense for *khat* per household ranges from US\$1 to US\$3 and an average of about US\$1,500 of *khat* is consumed daily in many villages.

*"Our biggest challenge is khat."*

- Oodweyne Youth Organisations

*"Any excess income I get I will spend on khat."*

- Beerato Agro-pastoralist

*"I have been engaged in the khat business for over eight years. I came to Burao and now we have six children. Due to shortage of money our eldest couldn't go to higher education nor find a job. Despite this he married, had children, moved to a village and is now in the khat business."*

- Amina, Oodweyne, 40

### 4.2.2 Transforming Social Fabrics

The aspirations so far may seem to indicate an increasingly urbanizing and rurally detached population. In truth however, underlying these movements is a spatially transforming social fabric. This is being purposefully implemented by families to manage risk and take advantage of emerging opportunities and acts as a driver of, and support to, many of the changes described.

*"My total number of children from two wives is 18. My wife, my mother, my sisters and I are in Beerato. I have married daughters in the UK, Burao and a son and sister in Burao. Some of the other children are married and living in Hargeisa, some in school with their brothers and sisters in urban areas, while the younger ones are in school in the village. Some are also taking care of the livestock. In bad and good times we assist each other and to cover school fees I sell some livestock."*

- Beerato

*"I have eight children. Some are married and live in urban areas and villages. My wife is in Ethiopia with her camels and shoats and three children. I travel to them and stay for a month annually when I am on leave from my duty as an official. Some of us have our family in the rural areas keeping animals while others have two or more wives in urban and rural areas to sustain the family. My future aspiration is to send my children to school and serve my community to have better social services and livelihood."*

### 4.2.3 Societal Role Changes

In combination with the above, there are a number of very distinct social changes taking place reflected through the aspirations and focus group discussions. Respondents spoke of the changing responsibilities of women through embracing new opportunities available to them and in taking on new defined and undefined roles. The majority of female respondents (58 per cent) expressed aspirations for commerce or professional employment. The role of women as economic income earners is increasing. More and more, they are viewed locally as positive agents of change through efficient use of resources and savings, creation of alternative livelihoods, and establishing self-help groups. Whereas in 2002 only five women contested in the local elections, the 2012 elections saw 140 contesting some of the 379 positions available (at 6 per cent of total candidates) with 10 women elected (2.6 percent of total), still, however, short of representation or quotas expected.

*"I have just arrived in Burao last month. The travelling distances were getting longer and it was very hard so we finally decided to sell what remained of our livestock and move. Transportation was provided by family in urban areas and we are still receiving support from our extended family. In the bush I looked after the children, the home and had my own livestock. My husband is sick and cannot work. Now I don't know what my role should be."*

*"I used hagbed<sup>13</sup> to buy some animals. We now have women's income groups, women in political parties and women who are running their own businesses here. Before we were not allowed to do this."*

The expectations and roles of youth are also changing. Aspirations of parents of children and youth are of formal employment or professional careers, and youth are eager to take these up. In the 2012 local elections, youth made up 34 per cent of the total local election candidates following the lowering of the minimum age to stand. A worrying counter-trend to this was that of early marriages as response to drought and exploiting traditional socio-economic and political utilities of marriage at an earlier age.

<sup>13</sup> The term for women's local trust based micro-credit lending in Somalia/Somaliland.



### 4.3 How to Achieve Aspirations and Overcome Challenges

Respondents highlighted a number of strategies implemented to achieve aspirations including education, savings, asset sales, kinship support, scoping of new opportunities, and political association. A dangerous reality is that one of the predominant strategies also being used as an alternative option by many is charcoal production with associated issues of environmental degradation and resource depletion. In addition, respondents highlighted a number of challenges to this, such as lack of sufficient assets, marginalization, khat, environmental changes, and lack of access to land, education, and employment. Two common strategies, linked to both the resolution and creation of challenges, described in more detail in the regional report are education and mobility and settlement.

#### 4.3.1 Investing in Education

Around 11 per cent of elders and 16 per cent of adults described their aspirations in terms of fulfilling their children's education needs, which rose to 25 per cent for respondents in the village and pastoral settlements. The overwhelming aspiration of children and youth, irrespective of location, wealth or availability of school services, was to enrol in education in search of either formal employment or professional career. Moreover, over 35 per cent of all interviewees stated education as a main strategy to achieve their aspirations.

*"I came here after we lost all of our livestock. Our housing is only temporary since we are not sure of the land with the government. I don't want to go back and plan to stay here and finish the education of my children. I cannot allow them to go back to the rural areas but they can go abroad."*

- Aasha, Burao

*"I am age 14 and currently keeping camels. I have seven brothers and sisters and none of us are attending school. If my parents allowed me I would like to go to school, but I am not sure what will be my future aspiration."*

*"Some of my children we send to school and some must stay and look after the livestock. To decide which children go to school I tell them that I can see a fox by some of the livestock. The one who runs to protect the sheep, will stay and look after the livestock, the one who walks, I will send to school!"*

#### 4.3.2 Mobility and Settlement

Within Togdheer Region, the number of new settlements is increasing. Those who used to move to peri-urban areas are also moving to new settlements with the multiple aims of having access to private land, natural vegetation, water and their own sub-clan leadership. In some places this has already resulted in growing conflict between older and newer settlements and also a decline in the mobility of livestock due to enclosures and increasing deforestation.

*"Young people are moving from the rural areas into the town to look for jobs and living with relatives. This is boys and girls but boys are more in number. The girls are working in households while the boys are in tea shops and selling khat. People are also moving due to no road. When the road between here and Hargeisa is completed, maybe they will come back."*

*"The biggest group moving into Burao are those who are repatriating from Ethiopia, then the group who has lost their livestock and then IDPs from Somalia. The first and last group is being provided land to settle or being supported by agencies but no-one is supporting those who have lost their livestock. It is rare to see this group go back but sometimes they do."*

Reacting to and anticipating government plans focused on major road construction, many livestock keepers, and those who faced challenges surviving in urban areas, are settling near rural villages close to the proposed roads. Others are establishing new settlements and land enclosures on the potential value of transport development and urbanisation. Livestock keepers are also seeing opportunistic advantages in rent generating income from peri-urban land enclosures. The peri-urban and urban attractions of employment, opportunity, and services, and drivers from rural areas still maintain their magnetism. However, across the expanding rural to urban territory, livestock rearing is still present and is a cross-location activity complemented by other strategies, with many linked to livestock though not necessarily through ownership.

### 4.4 The Future: Which Way Forward?

The picture of the Togdheer landscape of tomorrow as it is emerging from the research is very different to that of today and that of years gone past. From the respondents' stories, we see a future in which parents expect their children to be educated and the children themselves expect to be educated. Currently around 45 per cent of Somaliland is urban-based, but alongside urban growth rates of 4.2 per cent - more than double that of rural (Republic of Somaliland 2011) - the future people envisage is urban or with access to opportunities and services comparable to urban life. This future sees larger numbers employed in business and professional activities with the skills, knowledge, and capabilities to do so. Families have the ability to fragment and position in both rural and urban settings to take advantage of emerging socio-economic and political opportunities; complement and access diverse strategies throughout the year; utilise social networks for child and livestock care; and access rangeland and markets effectively.

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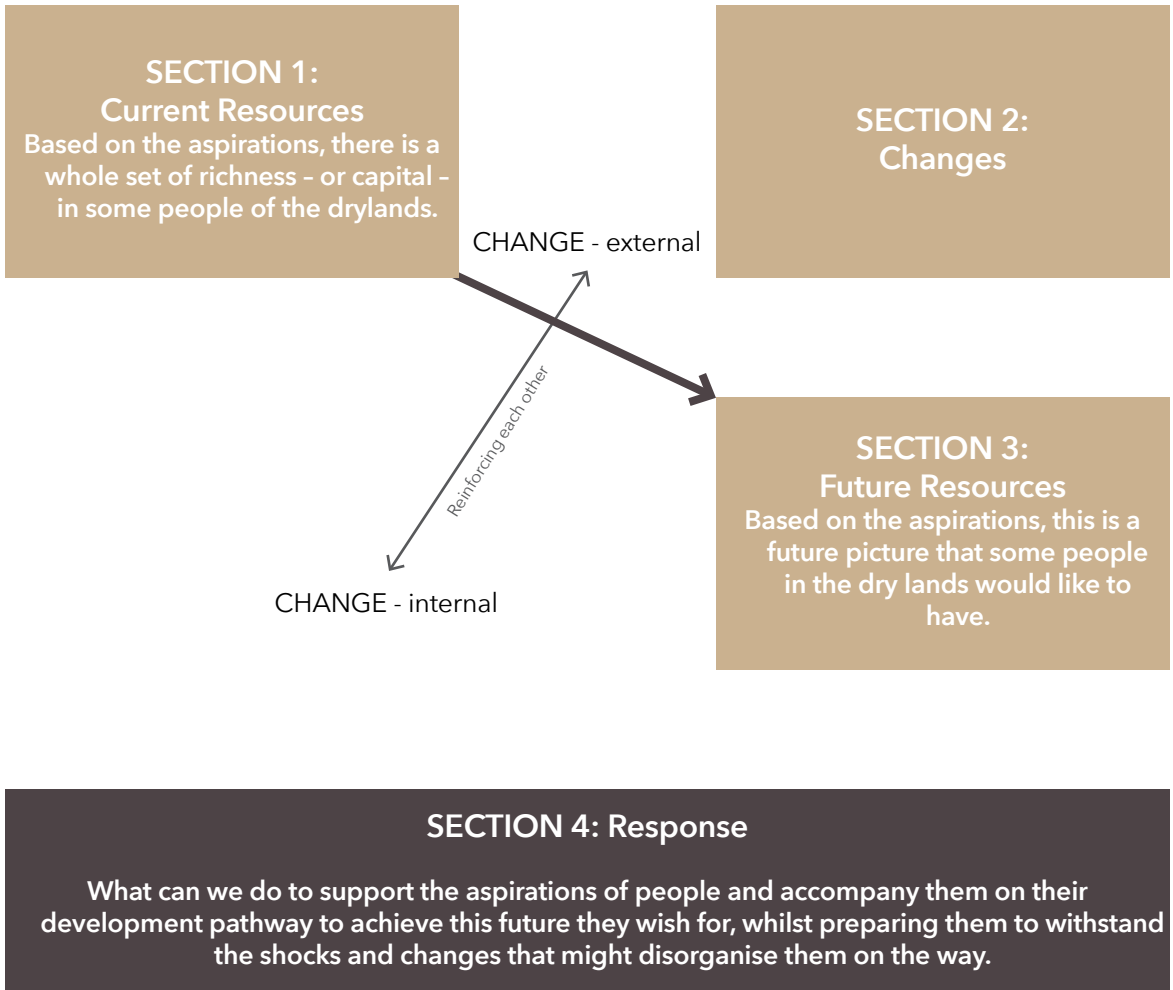


# ANNEXES

## Annex 1 – Research Framework

The frameworks used for this synthesis are the DPSIR and Integral Theory frameworks:

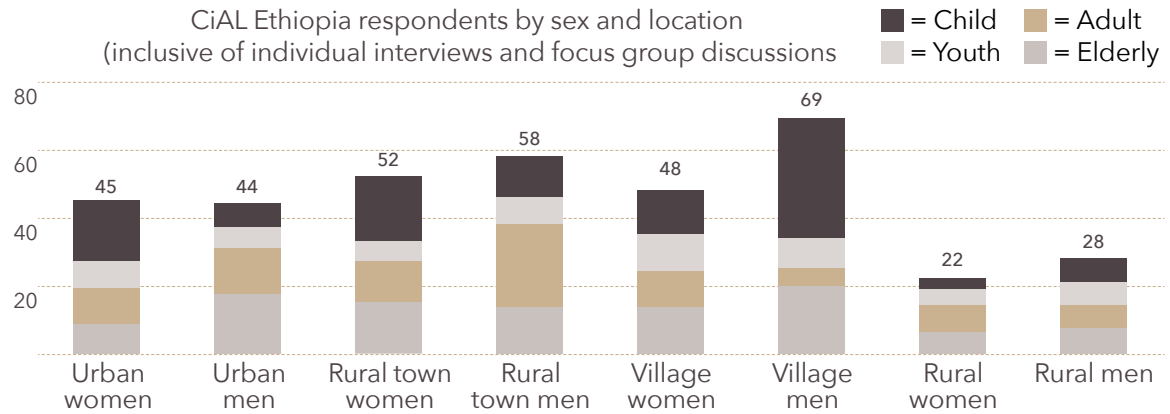
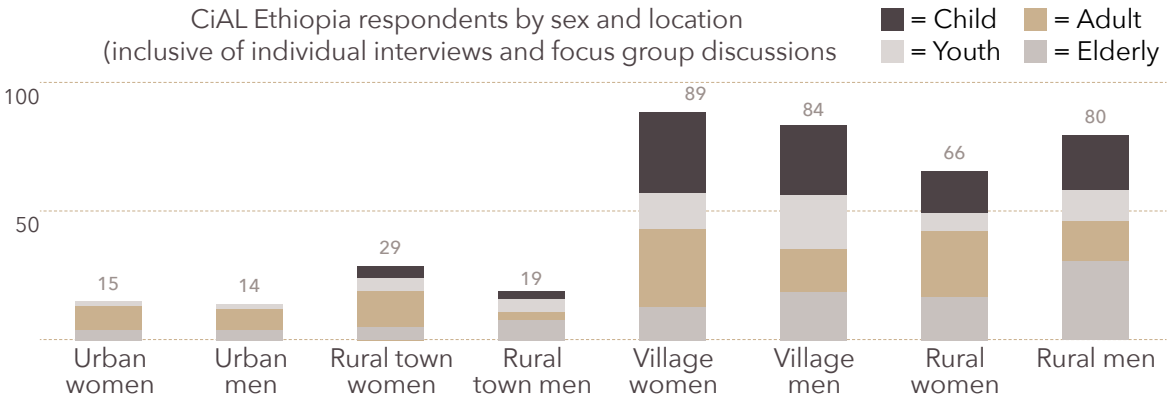
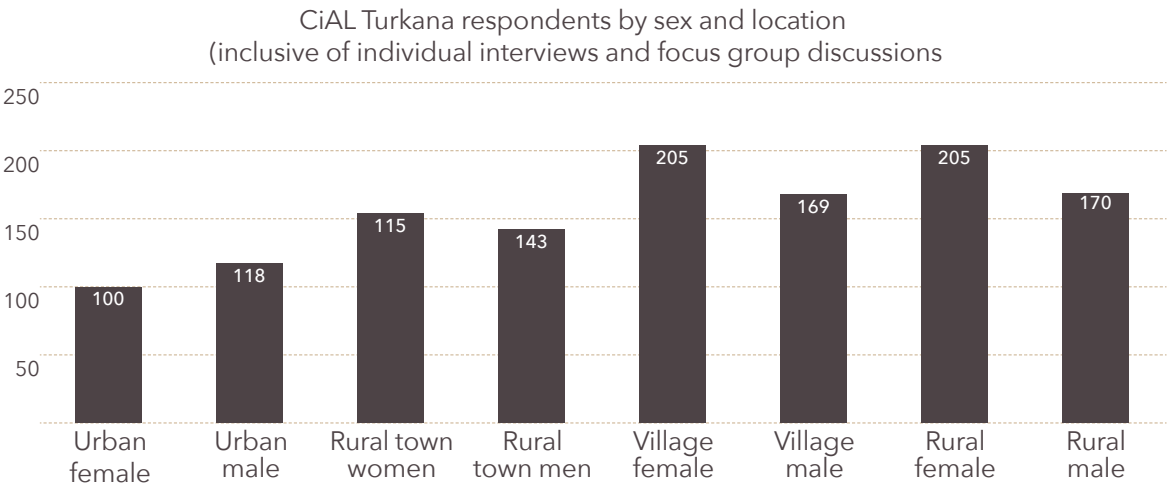
**The DPSIR:** Drivers, Pressures (section 2), State and trend (section 1), Impact (section 3) and Response (section 4) which was initially developed by the OECD and then widely used in different sectors.



The **Integral Theory** (section 1 and 2) looks at a quadrant of four aspects:



Annex 2 - Summary of Interviews



SOMALILAND												
Location	INDIVIDUAL DISCUSSIONS											
	ELDERS			ADULT			YOUTH			CHILDREN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Burao	8	2	10	11	7	18	3	5	8	0	0	0
Oodweyne	8	8	16	24	12	36	6	14	20	7	4	11
Beerato	4	3	7	1	2	3	2	0	2	20	7	27
Qol Qol	2	2	4	2	5	7	0	3	3	3	1	4
Arori	3	2	5	4	7	11	4	3	7	5	3	8
Total	25	17	42	42	33	75	15	25	40	35	15	50
Individual Total	207		Male = 117 (57%)						Female = 90 (43%)			
Location	GROUP DISCUSSIONS											
	ELDERS			ADULT			YOUTH			CHILDREN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Burao	6	5	11	6	5	11	3	3	6	7	18	25
Oodweyne	3	4	7	3	3	6	2	2	4	5	5	10
Beerato	5	3	8	3	4	7	4	5	9	10	5	15
Qol Qol	5	3	8	3	2	5	3	3	6	2	0	2
Arori	3	3	6	4	2	6	3	2	5	2	0	2
Total	22	18	40	19	16	35	15	15	30	26	28	54
GroupTotal	159		Male = 82 (52%)						Female = 77 (48%)			
Grand Total	366		Male = 199 (54%)						Female = 167 (46%)			



ETHIOPIA												
Location	INDIVIDUAL DISCUSSIONS											
	ELDERS			ADULT			YOUTH			CHILDREN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Harrwa	4	3	7	3	8	11	5	1	6	18	10	28
Gaad	13	1	14	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gadeb	4	4	8	6	6	12	2	1	3	1	2	3
Mermersa	1	5	6	0	5	5	1	2	3	6	11	17
Jedene	13	2	15	16	16	32	13	7	20	7	11	18
Shinile	5	2	7	1	11	12	2	2	4	1	3	4
D.Dawa	2	1	3	5	6	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	42	18	60	32	53	85	23	13	36	33	37	70
Individual Total	251		Male = 130 (52%)					Female = 121 (48%)				
Location	GROUP DISCUSSIONS											
	ELDERS			ADULT			YOUTH			CHILDREN		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Harrwa	2	3	5	0	3	3	2	2	4	0	0	0
Gaad	5	3	8	2	2	4	0	0	0	3	2	5
Gadeb	3	3	6	3	5	8	3	3	6	0	3	3
Mermersa	3	4	7	3	3	6	4	3	7	3	5	8
Jedene	2	2	4	5	6	11	3	2	5	4	5	9
Shinile	3	3	6	2	3	5	3	3	6	2	2	4
D.Dawa	2	3	5	3	3	6	2	2	4	0	0	0
Total	20	21	41	18	25	43	17	15	32	12	17	29
GroupTotal	145		Male = 67 (46%)					Female = 78 (54%)				
Grand Total	396		Male = 197 (50%)					Female = 199 (50%)				







This report was written by Karimi Gitonga, Stephen McDowell, Johara Bellali and Davina Jeffrey.

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Cover photo: Photo: Colin Crowley/Save the Children