

Social Protection for Pastoralists: Just give them cash?

Stephen Devereux

Institute of Development Studies

Karen Tibbo

Oxford Policy Management

International Conference on 'The Future of Pastoralism in Africa'

Addis Ababa: 21-23 March 2011

Social protection for poverty or vulnerability?

Social protection provides:

- (1) social assistance for the poor
- (2) social insurance for the vulnerable
- (3) social justice for the marginalised.

Poverty = Lack of resources.

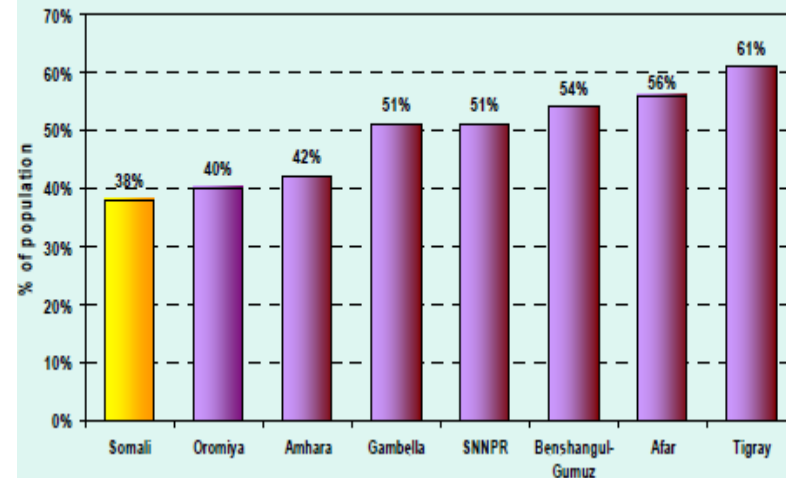
Vulnerability = Uninsured risk.

Marginalisation = Lack of voice.

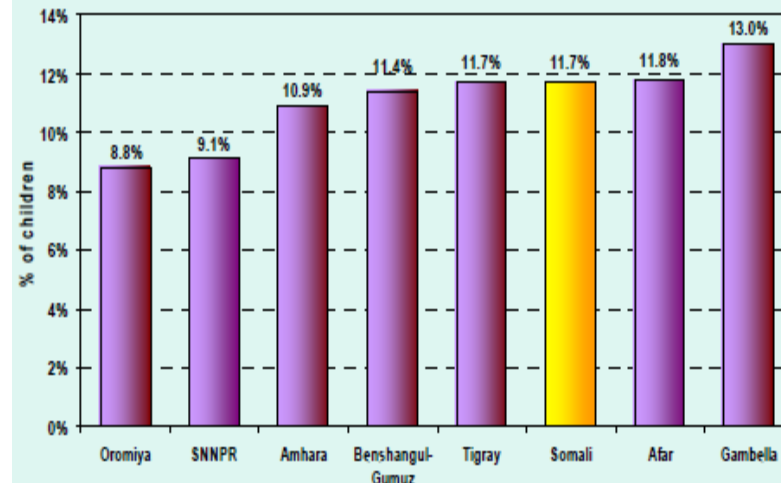
Pastoralists who need social protection are poor + vulnerable + marginalised.

“The paradox of wealth + vulnerability”:
more assets = more susceptibility to
unpredictable and uninsured shocks
(drought, livestock disease, raiding).

Poverty in Ethiopia by Region, 2000



Child Wasting in Ethiopia, 2000



Poverty in northern Kenya

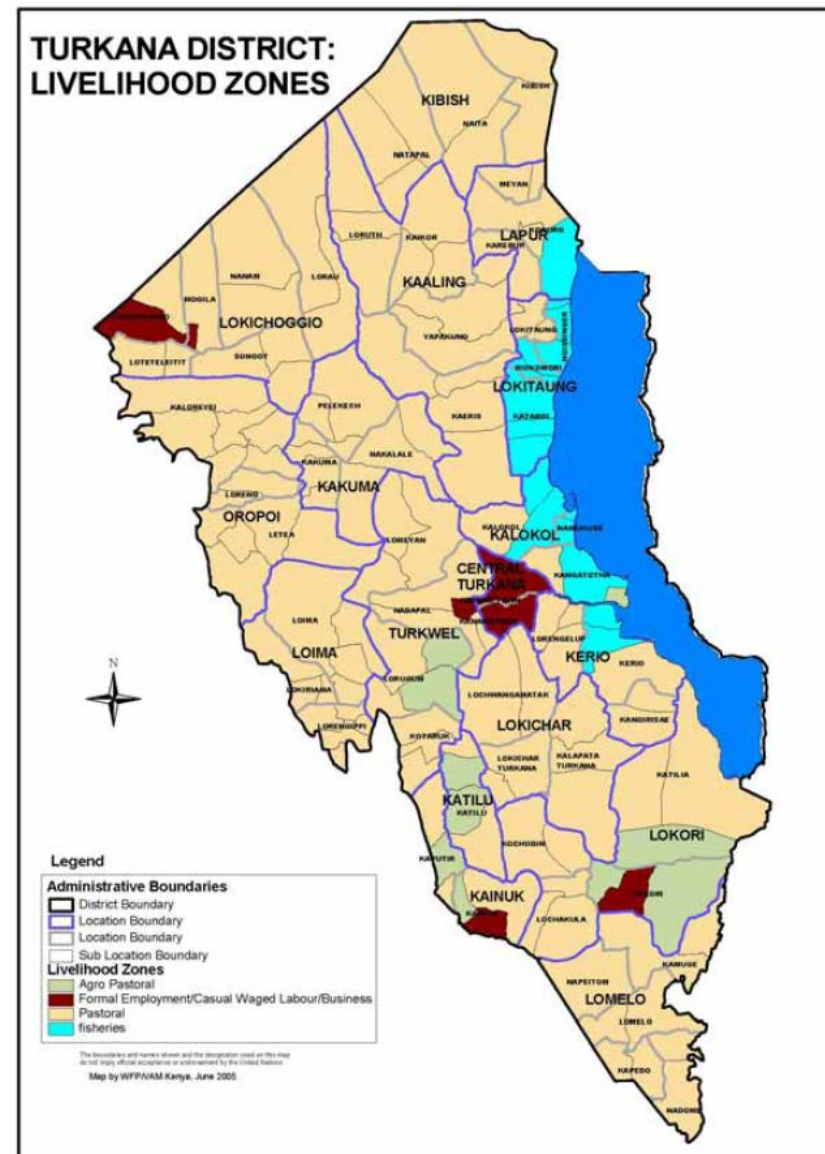
Although 80% of households in ASAL districts own livestock, not all of them rely 100% on pastoralism.

Secondary livelihoods include:

Agro-pastoralism, farming, fishing;
Formal employment, casual labour;
Trading, services (*“Poor people collect firewood and burn charcoal.”*)

Very high consumption poverty rates:

Mandera = 88%
Marsabit = 92%
Turkana = 94%
Wajir = 84%.



Poverty in Mandera: Wealth categories

Rich

Eat three times every day
Have 40 goats + 10 cattle
Have jobs or businesses

Middle

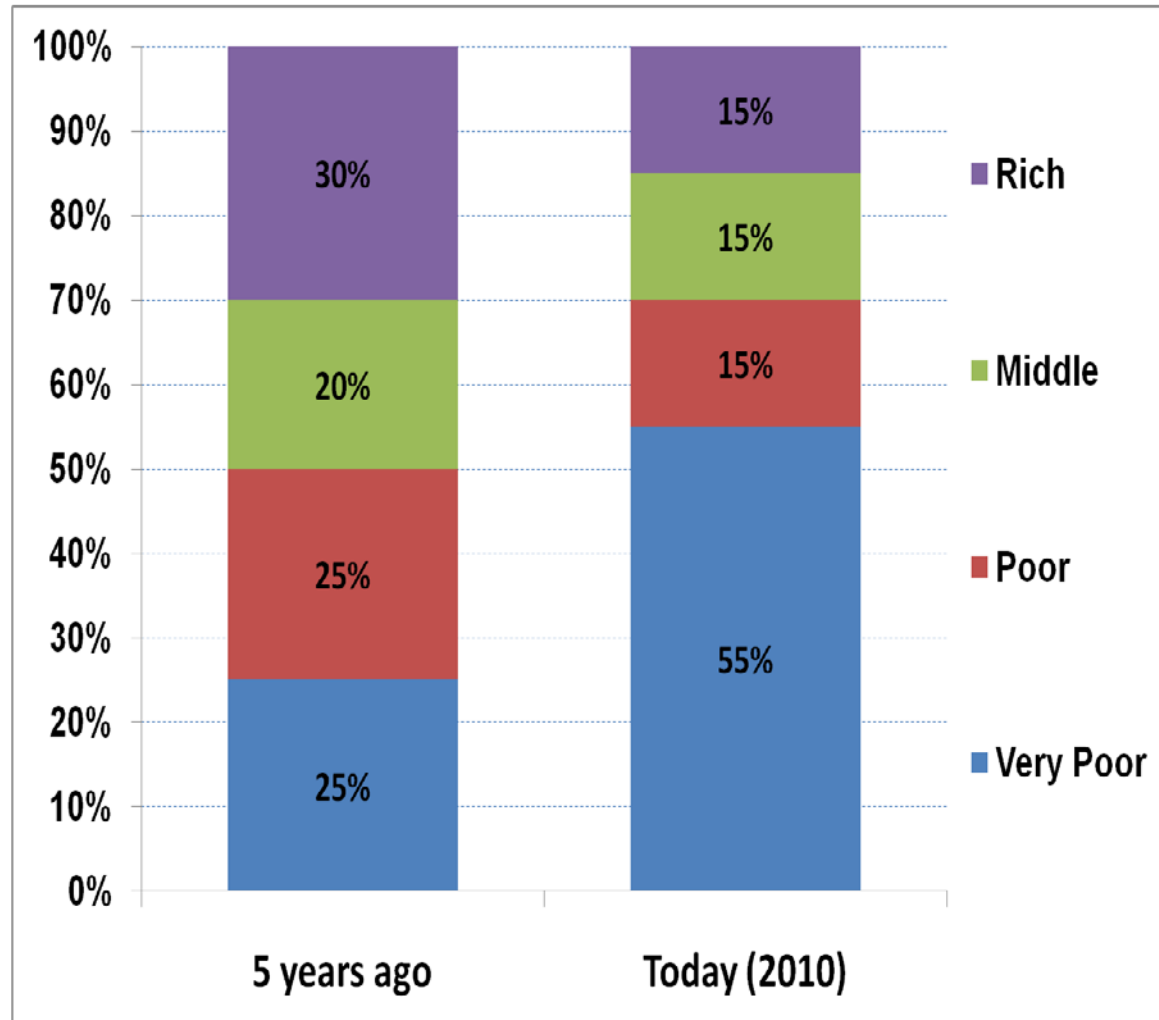
Eat twice a day
Have 10 goats + 4 cows
Go to hospital when sick
Their business is livestock

Poor

Eat once a day
Have chickens + 2 goats
Sell charcoal or firewood

Very Poor

Sometimes do not eat at all
Have no animals
Survive on food aid



HSNP M&E qualitative data
(provisional, not to be cited)

Vulnerability in northern Kenya: Drought

HSNP was conceived in the aftermath of a protracted drought emergency in pastoral districts of northern Kenya.

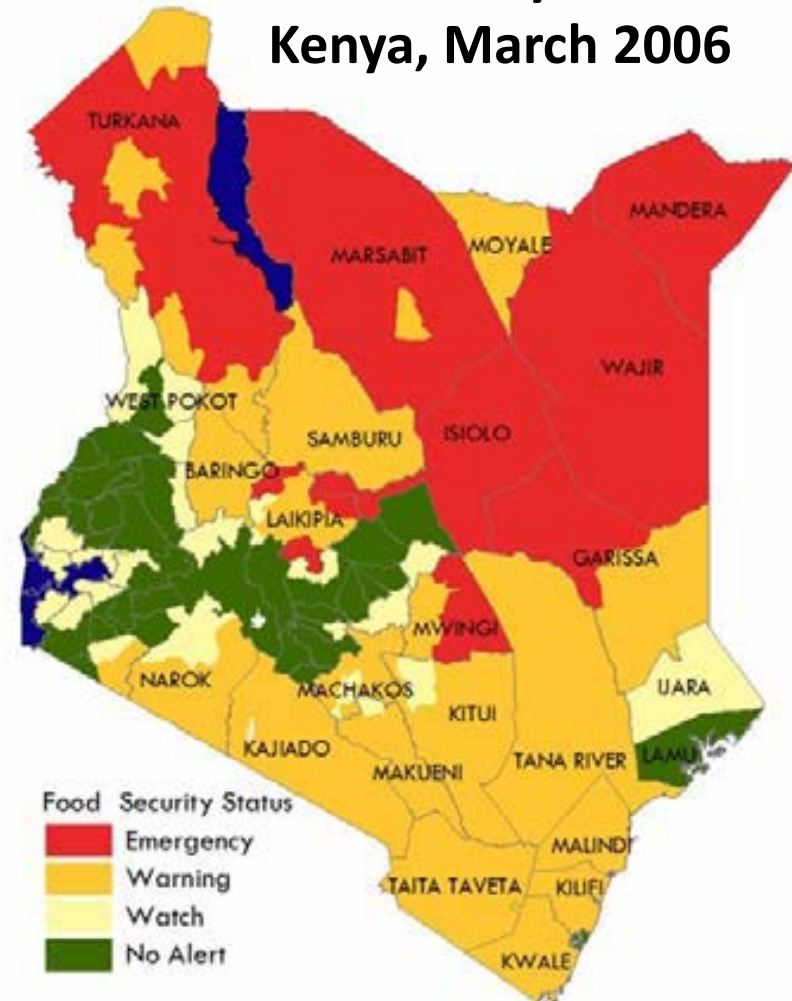
Droughts in 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005/6, (also 2007/9, 2011).

“Complete failure” of short rains in late 2005 caused 30–40% livestock losses and distress migration of pastoralists.

3.5 million were in need of emergency assistance in 2006/07.

Food aid is the conventional response. HSNP communities receive 6+ months of food aid every year.

Food security status in Kenya, March 2006



Source: FEWS NET

Why food aid is not enough

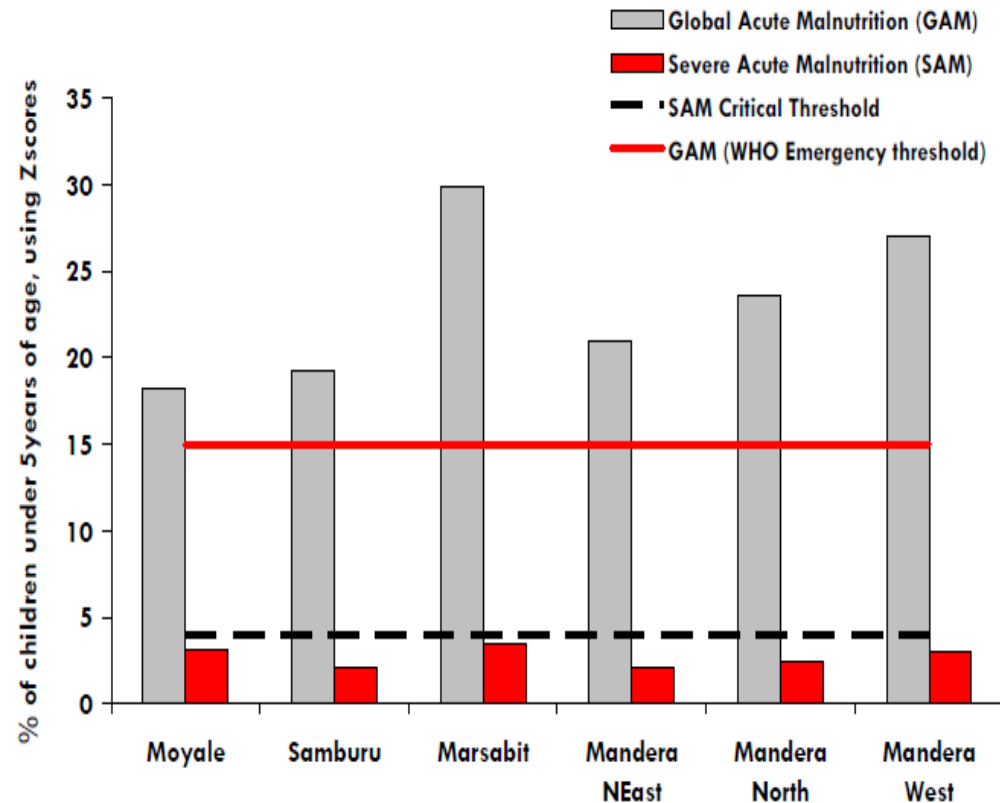
Nutrition status of children in drought-affected districts was “alarming” in 2006.

GAM = 17–30%
(WHO emergency = 15%)

Malnutrition remained high even after food aid deliveries, due to inadequate rations and sharing (“dilution”) of rations.

Also: multiple causes of food insecurity – food aid is an inadequate tool for vulnerable pastoral livelihoods.

Rates of acute child malnutrition in pastoral districts, March 2006



Source: FEWS NET

Vulnerability in northern Kenya: Conflict

“There is conflict between pastoralist communities in this region. We fight each other over resources like pastures and water points.”
(Female HSNP beneficiary, Marsabit)

“After the rains disappeared life became so hard. Livestock died and cases of cattle rustling became rampant. We lost everything.”
(Farmer, Turkana)

What role for social protection?

“A lot of meetings have taken place in order to bring the warring tribes together, the NGOs are preaching peace – but all in vain.”
(Female HSNP beneficiary, Marsabit)

“We seek divine intervention for all the problems that face us. We also use our guns for self-defence against the raiders.”
(Male HSNP beneficiary, Turkana)

Hunger Safety Net Programme

Objective:

- ❖ HSNP aims to provide regular, predictable and guaranteed cash transfers to chronically food insecure households in the arid and semi-arid areas (ASAL) of northern Kenya.
- ❖ The goal of the project is “to reduce extreme poverty” in Kenya.

Coverage: 4 (greater) districts: Mandera, Marsabit, Turkana, Wajir.

- Pilot phase (2008–2012): 60,000 households (300,000 people)
- Phase 2 (2012–2017): 180,000 households (900,000 people)

Transfer: Ksh 2,150/ month = WFP food basket (mid-2007).

“The payment is designed to meet basic subsistence needs.”

Innovative features: (1) experimental M&E; (2) rights component; (3) use of private sector to deliver cash (banks, shop-keepers).

HSNP design challenge: Who to target?

Not enough evidence on best mechanism for targeting pastoralists.

3 targeting mechanisms are being implemented simultaneously, to allow a direct evaluation of relative targeting effectiveness.

CBT Communities identify households “with chronic needs” – proportional to poverty rates (50%+)

SP Social pension targeted at all individuals aged 55 and over

DR Dependency ratio: the ratio of able-bodied adults to those who cannot work (too young, old, disabled, chronically ill).

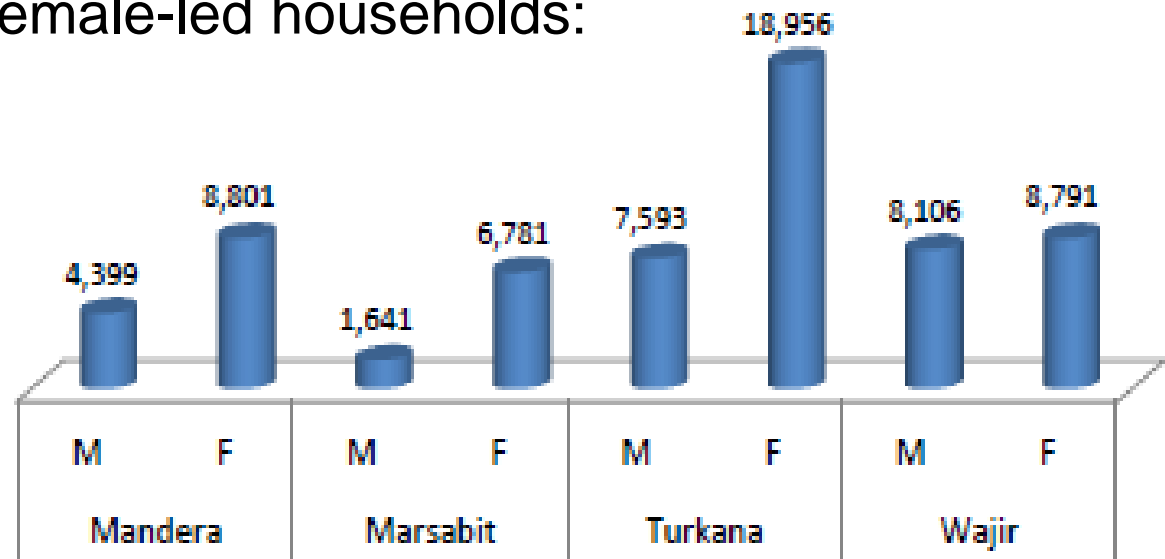
All 3 mechanisms target chronic poverty. None targets vulnerability.

HSNP design challenge: Gender targeting

2/3 of HSNP primary recipients are women. Why?

1. Men are often away from home with livestock.
2. Women are primary managers of household resources.
3. Women are thought to be more responsible.
4. Women are thought to be most vulnerable.
5. High proportion of female-led households:
 - widowed
 - divorced
 - polygamy.

Evaluation will check for potential impact on intra-household conflict.



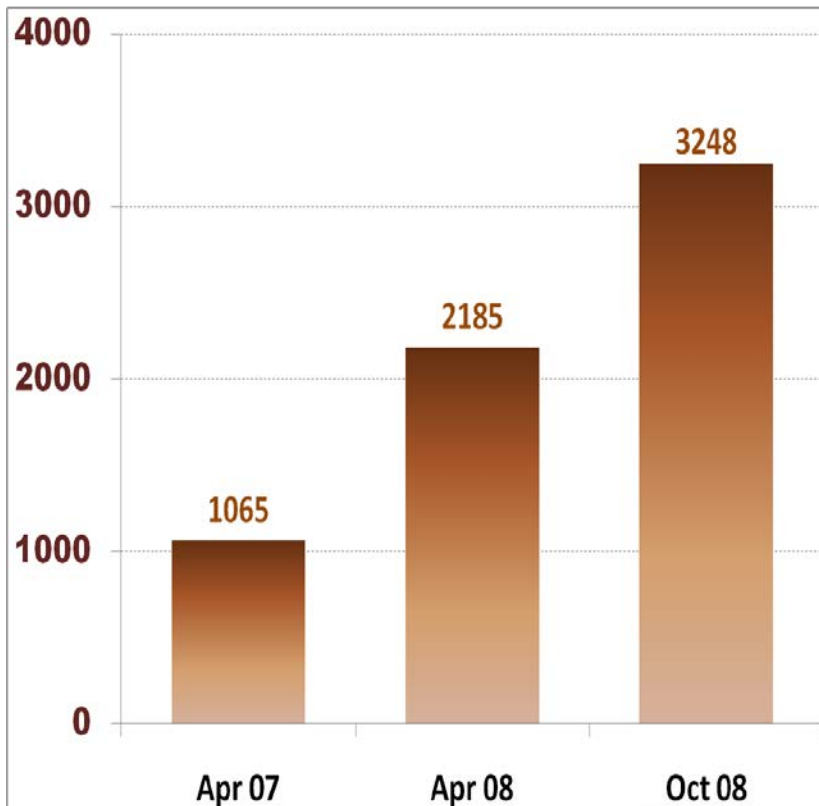
Source: Ndoka 2011



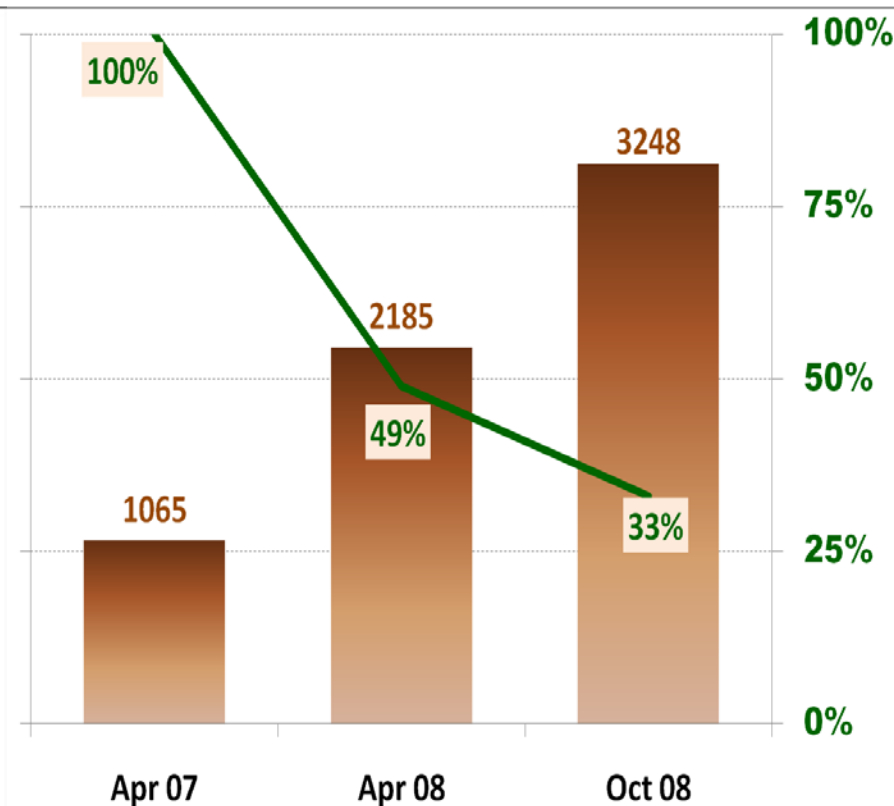
Very poor	Poor	Average	Rich	Very rich
1. No assets	1. Own house	1. Own house	1. Own house	1. Own house
2. No assets	2. Own house	2. Own house	2. Own house	2. Own house
3. No assets	3. Own house	3. Own house	3. Own house	3. Own house
4. No assets	4. Own house	4. Own house	4. Own house	4. Own house
5. No assets	5. Own house	5. Own house	5. Own house	5. Own house

HSNP design challenge: Food price crisis

Cost of HSNP food basket



Value of HSNP cash transfer



“If we used to spend 100 shillings in a day now we spend 250.”
(Female HSNP beneficiary, Marsabit)

Conceptual challenge: “Targeting traps”

Social assistance implies delivering regular support to people living in the same place and doing the same livelihood over time.

But: pastoralism is a highly mobile and adaptable livelihood system. Some families might even be better off exiting from pastoralism.

Conventional social assistance risks trapping people in unviable locations and/or unviable livelihoods, waiting to receive benefits.

How resolved by HSNP?

Recognition that pastoralists can't be expected to queue up at the same paypoint location on the same day every month.

Beneficiaries were issued with smartcards that in theory can be redeemed at any of 120 agents (*dukas*) or Equity Bank (5 branches).

But: (1) All paypoints are located within the ASAL districts.
(2) No retargeting = no recognition of dynamics of pastoral lives.

Why cash is not enough

- ❑ HSNP targets poverty but misses vulnerability.
- ❑ Or: it assumes that complex vulnerabilities of pastoral livelihoods can be addressed through a poverty targeted intervention.
- ❑ HSNP assumes that cash transfers are appropriate and adequate.
- ❑ “Cash +”: In other countries complementary interventions build resilience: cash + livelihood packages (Ethiopia), cash + bank accounts (Rwanda), cash + asset transfers (Bangladesh).
- ❑ Pastoralists (also) need:
 - Reliable water supply
 - Conflict resolution
 - Livestock insurance
 - Education and health services
 - Access to savings facilities
 - Support for alternative livelihoods.



No conclusions, only questions

☐ Do pastoralists need cash transfers?

Logic for cash: Choice, cash economy, investment potential.

Logic for food: Food insecurity and hunger, high food/fuel prices.

☐ Do different categories of people in pastoral areas need differentiated forms of social protection?

Livestock insurance for medium herders

+ cash transfers for the poor

+ alternative livelihoods for dropouts and non-pastoralists?

☐ How can social protection address acute vulnerability to shocks and fluctuations in contexts of chronic poverty?

Contingency financing to scale up safety nets rapidly in response to shocks: an integrated predictable and humanitarian response?