ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report would not have been possible without the support and technical assistance of a wide variety of contributors. The authors would like to express their appreciation to Sylvester Abara, all enumerators and translators, the girls, boys, elders and parents who participated in this study and generously shared their time and life experiences with us, and the staff of both the Mercy Corps Kenya Program and the East & Southern Africa Regional Office for their support.

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Abbreviations

AIDS – Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ASALs – Arid and Semi-arid Lands
CIT – Community in Transition
CoBRA – Community-Based Resilience Analysis
DO – District Officer
FGD – Focus Group Discussion
HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGA – Income-Generating Activity
KII – Key Informant Interview
NGO – Nongovernmental Organization
SGBV – Sexual Gender-Based Violence
STI – Sexually Transmissible Infection
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Turkana – located in the Northwestern part of Kenya, along the border with South Sudan – is among the most remote, harsh and poorly understood places in the world. Within this context, pastoralist girls face the triple challenge of gender, age and geographical isolation. From a young age, girls are groomed for marriage and their value determined by the livestock they will bring for their families through the traditional dowry. Education is seldom a part of girls’ lives. Rather, their duties as domestic caretakers, income-generators, and future brides and mothers preclude their ability to develop and realize their full potential as agents of resilience and change within their households and communities. Taken together, the challenges that girls face place them and their families in a cycle of poverty and marginalization that persists from one generation to the next. This situation is further exacerbated by the recurrence of major climatic shocks, such as drought, that deplete the already limited natural resources available. When livestock die of hunger or disease, pastoralists’ wealth and sources of food disappear, placing additional strains, first and foremost, on women and girls.

Despite the growing interest in food security and pastoralism, there has been relatively little research about the lives of girls in pastoralist communities and the role they play in household and community resilience. The invisibility of pastoralist girls in research is a symptom of a wider phenomenon, which is the invisibility of girls in many development interventions. To better understand the barriers that girls face – in addition to their under-recognized potential – within a constantly changing and often-vulnerable pastoralist livelihood system, Mercy Corps carried out a study in Turkana County, Kenya, in April 2014. Data were collected over 15 days in April 2014 through 40 focus group discussions, 87 semi-structured interviews in 20 communities, and key informant interviews with representatives of NGOs working in the region, local government officials and regional experts.

This study had three core objectives:
1. Gain a better understanding of the lives of adolescent girls within pastoralist communities and their roles within their households, in comparison to boys and youth living in communities in transition.¹
2. Identify the constraints and opportunities that girls face related to their empowerment, health and livelihoods.
3. Using the 2011 drought as a proxy, identify the strategies Turkana youth use to cope in response to severe drought and to contribute to their households’ resilience, and determine the effects of these strategies on their lives.

As the discourse around resilience continues to revolve around identifying what capacities and assets are critical for reducing vulnerability to shocks, understanding the critical role that women, and especially adolescent girls, play in their households and communities will continue to be an important area for research and policy action. A better understanding of the intersection of gender, youth and resilience is needed for donors, practitioners and other stakeholders to leverage the potential of adolescent girls in efforts to strengthen resilience in vulnerable pastoralist households and communities. To this end, the findings from this study provide new insights into the evolving roles, opportunities and constraints of girls in pastoralism, through a formative investigation of the lives of pastoralist girls in Turkana, Kenya.

¹ Communities in transition are sedentary communities where pastoralism is no longer the primary livelihood to which former pastoralists have migrated because of a number of shocks.
KEY FINDINGS

1. The contribution of pastoralist girls to their household food security and resilience is critical.

Turkana girls’ contribution to their household’s immediate food security is key and increases in times of crisis. Their contributions differ from boys’, whose responsibilities lie mainly in caring for livestock with their fathers. While men and boys are often forced to leave the homestead to seek pasture for their herd, women and girls become the primary providers of money and food for their households. Girls specifically take on multiple tasks – from fetching water, often miles away, for both the livestock left behind and the needs of the household; to taking care of the household, and their siblings, while the mother is off looking for food; to searching for wild food in often dangerous places; and engaging in collecting aloe vera and weaving mats or baskets for sale. In particularly stressful times, girls are sent to live with relatives and friends in cities to work or beg for food and money.

2. Responsibility for and ownership of livestock are governed by complex cultural traditions that define duties and impact the development of adolescent girls.

Livestock dictates the life of pastoralist girls, from childhood to adolescence and adulthood. As children, girls are responsible for watering the animals; as adolescents, they are responsible for both watering and milking the animals; and when eligible to be married, the amount of livestock that the future husband can offer to the bride’s family will determine her future. Though girls have no decision-making power related to animals, when they marry—a sign of their entrance into womanhood—they are allowed to maintain control over milk production, a key source of nutrition and income for the household. Hence, contrary to popular assumption, responsibility over livestock in Turkana is governed not only by gender, but, most importantly, by maturity and eldership. Specifically, it is the household’s male elder who ‘owns’ livestock, so defined by their authority to sell or slaughter an animal. Though neither girls nor boys and married sons remaining in their parents’ homestead own livestock, both sexes, nonetheless, have specific realms of responsibility in the maintenance of household herds. For a pastoralist girl, this responsibility is a fundamental part of each key development stage in her life.

3. Droughts lead to a protection crisis for pastoralist girls.

The increased responsibilities girls carry to support their families and themselves during times of scarcity, and the specific livelihood strategies they employ, may precipitate a protection crisis with increased risk to violence, exploitation and abuse. Youth are forced to engage in more risky activities to cope with the negative effects of drought and, while no longer inhabiting the protected spheres of their households or communities, expose themselves to a multitude of dangers. While much has been written regarding the dangers faced by girls as they fetch water, food and fuel farther from their homes and communities, the dangers associated with diversification of income generating activities have been less explored. Our study found that as the situation deteriorates during droughts, girls are sent to the city to live with relatives where they seek work as domestic servants, or engage in prostitution to meet their basic needs. To cope with the loss of livestock during drought and replenish their herds, families will hasten the marriage of girls, some as early as 10 years of age. Adolescent boys are equally affected by this protection crisis. As the providers and protectors of the home, boys face the danger of being killed by bandits or attacked by wild animals while migrating with their herd, and are encouraged to participate in raids and cattle rustling, placing them at the center of often-violent conflicts with other communities. Overall, the fragmentation of the family unit in times of drought in some ways increases the autonomy of both boys and girls, but also increases the risks of violence and abuse.
4. **Girls in communities in transition**, while having more opportunities to increase their capacities, remain vulnerable to droughts.

As they move out of pastoralism, adolescent girls acquire the capacity to further contribute to the resilience of their families, households and communities. They report having more access to social services than girls in pastoralist areas—overall, they spend more time under “normal” conditions in school, have access to health and family planning services, and are engaged in more diversified income-generating activities. This transition also provides more opportunities for increased decision-making power, for example in the choice of their husband. When asked about their aspirations, girls from communities in transition voice a more expansive vision of their contribution to their communities and the broader civil society than girls in pastoralist areas. They express a desire to work outside the home and community, and aspire to career goals requiring completion of higher education. However, when drought hits, these girls are pulled out of school to devote more time to income-generating activities, which increases their exposure to new risks.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

The findings from this research point to five significant recommendations that policy makers, donors, and local and international development organizations should consider when working to increase food security and build community resilience in the Turkana region.

1. **Address the contextual & age-segmented challenges that pastoralist adolescents girls face**

Pastoralist adolescent girls have been virtually invisible as distinct and intentional targets for development programs. In pastoral cultures, a girl’s life stages come with specific roles and responsibilities. Similarly, their level of vulnerability evolves as they move from infancy through childhood and into adolescence. Between pastoralist societies, these stages vary considerably. It is critical to develop an age-segmented understanding of these girls’ lives that informs a proper programmatic response. We need to successfully address the risks and vulnerabilities they face at each stage, and harness the capacities and resources they have to confront them. This will require funding rigorous and iterative analyses before and throughout the program cycle, and designing program objectives and measurement & evaluation structures around said analyses. We must create longer term time horizons and adaptive management structures that foster learning and encourage impact-driven measurement.

2. **Reinforce pastoralist girls’ capacities to diversify their sources of food and income during crises**

Pastoralist girls’ substantial contribution to the food security of their households relies heavily on natural resources that are being degraded by climate change, and on ancestral knowledge rapidly losing currency within a changing context. Programming interventions that broaden their livelihood skills will help improve their contribution to the food security and resilience of their household. It will allow them to engage in safer and more lucrative income-generating activities, reducing their exposure to violence. Simultaneously, providing them with opportunities to increase their networks and relationships within their communities or beyond through economically or socially-motivated groups will expand their access to informal safety nets and empower them to take collective action.

3. **Address the social and economics drivers behind early marriage**

As the status of girls within pastoralist households and communities revolves primarily around the worth of their dowry, marriage plays a central role in the lives of Turkana girls. Early marriage leads to early childbearing, which carries with it adverse health effects, decreased access to education, and increased

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2 Communities in transition are defined in this research as sedentary communities to which former pastoralists have migrated, and where pastoralism is no longer the primary livelihood.
likelihood of domestic violence. All of this has the potential to negatively impact girls’ development and the well-being of their children and households. Concrete actions to mitigate some of the underlying causes of early marriage include sensitizing males on marriage related laws and the negative effects of early marriage and childbirth, and improving drought resilient livelihoods of pastoralists. Further research to identify ‘positive deviants’ (i.e. those fathers who decide to delay marriage for their daughters), their motivations and strategies, can enhance our understanding of the local drivers and barriers to shifting early marriage practices and help transfer positive deviant behaviors to others in the community and beyond.

4. **Leverage the opportunities offered to the girls in communities in transition while overcoming inherent protection challenges**

Families and communities that transitioned out of pastoralism did so in a time of crisis – often during drought or after a conflict. While the evidence is inconclusive as to whether such transitions represent an adaptive strategy that has allowed communities and adolescents in particular to become more resilient to drought, it is clear that education and diversified livelihoods, both of which are more accessible to girls after transitioning out of pastoralism, play an important role for youth in communities in transition. At the same time it is vital that programs understand and address the ways diversification of income-generating activities may also expose girls to new risks including sexual violence and child labor. With this in mind, development programs that seek to leverage girls’ potential to build resilient households and communities must address the specific protection concerns and challenges for girls, while simultaneously leveraging their new autonomy gained to help them attain greater empowerment, development and security.

5. **Establish and promote adaptive basic social service provision models**

Education programming, specifically for pastoralist girls, needs to address the trade-off between the value of increasing one’s opportunities and well-being with the need for labor at home and role of marriage in Turkana society. To increase demand for education in pastoralist areas, future research may be required to better demonstrate its benefits for long-term resilience as well as to develop new models for education that are more compatible with the pastoralist way of life. Similarly the delivery of health services must balance quality of services with appropriate outreach structure that responds to the needs of mobile populations. The concept of adaptive social service provision models provides a potential solution to increase pastoralist girls’ human capital, and requires evaluation through further research, funding streams, and coordination with governance structures.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Youth living in pastoralist communities play a vital yet under-recognized role in their household’s livelihoods and food security – they are agricultural producers, income generators and caretakers who provide for many of the basic needs of their families. They hold a large, untapped potential to contribute to future food and nutrition security, economic growth and social change. Adolescents are at a turning point in their lives, and the actions they take can make them powerful agents of change for themselves, their households and their communities.

The existing research on the lives of pastoralist youth suggests that they play a central role in pastoralist livelihoods, but the specifics are not well understood. Only minimal research has looked into the specific roles of girls in pastoralist households and communities. Little is known about the constraints and opportunities girls face related to accumulating, retaining and benefitting from assets, exercising agency over their lives, and shifting socio-cultural norms. This invisibility of pastoralist girls in research is a symptom of a wider phenomenon – that is, the invisibility of girls in many development interventions.

In many programs “children” and “youth” are treated as a homogeneous group, and the specific needs and concerns of girls are infrequently considered or addressed, despite the numerous challenges they face. Children’s programs predominantly focus on girls and boys ages 0-5 years old – ages at which gender roles have a more limited impact on development. Youth programs, which often target ages 15-30, tend to reach older males. Population Council research on four countries’ youth programs, for example, indicated that programs benefit males more than females by a ratio of 2-to-1. Older girls between the ages of 15 and 19 years are often only direct program beneficiaries when they become visible in “women’s roles” as wives and mothers.

For programs to specifically address the needs of pastoralist girls and increase their capacities and resilience, we must first understand their lives and livelihoods, including the pastoralist way of life, the way household units and clan groupings function, and how decisions are made. We also must understand the core differences between girls’ and boys’ lives and livelihoods to distinguish the true gendered variations that make girls’ experiences unique.

In 2013, Mercy Corps undertook a global review of information about pastoralist girls. The review showed that girls are generally of low social and economic status and that they often have poor health, as suggested by a higher prevalence of nutritional deficiencies and shorter lifespans than seen in their male counterparts. Gender inequalities tend to reduce girls’ decision-making power, control of assets, and access to education. Age further accentuates gender disparities, leaving girls increasingly marginalized in their households as well as in their communities. The geographical isolation and movement characteristics of many pastoralist communities prevent girls from accessing information and services, including resources ranging from schools to sanitary napkins.

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4 Population Council 2010
In addition to the barriers faced in their day-to-day lives, pastoralist girls are further challenged by the shocks affecting their communities and way of life. The effects of climate change are increasingly evident in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), with major climatic events such as drought and flood occurring more frequently, thus depleting the limited natural resources needed to sustain pastoralists’ way of life. When livestock die of hunger or disease, and food crops are swiftly washed away or fail to grow, pastoralists’ wealth and sources of food disappear. This puts increasing strain on women and girls, who are largely responsible for finding food and water for their families.

Much of what is currently understood about pastoralist girls is based on extrapolating from the experiences of women and of pastoralists in general, with little information coming from the voices of girls themselves. To better understand the changing lives of girls within pastoralist communities, the current and potential roles girls play in supporting their households, and the opportunities to support girls’ own voice and agency, Mercy Corps undertook research with Turkana adolescents in the ASALs of Turkana County, Kenya, from 1 to 23 April 2014. Data were collected from boys and girls in pastoralist communities as well as in each Community in Transition (CiT). CiTs were defined in this research as sedentary communities to which former pastoralists have migrated, and where pastoralism is no longer the primary livelihood. The study focused on identifying the opportunities and barriers that girls face within changing and often vulnerable pastoralist livelihood systems, focusing on their roles as daughters and mothers, as caretakers, as agents of nutrition and food security, as economic actors, and as individuals with their own hopes for their future. This allowed for a refined understanding of the specific experiences of pastoralist girls, how their experiences compare with those of boys and other girls in Turkana County, and the ways gender and the pastoralist livelihood specifically impact girls and their capacities to contribute to their households’ resilience during drought.

What is Pastoralism?

More than 200 million pastoralists live in arid, remote areas characterized by extreme temperatures and unpredictable rainfall, and they manage over 25 percent of the earth’s resources in over 100 countries. Pastoral production systems are those “in which at least 50% of the gross incomes from households come from pastoralism or its related activities, or else, where more than 15% of households’ food energy consumption involves the milk or dairy products they produce” (Swift’s 1988). For others, pastoralism is defined as a livestock system where rangelands account for more than 50 percent of animal feeding time (Benlekhal 2004).

The pastoralism lifestyle is typically built on four interrelated characteristics:

Mobility: As a response to climate variations, pastoralists and their herds move over long distances to maximize and manage their use of grazing and access to medicinal minerals, plants and water.

Herd management: Herds are diversified in sex, age and species to spread risks.

Access to markets and services: Trade in livestock generates resources for fulfilling other family needs (food, education, health care). Small ruminants (goats and sheep) are considered “petty cash,” cattle are “capital,” and camels “assets.”

Communal support: By taking care of one another, pastoralists can recover quickly from disaster.
2. BACKGROUND

2.1 NATURAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

Turkana County, home to the Turkana people, is a vast and arid land occupying Northwest Kenya to the west of Lake Turkana in the former Rift Valley Province. Turkana County is characterized by harsh terrain, irregular rainfall, limited infrastructure, pervasive insecurity and stifling poverty (Notenbaert, Thornton and Herrero 2007). Over generations, people living in Turkana have developed complex systems to survive under these conditions, including a reliance on livestock to meet their needs and the development of large households with multiple wives and children. While nomadic pastoralism has historically been the most common livelihood in Turkana, contemporary Turkana is experiencing an increasing number of households that are transitioning out of pastoralism to settle in urban centers or agro-pastoral and fishery areas (Watkins 2008). This is the result of the increasing pressure of the successive droughts, which have led to deepened poverty.

Overall, the Turkana, despite being the tenth-largest tribal group in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2009), lag far behind in socio-economic and well-being indicators – more than 94.3 percent of the population lives below the poverty line of one U.S. dollar per day (versus 46 percent for the rest of Kenya) (Commission on Revenue Allocation 2011); and the literacy rate is only 19 percent (versus 79 percent for the rest of Kenya) (Oxfam and Save the Children 2012).

2.2 SHOCKS

Climate change

Over recent decades, climate change has taken a serious toll on Turkana and the pastoralist way of life. Temperatures have increased roughly 1.8 degrees Fahrenheit since the 1960s (Yale Environment 360 2010) and are projected to increase by another 2 to 5 degrees by 2060, with increasingly inconsistent rainfall. As a result, drought and flooding in Turkana will continue to be a challenge in the coming years (Omolo 2010) and have a devastating effect on traditional pastoralists, who do not have time to replenish their herds before another drought hits (Obando, et al. 2010). As pastoralists rely on their livestock for both nutrition and income, drought directly impacts both individual and community food security.

This has led to changing lifestyles, including settlements and migration to urban centers. Agro-pastoralism has increased in recent years as pastoralists turn to a mixed system of crops and livestock to support their families. Along Lake Turkana, fishing also offers both a new source of household nutrition and means of income generation. Aloe and honey production have growing, yet informal industries, though limited access to markets inhibits increased in production. Other common income-generating activities include charcoal production, alcohol brewing, selling milk and basket weaving (Watson and van Binsbergen 2008), all performed mainly by women. Simultaneously, between 1999 and 2009, the percent of Turkana residents living in urban areas more than doubled, rising from 7.0 to 14.2 percent (Central Bureau of Statistics 2002) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics n.d.).

Conflict

Conflict in Turkana is common and complex. Traditionally, the Turkana have had minimal infighting. Externally, violent tribal conflict may reach across three international borders, including Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda, as well as five Kenyan county borders, including Baringo, Laikipia, Marsabit, Samburu and West Pokot (Pragya 2012). Turkanas’ conflict with their neighboring tribes, such as the Merille from Ethiopia or the Pokot from Kenya, is spurred by dwindling natural resources, the presence of arms, and the absence of government control. For example, cattle raiding is among the most common types of intertribal violence. Historically, cattle raiding has been a means to accumulate bridewealth, replenish herds and mark territory, and it can be undertaken as a rite of passage (Bond 2014). It has
even been described as “quasi-cultural practice.” The modern era of cattle raiding, however, is increasingly predatory and fueled by commercially driven by criminal motives (Hendrickson, Armon and Mearns 1998).

Oil and water discoveries

In 2012, oil was discovered in Turkana, fueling a variety of local conflicts related to landownership and sale. While Turkana land is communally owned but managed by the national government (Kandagor 2012), little information has been shared with the Turkana people regarding how or whether they will benefit from the drilling of their land (Mercy Corps Conflict Assessment n.d.).

Additionally, in 2013, large deep and shallow aquifers were discovered, which might be easily used to support local agriculture (Radar Technologies International (RTI) 2013). The five aquifers identified hold approximately 250 billion cubic meters of water – enough to supply water to all of Kenya for the next 70 years if managed properly (Basu 2013).

2.3 POLICY AND GOVERNANCE

The Turkana, and pastoralists in general, have a history of political marginalization. The lack of government investment has left the Turkana disadvantaged, leaving a common feeling of detachment from the country as a whole (Greenspan 2014). At the national level, while few effective policies focus on pastoralism, the new ASAL Policy is intended to further integrate ASALs into the national economy. However, the policy has yet to be fully enacted. Meanwhile, at the county level, the Ministry of Pastoral Economy and Fisheries remains highly underfunded while the budget for irrigation is increasing, suggesting an informal push away from livestock-based livelihoods and toward sedentarisation.

Though not pertaining specifically to pastoralists, there are a number of federal laws relevant to Turkana girls. Early marriage, defined as marriage before the age of 18 or before 16 without a guardian’s permission, is outlawed by the 2008 Marriage Act. This is further supported by the 2010 Children’s Act, which bans marriage before the age of 18 and gives government authorities power to remove a minor from such a situation. Despite its illegality, early marriage in Kenya has often been overlooked as custom or local tradition. Through the newly signed 2014 Marriage Act, marriage to a minor is punishable by up to five years in prison or 1 million Kenyan shillings (approximately U.S. 11,540) (Goitom 2014).

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5 Akall, G.L., personal communication, April 7, 2014.
3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 DESIGN

This study laid out three core objectives:

1. Define the context through formative research to gain a better understanding of the lives of girls within pastoralist communities, especially their livelihood assets and roles within their households – as daughters and as mothers, as caretakers, as agents of nutrition and food security, as economic actors, and as individuals with their own hopes for their future.

2. Identify the constraints and opportunities that girls face related to their empowerment, protection and livelihoods, as well as the potential barriers and points of leverage international agencies should be aware of when working to facilitate change and development among this group.

3. Identify the strategies Turkana youth use to contribute to their households and cope in response to severe drought, and the effects these strategies have on adolescents’ lives.

To help better respond to the above objectives, the study specifically highlights the differences in experiences between girls in pastoralist communities and girls in CiTs, especially those who have recently dropped out of pastoralism. It also identifies differences in the experiences of boys and girls in both pastoralist communities and CiTs. Because of the largely ethnographic nature of the above objectives and the specificity of challenges and opportunities faced by girls in each community context, the field study utilized both qualitative methods as well as quantifiable participatory methods that provide in-depth, context-specific information. Data were collected over 15 days in April 2014 through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews in 20 communities. Of the 20 selected communities, 10 were “pastoralist communities,” those still relying on pastoralism as their primary livelihood strategy, and 10 were “communities in transition” (CiTs), communities composed largely of households that are sedentary and had recently transitioned out of pastoralism as their primary livelihood strategy. At each site, the study conducted:

- two focus group discussions – one with adolescent girls, and one with either adolescent boys or parents; and
- four semi-structured interviews with village elders, adolescent girls, adolescent boys and parents.

Additional key informant interviews were conducted with representatives of NGOs working in the region, local government officials and regional experts. In total, 40 focus group discussions and 87 individual interviews were conducted, allowing for a greater understanding of the lives, expectations and experiences of girls living in pastoral cultures in Turkana. Data collection is summarized in table 1.

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6 The term *adolescent* is used herein to signify the youth, ages 12-19, included in the study, and does not reflect cultural definitions of adulthood beginning at the time of marriage and/or childbirth. See participant inclusion criteria in Appendix B.
### Table 1: DATA COLLECTION SUMMARY

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<th>Pastoral Participants (# of Women)</th>
<th>CiT Participants (# of Women)</th>
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<td><strong>Focus Groups</strong></td>
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<td>Adolescent Girls</td>
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<td>77</td>
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<td>Adolescent Boys</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Events:</strong></td>
<td><strong>127</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total Participants:</strong></td>
<td><strong>411</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes an estimated total of 15 for two girls’ focus groups where the number of participants was not recorded.

**Total participants include NGO and government interviews involving more than one staff member.

Data collection tools included custom-designed focus group discussion and semi-structured interview guides. Discussion and interview guides for each of the participant groups varied in specific content but included both retrospective and prospective prompts. Digital audio recorders were used to document focus group discussions and interviews.

#### 3.2 SAMPLING

Purposive sampling was used to identify communities, spread across a wide geographical area and multiple districts, that fulfilled different variables considered important to the research questions, including experience of conflict (cattle raiding), type of livelihood, geographical isolation, proximity to a refugee camp, proximity to international borders, and ex-pastoralist settlement. Of Turkana’s seven districts, sites in Turkana West, Turkana North, Turkana Central, Turkana South, and Loima districts were included in the study. Turkana East and Kibish were not visited due to limited presence of pastoralism livelihood and insecurity, respectively. Using local and organizational knowledge of the county, 10 pastoralist and 10 CaT sites were identified that offered a diversity of livelihoods and community characteristics. Locations along pastoralist migration routes were prioritized to maximize opportunities to reach nomadic households. Community profiles found in Appendix A and Appendix B summarize collection site characteristics.
Individual participants were identified upon arrival of the researchers at the site by referral from the chief, elder or local leaders. The study focuses on adolescent girls and boys between the ages of 12 to 18 years old rather than a more broadly, and at times loosely, defined concept of “youth.” This age cohort was identified through background research and interviews in the field as being a specific time of transition for young people in Turkana society between childhood and adulthood.7

Selected key informants were members of the local communities or government identified for their unique insight into the lives of Turkana adolescent girls — including local government officials, NGOs, religious organizations and an academic researcher studying Turkana. A list of key informants is included in Appendix C.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS
Four female and four male enumerators, selected for their knowledge of the region, culture, customs and local language, were hired to lead interviews and focus groups. Using local enumerators allowed for increased cultural sensitivity and community acceptance. One pair of female enumerators led the girls’ focus group discussion at every site, while a pair of male enumerators led the boys’ or parents’ discussions. Each pair of enumerators then conducted two semi-structured interviews after the focus groups. Lead researchers interviewed additional key informants in the towns of Lodwar and Lokichoggio. In observation of local customs, consent for participation was sought from the chief or elders as well as from actual participants.

3.4 DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS
Responses to all focus group and interview questions were recorded during the sessions via note-taking. Additionally, at the end of each day, focus group discussions and community interviews were recorded for verification of data, and enumerators reviewed, discussed and recopied field notes into data templates. These notes were then translated from Turkana into English (when necessary) and transcribed into data sheets.

Field notes, consolidated and organized into data templates, were used as primary material for coding and analysis. Coding was done systematically through screening data according to codes that were pre-established in the design phase and to emergent themes that arose during the data analysis process. Data were transported into Excel spreadsheets designed to organize responses according to these codes as well as quantify frequency of responses. Quantification of focus group discussion (FGD) data obtained through proportional piling and free-listing was completed manually and reverse tabulated to ensure accuracy.

7 While the target age for adolescents was 12-18, the reliance on local leaders and the reality that most Turkana do not record their age led to the inclusion of girls who were at times younger. Though local traditions sometimes define marriage or childbirth as the end of adolescence, neither of these was included as criteria for exclusion. As such, findings pertaining to Turkana youth and the term “youth” used throughout the report can only be understood to represent youth between the ages of 12 and 18 years.
3.5 LIMITATIONS
Although all reasonable efforts were made to reduce bias and strengthen the generalizability of the findings reported, readers should keep in mind the following potential and actual limitations of the study when interpreting results.

Two of Turkana’s seven districts were intentionally excluded from site sampling. Turkana East was only recently carved out of Turkana South, and the omission is not expected to have a great impact. Residents of Kibish district, excluded for reasons related to insecurity, are expected to have a higher experience of violent conflict than residents of other areas. This omission may bias the findings of experience of violence in the lives of adolescents.

At the time of the field research, April 2014, the long rains had just begun. While there was a general consensus among interviewees that the current period was the dry season, different locations in the district had experienced varying levels of rainfall during the first two weeks of April. Thus, data reflecting differences between the current period and the 2011 drought are best understood in relative terms rather than taken as an absolute comparison between severe drought and a “normal” year.

Given that interviews and focus group discussions included retrospective questions about the 2011 drought, the researchers acknowledge the potential for recall bias, especially among the youngest participants (boys and girls roughly 12 or 13 years old), who would have been only 9 or 10 years old at the time of the event. To reduce such recall bias, semi-structured interviews were largely conducted with older participants, and the analysis paid close attention to triangulating results between focus group discussions and interviews.

Regarding actual data collected, language barriers limited the ability of the researchers to directly conduct quality assurance checks on the summarizations and notes provided by the enumerators and translators.
4. Report of Findings

FORMATIVE FINDINGS: INSIGHTS INTO THE LIVES OF TURKANA ADOLESCENTS
To better understand the roles and responsibilities of girls in pastoralist communities, the study draws a comparison with those girls living in communities in transition (i.e., those communities that do not live primarily from livestock but have diversified their livelihood either through farming, fishing or peri-urban activities) and boys living in both. A series of tools were used, including free-listing of daily activities (reflecting youths’ own perceptions of their lives) and proportional piling to assess relative time allocation. Results were aggregated by gender and livelihood context (pastoral and communities in transition). It is worth mentioning that while general trends appear in the data, the level to which aggregation of the data accurately represents an “average youth” across the various subgroupings is questionable given the specificity of each community context, especially in non-pastoral context.

The sections below provide a comparison between boys and girls related to their share of roles and responsibilities (section 4.1) and gender differences perceived (section 4.2). Other sections provide an insight into specific themes cited as important for understanding the girls’ lives, including marriage (section 4.3), decision-making (section 4.4), social relationships (section 5.5), health and nutrition (section 4.6), education (section 4.7), and access to financing and technology (section 4.8). Section 4.9 delves into the risks and specific vulnerabilities of girls, and boys, in pastoralist areas.

4.1 DAILY ACTIVITIES AND TIME ALLOCATION
The most interesting and significant difference in responses between pastoralist girls and girls from CiTs relates to their involvement in livestock, education and social activities:

» Girls in pastoralist communities all free-list and allocate a large portion of their time to taking care of livestock, whereas livestock was never mentioned by girls in CiTs.

» Girls in CiTs free-listed “going to school” in 10 of 10 sites and allocate the main portion of their time to studying. This is in stark comparison with girls in pastoralist communities, who did not free-list “going to school” in any FGD.

» Girls in CiTs free-listed “spending time / playing with friends” in half of the cases while girls in pastoral communities did not cite this among their daily activities.

It is clear that livestock is a key determinant of the lives of boys and girls in the range. It determines their roles within the household, within their communities, and in the future. As children, boys’ and girls’ daily activities are ruled by the needs of their parents’ animals. Among pastoralist communities, both girls and boys mentioned livestock activities as a main occupation in every focus group discussion. Though exceptions to the gendered nature of livestock keeping do exist, girls are primarily responsible for
milking the household’s animals, and boys are primarily responsible for grazing animals, especially during the dry season when this requires moving farther from the homestead.

Within the CiTs, the mention of livestock activities among girls was minimal. Boys, however, still reported a significant amount of time dedicated to livestock activities in addition to other livelihood activities specific to the location of their community: farming and fishing, among others. This may relate to broader findings on pastoral livelihoods in transitioning communities, which indicate that while pastoralism may no longer be the primary livelihood of communities who migrate to peri-urban centers or engage in fishing activities, livestock remains, nonetheless, central to Turkana culture and identity and that many “transitioned” communities still maintain or seek to maintain livestock holdings.

Girls in pastoralist communities and those in transition extensively listed household duties including cooking, cleaning and fetching water. Boys in CiTs also listed household activities, such as caring for young children, cleaning compounds, and fetching water and wood, more frequently than boys in pastoralist communities. The increased sharing of household duties between girls and boys in CiTs may signal a cultural flexibility on traditional gender roles, or it may be the result of increased time availability for such tasks when livestock activities are less prominent. Another explanation for this is that these new roles for boys in CiTs may be due to a change in household composition or activities of other family members – for example, if there are fewer girls in the household to do these tasks or if the mother is away.

Boys and girls in pastoralist communities and CiTs also differed in educational and social activities. In pastoralist communities, boys free-listed “going to school” in five of 10 FGDs and mentioned social and recreational activities such as playing games or doing traditional dances in 10 of 10 FGDs, whereas school or social activities were never mentioned by girls. On the contrary, within the CiTs, girls mentioned going to school in all cases and social activities (e.g. playing with friends) in five out of 10 FGDs.

**TABLE 2: PRIMARY ACTIVITIES FREE-LISTED BY GENDER AND LIVELIHOOD CONTEXT ***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pastoralist</th>
<th>Communities in Transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td>Looking after/grazing livestock (10/10)</td>
<td>Going to school (10/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooking/preparing food (9/10)</td>
<td>Fetching water (house) (10/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collecting firewood (8/10)</td>
<td>Collecting firewood (9/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fetching water for home (8/10)</td>
<td>Cooking/preparing food (8/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watering animals (7/10)</td>
<td>Cleaning (clothes, dishes, etc.) (6/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milking animals (7/10)</td>
<td>Spending time/playing with friends (5/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys</strong></td>
<td>Looking after/grazing livestock (10/10)</td>
<td>Caring for livestock (5/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends: games/traditional dance (10/10)</td>
<td>Fetching water for house (5/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Searching for wild fruit and gums (9/10)</td>
<td>Going to school (4/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hunting wild animals (9/10)</td>
<td>Friends: football, dancing, etc. (4/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Going to school (5/10)</td>
<td>Fetching fuel/wood/charcoal (4/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Caring for younger children (4/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Farm/forest/fishing activities (3/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Income-generating activities (3/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cleaning compound (3/5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The numbers of FGDs conducted are in parentheses. “Primary Activities” above are those mentioned in a majority of sites (five or more) out of 10 total FGDs; for ex-pastoralist boys, only five FGDs were conducted, thus primary activities are those listed in three or more sites.

“I don’t attend school because I am the only boy in my family who can look after the livestock.”

— Adolescent boy from Lorugum, pastoralist community
The nature of the free-listing activity also resulted in a number of diverse activities being mentioned that, though listed infrequently, are still important to report (see table above). This diversity of activities demonstrates that while boys and girls may primarily undertake certain duties along gender lines, these are not always exclusive to gender and may be defined by household composition (availability of boys, fathers, mothers, girls in the household) and the changing nature of how time is spent. Other activities mentioned by Turkana adolescents are reported in table 3 below.

TABLE 3:
OTHER ACTIVITIES FREE-LISTED BY TURKANA ADOLESCENTS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pastoralist</th>
<th>Communities in Transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making fences and sheds for animals (4)</td>
<td>Helping mothers (on farm) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making charcoal (2)</td>
<td>Caring for younger children (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making shelter for family (2)</td>
<td>Weaving mats (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring hides and skins (1)</td>
<td>Fetching charcoal (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring for younger children (1)</td>
<td>Go to market to buy food (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for water (1)</td>
<td>Go to market to sell (wood, fish) (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for food (1)</td>
<td>Collecting building materials from bush (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to market to buy food (1)</td>
<td>Fishing activities (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for missing animals (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making traditional dress/beads (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milking of goats, sheep, and camels (3)</td>
<td>Hunting (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing aloe vera (3)</td>
<td>Construction (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveying the area for threats (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining gold, collecting precious stones (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetching wood, water (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making charcoal (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetching water to sell (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making bows and arrows (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number of FGDs in which each activity is mentioned is in parentheses.

Better understanding the time girls and boys allocate to various activities to secure their household livelihoods as well as their personal and social development provides insight into the priorities of the household, as well as potential barriers, opportunities and trade-offs that communities, households and youth themselves may need to make. The follow-on exercise on time allocation, despite the distinct variation between communities, confirms and expands on the significant trends resulting from the free-listing of activities above, especially time spent in livestock- and education-related activities (table 4).

Not surprisingly, pastoralist boys and girls both report the highest proportion of their time allocated to the care of livestock. Additionally, undertaking income-generating activities represented a large proportion of time spent by both pastoralist girls and boys in transitioning communities. Boys’ increased involvement in IGAs may indicate a shift in gender roles in CiTs, as boys are less involved in livestock activities and contribute to household livelihoods through other means.

Girls and boys in CiTs both allocated the highest proportion of their daily time to activities involving their education, going to school or studying. Girls in both pastoral and CiTs allocated significant amounts of time to household duties or work.

“*To be able to make some decisions and earn money, pastoralist Turkana women need to be involved in other activities than livestock. Poultry is women’s ATM, as well as milk and cereals – they can make decisions on how these are sold.*”

— Representative of local NGO, TUPADO
TABLE 4:
AVERAGE PROPORTION OF TIME SPENT UNDERTAKING DAILY ACTIVITIES – CURRENT PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pastoralist</th>
<th>Communities in Transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Caring for livestock</td>
<td>(26.5%)</td>
<td>1. Going to school, studying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fetching fuel for cooking</td>
<td>(13.5%)</td>
<td>2. Other household duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic activities, IGAs</td>
<td>(12.9%)</td>
<td>3. Fetching fuel for cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Other household duties</td>
<td>(12.5%)</td>
<td>4. Time with friends, recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Caring for livestock</td>
<td>(36.5%)</td>
<td>1. Going to school, studying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Time with friends, recreation</td>
<td>(17.1%)</td>
<td>2. Caring for livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Seeking food, hunting</td>
<td>(15.3%)</td>
<td>3. Economic activities, IGAs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Going to school, studying</td>
<td>(9.3%)</td>
<td>4. Seeking food, hunting/foraging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“[We came here] in 1994 – because the life in the range was so difficult in a way that we could not access health services, schools, and the drought swept all of our animals, we decided to come here. I like this life because I am able to go to school since it is near the village, and here most of the parents have chosen to send their girls to school.”

— Adolescent girl from Kalimapus, community in transition

4.2 GENDER PERCEPTIONS AMONG TURKANA YOUTH: WEALTH AND WARRIORS

The pastoralist girls interviewed agree on the advantages of being a girl, while those from CiTs express mixed views of gender differences. Out of 20 girls interviewed in pastoralist communities, 19 mentioned it is “easier” being a girl as their household duties are less difficult than those of boys, they are taken care of by their parents and then their husbands, and they do not have responsibility to make decisions. All 20 of them agreed that it is “better” being a girl, and the main reason cited was that they bring dowry to their parents (15 of 20 interviewed). The other reasons mentioned are that they can have children, help their parents, and do not go on raids.

These results were confirmed when girls were asked about their aspirations, dreams and goals for the future. Twelve of 20 pastoralist girls focused their responses on their desire to get married and become a housewife, qualifying this with a number of motivations including helping their family through the dowry they would receive; desiring their own household, husband and children; wanting to be responsible for their own duties; and “owning” their own livestock. Only eight pastoralist girls responded about dreams beyond their own household, expressing a desire to impact their larger

“[It is prestigious for me] being a girl because I will get married and bring dowry home.”

— Adolescent girl from Lorugum, pastoralist community

“A family without a girl is never respected.”

— Adolescent girl from Lopiding, pastoralist community

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8 Women can commonly own sheep and goats. Cattle or camels are usually solely under their husband’s control.
Boys & Girls

“The difference between boys and girls starts at birth – for boys, the umbilical cord is cut with a spear so that they become warriors, and for girls it is cut with a knife so that girls will work in the kitchen. This early initiation continues throughout the different life stages. Between 7 and 10 years old, boys and girls start shaping their hair differently. Throughout adolescence, older women – often the grandmother as she has more time, is more knowledgeable, and plays the role of a storyteller – coaches the girls on sexual education and how to talk to men, cook, and build their houses (which is the responsibility of the women). Boys are taught to be good “scouts,” as they will be responsible in the range for looking for the best place to settle, including food and security.” (TUPADO)
4.3 MARRIAGE: ASPIRATIONS VS. FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Marriage is what most girls aspire to – either early in pastoralist communities or after their education is completed in communities in transition. Marriage is an important step in a Turkana youth’s life. For girls, after being engaged for several years to a man of her parents’ choosing, they are considered fully married when the man pays the dowry in full (in the form of livestock) during the “bull ceremony.”³⁹

Most girls want to get married to have children of their own, as having children is said to be dignifying and allows a woman to acquire her own livestock and some level, however limited, of decision-making within her new household. For boys, proposing marriage means they have enough livestock to pay the dowry. Depending on the size of their fathers’ wealth and share of inheritance, this oftentimes is a good motivator to raid or steal livestock from neighboring communities.

Conversely, the act of marriage underscores girls’ limited decision power. Girls, especially in pastoralist areas, are not free to choose their husbands, and the choice of whom and when to marry is usually made without their consent. While few formal records exist regarding the average marriage age, according to a representative from the Diocese of Lodwar, pastoralist girls as young as 12 to 15 years old get married, often to much older men.¹⁰ A representative from the Lokichoggio Peace Organization (LOPEO) mentioned, “They are groomed and booked for marriage often very young, sometimes as early as 8 years old.” One example was mentioned of a 12-year-old girl being married to an 87-year-old man for the dowry. This was confirmed by the District Officer (DO), who mentioned that in those cases, the girls become the second or third wife. After being married, their freedom of movement and social interactions decrease as they need to care for their household. They move to their husband’s family unit, and the decision authority passes from their father to their new husband. The importance of marriage drives the major decisions affecting a pastoralist girl’s life – going to school is considered superfluous as she is raised to be beautiful to get married, often at a very young age, to a rich husband who will provide bridewealth in the form of livestock to her parents.

“I want to marry so that I become a woman of dignity. I will marry and have children (girls) who will later get married, promote my family, and help me with heavy duties. I wish to give birth to boys who will become warriors to fight the Toposa and the Pokots.”

— Adolescent girl from Oropoi, pastoralist community

Courtship

Courtship starts when a boy asks a girl for tobacco. She has no choice but to give it to him. The second step is for the boy to ask for milk, and then water at her home – once again, she must comply, whether she likes it or not. The boy then approaches her compound, and asks for food. She then has to tell her mother and cook for the boy. Finally, when the boy decides to sleep nearby the house, this is a message to the girl’s parents that the negotiation for marriage can start. The mother is the first to know about the courtship, and is the one who brings it to the attention of the father, and then to the extended family. All are involved in the discussion, except the girl, who has no choice but to accept whatever her parents have decided for her. The negotiations consist of agreeing on the number of livestock that the boy (or man, sometimes much older than the girl) will pay to her parents as a dowry. Once the girl is married, she is considered gone from her family. Until her first, or even her second child (i.e., between one and three years after her marriage), the girl lives with her husband’s family. At that time, she owns no assets and has absolutely no say in household matters. Nor does her husband, who will follow the decision of his father, especially concerning the livestock. It is not until her parents-in-law decide that the couple is ready to leave on their own that they will move out of the parents’ house to live. It is at that time that the decision-making passes from her father-in-law to her husband. (TUPADO)

³⁹ The bull ceremony is the equivalent of marriage and marks the transition from engagement to full marriage, when the bride moves to her husband’s family compound.

¹⁰ The Child Protection Office from the Diocese of Lodwar supports children’s rights and the safe environment of the child. They work with children up to 18 years old and young people with special needs up to 24 years old.
4.4 DECISION-MAKING:
CHALLENGES OF PATRIARCHY

The family member who brings money to the households makes the financial decisions. This is most often the father, as he is the one taking care of livestock and the only one to decide when animals can be sold or slaughtered. Interestingly, two of the girls interviewed in the communities in transition mentioned that the mother should be part of the financial decisions, given that the father is polygamist and thus can misuse the money or favor one family over the other.

Fathers are also the final decision-makers regarding marriage, even if they seek counsel with the mother and other family members. Interestingly, this custom is being challenged by adolescents in pastoralist communities (mentioned four times) and CITs (mentioned six times) who claim that they want things to change so that they are allowed to choose for themselves, and who even request a law that prevents early marriage (mentioned twice in CITs). It was also mentioned twice that adolescents’ involvement in decision-making was directly related to the level of literacy of their parents.

Mothers are responsible in all cases for food purchase and preparation, and they make decisions regarding the purchase of household items. Other matters such as schooling or health care are most commonly decided by both parents.

Extended family members such as grandparents, uncles and aunts play an important role in some critical family decisions, such as marriage and migration. When the father is away, most decisions remain in the hands of the mother. If he has died, male family members, such as the father’s brothers, may take over the family unit and make decisions regarding livestock and the schooling of children.

In terms of girls’ movements, it is interesting to note that in most cases, a girl will ask permission from her mother, who in turn will seek a final decision from the girl’s father. The mother acts as an intermediary between the girl and her father.

Related to participation in community matters, all community decisions in pastoralist communities are made by the male community elders, with opinions from parents. Girls and boys are never involved. The main reasons cited are that they are too young, irresponsible and untrustworthy. On the contrary, this trend is changing in communities in transition. In half of the CITs, boys and girls mention that they are involved only in community discussions that have a direct impact on their lives – such as those related to education, HIV/AIDS, early pregnancy, drug abuse, or participation in water committees and early warning systems.

11 Laws against early marriage do exist in Kenya (the 2010 Children’s Act bans marriage before the age of 18 and gives government authorities power to remove a minor from such a situation); however, these laws may be either unknown among the youth interviewed, or not enforced.
4.5 SOCIAL CAPITAL: A CHERISHED ASSET
During the rainy season, social interactions are more prevalent – food is available and animals can be cared for close to the homestead, allowing girls and boys more time to play with friends. It is also the time when ceremonies such as weddings are organized. These social interactions decrease during the dry season because of the increase in the tasks that adolescents have to perform, including income-generating activities and caring for livestock in distant pastures.

Social interactions differ in nature between boys and girls in pastoralist areas. Boys mention playing football while in the grazing fields or after their tasks are finished, whereas girls seem to interact only while performing tasks such as collecting firewood or water at the water point. This difference between boys and girls is much less visible in CiTs, where girls actually mention playing with one another, including participating in ballgames (mentioned 11 times against one in pastoralist communities). School and church are mentioned as places to mingle, as well as weddings and traditional dances and ceremonies; associations and community groups are the primary place for married girls to interact and build their social capital.

4.6 HEALTH AND NUTRITION CONSIDERATIONS
Turkana have distinct cultural rules around the control of food and meals. Although women control the food in the household, it is mentioned in all cases that girls and women generally eat less than their father or brothers as their tasks are considered lighter. Women and children do eat the same meals as the rest of the family, though children tend to eat with the father, with the wife eating after the father.

Girls’ main health issues relate to the use of non-potable water – all mention typhoid and cholera as some of the main diseases. Girls also typically suffer from pregnancy-related issues – such as fistula – given that their bodies haven’t fully developed when they marry and give birth at a young age. Very much in line with the girls’ desire to get married, giving birth to children is said to be a duty. So strong is this sense of duty, that when a woman grows old it is common for her to seek a younger wife for her husband to ensure that he continues to have children. This sense of “procreation” duty is motivated by economic and health concerns. Having enough children allows families to look after a larger and more varied herd of livestock. Furthermore, a sufficient number of children are required to compensate for losses due to disease and, in the particular case of boys, death as a result of raids and conflict.

According to the local NGO TUPADO, contraception does not exist in pastoralist areas. A local saying, “When a girl marries, after two years she needs to have her second child,” suggests that social pressure and traditions prevent girls from using contraception. Additionally, while the access to contraception was mentioned three times in CiTs, there seems to be a general lack of awareness of family planning and contraceptive solutions, and no supply of contraceptives.

“During the drought, we miss our parents.”
— Adolescent boys from Oropoi, pastoralist community

“During the rains, we enjoy night dances, games and wedding ceremonies. During the drought, we miss the company of our friends, who tend to be stingy with what they have.”
— Adolescent boys from Lopiding, pastoralist community

“Labor demands are a driving force behind polygamy.”
— Parent from Namorungole, community in transition

“Girls do not practice family planning; they give birth as long as they have not reached menopause.”
— Parent from Namorungole, community in transition

12 This means that a girl cannot wait to have her first child, and as soon as the child is born, she should think about having her second one.
Finally, there seems to be a dramatic increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence – this is cited as one of the reasons why parents do not let their girls go to the towns, especially those parents in communities located in peri-urban areas. The prevalence, while under-recorded, is much higher in urban centers such as Lodwar and along the Lodwar-Lokichoggio highway, given the traffic between South Sudan and Kenya. It is interesting to note that girls and parents in pastoralist areas seem unaware of the type of health issues girls can have – while malaria and STI/HIV were cited a few times, they were cited at the same level as menstrual cramps.

All pastoralists are affected by their lack of access to health services, facilities and qualified personnel, and the associated costs of obtaining care. This is one reason why, especially in pastoralist settings, people rely on the “emuron,” or the traditional witch doctor, as their primary source for medical advice. It is only when the situation deteriorates that they visit the nearest health center, often when it is too late to effectively intervene.

Boys mentioned the distance to health facilities as one of the major constraints during the dry season, as they are often moving away from their communities to remote areas. While some organizations, such as Merlin, have mobile clinics that are better suited to reach these communities and provide vitamins and polio vaccines (District Officer), it is unclear if these clinics are functioning year-round and are financially sustainable.

“[We] migrate to interior parts where health facilities are not available; hence, [we] need to travel long distance by foot (30 km) [to get assistance].”
— Adolescent boys, Oropoi, pastoralist community

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4.7 EDUCATION

In pastoralist communities, only four of the 20 girls interviewed are attending school (versus 18 of 20 in CiTs), and school was never mentioned as one of the activities within the free-listing of activities (while mentioned 100 percent of the time in CiTs). Traditional education as we know it – including fixed locations, curriculum and calendar year – does not always serve pastoralist youth whose lives are heavily influenced by changing environmental conditions. In pastoralist households, basic needs come first. Girls are expected to assist their mother with livestock and household duties, and boys must take care of the livestock. It is only in families with multiple children, to whom some of these responsibilities can be delegated, that others within the family can go to school. Unfortunately, even under this scenario, school is used more as a way to keep them occupied than for the value of what they will learn.

In addition to the perceived lack of prioritizing education in most pastoralist households, obstacles to girls’ education include costs associated with school, and the beliefs that sending girls to school can be a catalyst to early pregnancy and HIV/AIDS or serve as a barrier to
marriage. This is reinforced by the fact that many schools are boarding schools, given the distances. In some areas, schools are over 30 km away from the homestead. While the government of Kenya has piloted mobile schools, opinions are mixed – some say they are neither effective nor address parents’ concerns, others that they are just not sufficient. Finally, other reasons cited by both girls and key informants for not attending school relate purely to the impracticality of day-to-day life. For example, the lack of sanitary napkins prevents a girl from leaving her house while menstruating, and the beads around her neck make her uncomfortable at school.13

One of the drivers that could have an impact on school attendance in pastoralist areas comes from the recent arrival of oil companies (see Background section). Parents and elders mentioned five times that oil companies are providing scholarships and building schools, and are likely to hire youth who have education.

In contrast, within CiTs, the perception of school is evolving, with parents and elders appreciating its value. Girls mentioned attending school in all 10 FGDs, and accessing education was mentioned five times (out of 15 interviews) by both girls and parents as a reason for leaving the range. Increasingly, they consider the passage to womanhood possible only when education is completed (mentioned three times), and as a means of receiving financial support instead of – or in complement to – the dowry (mentioned five times). While the lack of school fees was mentioned 11 times as a potential barrier to pursuing their education and aspirations, adolescents seem to rely on their income-generating activities to pay for their uniforms and school supplies, and they are often assisted by their parents who keep some livestock as “a buffer” to pay for school fees during the dry season.

4.8 FINANCING AND TECHNOLOGY
Income-generating activities that girls engage in are often conducted from home and do not require investments or external financing. Pastoralist girls rely on natural resources to weave mats and baskets and to collect wild fruits and firewood, whereas girls in CiTs assist with selling produce at the market or selling alcohol. The need for access to financing mechanisms is extremely rare and was mentioned only once in a CiT. Similarly for technology – only two communities mentioned that girls have access to mobile phones, and these phones are used for calls only as they are not aware of other mobile services, such as M-Pesa.14 However, the use of mobile phones among pastoralist girls remains extremely limited due to poor network coverage, lack of money for services, and parents’ fear that it will lead to new, unsupervised interactions.

13 Some school do not allow beads at school, making the girl uncomfortable vis-à-vis her parents and/or the school.
14 M-Pesa is a mobile-phone-based money transfer and microfinancing service launched in 2007 by Vodafone for Safaricom, the largest mobile network operator in Kenya. M-Pesa allows users with a national ID card or passport to deposit, withdraw and transfer money easily with a mobile device. M-Pesa counted 17 million subscribers in Kenya in December 2011.

“My parents denied me a chance of going to school. They even don’t allow me to go to church. They guide me to get married to a wealthy man in order for them to benefit.”
— Adolescent girl from Lopiding, pastoralist community

“Girls’ roles and responsibilities changed positively in the transition communities in a way that they have fewer duties to perform and have access to schools, which has changed their lives. When they excel in their education, they are going to bring help to their household or community.”
— Parent from Nachukui, community in transition

“Girls don’t have access to mobile phones because we don’t have a network, and [I] would not allow my daughter to have a mobile phone because she might have love affairs with male friends and ruin her life [with] pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, or run away.”
— Parent from Napetet, community in transition

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4.9 VULNERABILITY TO VIOLENCE, EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE.

The levels and risks of violence, exploitation and abuse that youth in Turkana face are determined by their roles, responsibilities and livelihoods.

Rape is a common threat to adolescent girls in pastoralist communities and those in transition. Participants in 12 out of 20 FGDs and 29 out of 40 semi-structured interviews mentioned rape as a leading danger and fear. Girls are particularly vulnerable to rape when they venture outside their communities for various household and income-generating activities. Examples of dangerous places mentioned by pastoralist girls include rivers where they are sent to collect water for their families, forests where they gather dry wood, and routes to urban areas where they sell goods. For girls in CiTs, the danger of rape frequently arises when they are required to work as domestic servants, sell alcohol in local bars, or venture to densely populated refugee camps. Not surprisingly, parents mention that they tend to place more restrictions on girls’ freedom of movement to protect them from these types of dangers.

“I fear going to the river and forest to fetch water and firewood because these are hot spots in our community, and bandits hide there and plan raids. So if there is somebody like a girl there, they beat up, rape and even kill them.”

— Adolescent girl from Namorungole, community in transition

marry the girl. If he comes from another community, then it becomes more difficult for the girl to marry. In all cases, the victim does not have a say in the matter. The district officer mentioned that they hear about two to three cases of rape every month, a figure that does not account for unreported cases.

There was no clear consensus on whether different times of the year are more or less safe, even though it was mentioned that during droughts or dry seasons, there is a higher possibility for violence due to conflict, including raiding. Girls expressed feeling more vulnerable during these times as men typically migrate out of the community, leaving the women and girls without protection. Some participants also noted that during the rainy season, crime tends to be more prevalent, particularly during holidays.

Within pastoralist communities, other common dangers are raids (for boys), kidnapping (for girls) and attacks by wild animals. Raiding or cattle hustling is common in Turkana amongst pastoralist communities and is more prevalent during droughts. Young men are often expected to raid livestock to provide for their households during times of scarcity. In FGDs and interviews with boys and girls in pastoralist communities, the ability to “raid livestock”, “go to war” and “steal animals” was frequently cited as a key aspect of a male’s role. Raiding has significant implications on the vulnerability of young men, who are often the victims of violence during these conflicts.

Adolescents in CiTs face a unique set of protection issues, including dangers arising from alcohol abuse and child labor such as domestic servitude. According to local officials, alcoholism is a growing problem in Turkana, although many communities do not recognize it as a problem. Alcohol plays many roles: “It is social, it is food, it is entertainment.” In general,

“During the dry season, men and boys go to take care of livestock very far away from the community, and we can get attacked because women cannot defend the community.”

— Adolescent girl from Lodwar, community in transition

15 Key informant interview, District Officer, Turkwell district, 04/8/2014
both girls and boys begin to drink alcohol when they are young. Although alcohol is prevalent in all communities, it is more frequently mentioned as contributing to increased vulnerability for girls in CITs. In these communities, women frequently brew alcohol called “bussa” for income and allow adolescent girls to be involved in selling it, leading to either abuse from customers or consumption by the girls themselves. Boys are often found collecting scrap metal, a health hazard, for sale. Finally, according to the Diocese of Lodwar and the Turkwel District Office, there is a clear increase in prostitution, even if there are no current data. Girls have neither the bargaining power, nor the knowledge about safe sex, leading to one of the highest rates, if not the highest rate, of HIV/AIDS in the country.

“The most difficult task is raiding because I do not know how to operate a machine gun or firearms, and I am afraid of losing my life. Raiding is a matter of life and death.”
— Adolescent boy from Kataboi, community in transition

These problems are exacerbated by the fact that there is a clear gap in government social workers or protection agents on the ground to assist children and adolescents in Turkana County. While there are two district officers responsible for these issues assisted by the local chiefs – one district officer for children for Turkana West and one for all of Turkana South – according to the Diocese, there is a clear lack of capacity in these structures and among the chiefs to deal with children’s issues. The juvenile institutions, when they exist, are too far away and too full. So, when caught, children are detained with older offenders, thus increasing their vulnerability and the potential for future delinquency.
Life in Turkana is shaped by seasonality. The short and long rains expected in a normal year have become increasingly sporadic and unpredictable. Heavy rains can follow long periods of drought, causing massive flooding in parts of the district. These erratic patterns have had devastating impacts on Turkana communities, particularly on pastoralists who rely heavily on water and pasture for grazing animals.

In general, participants described the dry season as a time of scarcity and hardship. It is important to point out that there was no clear distinction between dry season and drought, as some participants used the two terms interchangeably. The Turkana characterize dry seasons as times when water and pasture are scarce. This results in increased movement, usually by males who seek pasture for livestock, or, in fishing communities, who travel to the other side of Lake Turkana to find fish as the water level falls. The outbreak of disease and malnutrition are also higher during dry seasons. Households may resort to cutting back on meals or eating wild animals to cope with the lack of food. Members of the household tend to be dispersed, and, as a drought crisis worsens, adults and adolescents are increasingly forced to fend for themselves to find food either through foraging or engaging in income-generating activities.

4.10 CHANGES IN ACTIVITIES AND TIME ALLOCATION DURING SEVERE DROUGHT

To understand the impact of severe drought on girls’ lives and how they, as mothers and daughters, are affected, cope and contribute to the resilience of their household, the study used the 2011 drought, the most salient and recent crisis throughout the county, as a proxy. Girls and boys were asked to recall what happened during the 2011 drought and how the drought affected their day-to-day lives and activities. More specifically, these recall questions were used during the proportional piling exercise whereby participants were asked to rearrange their piles reflecting activities during the “current period” to reflect the change in time allocated to specific activities during the 2011 drought. Enumerators probed respondents to ensure group consensus and identify the quality of and reasons for the change. Participants were asked to what extent the 2011 drought affected their assets and capacities, including household duties, education, freedom of movement, security, social interaction, livelihood, health and food availability.

“I can remember the 2011 drought although I was young. I heard that people started eating dogs in some parts of Turkana and also that the animals died due to drought. People also died since there was no food to eat, and diseases increased among the people of Turkana. Many families suffered due to lack of food, and we were even sleeping four days without eating anything.”

— Adolescent girl from Kodopa, community in transition
“The drought led to child abuse; children were forced to work in locals hotels for a living. This is why many children are illiterate.”

— Adolescent girls from Napetet, community in transition

4.11 LIVESTOCK AND INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES: ADOLESCENT CONTRIBUTIONS DURING DROUGHT

Both girls and boys in CiTs, as well as girls in pastoralist communities, reported a significant increase in time allocated to economic and income-generation activities during the 2011 drought as compared with the current time. Though many of these activities are similar to income-diversification strategies used under normal conditions (charcoal burning, selling of water and firewood, and weaving mats and baskets), semi-structured interviews emphasized that these activities are intensified during drought and that a number of other strategies are used as the situation deteriorates. For example, pastoralist girls increased the amount and frequency of their typical livelihood activities cited above and complemented them with petty trade and housemaid activities. While girls from CiTs also increased their involvement in income-generating activities, the line between IGAs and child labor becomes very thin: In times of drought, girls from poor households in peri-urban areas are often sent to work as domestic servants for other families or to sell farm produce or alcohol. In these situations, girls are usually given heavy work with relatively little remuneration. In some of the worst cases, girls become engaged in prostitution.
“During the dry season, girls are ugly as they grow weak, have no money to apply oil and perfume, and not enough water to shower frequently and wash their clothes.”
— Parent from Kataboi, community in transition

Conversely, boys in pastoral communities reported little change in time spent on income-generating activities during the drought. This is probably due to the fact that boys are responsible for livestock, and keeping the livestock fed during the drought is already a full-time occupation. During the drought, time allocated to livestock by pastoral boys remained constant and high, representing 36 to 37 percent of their daily activity, whereas boys in CiTs noted a significant decrease in the time spent on livestock activities.

4.12 ACCESS TO EDUCATION TIED TO SEASONS AND TIMES OF CRISIS

Boys in pastoral communities and CiTs reported a significant increase in time spent in school or studying during the 2011 drought, compared with the current time. In pastoralist areas and CiTs, attending school is cited as a major coping mechanism: When the animals die during the drought, boys are sent to school to remain occupied and eat at the school canteen.

The situation reverses for girls, who have to drop out of school during the drought as they take on additional duties and fill gaps in the household as families become fragmented during crises. For example, the few girls in pastoralist areas who attend school have to drop out as they get married earlier to bring a dowry home, or they have to fill in for their mothers and assume the vast majority of household duties. Indeed, pastoralist girls faced an increase in household responsibilities such as cleaning, taking care of small children and cooking as their mothers and other elders became more preoccupied with finding cash and food. Many girls in CiTs mentioned that they had to drop out of school to engage in income-generating activities to support their families.

4.13 DROUGHT AND THE LACK OF FOOD

“We decided to join school to feed our stomachs.”
— Adolescent boys from Oropoi, pastoralist community

“I can remember the 2011 drought although I was young. I heard that people started eating dogs and also that the animals died due to drought. People also died since there was no food to eat, and diseases increased among the people of Turkana. Many families suffered due to lack of food, and we were even sleeping four days without eating anything.”
— Adolescent girl from Kodopa, community in transition

Results indicate that all communities are vulnerable to hunger during the drought, even if pastoralist youth seem slightly more vulnerable than those from the communities in transition, mainly given the limited options for alternate income-generating activities.

Indeed, the unavailability of food during the drought seems to affect pastoralist communities and CiTs. All pastoralist participants mentioned a decrease in food availability during the drought, and the majority of youth in CiTs also reported a decrease in availability of food despite a relative diversification of their households’ livelihood activities. Agro-pastoralist communities reported that farms dried out and that fish were “migrated” to the other side of the lake and therefore unavailable for fishing. These findings confirm the results of a separate study conducted by Mercy Corps in Somalia, whereby the diversification of livelihood is not sufficient to increase resilience to shocks if those livelihoods are all prone to drought (Mercy Corps and Tango International 2013).
4.14 DROUGHT CRISSES PRECIPITATE PROTECTION CRISSES FOR ADOLESCENT YOUTH

Although our research revealed that security does not necessarily deteriorate during drought, the increased responsibilities adolescents carry to support their families and themselves during times of scarcity, and the specific livelihood strategies they employ, may precipitate a protection crisis with increased risk to violence, exploitation and abuse. Severe drought impacts livelihood assets, and capacities of youth both directly as well as through the coping strategies utilized to achieve food security and other livelihood outcomes. Youth are forced to engage in more risky activities to cope with the negative effects of drought and, while no longer inhabiting the protected spheres of their households or communities, expose themselves to a multitude of dangers.

Crisis change the nature of social interactions. During semi-structured interviews, participants frequently bemoaned the fragmentation of their family units during drought and the lack of time they had to spend with family and friends. In FGDs, both girls and boys in pastoralist communities and those in transition reported a significant decrease in amount of time spent with friends and in recreation during the 2011 drought as compared with the current time (see tables 5 and 6). Three boys mentioned that interactions with friends seem to disappear because they cannot offer food when friends visit or because everyone is just busy trying to survive. This decrease in social interaction and fragmentation of households, in addition to having psychological and social impacts on youth and the wider communities, also leads to decreased supervision of adolescents, enabling what were called “immoral activities.” While the nature of these activities was not specified, they were often tied to girls spending time with boyfriends. Though perhaps not a moral issue in other societies, the potential impact that such activities could have on Turkana girls in their own societies includes pregnancy out of marriage, forced early marriages and decreased capacity to continue schooling, all of which may hinder future development.

Furthermore, as described in the time-allocation and coping strategy data, pastoral girls and girls in CiTs spend significantly more time on income-generating activities during severe drought. As adolescent Turkana seek to procure fuel, food and water for humans and animals, the increased scarcity of natural resources during severe drought necessitates traveling farther from the family compound to reach markets, engage in IGAs and obtain basic household necessities. As the situation deteriorates, girls are even sent to urban areas to live with relatives and work as domestic servants or engage in prostitution. These situations increase the girls’ risk of sexual abuse and other forms of violence, exemplifying the pathway through which drought may become a protection crisis for adolescent girls.

Adolescent boys are equally affected by this...
protection crisis. As the providers and protectors of the home, young men are encouraged to participate in raids and cattle rustling, leading to often-violent conflicts with other communities. In our research, we found the majority of the casualties and injuries mentioned from conflict were of men and boys who oftentimes have little choice but to engage in these activities, given that they are part of what defines a man in Turkana society. In fact, according to local customs, women and girls contribute to this idea by praising men who fight and bring back livestock for their communities. While cattle rustling also occurs under normal conditions, the increased pressure on livestock and household resources during drought make it increasingly important as a means of survival and a source of wealth.

This trade-off between freedom of movement and vulnerability is also evident in the ways adolescent boys’ roles change during drought. Migration is a primary coping strategy for boys and men. Male household members may be gone for a period of up to six months at a time in search of pasture for livestock. Adolescent boys who assume this responsibility face the danger of being killed by bandits or raiders, or being attacked by wild animals. At the same time, migration also increases the vulnerability of those who are left behind in the community – frequently women, children and the elderly. Because men usually assume the role of protectors in the community, when drought forces men to migrate, girls face increased dangers in their homesteads, including the danger of being attacked by raiders that target vulnerable households.

Finally, households use early marriage as a coping strategy during times of drought. Girls are employed as assets for the benefit of the household in tough times, and by marrying off daughters for a dowry – some as early as 10 years of age – families are able to replenish their livestock. In addition to the potential health and protection risks of early pregnancies, early marriage directly affects the development of girls’ human capacities/assets and ability to realize their aspirations, as education is often abandoned as a result.

4.15 YOUTH IN TRANSITION
By and large, families and communities that transitioned out of pastoralism did so in a time of crisis – often amidst drought or after conflict. Half of the girls interviewed from communities in transition noted that their families transitioned after the death of one parent. This suggests that transition is not an entirely voluntary choice, but rather one made under duress and out of necessity. When interviewed on the subject, elders from both pastoralist communities and communities in transition project an increase in households transitioning out of pastoralism due to the shrinking of natural resources. Almost half of these respondents also indicated that the presence of the oil industry in Turkana might result in increased urbanization and pursuit of new livelihoods. There was a lack of consensus on whether these changes will be positive or negative. It is an open question whether the transition out of pastoralism as an adaptive strategy has allowed communities to become more resilient to drought.

In February 2014, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) released its Community Based Resilience Analysis (CoBRA) assessment from Turkana County. The assessment consulted community members and technical experts to identify locally perceived characteristics of resilient households and communities as well as to seek out community-identified resilient households and define their characteristics. Findings from the assessment were aggregated across livelihood groups (pastoralist, agro-pastoralist, urban/peri-urban and fishing communities) and analyzed by age and gender:

“They wanted me to be married to a wealthy man so that they can compensate all the livestock lost during drought. And also to be proud.”
— Adolescent girl from Nanam, pastoralist community

16 Diocese of Lodwar.
Among pastoralists specifically, the top three characteristics of resilient communities mentioned in Turkana were: education, irrigation and water for humans. The same characteristics were also cited by the fishing and urban communities. Thus, “education emerged as the most widely cited characteristic of resilience.” Additionally, “resilient households were consistently described as those having multiple income sources.” The importance of diverse income-generating activities that decrease a household’s exposure to any one shock and are not weather dependent is also confirmed by Mercy Corps’ research in Somalia (Mercy Corps and Tango International 2013).

In light of these findings, data collected in the current study show that adolescents in communities in transition are more able to participate in activities representing the self-reported characteristics of resilient communities and resilient households: Adolescents from communities in transition spend more time under “normal” conditions in education and are engaged in more diversified income-generating activities. Education increases a girl’s status within the household and her likelihood of finding employment.

As they move out of pastoralism, adolescent girls acquire the capacity to further contribute to the resilience of their families, households and communities through increased involvement in income-generating activities. This transition also provides more opportunities for increased decision-making power. Yet, considering these characteristics of resilience and youth contribution, it is important to pay close attention to whether the diversification of income-generating activities exposes young people, and girls especially, to new risks – including sexual violence and aborting their education. It is equally important to better understand the specific factors that would enable the household to support girls to maintain their schooling.

When asked about their aspirations, responses from girls in CiTs indicated an increased desire to work outside the home and outside their community than did the responses of their pastoralist counterparts. All of them spoke of career goals requiring completion of higher education. While still placing value on marriage and creating a family, the adolescents in CiTs expressed a broader range of dreams and a more expansive vision of who they could potentially become within their communities and larger civil society than did youth in pastoralist communities. In light of this, the question remains as to whether a transition out of pastoralism would indeed open up more opportunities for youth to achieve their aspirations and goals or whether social, cultural and economic barriers make traditional roles inevitable. Given the seemingly limited opportunities available for Turkana youth, more understanding is needed with regards to the barriers to actualizing their aspirations.

Additionally, the loss of livestock and a transition out of a pastoralist livelihood represent more than losing animals as productive assets for food and nutrition security and economic potential. Livestock...
plays a central role in Turkana culture, structuring various aspects of adolescents’ lives and social relations, intra-household relations and duties. Thus, the loss of livestock and a transition out of pastoralism may have unforeseen secondary consequences on Turkana youth with regards to social relations, marriage processes, household roles, decision-making and power dynamics. The transition may also impact intergenerational relations. Youth may be less able to benefit from transmission of traditional knowledge that extends beyond the concerns of care and sale of livestock and includes natural resource management and traditional medicine, both of which may boost the adaptive capacity of the Turkana during severe drought. More research into unforeseen implications of this transition out of pastoralism for Turkana youth would be useful to provide a more holistic analysis of the consequences of this transition.

While certain aspects of a transition away from pastoralist livelihoods may open new opportunities, the diverse effects of such a transition make it difficult to definitively conclude that transition away from pastoralism indeed leads to enhanced resilience. Though many pastoralists may leave their livelihood in an effort to escape the effects of major shocks, communities in transition are also suffering, albeit not to the same degree. Farming and fishing communities in Turkana are also negatively impacted by drought, flood and insecurity. Whether or not the characteristics of resilience cited in the CoBRA study in fact lead to enhanced community resilience or whether households from CITs are more resilient due to greater opportunities to diversify livelihoods and engage in education activities has yet to be measured, though this is important to investigate in trying to understand the potential outcomes for youth in communities that are transitioning out of pastoralism.
5. Conclusions and Recommendations

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF MARRIAGE FOR TURKANA’S YOUTH

Dowry is a powerful force in the lives of Turkana youth and society more broadly. Girls recognize their own value and importance to their family’s wealth. This leads to early marriage, in turn engendering early childbearing with its adverse health effects, including decreased access to education, and increased likelihood of domestic violence. Boys must find enough livestock for the dowry if they are to become men and build a family of their own. This often leads to livestock raiding and related violence. This intersection between the central role of livestock and girl’s value as dowry is a powerful barrier to girls’ development, which needs more understanding if organizations are to effectively work with Turkana youth.

Research demonstrates that the prime motivator of girls’ early marriage is economics, and the decision is primarily taken by one’s father. Given this reality, potential interventions include the following:

- **Sensitizing males on marriage-related laws and adverse health effects of early marriage and childbirth:** While Kenyan law indicates that girls cannot marry before they are 18 years of age, the law is neither widely known nor enforced in pastoralist communities. Increasing community sensitization regarding this law, with a focus on elders and fathers, and engaging dialogue with the District Children Officers would help raise awareness and promote understanding with regards to early marriage and subsequent detrimental effects on health and education.

- **Increasing pastoralist families’ livestock capital and resilience to drought:** If pastoralist communities can obtain and maintain a minimal level of revenues/savings from their livestock, the need to “sell” girls through early marriages will decrease. Addressing livestock health, nutrition, and breeding is critical. Enhanced livestock health leads to increased numbers within the herd, which equate to higher earnings. However, a larger herd requires more supervision, thus leaving little time for school. As a result, interventions need to be sensitive to this economic duality when seeking to improve livestock management.

Further research should consider the potential for promoting marriage processes that, while preserving traditional structures, ensure the continued schooling of girls. Looking at potential male “positive deviants,” i.e., fathers or future husbands who decide to delay the marriage of their daughters, would improve our understanding of the basis for these choices and how those behaviors and influences can be leveraged to shift communities’ traditions.

PROTECTION OF TURKANA YOUTH – A CRITICAL BARRIER TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT

The increased responsibilities girls carry to support their families and themselves during times of scarcity, and the specific livelihood strategies they employ, can precipitate a protection crisis by increasing their risk of exposure to violence, exploitation and abuse. Youth are forced to engage in more risky activities to cope with the negative effects of drought and, while no longer inhabiting the protected spheres of their households or communities, expose themselves to a multitude of dangers. While much has been written regarding the dangers faced by girls as they fetch water, food and fuel farther from their homes and communities, the dangers associated with diversification of income generating activities have been less explored. Our study found that as the situation deteriorates during droughts, girls are sent to the city to live with relatives where they seek work as domestic servants, or engage in

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17 Mercy Corps has conducted a successful “husband school” under its Sawki program in pastoralist Niger.
prostitution to meet their basic needs. To cope with the loss of livestock during drought and replenish their herds, families will hasten the marriage of girls, some as early as 10 years of age. Adolescent boys are equally affected by this protection crisis. As the providers and protectors of the home, boys face the danger of being killed by bandits or attacked by wild animals while migrating with their herd, and are encouraged to participate in raids and cattle rustling, placing them at the center of often-violent conflicts with other communities. Overall, the fragmentation of the family unit in times of drought increases the autonomy of both boys and girls, but also increases the risks of violence and abuse.

The increase of movement outside of the community boundaries in search of food and money specifically increases the risks for sexual gender-based violence, especially rape. All too often, the need for a post-rape healing process is overlooked. Rape is dealt with directly by the girl’s parents and the offender or his family, and, in some cases, girls have been obliged to marry their rapist. Following the model of successful SGBV interventions carried out by Mercy Corps in Uganda and addressing issues in a similar context (i.e., USAID Food for Peace-funded Growth, Health and Governance (GHG) program), interventions can raise awareness among community elders, officials, youth and parents on the importance of reporting rape cases. Simultaneously, increasing girls’ access to alternate income-generating activities can have a direct impact on SGBV as girls have access to opportunities other than working as housemaids or in bars, or as prostitutes. Alternate activities, which could include working with dairy products or poultry or performing other off-farm activities, should be informed by value-chain assessments to ensure market viability and should not require girls to venture outside of their communities’ boundaries on their own. This control over alternate resources will allow girls to participate in their families’ economic resources and nutrition while at the same time asserting their decision making power. Finally, increasing overall access to water for both human and animal consumption would not only protect livestock during droughts, but also decrease the time that both girls and boys spend away from school or from the compound, thus reducing their exposure to violence.

Cattle rustling raises protection issues for both boys and girls. Boys are the first victims of violence, either as the target of a raid or as the perpetrator of raids on their neighbors. Girls are also at risk of violence during raids, particularly when men are absent from the community and they are left behind with no protection. Some effective ways of limiting the number of raids, and thus decreasing the incidents of violence, are as follows:

- **Address land tenure issues**: Formalizing community-based agreements on land use has proven an efficient way of ensuring land access to pastoralist groups in other countries, and could be applied in Turkana. While communal lands are central to the pastoralist livelihoods, a number of factors tend to undermine the security of these lands, including land seized by large multinationals (e.g., oil), or small farmers who do not have land of their own deciding to farm their plots on pastoralist land. Formalizing land use to include the access of pastoralists can strengthen community land rights (Lekaita, Nelson and Davie 2013).

- **Help pastoralist households diversify their revenue streams**: Once again, given that men and boys are mainly responsible for livestock, assisting women and girls to engage in income-generation activities that bridge the gap between seasons would allow them to purchase food for the family as well as respond to the needs of the animals (including animal feed and veterinary products).

The study highlights the role of Turkana youth in contributing to household coping and adaptive capacity, and to the diversification of livelihoods. This livelihood diversification, while potentially improving economic conditions temporarily, must be considered through a protection lens and placed in a longer-term context of youth development. Livelihoods diversification among youth may incur trade-offs and increase exposure to serious risks as the strategies employed may affect education and increase vulnerability to physical and sexual abuse/violence. Research on resilience in Turkana should hesitate in defining the diversification of livelihoods activities as being categorically “positive” in the context of
household or community resilience and seek a more nuanced understanding of this diversification and the protection and development risks for young people.

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND PASTORALIST LIFESTYLE IMPEDES YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

The lack of access to education for pastoralist girls and boys is both a catalyst to the protection issues mentioned earlier and an effect. Education of pastoralists, and more specifically girls, needs to address the trade-off between the need for labor for pastoral production and the need to access quality education that can serve them in the future. Traditional education delivery mechanisms and curricula do not always respond to the particular needs of pastoralists. Disseminating education among pastoralist youth will require innovation. Curricula could include livestock rearing, a discipline that is valued by parents; edutainment through local radio could be a new delivery model. Given that girls and boys travel and live with their family, it has been suggested that the target audience of these education efforts might include the whole family and not just the girls and boys (Kratli and Dyer 2009).

- **Establish and promote adaptive basic social service provision models:** Education programming, specifically for pastoralist girls, needs to address the trade-off between the value of increasing one’s opportunities and well-being with the need for labor at home and role of marriage in Turkana society. To increase demand for education in pastoralist areas, future research may be required to better demonstrate its benefits for long-term resilience as well as to develop new models for education that are more compatible with the pastoralist way of life. Similarly the delivery of health services must balance quality of services with appropriate outreach structure that responds to the needs of mobile populations. The concept of adaptive social service provision models provides a potential solution to increase pastoralist girls’ human capital, and requires evaluation through further research, funding streams, and coordination with governance structures.

PASTORALIST TRANSITIONS OFFER BOTH OPPORTUNITY AND RISK FOR GIRLS

Families and communities that transitioned out of pastoralism did so in a time of crisis – often during drought or after a conflict. While the evidence is inconclusive as to whether such transitions represent an adaptive strategy that has allowed communities and adolescents in particular to become more resilient to drought, it is clear that education and diversified livelihoods, both of which are more accessible to girls after transitioning out of pastoralism, play an important role for youth in communities in transition.

As they move out of pastoralism, adolescent girls acquire the capacity to further contribute to the resilience of their families, households and communities. They report having more access to social services than girls in pastoralist areas – overall they spend more time under “normal” conditions in school, have access to health and family planning services, and are engaged in more diversified income-generating activities. This transition also provides more opportunities for increased decision-making power, for example in the choice of their husband. When asked about their aspirations, girls from communities in transition voice a more expansive vision of their contribution to their communities and the broader civil society than girls in pastoralist areas. They express a desire to work outside the home and community, and aspire to career goals requiring completion of higher education.

At the same time it is vital that programs understand and address the ways opportunities for diversification of income-generating activities may also expose girls to new risks including sexual violence and child labor. With this in mind, development programs that seek to leverage girls’ potential to build resilient households and communities in communities transitioning out of pastoralism must address the specific protection concerns and challenges for girls, while simultaneously leveraging their new autonomy to help them attain greater empowerment, development and security.
DROUGHT AND SOCIAL COHESION

This study showed an extensive impact of severe drought on youth’s familial interactions and their social lives, which was regretted by the youth. The effect of drought on social capital contributes to degradation in traditional mechanisms of reciprocity that enable families to cope with food insecurity and strengthen community bonds and friendships. The importance of social capital as a contributing factor to resilience of pastoralist households was also highlighted in findings from Mercy Corps’ research in Somalia (Mercy Corps and Tango International 2013) and is likely to be critical in both pastoral and non-pastoral communities elsewhere. Agencies taking a systems approach to resilience programming should further explore the role of social capital in community and household resilience and open the way for programming that is protective of and builds this critical asset.
Works Cited


Mercy Corps Conflict Assessment. n.d.


APPENDIX A – Community Profiles

The information below was gathered largely from interviews and focus group discussions with elders and parents in the communities included in the study. These brief profiles are intended to serve as snapshots of the communities – providing additional context to the data gathered. Population estimates are from the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census and do not reflect migrations and transitions following the 2011 drought.

PASTORALIST COMMUNITIES

1. Namoruputh
   Namoruputh, in Loima district, is a pastoralist community that was established in the late 1980s and has a population of 4,478. It is located on rocky land amidst hills and mountains and close to the River Kospir. Major shocks of the last decade include drought and subsequent hunger, disease (of humans and animals), and death of livestock. The Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) provides security locally, and the community receives support from the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), Vétérinaires sans Frontières (VSF), Practical Action, and the local water committee. A health center is located approximately 2 kilometers from the community, accessible by a paved road that also stretches to the Kenyan/Ugandan border. The community has multiple schools.

2. Lokiriama
   Located in Loima district, the Lokiriama community has existed for nearly 45 years and has a population of 3,615. The community lies in proximity to the Kospir, Kakore, Natappe and Kakurumothing rivers, and the Nargol and Morvita hills. The rocky soil supports some trees as well as aloe vera plants. Recent shocks include Pokot (Kenya) raids, drought, flood and disease, and kidnapping by Tepesi (Uganda) is an ongoing threat. The community can be reached via paved roads, which also reach the nearby Ugandan border and various points of local interest, including a dispensary, school, police office and the area chief’s office. Though almost an entirely pastoralist community, some community members also farm crops, including vegetables and millet. Lokiriama has water committees and a women’s loan group and receives services from Merlin (now part of Save the Children), the Diocese of Lodwar, and a small number of community animal health workers (CAHWs). Additionally, a small number of community members receive cash benefits from HSNP.

3. Kerio
   Kerio is a permanent pastoralist community located in Turkana Central with a population on 4,254. The landscape has scant vegetation, mountains and seasonal rivers. The community has a small market and health post, though the health post is located at a far distance. The community does not have a NGO presence, but receives food aid from the Turkana County government and minimal support from HSNP. Data were collected in the Nanyang’kipi area of Kerio, which was established about 30 years ago and has a population of 350 people. The village elder interviewed in Kerio reports that the community has been even more affected by the current drought than by the drought of 2011. Done by women, basket weaving has become a special adaptive strategy for this community.

4. Lochwangikamatak
   Lochwangikamatak, in the Turkana South district, was established in 1976. The surrounding natural environment includes mountains, hills, rivers, tree coverage and mineral deposits. Though primarily pastoralist, small-scale gold mining is common in this area. Recent shocks include drought, Pokot raids, and
both animal and human disease epidemics. A paved road connects the community to Lodwar town, as well as to a water point. Lochwangikamatak has a health center, primary school, water committee and women’s financial groups, and it is served by VSF, animal health workers, and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

5. **Napusmoru**
   Located in Turkana South district, Napusmoru was established in 1986 and has a population of 6,220 people. The natural environment offers tree coverage, mountains, the seasonal Kipurat River and mineral deposits, while the man-made surroundings include a paved road leading to the quarries, a health center often operated by untrained personnel, and schools that are insufficient in number. Recent shocks include drought and both animal and human disease. The community has a women’s merry-go-round (financial group) and youth group, and receives support from CAHWs and health volunteers. In the past the community has received food aid from World Vision, and recent food aid has come from the county government.

6. **Kanakurudio**
   Kanakurudio (population 4,491) was established in 1978 in what is now Turkana North. The area has sandy soil and mineral deposits as well as mountains and hill ranges that are home to wild animals including dik-diks and hares. Recent shocks include drought, disease, and theft from surrounding communities. Paved roads connect Kanakurudio to Kataboi and Lodwar town. The community has water committees, and a health center with a dispensary and maternity ward operated by Merlin nurses and volunteers. Community members report plans for both a market and a women’s financial group, though both are yet to be actualized. Kanakurudio receives infrequent food aid.

7. **Oropoi**
   Established in 1990 and with a current population of 4,827, Oropoi lies on the Kenya/Uganda border in Turkana West. The area is hilly with trees, green vegetation and seasonal rivers. Shocks include drought, disease, and cross-border conflict. The community has an Amref/International Rescue Committee (IRC) health post, small markets, a police station, a primary school, water committees and women’s groups. Oropoi receives support from CAHWs, Amref, IRC, International Organization for Migration (IOM), the World Food Programme (WFP) and a Turkana CBO, as well as food aid from the county government.

8. **Lopwarin**
   Lopwarin is located along the Lodwar-Lokichoggio highway in Turkana West. It was established in 2000 and has a population of 1,939 people. The area has only seasonal rivers and scattered trees, and lacks paved roads, markets, health centers and schools. Drought and its subsequent effects account for the significant shocks of the past 10 years, though there is an ongoing risk of hostilities from neighboring communities. Lopwarin has no CBO or NGO presence, and the elder interviewed characterized the community as more impacted by the current drought than that of 2011.

9. **Nanam**
   Nanam (pop. 5,603), established in 1983, lies in Turkana West amid seasonal rivers, hills, tree coverage and sandy soil. Recent major shocks include drought, both animal and human disease and raids by the Toposa (South Sudan). The community currently receives no aid from NGOs or the county government, but has CAHWs, water committees, a health center, paved roads and the area chief’s office. Nanam has been more adversely affected by the current drought than that of 2011.
10. Lopiding
Established in 1983, Lopiding, in Turkana West, has 5,208 inhabitants. The natural environment has quarries, mountains and tree coverage amidst the community’s small markets, health post and paved roads. Recent major shocks include drought, livestock diseases and Toposa raids. Lopiding residents have received food aid from the county government and the Turkana Rehabilitation Project, and have previously received support from Oxfam and WFP. Services and associations include women’s groups, health volunteers, community animal health workers and water committees.

COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION

1. Turkwel
Turkwel, in Loima district, is an agro-pastoralist community established in 1963 and has a population of 8,139. Within Turkwel, researchers collected data at the Napetet area, which has a population of 979. The natural environment offers dense green forest and the large River Kospir. The Lodwar-Lorugum highway passes through the town, which also has the area chief’s office, the District Office, schools and markets. Turkwel has received assistance from National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), Oxfam, World Vision and the Diocese of Lodwar, and was one of only four communities surveyed that have programs targeting girls. Turkwel lies along the Turkana/West Pokot border and is a frequent target of Pokot cattle raiding. It is also the site of the Turkwel Hydroelectric Power Station, which supplies about 10 percent of the country’s electricity.

2. Napeikar
Napeikar is an agro-pastoralism community in Loima district with a population of 4,526. Within Napeikar, researchers collected data from the Kodopa area, which was established in 2006 and has a current population of 81 households. Major shocks of the last decade include the 2011 drought. In the past, this community has received support from World Vision, NDMA, Oxfam, and the Diocese of Lodwar. Infrastructure includes a river road connecting Napeikar to Lodwar, and a new market (not yet operational) sponsored by the NDMA. There is no health care facility, and the closest dispensary is 7 km away. In addition to agro-pastoralist activities such as farming along the River Turkwel, community members are employed at small-scale businesses (e.g., shops and hotels), and employed mining sand soil on the River Kodopa. Ex-pastoralist families in this community transitioned during drought because of lack of food, water, sources of revenues and health care.

3. Kalokol
Kalokol (pop. 11,480) is a town located on the shore of Lake Turkana. Within Kalokol, researchers visited the Impressor community, which was established in 2002 and has a current population of 250 families. Kalokol is primarily a fishing community with some livestock. Infrastructure includes a rough road, a market for selling fish and fishing materials, a fish factory that is not currently operational and a primary school. Recent shocks include the 2011 drought, cholera and livestock diseases such as mange and peste des petits ruminants (PPR). The community has received support from African Development Fund (ADF), the Beach Management Unit (BMU), Oxfam and IOM.

4. Kataboi
Kataboi is a relatively isolated community on Lake Turkana in Turkana North. Established in 1967, it has a current population of 4,203 people, one-third of whom primarily keep livestock and two-thirds of whom both fish and keep livestock. Near the Kalimapus Mountain, Kataboi has green vegetation and a forest as well as seasonal rivers. Infrastructure and local institutions include a rough road leading from Lokitaung to Kalokol, an airstrip, the chief’s office, a dispensary and multiple schools, including a girls high school. Recent
shocks include floods, a drought (2011), a cholera outbreak (2010), and a locust invasion that cleared all green vegetation (2013). The community receives services from a multitude of CBOs and NGOs, including Oxfam, African Development Solutions (ADESO), Merlin/Save the Children, the Red Cross, the Diocese of Lodwar, IOM, HelpAge, LOKADO, and Kataboi Pastoral Development Organization (KAPADO). This year has been particularly hard for Kataboi – more so than the drought of 2011 – due to the locust invasion destroying all vegetation. The community has since received support and food aid from the county and national government. Ex-pastoralists now in Kataboi transitioned during drought in search of food (via fishing), water and heavy rains.

5. Namadak
Established in 1982 and with a population of 4,025 people, Namadak lies on the shores of Lake Turkana in Turkana Central. In addition to the lake, the landscape is characterized by rivers, seasonal streams, a large forest and the nearby Kalimapus Mountain. The primarily livelihood here is fishing, though some community members continue to care for livestock as well. The community is relatively isolated, but has a single rough road, three primary schools, and several nurseries. A dispensary is accessible 10 km from the community. Major shocks of the last decade include floods (2013), cholera outbreak (2009), political conflict (2005), and a locust invasion that destroyed all green vegetation (2011). Namadak has received assistance from HelpAge, NDMA, BMU, WFP, Oxfam, World Vision, the Red Cross and HSNP. It is one of only four communities surveyed that have programs targeting girls. Basketmaking is a common activity for women in the community. Data were collected in the Kalimapus/Akurongo’o area of Namadak.

6. Nachukui
Established in 1979, Nachukui is located on the shore of Lake Turkana and has a population of approximately 6,088 people. Similar to Namadak, it is geographically isolated, and while some residents do keep livestock, it is primarily a fishing community. The community has a school, road, market centers, and access to a dispensary 25 km away. Nachukui has women’s groups, water committees and early warning committees (EWCs). Though there is some NGO presence, the NGOs serve nearby refugee populations and not the Turkana. The fishing community is susceptible to attacks from the Merille (Ethiopia), and major recent shocks include severe drought, flooding, and the death and disease of livestock. Most ex-pastoralists in Nachukui transitioned during drought seasons because of drought, raids, access to health facilities, and better food availability at the lake.

7. Namorungole
Located approximately 10 km from Kakuma Refugee Camp in Turkana West, Namorungole is a peri-urban ex-pastoralist community. Situated amongst rivers and mountains, the community was established in 1984 and has a current population of 11,733. Residents have access to roads, market centers, schools, and health services at Kakuma Mission Hospital. Major shocks of the last decade include flood, drought and disease, including cholera, malaria and typhoid. The community has its own women’s groups, health volunteers and early warning committees, and has received support from Lutheran World Federation (LWF), IOM, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), JICA, Oxfam and Windle Trust International. Additionally, it is one of only four communities surveyed that have programs targeting girls. Primary forms of aid include water and water tank building from NGOs and food relief from the county government. Data were collected at Lomunyenepus area, which has an approximate population of 500.

8. Lopur
Lopur (pop. 38,211), in Turkana West, was established in 1970. It is a peri-urban ex-pastoralist community located amidst mountains and rivers, and is near Kakuma Refugee Camp. Recent shocks include floods, drought, and both livestock and human disease outbreaks. Lopur community members have access to roads, markets and a health center in Kakuma, as well as the services of the local women’s group and water
committees, health volunteers, LWF, LOKADO, and food for assets programs. NGOs and the local government offer food relief, child protection services, veterinary treatment, programs promoting IGAs, and vaccinations. Lopur families transitioned during drought seasons, motivated by the direct effects of drought (lack of water and food, loss of livestock) and raids.

9. Lokichoggio
Located in Turkana West, Lokichoggio is a main urban center of Turkana County. Within Lokichoggio, researchers collected data in the Locher Ekaal area, a peri-urban farming community established in 1968 with a current population of approximately 200. While also close to the border of Uganda, Lokichoggio is the last town in Turkana before reaching South Sudan and was the site of many offices for NGOs serving South Sudan in recent years. Residents of Locher Ekaal have access to roads, multiple health centers (7-20 km away) and markets, as well as the services of women’s groups, early warning committees and water committees. The current NGO presence, including multiple Médecins Sans Frontières delegations, serves the refugee population at the border of South Sudan. Recent major shocks include flood, drought and disease. Because of its proximity to two national borders, the Lokichoggio area has frequently experienced conflict. This community received food aid from the government during the recent drought, which was described as more severe than that of 2011.

10. Lodwar
Located in the Turkana Central district, Lodwar township (pop. 35,506) is the capital of Turkana County. It has multiple roads, markets, health centers, women’s groups, EWGs and water committees, as well as county government and NGO offices, including Oxfam, World Vision, IRC and Save the Children. It is also the seat of the Diocese of Lodwar, which offers extensive services to communities throughout Turkana. Within Lodwar, data were collected in the Soweto area, an ex-pastoralist peri-urban farming community established in 1978. The community receives aid from NGOs and the county government, including food, water and medicine, and was one of only four communities surveyed that have programs targeting girls. Members of the Soweto community transitioned out of pastoralism during dry seasons because of raiding and the effects of drought. Shocks of recent years include floods, severe drought and disease.
## APPENDIX B: Community Characteristics as Inclusion Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>Total # sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pastoralist</strong></td>
<td>Kerio, Namoruputh, Lokiriama, Napusmoru, Lochwangikamatak, Kanakurudio, Oropoi, Lopwarin, Nanam, Lopiding;</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Communities in Transition</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Agro-pastoral</td>
<td>Turkwel, Napeikar;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fishery</td>
<td>Namadak, Kalokol, Kataboi, Nachukui;</td>
<td>10 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peri-urban</td>
<td>Lodwar, Lopur, Namorungole, Lokichoggio;</td>
<td>10 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Known experience of conflict</strong></td>
<td>Lokichoggio, Oropoi, Turkwel, Lokiriama;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximity to refugee camp</strong></td>
<td>Lopur, Namorungole;</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td><strong>Geographic isolation</strong></td>
<td>Namadak, Kataboi, Nachukui;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Proximity to national border</strong></td>
<td>Lokichoggio, Lokiriama, Oropoi;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unique characteristics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Special adaptation strategies (basket weaving)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Migration center for girls leaving pastoralism</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td><strong>Total sites included:</strong></td>
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<td>20</td>
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## APPENDIX C – KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

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<th>Organization</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Person Interviewed</th>
<th>Contact (Tel)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Fund</td>
<td>International NGO</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Mr. Gabriel Eloto, Project Coordinator</td>
<td>0724 630 888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese of Lodwar</td>
<td>Faith-based organization</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Ms. Majuma Wasike, Ms. Eunice</td>
<td>0727 426 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Children Officer</td>
<td>Government of Kenya</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Mr. Sammy Korir</td>
<td>0725 807 046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Officer</td>
<td>Government of Kenya</td>
<td>Turkwel</td>
<td>Mr. Daniel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Ph.D. Candidate</td>
<td>University of Cambridge</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Gregory Akall</td>
<td>0720 117 712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokichoggio, Kakuma, Development Organization (LOKADO)</td>
<td>Local NGO</td>
<td>Kakuma</td>
<td>Mr. Augustine Ekai, Director</td>
<td>0725 548 927</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lokichoggio Peace Organization</td>
<td>Local NGO</td>
<td>Lokichoggio</td>
<td>Mr. Emmanuel Eregae, Project Coordinator</td>
<td>0717 519 271</td>
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<tr>
<td>Share International</td>
<td>Local NGO</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Joshua L. Lemuya, Africa Operations Manager</td>
<td>0727 002 533</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUPADO</td>
<td>Local NGO</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Sammy Ekai, Director</td>
<td>0715 776 561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkana Women Development Organization (TWADO)</td>
<td>Local NGO</td>
<td>Lodwar</td>
<td>Ms. Celine Locham</td>
<td>0716 958 663</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABOUT MERCY CORPS

Mercy Corps is a leading global humanitarian agency saving and improving lives in the world’s toughest places. With a network of experienced professionals in more than 40 countries, we partner with local communities to put bold ideas into action to help people recover, overcome hardship and build better lives. Now, and for the future.

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