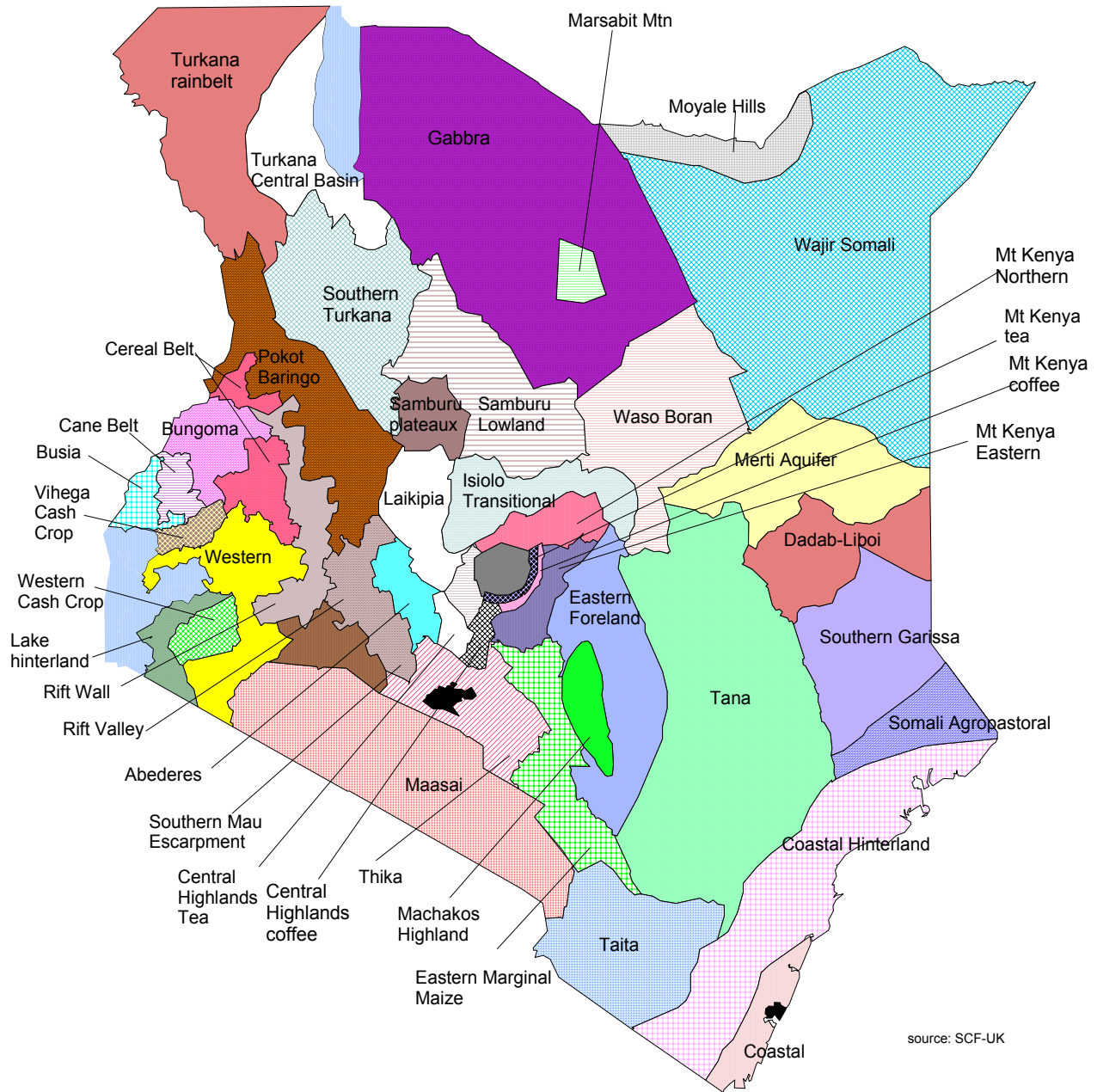


Kenya Food Economy Map



Kenya FEZ map explanations

Kenya has a surface area of 580,367 Km², containing a great diversity of landscapes. The south-west of the country is composed of plateaux of volcanic origin, which rise from 1,500 m above sea level to the central peak of Mount Kenya: at 5,199 m above sea level, the second highest mountain on the continent. This highland system is bisected by the Great Rift Valley, which runs north-south the length of Kenya. The Great Rift Valley widens in some places to 65 Km across, and has walls between 600 and 900 m high. A chain of lakes runs the length of the valley. The highlands fall off to the east, north and west. In the north and east, they descend into the arid and semi-arid savannah which covers approximately 80% of the country's surface area. To the west, the land slopes down slightly to the shores of Lake Victoria. The Indian Ocean coast runs north west for 480 Km, forming the bottom part of the country's eastern border. A narrow fertile strip of land follows the coast.

Merti Aquifer

The population of the Merti Aquifer FEA is predominantly pastoralist, or of a pastoralist background. The dominant animal types are shoats and cattle. Camels are unusual. The population is concentrated in the dry season in settlements along the Merti Aquifer. In the wet season, richer households move away in search of pasture, while poorer hh remain in the settlements. Wealth within the FEA is based on ownership of livestock. As a consequence of the droughts of 1984 and 1991 / 2, and of recurrent insecurity, a substantial part of the population has been destocked below the level necessary to practise nomadic pastoralism. DLPO figures in Garissa suggest that livestock numbers fell by 58% (cattle) 50% (goats) and 78% (sheep) between 1991 and 1992 across the district. Higher losses were recorded by Unicef in Wajir district: 70% (cattle), 80% (smallstock). By 1995, the cattle population of Wajir district had only reached 60% of pre - drought levels. Failure of the long rains in this FEA in March - May 1996 will have caused further loss in livestock numbers. The poorest element of the population are those who have been completely destocked. This group tend to have moved into 'bullas': settlement areas around established trading centres and water holes. The bulk of food consumed by this group is purchased with income earned through small scale petty trade activities and / or informal sector employment. As such, the poorest of the poor (possibly 10% of the total population) are those who have arrived in the bullas recently, and have not had time to develop skills or trade links, and those who are labour poor. Many female - headed households - particularly where the household head is a widow or divorcee - are likely to fall into this category. Other sources of food for this group are relief food (especially school feeding) and redistribution. The mode group in this FEA are 'semi pastoralist'. A mode household would have approx. 10 cattle and 30 small - stock (if the family has 6 members: most will have more members and proportionately more livestock). The bulk of food consumed is purchased. Most income comes from sale of milk, livestock and natural products (firewood, wild fruits) into the market centres along the Merti aquifer. This group may have family members living in market centres (often women and children), who will be engaged in similar activities to the poor group (above). Other food sources are wild foods, redistribution and relief food. The importance of market centres to the livelihood of this group, and the relatively small grazing requirement, means that the herd tends to remain close to market centres all year, unless exceptionally severe conditions force them further afield. The rich group are fully pastoralist. They have larger herds (50 cattle for a family of six persons, although they will invariably have larger households, and proportionately more animals). Livestock products and purchased food are the basis of the diet. Income comes from sale of livestock: milk is seldom sold, although some may be converted into ghee for the market. Most surplus milk is given to the calves or redistributed to poorer associates. These households may also trade commercially in livestock.

Wajir Somali

The population of the Wajir Somali FEA are predominantly pastoralist, or of a pastoralist background. The dominant animal types are shoats, cattle and camels. . The population is concentrated around 'home wells' and trading centres in the wet season. In the dry season, pastoralist families tend to move north and north east, into Buna, Bute and Griftu divisions. At this time, the families may split, with female, elderly and child members moving from home wells into trading settlements. Poorer, and most mode families are less mobile, and tend to remain in one place year round. Wealth within the FEA is based on ownership of livestock. As a consequence of the droughts of 1984 and 1991 / 2, and of recurrent insecurity, a substantial part of the population has been destocked below the level necessary to practise nomadic pastoralism. UNICEF / GOK figures for Wajir suggest that livestock numbers fell by 70% (cattle) 80% (smallstock) and 20% (camel) between 1991 and 1992 across the district. They remain below 1991 levels. The poorest element of the population are those who have been completely destocked. This group tend to have moved into 'bullas': settlement areas around established trading centres and water holes. The bulk of food consumed by this group is purchased with income earned through small - scale petty trade activities and / or informal sector employment. As such, the poorest of the poor (possibly 10% of the total population) are those who have arrived in the bullas recently, and have not had time to develop skills or trade links, and those who are labour poor. Many female - headed households - particularly where the head of household is a widow or divorcee - are likely to fall into this category. Other sources of food for this group are relief food (especially school feeding) and redistribution. The mode group in this FEA can be divided between those who are mode cattle - keepers and those who are mode camel - keepers. The former are 'semi pastoralist'. A mode household in this group would have approx. 10 cattle and 30 small - stock (if the family has 6 members: most will have more members and proportionately more livestock). The bulk of food consumed is purchased. Most income comes from sale of milk, livestock and natural products (firewood, wild fruits) into Wajir town and divisional market centres. This group may have family members living in market centres (often women and children), who will be engaged in similar activities to the poor group (above). Alternatively, they may have family members (normally male children) living with pastoralist households in the bush. Other food sources are wild foods, redistribution and relief food. The importance

of market centres to the livelihood of this group, and the relatively small grazing requirement, means that the herd tends to remain close to market centres all year, unless exceptionally severe conditions force them further afield. Mode camel - keepers tend not to stay in close proximity to towns. Families may well split, with some family members moving into the market centres, but the herd, and most male members of the hh, will join a 'rer' grazing group and move with richer households in search of browse. Whilst this group do purchase the bulk of their food, most income is generated through sales of animals. Most milk is consumed. This group also benefit from higher levels of redistribution than the more urban orientated cattle keepers, as their attachment to a grazing unit makes them better positioned to access food from other pastoralists. There does not seem to be any ethnic or other pre-existing basis for a household being in one or other of the mode groups. Rather, as most of these families are destocked camel and cattle keepers, membership of one group or another is based on which animals were lost, or sold, in the drought period. In this report, the cattle keeping mode group has been used to represent the mode, as key informants generally said that it represented a larger number of households at this level of livestock holding. The rich group are fully pastoralist. They have larger herds, and are 'Sadath dunya' (meaning they own all the animal types, cattle, camels and shoats.) A rich hh will have 25 or more large animals for a family of six (although they will invariably have larger households, and proportionately more animals. A rich family tends to be described as having over 100 large animals and over 25 persons). Livestock products and purchased food are the basis of the diet. Income comes from sale of livestock: milk is seldom sold, although some may be converted into ghee for the market. Most surplus milk is given to the calves or redistributed to poorer associates. Key informants noted that in this FEA only a very small proportion of hh were engaged in commerce of any kind. A minority of this group will have small shops in trading centres, or be involved in livestock trading. These activities have not been included as a source of income in this report.

Gabbra

This FEA covers the most arid areas of Marsabit district, including the Chalbi desert. There is very little or no agriculture. The population are nomadic pastoralists, with either men or whole families moving with their holdings of smallstock and camels. Dry season movements tend to be towards areas of higher rainfall: Sibiloi in the east, the Hurri hills in the Northern central part of the area, and the lower parts of Marsabit mountain. However, movements are not fixed, and follow rainfall. Most households with larger numbers of livestock rely almost exclusively on livestock products and trade of livestock (almost invariably smallstock) for food. Poorer households, with fewer livestock, gain less food from these sources, and as they are unable to travel long distances (as they will not have loading camels) are found nearer to settlements, where they are able to obtain relief food from missions and other donors and to engage in a number of trading activities: sale of salt, mats, and firewood. Redistribution systems are relatively strong. Poorer households receive gifts of smallstock, which are often sold, and among mode and rich households, camels are regularly exchanged in the 'dabarre' system, whereby female camels are lent indefinitely, remaining the property of the lender, but with the recipient gaining usufruct rights and ownership of male offspring. These exchanges tend to be relatively reciprocal, and thus the poor are generally excluded. The importance of dabarre for the RM analysis is that not all the camels in a hh herd are owned by the hh, and thus many cannot be sold, even in times of distress. The FEA could be further divided, although the population is too small to allow for further subdivision under the Risk Map programme. Income generating activities differ from one end of the FEA to the other: salt sales are important to poor and mode groups in Maikona, but not elsewhere. Wild foods are more available in Loyangalani than in other parts of the FEA. In the areas abutting Marsabit mountain, redistribution in bad years is reinforced by stock friendships with agricultural households in the Mountain FEA.

Moyale Hills

A border area inhabited by semi - sedentary agro pastoralists. Single season cultivation of maize (in the long rains), animal husbandry (mainly cattle and smallstock) and trade are important sources of food and income for all groups. High levels of trade across the Ethiopian border occur: cereals are brought into Kenya, along with skins and smallstock. Plastic goods, sugar, soap and tea go the other way. Most of this trade is in the hands of the richer half of the population. Poorer households tend to live nearer towns (Moyale, Sololo) and sell firewood and labour. Labour is also sold in the rural areas, mainly to meet the peak season labour demands of larger farmers.

Marsabit Mountain

A highland area on the eastern and south eastern slopes of Marsabit mountain. The chief economic activity of the population (both agricultural groups who have migrated into the area from Ethiopia and settled pastoralists) is rainfed agriculture. Main crops are maize and beans, with two crops possible in most years. Both are sold in quantities by all but the poorest households, and are consumed in other areas of the district. Some other cereals and

legumes are grown, in relatively small amounts. Small irrigation schemes exist to the south east of the mountain. Animals are kept, often at some distance from the farmsteads in lowland areas. Holdings are overwhelmingly cattle: few smallstock are kept. Trade in livestock is an important income earner for richer households. Poorer households tend to be found closer to Marsabit town, where they sell firewood, charcoal and labour. Labour is also sold in the rural areas, mainly to meet the peak season labour demands of larger farmers.

Samburu Lowland

The area is populated almost exclusively by Maa speaking Samburu pastoralists, who traditionally relied on livestock (sheep and cattle) for food: both by direct consumption and by exchange of livestock for grain. Whilst larger, richer households continue to live in this way, and the domestic economy of mode households is still essentially livestock based, poorer households are much more reliant on sales of firewood, honey, and wild products to trading centres for their survival. For this reason, and because they do not need the mobility of a household with large herds, poor households will tend to be more sedentary, and to stay closer to permanent settlements. Poor households may also find casual labour in these settlements or in game reserves and other nascent tourist attractions. They may also attach themselves to richer households. Children may be fostered, or adults may live with a richer household and perform tasks for the household in return for food and, sometimes, animals.

Samburu Plateaux

The Samburu plateau food economy covers the highland areas to the south west of Samburu district, which includes the Maralal urban area. The majority population are Samburu. In recent years, large areas of land have been demarcated in the area: this has allowed foreign-owned farming corporations to lease land for agricultural use. It has also served as a disincentive to cattle keeping: free grazing is less possible than it was prior to demarcation. The area has good grazing, although prevalence of ticks had meant that livestock levels were never very high. Rich households are more likely to have formal access to land, which may be rented out as a source of income. Their main sources of food and income derive from livestock, although many families in this group will own commercial concerns in Maralal town, and may have at least one member employed in the formal sector. Mode households will also be largely dependent upon livestock, although income will be supplemented with casual labour and often with small scale trading activities. Poor households may well cultivate small amounts of cereals, receive relief food (normally through food for work programmes) and conduct petty trade and casual labour in Maralal and other centres.

Waso Boran

The population of the FEA are mainly semi sedentarised pastoralists. Most households reside permanently in areas close to the Ewaso Nyiro river or other water points, with some family members taking livestock to further pastures during the wet season. A smaller percentage of households (normally richer households) are more mobile, and can be said not to be settled. Livestock form the traditional basis of the economy, although both livestock products and money from livestock sales are relatively unimportant to the poorer sections of the population. Livestock are central to the livelihoods of mode and rich groups, however. There is some cultivation along the banks of the river, although in a normal year, it forms less than 25% of food income for all groups. Sale of agricultural products is rare, and very small scale. Purchase of food is important for the majority of the population. This is mainly in the form of cereals

Lake Turkana

The population here is composed mainly of Turkana resettled in sedentary centres from 1961 onwards. Livestock holdings are uniformly low, and little redistribution occurs. As the dominant mode of production is based on family labour, there are few employment opportunities. The basis of the food economy is fishing, although purchase of food and wild foods are also important. Relief food supplies are also very important for poor and modal households. The criterion used to define wealth is possession of fishing equipment: the rich possess good quality boats, nets and hooks, and benefit from relatively large catches, much of which are sold. Capital is often invested in other business ventures. The mode possess fishing equipment, although of inferior quality and lower quantity. The poorest group possess little or no equipment, and are unable to benefit from deepwater fishing. As a result they are dependent on relief food, wild foods and purchase of food with money gained, mainly, from handicrafts.

Turkana Rainbelt

The main mode of production in this area is livestock ownership, chiefly of smallstock and of cattle. All households own some livestock. Camels are less important, although are kept by rich families. Livestock products form the

main element of the diet for mode and rich groups. There is a lower proportion of settled peri - urban dwellers among the poor than exists in other Turkana FEA, and the peri urban group are not considered in this analysis. The poorest households considered are those poorest remaining within the pastoral economy. There will, in addition, be some groups of poor households similar to those outlined under the (peri urban) poor group in the lowlands FEA. Poor households are also involved in agriculture, wild-food collection, and petty trade activities. They also benefit from relatively strong redistribution systems. Relief food is much less important to the food income of this population than in other areas of Turkana.

Turkana Central Basin

This FEA is lower and dryer than the highland area. In general, livestock holdings per household are lower, and very few cows are owned. The dominant livestock type are goats, with richer households owning camels. Due to the high degree of movement among the Turkana, it can be difficult to ascribe geographical locations to any population. In general, the (small) population of this area are those hh who do not have good access to northern or western highland dry season grazing. The poor group here have generally not remained in the pastoralist mode of production. The group is composed of those who lost animals in the droughts of 1980/1, 1983/4, and to a lesser extent, 1991/2. They are predominantly peri-urban, concentrating particularly around Lodwar, and have, throughout the 1980's and early 1990's, been recipients of relief food in one form or another. They are not able to access redistribution networks effectively. Most food is gained from purchase, although some will also cultivate close to town, where possible, and gather wild-foods.

Eastern Foreland

The majority population of the area gain food through a combination of rainfed agriculture and purchase, with insignificant amounts of animal products from their own animals. Cash for purchase comes from sale of cereals, sale of livestock, small scale production activities (particularly production of charcoal) and, importantly, local and seasonal remittance labour.

Eastern Marginal Maize

This food economy area is very similar to the contiguous eastern foreland FEA. The population of the area rely on rainfed agriculture -with maize as the dominant crop- and purchase for most of their food. Cash for purchase comes from sale of crops, sale of livestock, sale of labour and non-food production. Both sales of cereals and sales of livestock are higher than in the eastern foreland.

Maasai

The Maasai FEA is semi arid. The 'traditional' basis of the economy among the mainly Maasai population is cattle ownership. Livestock products form the major element of the diet for the richer half of the population. This group make up most of the rest of their diet through cereals, purchased with proceeds of the sale of cattle. An interesting element of the economy here is the importance of livestock trade, as opposed to sale of livestock produced by the household. Many animals are bought by wealthier households for fattening and sold on to traders supplying the Nairobi and other high population density markets. Poorer households, with very low livestock holdings, have a smaller element of livestock products in their diet, and tend to rely on purchased grain for most of their energy requirements. Money is earned through local labour, as well as labour outside the FEA, and by sale of handicrafts, firewood, locally produced alcohol, etc. An interesting feature of the FEA is the land tenure arrangements. Both Narok and Kajiado were 'closed districts' post independence. Non Maasai were not allowed to settle, and land was allocated to the existing population by a system of group ranches, which were based on traditional Maasai section lands. The land was allocated to a group of registered users, who thereby accessed credit (for livestock production) and extension facilities. The group ranch programme ceased in 1982. The introduction of ranch subdivision, whereby land within a group ranch is adjudicated to individual title holders, whilst at an advanced stage in almost all the higher potential areas, is only occurring slowly in the lower potential areas, and, in some cases, where group ranches in low potential areas have been subdivided, the trend to individual ownership has been reversed by the owners setting up committees, and running individual landholdings in common, much as if they were group ranches. This tends to occur in areas where dry season grazing or water are scarce. The movement to individual ownership allows poorer households to capitalise on land, by leasing or selling their own plots. It also allows households to take out loans, using land as security. However, some sources argue that, in addition to the problems of resource management that occur (where livestock are restricted to relatively small holdings in an area of poor and unreliable rainfall), there is a danger that large numbers of young people, who were never registered on the group ranches, but,

as children of group ranch members were able to use common resources, will find access to pasture and water for their livestock increasingly difficult.

Isiolo Transitional

Central Highlands Coffee

This is a fertile, highland area, with high population density, small farm sizes and good infrastructure. The food economy is based around agriculture, both of food crops and coffee / bananas as cash crops. Large numbers of households also keep cattle (often improved breeds) to produce milk for sale to urban centres. Wage labour and trade are important income generating activities.

Mount Kenya Coffee

This is a highland area, with high population density and small farm sizes. Infrastructure is good. The basis of the food economy is agriculture, both for food and cash income. The major cash crop is tea. Cattle - often improved breeds - are kept, mainly to allow milk sales. Employment and trade are also important sources of income.

Central Highlands Tea

This is a highland area, with high population density and small farm sizes. Infrastructure is good. The basis of the food economy is agriculture, both for food and cash income. The major cash crop is tea. Cattle - often improved breeds - are kept, mainly to allow milk sales. Employment and trade are also important sources of income.