



Impact of Closure of Duse And Eskot Livestock Markets on Livelihoods & Resilience of the People in Garbatula-Isiolo County





ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
AVCD	Accelerated Value Chain Development
CAPI	Computer Assisted Personal Interviews
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LMA	Livestock Marketing Association
LMS	Livestock Market Systems
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PACDEP	Pastoralist Capacity Development Program
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PREG	Partnership for Resilience and Economic Growth
RAPID	Resilient Arid Lands Partnership for Integrated Development
REGAL-AG	Resilience and Economic Growth in the Arid Lands-Accelerated Growth
SCP	Structure Conduct and Performance
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZOI	Zone of Influence






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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was commissioned by the County government of Isiolo with financial support from USAID-Resilience and Learning Activity (USAID-RLA) to assess the dynamics underlying the closure of the two livestock markets in Eskot and Duse. The two markets had been constructed with the support of USAID in 2016 and were quite vibrant, supporting the livelihoods of diverse members of the communities. Operations of the two markets were, however, disrupted in 2019 and have since then remained closed.

The study, therefore, sought to establish the socio-economic impact of market closure on local communities and propose corrective measures to minimise the recurrence of such conflicts for the resilience of the communities. The study covered communities in the neighborhood of the two markets of Duse and Eskot. Duse market is in Kinna Ward, which covers Kinna Town, and Duse, Rapsu, Gubadida, Kulamawe, Barambate, and Yaqqbarsadi villages. On the other hand, Eskot market is in Garbatulla Ward, which covers Garbatulla town, Eskot, Boji, Malkadaka, Gafarsa, Muchuro, Kombola, Qurqura and Belgesh villages. During the study, communities in the neighborhoods of Eskot market had been displaced and most of them had been integrated into communities around Garba Tula and Kinna. These households were traced with the help of their local chief.

The study applied a mixed methods approach, involving the use of existing information (documents), tacit knowledge, and attitude and views from stakeholders. We also collected quantitative and qualitative primary data through key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and in-depth, structured interviews. Participatory value chain analysis involving GIZ's value links methodology was also applied to identify alternative livelihood activities that could help local households diversify their livelihoods.

The study finds that the closure of the markets was mainly because of insecurity and conflict emanating from escalation of tension between Borana of Isiolo and Somalis from the neighboring Garissa County, especially in Eskot. The escalation led to the invasion of villages in Eskot by Somalis, with local inhabitants seeking refuge among their Borana colleagues around Garba Tulla. The conflict has spread to pockets of Duse that have also experienced attacks and counterattacks. Besides displacement, affected households have lost businesses and livelihood opportunities, with women and children being the most affected. Households affected by the conflict and subsequent closure of the markets are faced with inadequate and non-sustainable coping mechanisms. It is therefore critical that the markets are reopened to salvage the livelihoods of the local communities. This study recommends the following measures for the sustainable reopening of the two markets:

- a) Clear re-establishment of the boundary between Isiolo and Garissa Counties and educating the communities and political leadership on the same. If need be, communities should be compelled to respect the boundary as established and mapped.
 - b) Setting up a fully-fledged police post at Eskot with the necessary support infrastructure for quick response to security alerts and for early detection of conditions that may compromise security.
 - c) Integrating the local communities in the management of the markets and revenue-sharing as envisaged in the revenue-sharing bill already passed by the County Government of Isiolo.
 - d) Allocating plots at Eskot market to private individuals and processing of title deeds to make resolving cases of invasion easier through the legal channels.
 - e) Promote alternative livelihood sources such as micro, small and medium enterprises to build the resilience of the people and reduce over-reliance of livestock and livestock trade.
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INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Background and Context

Livestock contributes about 4.4% of the national GDP and about 14.2% of agriculture GDP (GoK, 2018). The sub-sector plays a key livelihood role, employing 27% of the agricultural and manufacturing labor force while supporting 90% of the population in ASAL that raise livestock both for milk and beef production (GoK, 2019). Overall, cattle provide 40-73% of total income for 3.6 million households that keep cattle, depending on whether they are in intensive or extensive dairy systems, agro-pastoral systems, or pastoral systems. National statistics show that per capita consumption of beef is 11.3 kg while that of milk is 121 litres of milk per year. Thus, the growth of the sector could result in unprecedented opportunities for sustainable development of the Kenyan economy - improving livelihoods for livestock owners, job creation in both rural and urban areas and increased availability of affordable animal source foods.

Livestock is particularly an important livelihood option in the arid and semi-arid (ASAL) regions of Kenya where livestock production under pastoralist system is the main economic activity. The ASAL region hosts 70% of the national herd in Kenya with an estimated value of KES 70 billion annually¹. These areas also constitute 60% of the landmass in Kenya and are home to 30% of the Kenyan population. 60% of which are poor households. Important species of livestock reared in these regions especially in Northern Kenya include cattle, camel, sheep, and goats. Recent trends show a declining role of cattle and a growing importance of camels and small ruminants that are known to be more resilient, disease tolerant and easy to transfer from one place to the other². See Figure 1 for mean distribution of cattle ownership by households - overall and by counties.

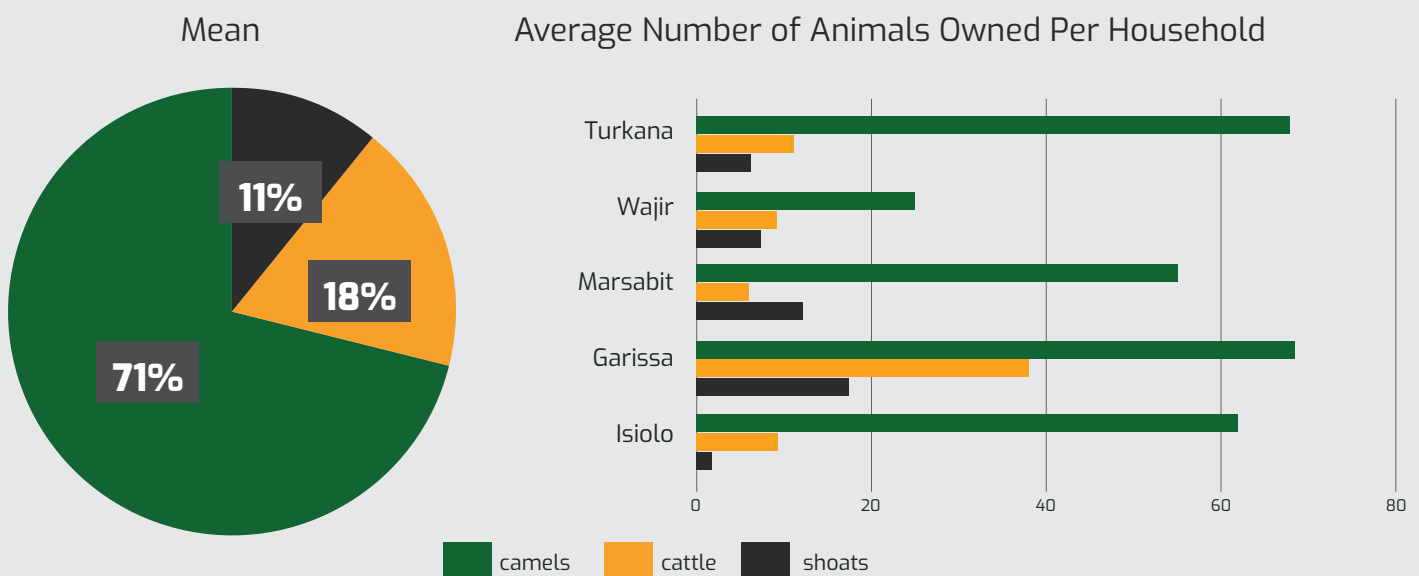


Figure 1. Average number of animals owned by household

Source: AVCD LC survey (2016) computation from International Development (2014)

1.1.1 Livestock Development Initiatives in Northern Kenya

Given the role of livestock in the economy of Northern Kenya, it is unsurprising that the region has over the years attracted livestock development support both by government and development partners. Much of this investment has focused on enhancing competitiveness of the livestock markets, strengthening capacity of local communities to manage natural resources, especially rangelands, and improving human capital to enable individuals to become more resilient.

¹ Republic of Kenya. 2008. National livestock policy. Session Paper No. 2 of 2008

² Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA). 2016. Kenya economic report 2016: Fiscal decentralization in support of devolution. Nairobi, Kenya: KIPPRA. Available at http://opac.karu.ac.ke/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber_5395

Among many development partners, USAID is by far the largest donor supporting livestock development within the livestock extensive systems in the resilience ZOI in Kenya. USAID has been supporting livestock sector development in Northern Kenya - strengthening market systems and enhancing the resilience of local communities. Some of the programs that USAID has implemented along these lines include:

- Kenya Resilient Arid Lands Partnership for Integrated Development (Kenya RAPID) - implemented a public-private partnership to enhance access to water and sanitation for people, water access for livestock, and improved rangeland ecosystem. (Closed)
- Resilience and Economic Growth in the Arid Lands-Accelerated Growth (REGAL-AG) - implemented in Marsabit and Isiolo counties and focused on: the construction of improved markets, business development through a grants program and, documentation and dissemination of best practices, including a manual for managing markets as a business, and training for agro-vets, fodder producers, and LMAs. (Extended through LMS)
- FtF Accelerated Value Chain Development (FtF - AVCD) - aims to scale out proven technologies and innovations to increase income, lift households out of poverty and improve household nutrition status. AVCD also worked together with REGAL-AG in supporting policy and legislation that encourage inclusive and competitive livestock markets, and in documentation and dissemination of best practices.
- FtF - Livestock Market Systems (FtF - LMS). program in the last 5 years. FtF - LMS on the other hand leverages opportunities in the livestock market systems to strengthen people's resilience to shocks and stresses, thereby reducing the prevalence and depth of poverty, household hunger and chronic undernutrition in Northern Kenya³. LMS has also partnered with AVCD with the aim of enhancing pastoralists' capacity to better manage their rangelands for increased environmental resilience and enhanced productivity.

These programs are coordinated through *Partnership for Resilience and Economic Growth (PREG)* program⁴ that is facilitated by USAID and, which unites multiple USAID programs and implementing partners that work with the Kenya National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) and county governments to coordinate resilience and economic growth activities. PREG program builds on community-identified strengths and priorities in 9 ASAL counties, while tapping into the remarkable survival abilities of local populations.

1.1.2 Livestock livelihood in Isiolo County

One of the counties in Northern Kenya that has benefited from these investments by USAID is Isiolo, a typical ASAL county located at the geographical center of Kenya. The county covers a total land area of 25,350 square kilometers, most of which fall into 3 agro-ecological zones - semi-arid, arid, and very arid⁵. Similar to other ASAL counties in Northern Kenya, the livestock sector remains the backbone of Isiolo's economy, providing livelihood to more than 80% of the residents and accounting for 70% of the rural labor force. Isiolo is indeed the largest livestock producing and marketing hubs in Northern Kenya, with an estimated population of 198,424 cattle, 398,903 goats, 361,836 sheep and 39,084 camels⁶.

Located just on the periphery of the ASALs, Isiolo also serves as a transit and trade hub for products on the way to and from Central Kenya and Nairobi. The county links important ASAL production zones such as Marsabit, to markets in Central Kenya, with most of the livestock traded in Isiolo reaching local markets in adjoining agricultural counties of Meru, Nanyuki, and Nyeri, among others.

However, the livestock sub-sector in Isiolo county faces a myriad of challenges that compromise livestock-based livelihoods in the county. These range from weak market integration and poor market access to regional and international markets to insecurity, persistent drought, and environmental degradation driven by overstocking, overgrazing, and climate-related risks⁷.

³ https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Livestock_Market_Systems_Factsheet_2021.pdf

⁴ https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/PREG_FACT_SHEET_July_2018.pdf

⁵ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). 2019. Kenya population and housing census: Volume I.

⁶ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). 2009. Kenya economic survey report. Nairobi: Government printers.

⁷ Steve N. M., J. Agwata and N. Oguge 2018. Analysis of Challenges to the Sustainability of Livestock Food System in Isiolo County, Kenya. World Journal of Innovation Research (WJIR) Volume 5, Issue 15

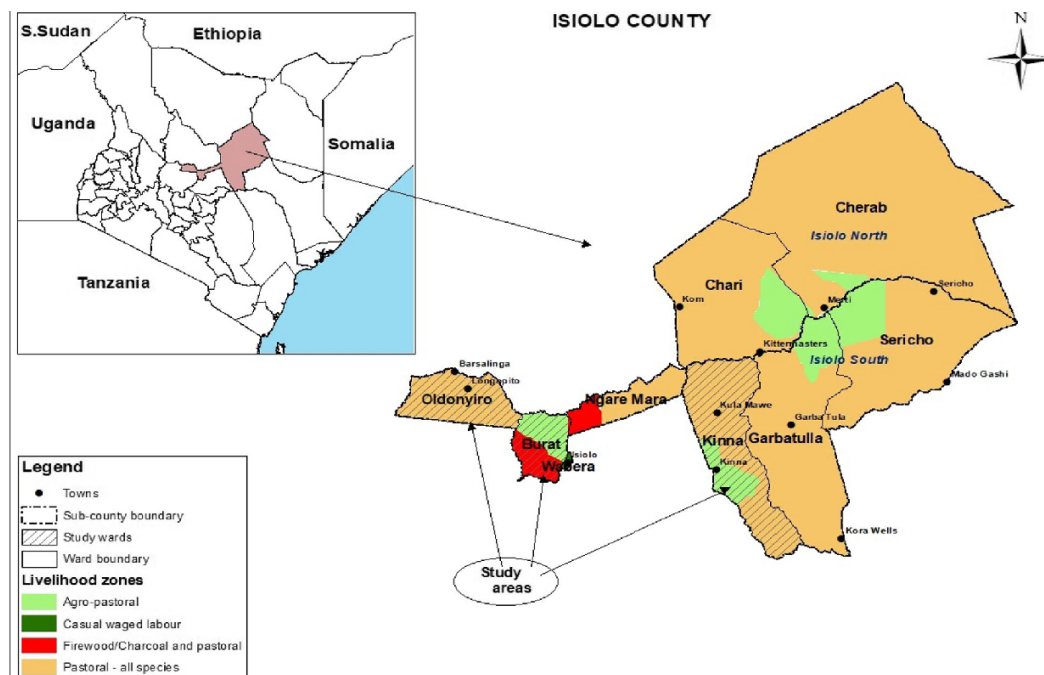


Figure 2. Livelihood zones of Isiolo County and study sites ⁸.

1.2. About the study

Duse and Eskot livestock markets were established in 2016 through the generous support of the Resilience and Economic Growth in the Arid Lands - Accelerated Growth program (USAID-REGAL-AG). The aim was to enable pastoralist communities in Isiolo County access livestock markets for improved incomes and livelihoods. Duse market served livestock producers, buyers, and market vendors from across Isiolo, Meru, and Garissa borders. Like Duse, Eskot market served traders from multiple Counties but more particularly producers from Danyere, Libaalo, Stele, Skit, Korbasa, Rapsu, and Qone. Eskot would convene every Saturday. For both markets, the supply of livestock depended on the seasons of the year, with high supply being experienced in January, February, July, August, September, and December. The months of March, April, October, and November marked the periods of low supply. Livestock producers supplied their livestock and used the proceeds to purchase basic needs like food, clothing, and shelter.

In 2020, the two markets closed due to animosity between the Borana of Isiolo and the Somali of Garissa. The markets have remained closed to-date, affecting livelihoods of the communities and the revenues to the County Government of Isiolo. Although it was speculated that the closure could have been triggered by conflicts over pasture and water resources, the root causes may not have been known and documented. Further, the exact socio-economic effects of the closures had not been investigated and documented. Thus, the County Government of Isiolo, working with USAID-Resilience Learning Activity, commissioned this study—to undertake a comprehensive assessment of the conflict dynamics behind the market closure and generate evidence on the impact of market closure on the livelihoods of various actors – livestock keepers, traders, county government, etc. the specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Assess the trends and dynamics of the conflict and other underlying issues among communities in Isiolo and Garissa that led to the closure of the markets.
2. Assess the impact of the closure of the markets on the incomes and food security of livestock trade-dependent households.
3. Assess the revenue loss by the county government.
4. Assess alternative/complementary livelihood opportunities that can minimize household over-dependence on livestock-based livelihood sources and therefore enhance the resilience of local communities.
5. Recommend measures to re-open the market and avoid future closure.

⁸ Adapted from: Mohamed Sala, S., Otiemo, D.J., Nzuma, J. et al. Determinants of pastoralists' participation in commercial fodder markets for livelihood resilience in drylands of northern Kenya: Case of Isiolo. *Pastoralism* 10, 18 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13570-020-00166-1>



1.3. Scope of the study

The assessment covered communities in the neighbourhood of the two markets of Duse and Eskort. Duse market is in Kinna Ward, which covers Kinna Town, and Duse, Rapsu, Gubadida, Kulamawe, Barambate, and Yaqqbarsadi villages. On the other hand, Eskot market is in Garbatulla Ward, which covers Garbatulla town, Eskot, Boji, Malkadaka, Gafarsa, Muchuro, Kombola, Qurqura and Belgesh villages.

The assignment involved the following tasks:

- a. Literature review to understand the socioeconomic context of Garbatulla and Kina wards and the associated towns.
- b. Interviews with pastoralists, Ward Development Planning Committee members, County Government representatives, special groups including the youth, women, and development partners in the county who support livelihood interventions.
- c. Focus group discussions with pastoralist communities to understand the alternative livelihood activities.
- d. Site visits to Garbatulla slaughter slabs/houses to interview the managers and staff and discuss their business environment, challenges, and successes.
- e. Site visits to Duse to identify and show the links between activities, animal sources and the actors involved in the chain.
- f. Structured interviews with stakeholder households.
- g. Review of county revenue statistics to understand any deviations in revenue collection occasioned by the closure of the two markets.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

2.1. The Approach

The consultants used a mixed methods approach, making use of existing information (documents), tacit knowledge and attitude and views from stakeholders. We also collected quantitative and qualitative primary data. The different approaches applied to respond to the different assessment questions are explained in the next sub-sections.

2.1.1 Analysis of the Conflict Dynamics

To analyse the underlying dynamics and other community issues which led to the closure of the livestock markets, we used Key Informant Interviews (KII) method. Experts were identified from the communities involved with the help of the County Government. Views from the experts were complemented with secondary information from literature. The method involved several steps as follows:

- a. Developing a comprehensive study checklist.
- b. Review and adoption of the checklist.
- c. Identification of the experts and making appointments with them.
- d. Administering the checklist.
- e. Summary of the responses from the experts.

2.1.2 Evaluating the Impact of Market Closure

Closure of the markets had, no doubt, impacted various stakeholders: pastoralists, traders, and county governments. The impact on County Governments was anticipated to be extracted mainly from the books of accounts. This was, however, not possible as county revenue data were too aggregated to provide market-level information. Thus, we used livestock sales data from the Kenya Livestock Marketing Council (KLMC) to estimate the revenues that the County may have lost due to the closure of the markets.

To understand and document the impact on the pastoralists and traders, we used focus group discussions (FGDs). Each FGD had about 8-12 participants. Data were collected using a checklist and a digital voice recorder. In carrying out FGDs, the consultants were gender responsive, ensuring gender balance in mixed groups.

2.1.3 Assessment of Alternative Livelihood options

Towards assessment of alternative or complementary livelihood opportunities that could be promoted to enhance resilience of local communities, we undertook a participatory value chain analysis involving:

- Participatory workshops in target townships to rank community priorities, value chains that the community thought were important, and built a quantifiable ranking system to compare between value chains.
- Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with value chain actors shortlisted in the participatory workshops, and analysis of the information received.
- Identification of selected chains for further work and reporting.

Of critical importance in this process was the participatory workshop that enabled prioritization of relevant value chains. Value chains identified through this workshop were then further discussed with key informants before final analysis and recommendation of appropriate value chains for promotion. The participatory workshop followed the GIZ's Value Links methodology outlined in the following 4 steps:

Participatory identification of important value chains: In this first step, communities are engaged through focus group discussions to reduce the range of local value chains to the most important ones in each area. To achieve this, FGD participants are divided into small groups of about 5 people each. Individuals are then asked to think of 3 most important value chains to their communities and list them down. Group members then tally how often each value chain is mentioned/listed by members, with the total scores providing an indication of the important value chains.

Development of criteria weights: In the second step, participants are presented with a set of criteria to be used for rating value chains. The criteria are explained in detail to participants to ensure understanding, and then participants in each group use proportional piling to rank the criteria. The ranking process yields criteria weights for each criterion (see Table 1).

Criteria weights	
Criterion 1	X1
Criterion 2	X2
Criterion 3	X3

Table 1. Sample criteria weighting from focus group discussion.

Ranking of value chains for each identified criterion: In the third step, participants are asked to rank each of the value chains that had been identified in the first step. Ranking is done relative to other value chains rather than on an abstract, objective scale. For each criterion, participants are given a set of tokens (e.g., 100 tokens) that they allocate among value chains to show their preference or score for one value chain over the others. For each criterion, each value chain is scored, and the results averaged across participants to produce a criterion score for each value chain (see Table 2).

Weighted value chain scores				
	Value chain 1	Value chain 2	Value chain 3	Value chain 4
Criterion a	$a_1 \times X1 \times 20$	$a_2 \times X1 \times 30$	$a_3 \times X1 \times 10$	$a_4 \times X1 \times 40$
Criterion b	$b_1 \times X2 \times 10$	$b_2 \times X2 \times 20$	$b_3 \times X2 \times 40$	$b_4 \times X2 \times 30$
Criterion c	$c_1 \times X3 \times 20$	$c_2 \times X3 \times 40$	$c_3 \times X3 \times 30$	$c_4 \times X3 \times 10$
Value chain score	$a_1 + b_1 + c_1$	$a_2 + b_2 + c_2$	$a_3 + b_3 + c_3$	$a_4 + b_4 + c_4$

Table 2. Sample livelihood activity scores generated from weighted criteria scoring

Generating value chain scores for inter-value chain comparison: Finally, the criterion weights developed in step 2 (shown in Table 1) are multiplied by value chain criterion score derived from step 3 to generate weighted score per criteria for each value chain. See Table 2 for example. The sum of the weighted scores across different criteria yield value chain scores that can be used to compare value chains.





2.2. Field Data Collection

2.2.1 Quantitative Data Collection

This was done using questionnaires programmed and scripted into ets. This enhanced quality of data collection, improved efficiency, saved time and ensured real time monitoring of data quality. Actual data collection was preceded by training of the enumerators.

Training of Enumerators: Qualified and experienced enumerators and supervisors were used. Although the enumerators were experienced in CAPI, there was need to understand the study and the questionnaires to be used. Thus, they were taken through a two-day training, followed by a one-day pretest and debrief, after which the tools were finalized.

To determine the validity of the tools, the consultants conducted a session with experts. This helped to determine whether the questions were adequate in capturing the study objectives, and to refine questions that may have been ambiguous.

2.2.2 Qualitative Data Collection

The consultant collected qualitative data through Focus Group Discussions and Key informants. Each FGD had about 8-12 participants. Data were collected using a checklist and a digital voice recorder. Each FGD was facilitated by experienced researchers, assisted by experienced note-takers. Similarly, the KII were conducted by experienced researchers.

2.3. Data Management

Data collected using CAPI tool were transmitted directly to a cloud server. These data were checked for inconsistencies and omissions from time to time so that gaps could be addressed during the fieldwork. Data collected were downloaded from the servers, cleaned and appropriately labelled, ready for analysis. Data from FGDs and KII were transcribed in English along the study themes and used for triangulation of the findings from the individual interviews.

FINDINGS

3.1. Root Causes of the closure of the Markets

Overall, there was an agreement among the people and groups interviewed that the closure of the two markets was attributable to conflict and insecurity in the area, especially at points of common interest between the Borana and the Somali. About 95% of the respondents indicated that the insecurity had persisted for up to 5 years before the actual conflicts which led to the closure of the markets. Thus, there was concurrence that had appropriate security measures been taken promptly, the closures would have been avoided. There may have been other underlying causes such as politics, cultural differences, and environmental factors but their contribution may have been insignificant (See Fig. 3).

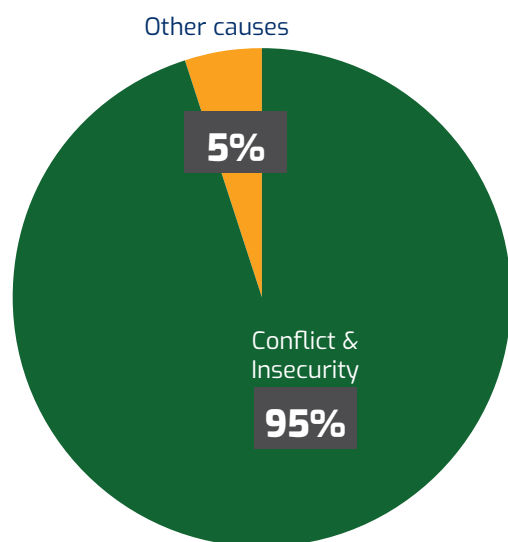


Figure 3. Root causes of market closures

It is the manifestation of this security lapse and the trigger factors which may have varied across the two markets as discussed in the next sub-sections.

3.1.1 Closure of Eskot market

Eskot market which is the largest in the region lies approximately 60 KM from Garbatulla town and 38 KM from the Isiolo-Garissa border. While it was operational, the market attracted traders from different parts of the country. The market convened every Saturday and livestock was the main traded merchandise. Other traded items included agricultural products, veterinary products, clothes and food.

The last time the market convened was in March 2020 when there was a serious violent confrontation between the local Borana Community and Somali Community from the neighbouring Garissa County. Notice that the Somali were the main sellers of livestock in this market. Before March

2020, however, there had been cyclical inter-community attacks associated, especially with drought episodes. Indeed, the Somali herders had crossed into Isiolo and set up their temporary settlements in Korbessa, displacing the Borana pastoralists and leading intermittent armed conflicts. Korbessa is known for:

- Abundance of pasture in the form of grass and shrubs suitable for different livestock types.
- More rains and therefore lower water scarcity, when compared to Garissa county. There is even a permanent borehole at Eskot.
- Salt-licks at the rivers, suitable for livestock.

On market days, the security was either lacking or poorly organised. This allowed the Somali traders, who were usually armed, to disenfranchise other traders. In a number of instances, they would refuse to pay for goods bought or pay whatever amount they wished, or in some circumstances violently repossess livestock sold without refunding payment earlier made. This led to traders, especially those operating on large scale lose large sums of money. As a result, traders found it untenable to continue transacting in this market.

Currently, Eskot remains insecure and occupied by the Somali pastoralists who, indeed, consider it part of Garissa despite previous efforts by the government to make the boundaries known to the political leadership in both Isiolo and Garissa. Peaceful approaches to solve the problem have not yielded tangible results so far, and the Borana who previously occupied the area have been displaced to live with other relatives in either Garbatulla or Duse area.

3.1.2 Closure of Duse market

Duse has been a seasonal and feeder market to Eskot. The market is more active during wet seasons when water and pasture are plenty, and inactive during dry seasons when the pastoralists migrate to other regions like Kulamawe, Mbarabate and Boji. However, the recent closure was more attributable to the following factors:

- Attacks and counterattacks between the Borana and the Somali, and the associated cattle rustling. The influx of livestock from Garissa into Dedha controlled grazing zones was, particularly, interpreted as disrespect for the Borana elders who controlled the traditional grazing systems. This led to escalation of the conflicts.
- Closure of Eskot market to which Duse acted as a feeder market.
- Extreme drought between 2015 and 2018/19 led to migration of the pastoralists. This period was also characterised by increased attacks at the watering points and in the grazing fields between the Borana and the Somali herders.

Since the month of May 2022, Duse market has been creeping back to life. this is attributed to the little rainfall received towards the end of the month of April, 2022, resulting in increased pasture and water in the area. There is also a sense tranquillity and peace in the area which favours the re-opening and peaceful operation of the market. However, scepticism persists and there is a feeling that sporadic attacks could still occur since other pastoralists are also encroaching the area.

3.2 Effect of the Market Closures on Livelihoods

The closure of the markets has caused a substantial shift in livelihood sources and their relative importance to the dependent households (see Fig. 4).

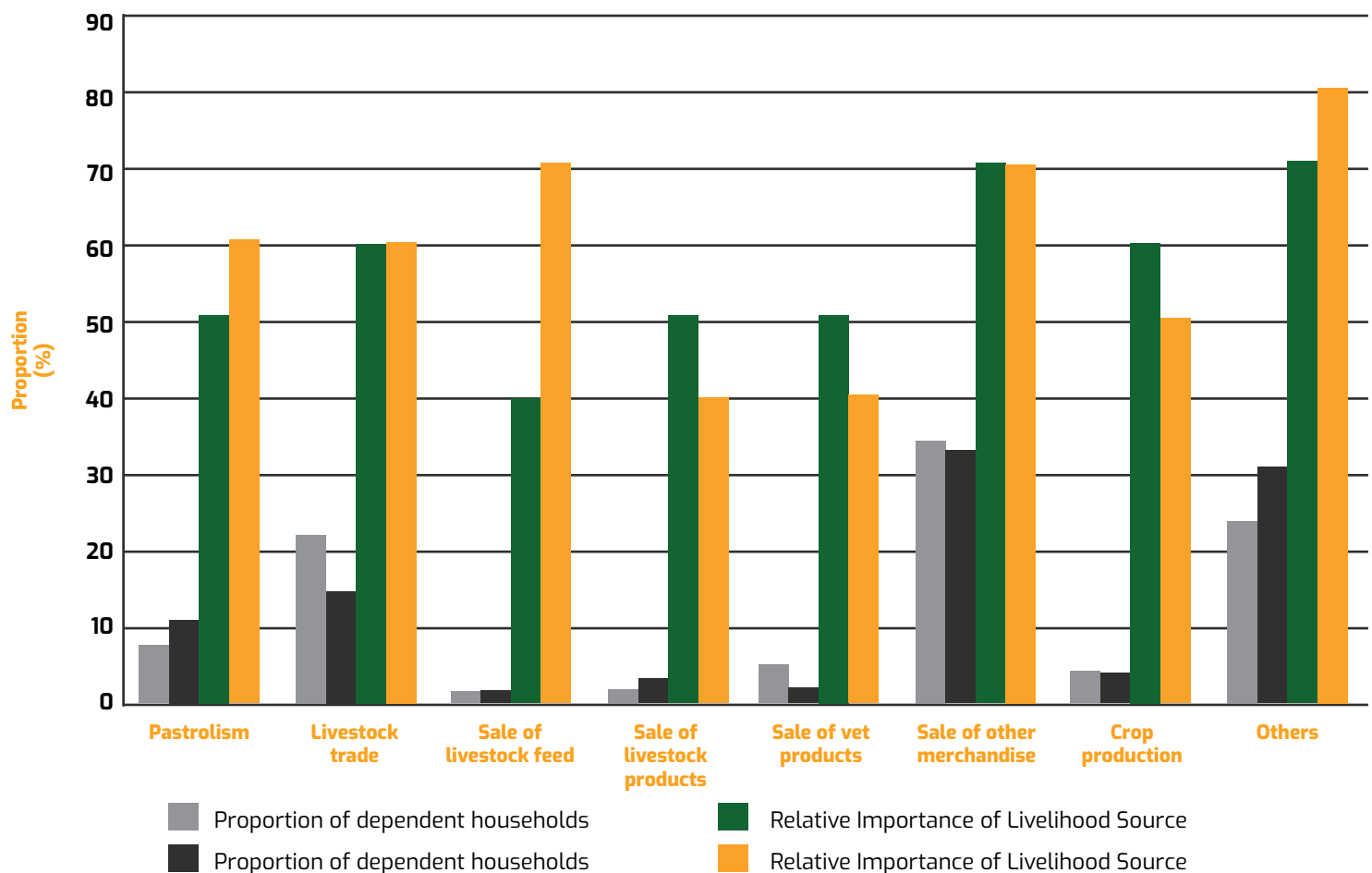


Figure 4. Shifts in household livelihood sources

3.3 Effect of market closure on county revenue

To estimate the effect of market closure on county revenue, one would need to obtain market revenue collection data from the county department of trade. In our discussion with the respective department, however, it was not possible to extract this data since all county revenue from various sources is received in the same account without a clear separation of sources. We therefore opted to estimate the lost revenue from livestock sales data obtained from Kenya Livestock Marketing Council (KLMC). This data was only available for Eskot market, which accounts for close to 80% of livestock trade for the 2 markets. Moreover, sheep and goats accounted for large share of sales compared to large ruminants. See Table 3

Year	Sheep and goat		Cattle	
	Off-take	Value of trade	Off-take	Value of trade
2017	13,093	57,654,050	17	316,500
2018	13,291	86,233,600	32	245,500
2019	12,369	95,952,300	33	729,750

Table 3: Distribution of off-take and value of trade by year and livestock species
Source: Kenya Livestock Market Council

We therefore focus our analysis of potential revenue loss on sheep and goat trade. On average, about 18,000 sheep and goats are traded in Eskot market per year with 2018 and 2019 recording the highest off-take. The average value of trade in these small ruminants is about KES 80 million per year yielding CESS revenue to the tune of about KES 1.5 million. See Figure 6. To estimate CESS revenue, we use the rate of KES 80 per animal that is charged by the county (KES 40 by seller and KES 40 by buyer) Again, 2018 and 2019 stand out as the most productive years in terms of value of trade and CESS revenue.

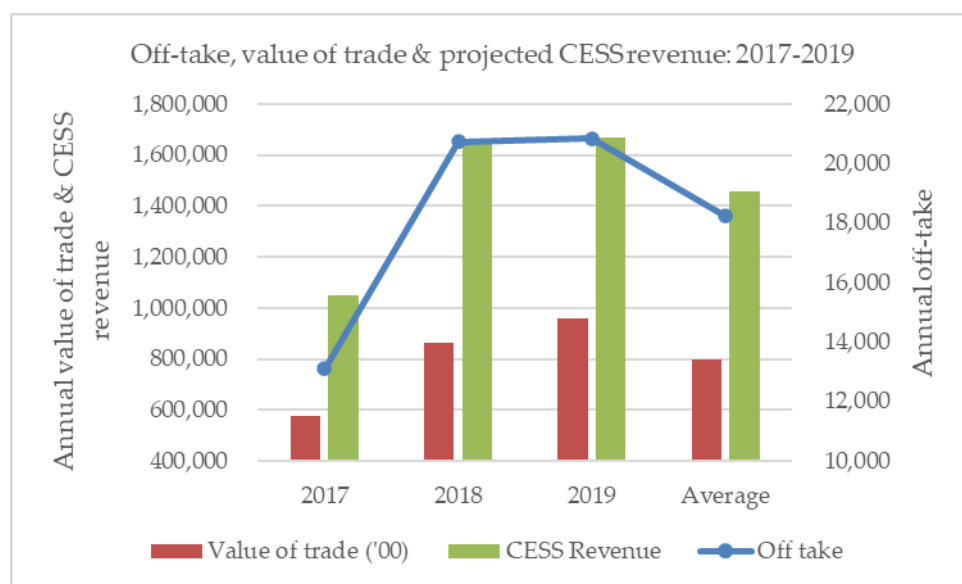


Figure 5: Off-take, value of trade and estimated CESS revenue for Eskot Market
(Data from Livestock Marketing Council)

As can be seen in Figure 7, below, highest off-take and sales revenue are recorded between November and February

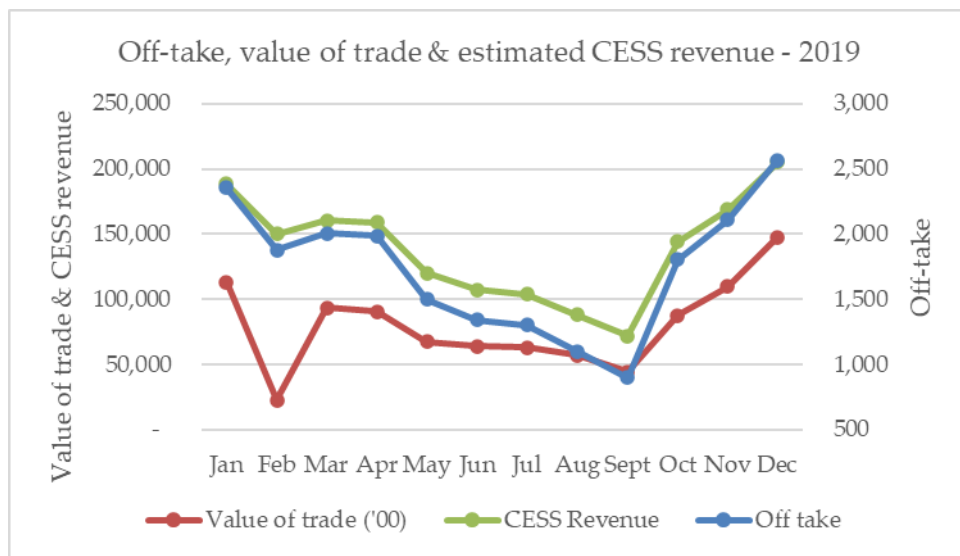
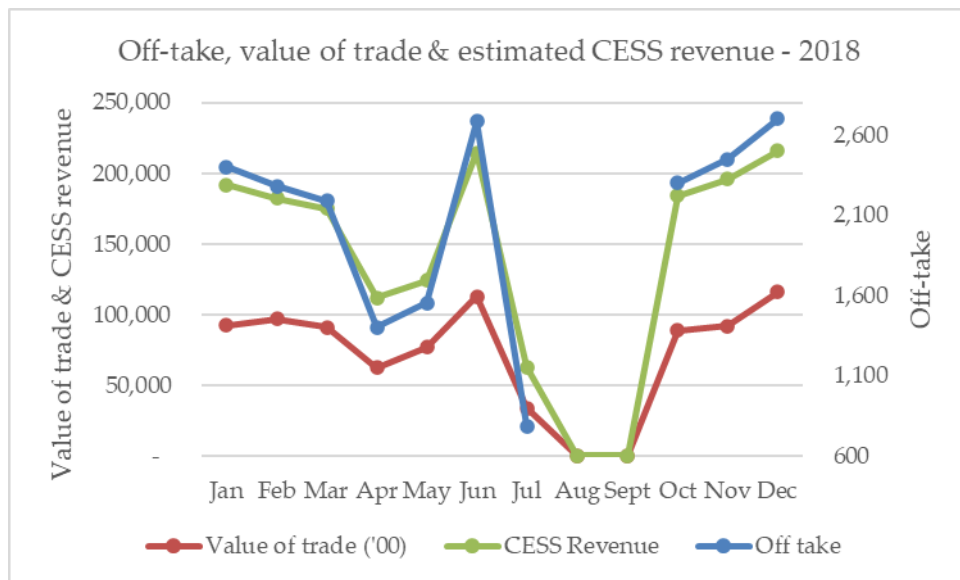
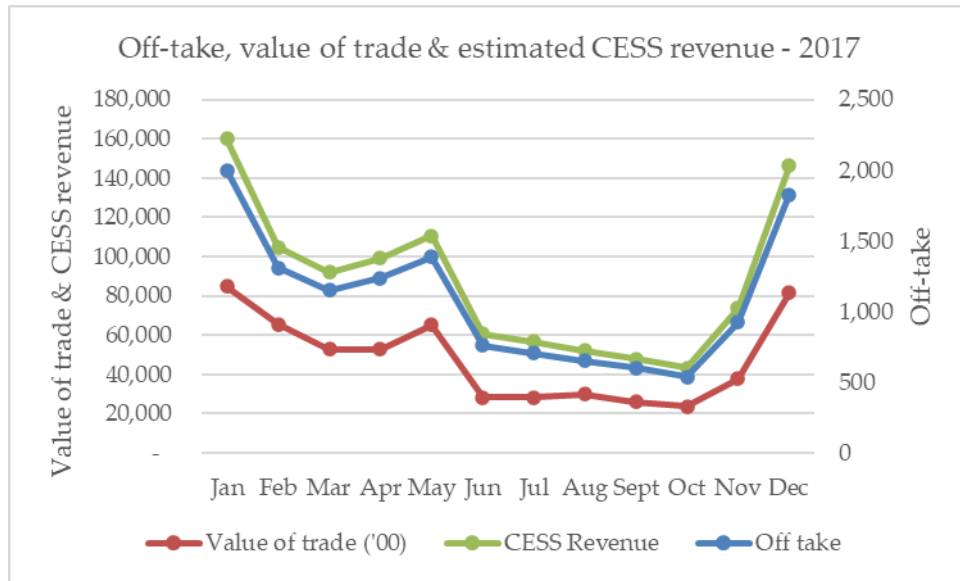



Figure 6. Livestock offtake and revenues generated



From the foregoing illustration, it is evident that the county is losing CESS revenue to the tune of KES 1.5 million per year. For the final year when the market was operational (2019), the loss averaged KES 140,000 per month, ranging between the low of KES 70,000 and a high of KES 200,000 per month.

3.4 Previous efforts to reopen the Markets

There have been previous efforts by the National and the County governments, elected leadership, community leaders/elders, religious leaders, and Non-Governmental Organisations to have the activities of the markets resumed. The approach has been to have a constructive dialogue among the warring communities for an amicable solution to the underlying causes of the conflict. No meaningful progress has been made because at least part of the warring communities has no genuine commitment and, in many cases, the peace meetings have been disrupted with casualties being recorded.

3.5 Alternative Livelihood Systems

Prior to actual FGDs facilitators were trained on the process of prioritizing livelihood options. Stakeholders were also consulted on the relevance of the criteria for evaluating preference for livelihood activities. After extensive discussion, 7 simple criteria were selected as suitable for facilitating local communities to prioritize livelihood options. These were further validated by the facilitators who were residents of the local communities. The selected criteria covered: opportunities for employment creation, market potential for products coming from livelihood activity, opportunities for diverse streams of revenue, potential for environmental conservation, opportunities for credit access, women empowerment potential and opportunities for empowerment of disadvantaged members of the community.


The process was also simplified to be more inclusive by adopting the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique of "proportional piling" to indicate preference. Proportional piling was implemented using bottle tops that were distributed to FGD participants prior to every session. FGD participants were members of the community involved in diverse livelihood activities and members who engage with the markets in diverse ways were invited. Deliberate efforts were made to be as inclusive as possible, with consideration of gender, age, and village of origin. These participants were identified by PACDEP in consultation with local administration and opinion leaders in the community including local chiefs and leaders of traders among others.

Each FGD session was attended by 10-13 participants out of which 10 were invited to participate in the exercise of prioritization of livelihood option. In total, about 60 participants drawn from communities neighbouring Eskot market participated in the exercise. Another 40 participants from communities neighbouring Duse market participated in the prioritization of livelihood options.

3.5.1 Alternative livelihood activities and their ranks

Prior to the FGD sessions, participants were introduced to the study, outlining the overall goal and objectives. This was followed by a general FGD before settling on the livelihood prioritization exercise. For the prioritization exercise, participants were broken up in small groups of around 10 people. In the first activity, participants were asked to individually think of the four most important value chains to their community and list them. Each group then recorded all the livelihood options identified by group members and tallied how often each option came up. By tallying the total results from each group, we can rank the most popular choices, and discard those with little support.

In Eskot community, participants identified 10 livelihood activities that were ranked as shown in Table4. While rearing of livestock and mining were listed as livelihood activity, no participant selected these as common activities. Livestock sales was the most common activity followed by small and medium enterprises mainly involving sale of household commodities such as clothes. This was followed by sale of miraa and sale of livestock products and drugs respectively. Each group discussed their own results and presented the reasons for this choice.



Livelihood activity	Number of participants selecting the activity
Livestock sales	60
Miraa sales	48
Sale of construction materials	6
Maize production/crop farming	8
Keeping livestock	0
Selling clothes/small enterprises	53
Mining	0
Wage labour	6
Livestock drugs/product sales	23
Boda boda	4

Table 4. Ranking of livelihood activities by Eskot community

The same exercise was conducted among villages around Duse market where participants identified 9 livelihood activities that were ranked as shown in Table 5. Cop production, wage labour and motorcycle transport (boda boda) business were mentioned as possible livelihood activities, but no participants selected these as preferred options. Unlike Eskot, small and medium enterprises involving sale of household commodities was identified as the most common livelihood activity followed by sale of livestock. These were followed by sale of miraa and sale of livestock products and drugs in that order.

Livelihood activity	Number of participants selecting the activity
Livestock sales	37
Miraa sales	30
sale of construction materials	6
Maize production/crop farming	0
Keeping livestock	1
Selling clothes/small enterprises	40
Mining	12
Wage labor	0
Livestock drugs/product sales	18
Boda boda	0

Table 5. Ranking of livelihood activities by Duse community

3.5.2 Criteria weighting

Prior to exercise two, the concept of proportional piling was elaborately illustrated to the participants using various examples. In exercise two, participants were presented with the 7 pre-selected criteria. These were explained at length to ensure understanding, and facilitators in each group held discussions to ensure any questions were answered. The participants then used proportional piling to rank the criteria, producing a criteria weight for each criterion as shown in Table 6. Each group discussed why they thought the most important and least important criteria received the respective scores and then the facilitators collated, translated, and recorded this information.

Criteria	Average weighting	
	Eskot	Duse
1. Employment provision/livelihood support	0.31	0.29
2. High-demand products	0.25	0.24
3. Diverse revenue streams	0.16	0.13
4. Environmental conservation	0.06	0.07
5. Easy to access credit/inputs/information	0.05	0.07
6. Women empowerment	0.15	0.16
7. Disadvantaged empowerment	0.03	0.06

Table 6. Criteria weighting by participants from Eskot and Duse communities

Across the two locations, employment provision received the highest weight as a consideration for preference of livelihood activity. Demand for products of the livelihood activity came second in consideration. Environmental conservation, access to credit and empowerment of the disadvantaged members of the community had some of the lowest weights.

3.5.3 Value chain scoring

In exercise three, participants were asked to rank the livelihood activities earlier prioritized - sale of livestock, SMEs, sale of miraa and sale of livestock products/drugs. Livelihood activities were not ranked on an abstract, objective scale, but instead ranked relative to other value chains. Each participant had 10 tokens and had to divide their tokens up among the 4 livelihood activities to show their preference for one over the other on each criterion. For criteria one, each livelihood activity was scored, and the results tallied. Then the group moved on to criteria two, and so on until all the four livelihood activities had been considered on all criteria. These produced criteria score for each livelihood activity as shown in Table 7.

Criteria	Livestock sales	MSMEs	Miraa sales	Sale of livestock drugs/products
Eskot Community				
1. Employment provision/livelihood support	0.30	0.25	0.26	0.19
2. High-demand products	0.27	0.24	0.31	0.19
3. Diverse revenue streams	0.24	0.27	0.26	0.23
4. Environmental conservation	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.23
5. Easy to access credit/inputs/information	0.25	0.28	0.22	0.26
6. Women empowerment	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.21
7. Disadvantaged empowerment	0.23	0.28	0.27	0.22
Duse Community				
1. Employment provision/livelihood support	0.30	0.26	0.26	0.18
2. High-demand products	0.26	0.28	0.28	0.17
3. Diverse revenue streams	0.23	0.31	0.26	0.19
4. Environmental conservation	0.24	0.29	0.31	0.16
5. Easy to access credit/inputs/information	0.30	0.23	0.24	0.23
6. Women empowerment	0.24	0.30	0.29	0.17
7. Disadvantaged empowerment	0.19	0.34	0.29	0.18

Table 7. Criteria weights by prioritized livelihood activities

Criteria weights were multiplied by criteria scores in Table to give the weighted score for each chain on each criterion, and then these scores summed to give the total chain score. These scores are shown in Table 8 and can be used to compare between livelihood activities.

Livelihood activity	Weighted VC score	
	Eskot	Duse
Livestock sales	0.27	0.26
MSMEs	0.25	0.28
Miraa sales	0.27	0.27
Others	0.21	0.18

Table 8. Livelihood activity scores by location

3.5.4 Justification of choice of livelihood activities

In conclusion we see that livestock sales and sale of miraa are ranked equally by households in Eskot. While sale of livestock scores highly in terms of provision of employment and/or livelihood support, sale of miraa is considered important due to ready market for the products.

Engagement in small and medium enterprises that involve sale of basic household commodities comes third. The activity is considered important in empowerment of disadvantaged members of the community and the ability to access credit possibly due to liquidity associated with the activity. Livelihood diversification efforts aiming to achieve equity in society can therefore target this activity.

Among households in Duse, the three livelihood activities receive near equal weighted scores. However, engagement in small and medium enterprises ranks first. The activity is considered important due to potential for empowering disadvantaged members of the community and women. The activity therefore presents opportunities for achieving parity/equity among households in Duse.




CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The importance of livestock and livestock trade for livelihood and income in the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya cannot be over-emphasised. However, the livestock sub-sector is normally adversely affected by the weather extremes, especially the drought, often associated with livestock deaths. Poorly developed livestock marketing systems further worsens the problems of the pastoralists. It is for this reason that Duse and Eskot livestock markets in Isiolo were established with the support of USAID in 2016. However, the operations of the markets were interrupted about two years ago and since then, the markets have remained closed. It is on this basis that this study was commissioned—to find out and document the dynamics and impacts of the closure of the two markets and make recommendations for reopening. The study finds that:

- a. The closure was mainly because of inter-community conflict between the Borana of Isiolo and the Somali from the neighbouring Garissa and insecurity. The conflict ultimately led to the Somali moving in to settle at Eskot, displacing the local Borana, and bringing the operations of the Eskot market to a halt. There were also attacks and counterattacks in Duse market.
- b. The conflict which led to the closure of Eskot market led to displacement of families, loss of businesses and livelihood opportunities, affecting greatly women and children.
- c. Most of the affected communities have no sustainable coping strategies or, in some cases, have resorted to maladaptation which is only likely to have adverse effects in the long term.
- d. Livestock trade and MSMEs remain the most preferred alternative livelihood activities which could be targeted for development to improve the incomes and livelihoods of the communities in the affected regions.

The implication of these findings is that Duse and Eskot markets are critical anchors to the livelihoods of people of Isiolo and the neighbouring Counties. They are critical for supply of food from other regions and for quick disposal of livestock to meet other needs. The County Government of Isiolo also earns revenues from the two markets. Overall, the two markets can serve as good catalysts of local development. It is, thus, important to ensure that the markets are re-opened and future closures are avoided. For this to be achieved, we recommend the following measures:

- a. Foremost, the boundary of Isiolo and Garissa need to be authoritatively determined, re-established and respected. This is because the conflicts seemed to have had land/boundary dispute undertones. Both the political class and the communities should be educated on the correct boundary and be made to commit to respect the boundary. This could involve a blend of diplomatic and forceful approaches.
 - b. For proper security, a fully-fledged police post needs to be established at Eskot with well-developed communication infrastructure. Other complementary facilities such as water and electricity, improved road network, education and health facilities will be required.
 - c. For the long-term resilience of the people, development of alternative livelihood sources should be prioritised by the County Government to reduce over-reliance on livestock and reduce vulnerability of the people.
 - d. Local communities should be fully integrated in the management of these markets through the revenue-sharing bill, already passed by the County Government of Isiolo but yet to be operationalised for Duse and Eskot markets.
 - e. Issue of plots, especially at Eskot market, to individuals and processing title deeds. This will eliminate invasion of the market land because of private ownership and in case such invasion occurs, there is appropriate proof of ownership and ease of settling the matter speedily through legal channels.
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Notably, the proportion of households dependent on pastoralism for livelihood has increased from 8% to 11% while the contribution of the same enterprise has increased from 50% to 60% for the households in question. The proportion of households relying on livestock trade for livelihood has dropped from 22% to 15% although the contribution of the enterprise to the livelihood of the concerned households remains 60%. Other notable changes are in sale of veterinary products, dropping from 5% to 2% of households and engagement in other activities (e.g. sale of miraa, mining, sale of vegetables, running food outlets/kiosks, motorbike transport, butchery, sale of firewood, etc.) which has increased from 24% to 31% of the households with contribution rising from 70% to 80%.

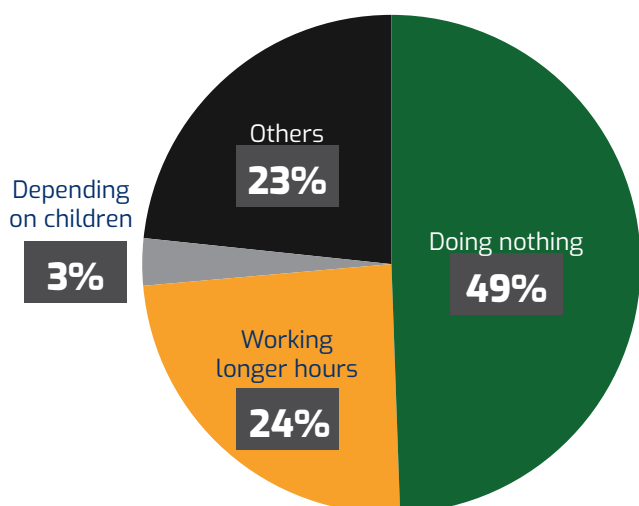
In terms of incomes, majority of the households have experienced over a 50% reductions. An estimated 90% of the households have experienced at least 50% reduction in their incomes and this is attributed to lose of business opportunities associated with closure of the two markets. For example, those initially engaged in selling livestock, driving livestock, selling food in the food kiosks, offering transport and/or selling other merchandise at the livestock markets can no longer do that. Even those who had rental premises, especially at the initially very vibrant Eskot market, can no longer collect rent from their units, and instead have been themselves displaced.

Before the closure of the two markets, about 60% of the households depended on Eskot and/or Duse as the sources of their food requirements. During that time, 73% of the households indicated that food supply or availability was very reliable. Another 22% indicated that the supply was slightly reliable while only 5% thought the supply was unreliable during that time. In the period after the closure of the markets, 95% of the households still relied on alternative markets for their food supplies. However, only 20% of the households indicated that the supply was reliable. The remaining 80% indicated that supply was either unreliable or only slightly reliable. Moreover, 80% of the households indicated that it was not possible to access all types of food staples as and when one required. This shows that the households no longer enjoy diversity of food stuffs as they would before the two markets closed.

Overall, the conflict and the associated closure of the markets has impacted more heavily on women and children. The women have been greatly affected because they were the main people involved in the petty businesses at the markets as their main sources of livelihood. Thus, they lost their merchandise, money and even business premises in the conflicts. Some of the women even had their husbands killed in the conflicts. For the children learning was interrupted as a school like Bisanardhi primary in Eskot was closed.

3.2.1 Coping strategies

The households have a range of strategies that they are using to cope with the disruptions caused by the closure of the markets, especially the loss of income. Majority of them, however, have resigned to fate and are doing nothing about their current status (see Fig. 5).



About a quarter of the households have resorted to working longer hours to make additional income and be able to maintain their original living standards. Another quarter has resorted to doing other activities such as miraa trade, food vending, mining, drawing from savings, cutting down on expenses and engaging in other petty trade to supplement their incomes and be able to improve their livelihoods. Other households are resorting to maladaptation strategies such as skipping of meals, borrowing of food from neighbours or waiting for food aid from donor agencies. There was consensus among the households that the strategies used were less effective and unsustainable.

Figure 7. Coping strategies used by the households

