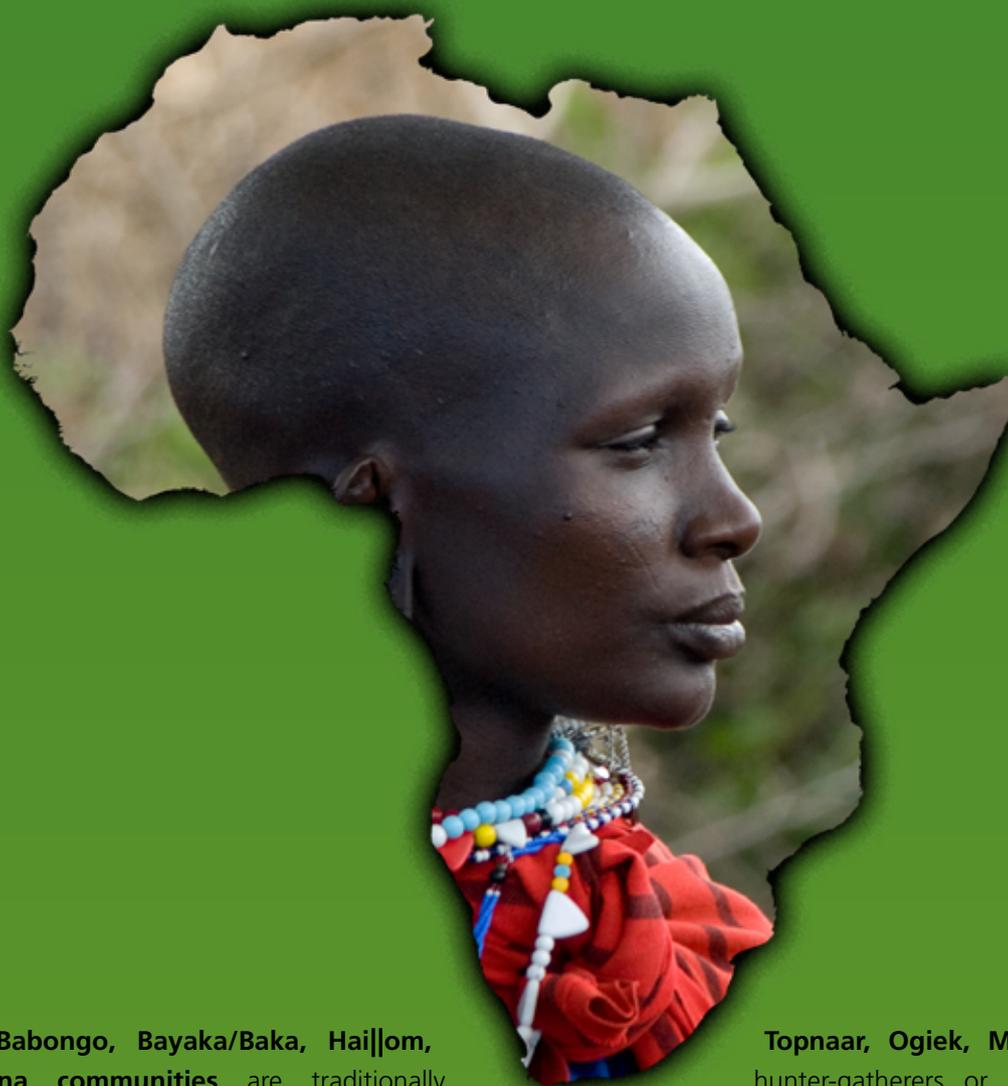


# INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND CLIMATE CHANGE IN AFRICA: Traditional Knowledge and Adaptation Strategies



**The Babongo, Bayaka/Baka, Hai||om, Turkana communities** are traditionally hunter-gatherers or pastoralists. They possess specialized knowledge about the environment in which they live and are – entirely or partly – dependent upon natural resources to cater for their subsistence needs. They already perceive the adverse effects of climate change, yet – as a reflection of the general discrimination they experience – face restrictions when pursuing their traditional coping and adaptation strategies. Moreover, their priorities are not considered in the context of national climate change adaptation policies, strategies and programs. As these peoples are already surviving on a bare minimum, they are extremely vulnerable to climate change, which may be the factor that leads to a definite disruption of their traditional livelihoods, with enormous consequences in terms of human suffering and loss of cultural diversity and traditional knowledge. The studies indicate the need for urgent governance responses that acknowledge the value of indigenous peoples’ traditional knowledge and diverse coping strategies, and respect their right to practice their traditional livelihoods. Climate change adaptation plans and programs must, in particular, recognize indigenous peoples’ rights to land and natural resources, and to participation in decisions that affect them.



## DIVERSE COMMUNITIES – SHARED VULNERABILITIES



Bordamur Logging Road, Congo. Photo: Judith Knight, IWGIA

The case studies were commissioned by the World Bank Trust Fund for Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development (TFESSD) in late 2011. The aim is, through participatory research, to enhance the understanding of the relationships between climate change and indigenous peoples in order to inform climate change policy and assist local communities in adapting to climate change.

The research covered three ecological sub-regions and 7 different indigenous communities in Africa:

**Tropical forest zone:** Traditionally, the **Babongo and Baka** in the Republic of Congo had a semi-nomadic lifestyle, based on hunting and gathering of forest products. This way of life has been changing since the 1960s, when they started to settle alongside Bantu villages. Still, they have unsurpassed knowledge of the forest, which provides them with a wide range of goods and services such as construction materials, foods, energy, medicines, catchment and soil protection, and shade. Sacred groves, shade, peace trees and plants, meeting places and training areas are also embedded in the forest, and the spirit of the forest, Ndejengui, is evoked through dancing and other rituals. Community members have only very recently begun to farm crops for themselves, but many external institutions push them towards a more settled life. This assimilation of indigenous peoples by the Bantu majority may lead to the gradual erosion of their forest knowledge and cultural values. Settlements are organized clan-wise, linked by a strong solidarity based on a common ancestor. The settlements are units of production and dissemination of forest products, as well as egalitarian political units, where decisions are usually made by consensus. The Babongo/Baka don't have recognised land rights but are largely governed under the Forest Code, which only recognizes limited customary user rights to certain forest products for domestic consumption. The indigenous settlements are not administratively recognised and have only weak representative structures, implying that they are not able to participate in decision-making, even at the most local levels. The relation between the Babongo/Baka and the neighbouring communities is characterized by discrimination, marginalization and use of force, often institutionalized to the extent of a "master-slave" relationship, qualifying as forced labour under international law.

**Arid/desert areas:** The **Hai||om** are one of six San groups in Namibia. They traditionally lived as hunter-gatherers but during the South West Africa apartheid regime, most of their land was taken away and many subsisted as laborers on white-owned farms. Post-independence resettlement programs have only provided the communities with marginal access to land and natural resources. The Hai||om describe how they “feel like prisoners, as people are coming from far to settle on our ancestral land” and explain how they risk to be beaten up if they trespass on commercial farms. However, they still depend on natural resources for construction and firewood, thatching grass, medicinal plants and foods. They are not allowed to hunt, but although penalties are strict, out of necessity, some hunting of small animals still occurs. The Hai||om have not customarily had a single traditional leader. Instead, headmen of smaller family groups had certain responsibilities, especially for natural resource management. Based on a “one size fits all”-model for community leadership, the government has appointed a Hai||om Traditional Authority (Chief). However, many Hai||om do not feel represented by the chief and don’t know how he came into power. The San are arguably Namibia’s poorest people, and the Government has established a San Development Programme, which, however, is characterized by a top-down and paternalistic attitude, providing hand-outs rather than empowerment. For the communities, food aid is the most tangible outcome of the program. Sharing of resources has been and still is a core value for the Hai||om, as bush food, pensions, food aid and cash income from occasional work are shared among all members of the extended family and beyond.

The **Topnaar** community is a sub-group of the Khoe-speaking Nama, living in small settlements along the Kuiseb River in the Namib Naukluft National Park. The Topnaar community has over centuries developed a livelihood based on the scarce natural resources available, in particular hunting and harvesting of wild plants such as the !nara melon. The Topnaar have increasingly been denied access to their traditional lands and in the 1970s, boreholes were drilled in the Kuiseb river valley, facilitating permanent settlements and small-scale livestock keeping. The Topnaar combine !nara harvesting and livestock-keeping with pensions, food aid and wages from family members working in towns. Opportunities for employment on farms in this mostly hyper-arid region are severely limited, particularly without education and skills.

**In the African region,** there is generally weak recognition of indigenous peoples’ lifestyles, cultures and human rights within constitutional, political and administrative frameworks, whereas changes that undermine their existence occur at a massive scale. However, recent developments show a positive tendency, exemplified by the national Law on Indigenous Peoples Rights adopted in 2011 by the Republic of Congo, and the new National Land Policy and Constitution adopted by Kenya in 2009 and 2010, which opens up possibilities for stronger legislative recognition of indigenous peoples’ rights to lands and resources. The challenge is to ensure that legislative progress is translated into real improvements for indigenous communities.



!Nara harvesting. Photo: LAC



Maasai boys. Photo: David Berkowitz

**Lakes and wetlands:** The **Maasai**, **Ogiek** and **Turkana** live within the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. They all have long historical connection, and have retained their socio-cultural links with the lands and environments that they depend on for their livelihoods. Traditionally, the Maasai and Turkana were pastoralists, while the Ogiek in the **Mau Forest**, practiced hunting, fruit gathering and bee keeping. The Mau Forest has gradually been depleted and deteriorated through logging and influx of settlers, with the Ogiek describing the power saw as their “enemy number one”. The Government is currently taking action for the protection of the Mau Forest and has indicated that it will affirm Ogiek land rights within the forest and cooperate with them in the management of the forest resources. In the context of deforestation and forest degradation, the Ogiek now indicate farming as their most important livelihood element. Livestock is the backbone of the Maasai and Turkana pastoralist livelihood, and defines much of their culture and economy. The Maasai community targeted in this study depends directly on **Lake Naivasha**, which also feeds off the Mau Forest Complex. The lake has in recent years suffered substantial degradation as a result of competing land uses, especially arising from the establishment of large horticultural farms. Thus, traditional livestock keeping practices have come under immense pressure, particularly due to the curtailment of livestock mobility. **Lake Turkana**, along with the Rivers Turkwel and Kerio, is the life-blood of the Turkana region. The Turkana combine pastoralism with fishing in the lake and cultivate the river plains, when occasional flooding deposits sediment. However, the area is prone to long periods of drought during which the rivers dry up, and families have to travel long distances to access water. The government has promoted irrigated agriculture to deal with the increasingly frequent droughts. Recent oil discovery and hydropower developments raise expectations for diversification of livelihoods, but also raise concerns for the land rights and livelihoods of communities that are dependent on the water resources of Lake Turkana.

All the communities traditionally practiced hunting, gathering, fishing or pastoralism, which require mobility, flexibility and, consequently, access to land and natural resources. Although supplemented with other livelihood elements, the communities are still dependent upon traditional knowledge and practices related to the use of wild plants and game, livestock-keeping and fishing. They face, to varying degrees, disruption of traditional livelihood practices, mainly due to factors beyond their control, such as discriminatory land rights regimes, influx of settlers, and large-scale development projects. Further, they live in countries with generalized poverty situations and relatively weak governance institutions, with limited capacity to reach out to numerically few or remote communities. The situation is aggravated by discriminatory attitudes against indigenous peoples' cultures and livelihood strategies, reflected in non-recognition of their traditional governance institutions and exploitative relationships with neighbouring communities. These communities are under multiple pressures; their traditional practices are restricted and they are marginalised with regards to access to social services and participation in decision-making. Thus, as changes are occurring, they are becoming dependent upon government hand-outs or incorporated into a discriminatory labor market in a very disadvantaged position with limited skills for making positive use of emerging non-traditional opportunities and livelihood elements. Where government support is provided, it is often in the forms of pensions and food aid, which barely contribute to cover a subsistence minimum. This may be one of the reasons for the pessimism regarding future livelihood prospects, expressed by many of the communities.

The communities maintain cultural values related to, for example, mobility and sharing, which constitute key resources that the communities draw on, also in a contemporary context of migration, self-help groups and government subsidies. Hence, key elements of traditional knowledge and cultural values are still maintained and passed on although it must be assumed that the pressure of traditional livelihood strategies will eventually erode values and knowledge related to the environment. Where changes are taking place at a slower pace and do not lead to disruption, indigenous communities are gradually incorporating new livelihood elements and making use of emerging opportunities in terms of knowledge, technology and practices.



Turkana woman. Photo: Stephen S. Moiko

## INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' PERCEPTIONS OF CLIMATE CHANGE AND IMPACT

As asserted by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change "Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change and climate variability, a situation aggravated by the interaction of 'multiple stresses', occurring at various levels, and low adaptive capacity".<sup>1)</sup>

**Indigenous peoples are experiencing severe effects of climate change here and now**, including droughts, floods, extreme rainfalls, strong winds, disruption of seasons, drying up of rivers, rising temperatures and frost. These hazards threaten their economic, social and cultural survival when, for example, livestock die, wild plants that form core elements of their diets rot or dry, or medicinal plants are no longer found in the forest. Their cultural values and institutions are challenged, when decreasing predictability of weather conditions is undermining their traditional knowledge and cultural notions of causal relationships.

Some of the community perceptions of climate change and related impacts are close to scientifically predicted changes, while others differ. Further, scientific and indigenous notions of climate change and related impact are not necessarily immediately comparable.

**The Hailom concepts of 'drought'** are a case in point. In the local language there are three terms for droughts, but after explaining the English term, the community agreed that 'khurub' should be used. This term means "hunger" or "no food" and is not only related to a lack of rain or dry environment but immediately also includes the impact on the community. One of the Hailom community members remembered a time when droughts were severe and breastfeeding women died due to lack of food and water. During those times, people were only dependent upon bushfood and game, but nowadays they rely on food aid from the government as well. Therefore, droughts are not felt so badly these days. However, if the Government stops this aid, the 'khurub' would come back.

Indigenous peoples' notions of climate phenomena are shaped and perceived through their cultural experience and interaction with the local physical and socio-political environment, and often inseparable from the social impact of these phenomena. As exemplified by the table next page, the research made an attempt to correlate scientific and indigenous knowledge about climate-related phenomena:

A major concern of **climate related traditional knowledge** is the prediction of rains and drought. In Kenya, elders observe the sun, the moon, and the stars to foretell the onset of seasons. The appearance and behavior of certain species of animals, insects and birds, including their singing and whistling, are used to determine the onset of rains or drought. For instance the croaking of frogs in rivers is a sign that the rains are due. The migration of Flamingos from South to North signals the onset of the dry season. Spiritual leaders, diviners and prophets advise communities on weather patterns. The movement and direction of clouds and winds are used to determine the coming of the rainy season. Pastoralists also observe the behavior of their livestock and use it to establish weather patterns. For instance, they study the intestines of livestock that is slaughtered and are able to predict the coming of rains or drought.

Not being able to predict the timing of rain and drought or the quantity and severity undermines the capacity of indigenous peoples to plan their production and other activities, leaving them literally at the mercy of the elements.

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1) Boko et al 2007, p. 435



## SCIENTIFIC PREDICTIONS COMPARED TO BAKA AND BABONGO PERCEPTIONS OF CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS:

Predicted immediate physical impacts of climate change (literature review)	Community perceptions of immediate physical impacts of climate change	Community perceptions of environmental and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved conditions of vectoral transmitters of diseases/malaria due to rising temperatures</li> <li>• Rainfall instability and temperature rises leading to the deterioration of ecosystem services:</li> <li>• Increased rainfall lead to flooding of rivers and changing of river patterns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disruption of the seasons;</li> <li>• Increased temperature;</li> <li>• Less frequent / unpredictable rains;</li> <li>• Stronger winds and heavier rains</li> <li>• Droughts</li> <li>• Drying up of rivers and water pollution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More energy and time is required for hunting and gathering activities to achieve the same return.</li> <li>• Decreasing income derived from hunting and gathering</li> <li>• Quality of life decreased with disappearance of a certain caterpillar, which used to be a major source of protein</li> <li>• River-resources such as fish and certain plants growing on the banks of rivers are becoming rarer with the drying up of rivers</li> <li>• Deteriorating health: increasing incidents of water-borne diseases such as skin- and digestive diseases</li> <li>• Medicinal plants are becoming increasingly rare</li> <li>• 'Mbako'-bark used to treat malaria is becoming increasingly rare, wherefore more 'modern medicine' is needed, which again causes debt</li> <li>• Risk of conflicts with other local people as access points to water become scarce</li> </ul>



The **Turkana and Maasai** are severe and directly affected by climate change, and indicate “drought and famine” as the primary climate-related hazard experienced. In some places, pastoralists have lost up to 90 % of their livestock. Access to water is noted as a major problem across **the Maasai, Ogiek and Turkana** communities, with distance to water indicated as the most significant change especially by female respondents among the Maasai and Turkana. During periods of severe shortages, women leave their homes before dawn and only return after dusk, meaning a whole day of walking to and from the water point. In the process, women experience severe exhaustion, health problems and are exposed to other threats that include sexual assault and even attacks by wild animals. Furthermore, young girls are forced to abandon school so as to assist.

The **Hai||om and Baka/Babongo** have not been informed about the phenomena of global climate change, which are beyond their influence and thus difficult to remedy or cope with culturally and socially. Yet, all of the communities experience the consequences of climate change. That may partly explain why several of the communities express that they have lost hope for the future.

It is, to varying degrees, difficult to isolate the impact of climate change from the series of other factors affecting indigenous peoples, in particular environmental changes linked with governance factors. Further, there are indications of differentiated impact on men and women, given their traditional roles in subsistence practices. Climate change is perceived and interpreted by indigenous peoples through their cultural world, in which the notion of global climate change in most cases is alien or absent. Thus, it must be understood that there are multiple ways of understanding and interpreting climate change phenomena and related social and cultural impacts. Indigenous peoples’ notions of climate change are necessarily mediated by the institutions of power and culture in each locality and are not separated from their perceptions of the operations of social-political and environmental systems. Where climate scientists will tend to focus on scientific facts about climate change, the communities consider the interactions within the political-social environment as equally important – and articulate that in their perception and interpretation of climate change impact. Hence, indigenous people contribute with important knowledge about aspects and causal relations of climate change and impact not captured in scientific knowledge.



Turkana children. Photo: Stephen S. Moiko

## ADAPTATION

All the concerned communities respond to climate change hazards by **diversifying their livelihood strategies**, as they have constantly been forced to do by numerous other factors threatening to undermine their existence. Moreover, the communities demonstrate that they still possess traditional knowledge that is a major asset in their adaptation to climate change, as harvesting of wild plants and honey, hunting, fishing and mobile livestock-production provide means for surviving in a context of climate induced stresses. Applying their intimate knowledge of the natural environment, indigenous peoples **combine traditional knowledge and practices with new knowledge, practices and technology**. Thereby, they demonstrate a flexibility, which is central to their survival as distinct peoples, and is a core feature of the adaptive capacity of their traditional knowledge which, by nature is flexible, inclusive and innovative.

The case studies suggest that the major factors limiting or enabling indigenous peoples' adaptation to climate change are related to governance; access to lands and resources; maintenance of traditional knowledge, practices and technology, as well as; access to new knowledge, practices and technology. These factors interplay in dynamic and complex ways to determine indigenous peoples' adaptive capacity. In particular, the importance of governance and recognition of indigenous peoples' rights to land and natural resources must be emphasized.



Photo: Billy Kapua

## FACTORS THAT ENHANCE OR LIMIT INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' ADAPTIVE CAPACITY

Enabling factors	Limiting factors
<b>Governance issues</b>	
Increasing recognition of indigenous peoples' rights (Congo law, Kenyan constitution)	Non-implementation of constitutional and legislative provisions to protect indigenous peoples' rights (Congo, Kenya). Discrimination and marginalization of indigenous communities (Namibia, Congo, Kenya)
	Lack of data on indigenous peoples - invisibility, failure to recognize and address their particular vulnerability
Recognition of Traditional Authorities in formal governance structures (Namibia)	Government control of Traditional Authorities; no training, capacity-building or resources (Namibia)
	Non-recognition of traditional institutions (Congo, Kenya)
Participatory governance structures (Mau Forest)	Non or low participation in decision-making and governance institutions at central and local levels (Namibia, Congo, Kenya)
Support from NGOs and environmentalists (Mau Forest, Turkana)	Non or weak institutional capacity of indigenous communities (Congo, Namibia)
Targeted programs to reduce the vulnerability of indigenous peoples (Namibia, Kenya)	Top-down approach of government programs (Namibia)
	Absence of governmental assistance and attention (Congo)
Government subsidies (pensions, food relief etc.) reduce dependency on scarce natural resources (Kenya, Namibia)	Inadequacy of government supplies, e.g. only given as short-term relief and not taking into account traditional institutions and structures, livelihood strategies etc. (Kenya, Namibia)
	Remoteness from centers of information, education and governance
Establishment of national network of indigenous peoples to address climate-related issues and challenges (Kenya)	Non- or inadequate information and consultations on climate change adaptation strategies, policies and programs (Namibia, Congo)
<b>Land and resources</b>	
Provisions for communal land tenure within existing legislation (Namibia, Kenya)	Non-recognition of land and resource rights and traditional livelihood practices; non-implementation of existing provisions for communal land tenure; large-scale development projects (Kenya, Namibia, Congo)
Government efforts to conserve environment (forest) with participation of indigenous peoples' organizations (Mau Forest)	Conservation policies that violate indigenous peoples' rights and access to land and natural resources and criminalizes their traditional livelihoods (Congo, Kenya, Namibia)
Intact primary forest, provides for food security, and continuity of traditional livelihood practices (Congo)	Influx of non-indigenous settlers, impoverishment, depletion of resources, assimilation by more populous and dominant migrating communities, loss of language and traditional lifestyles (Kenya, Namibia, Congo)



### Traditional knowledge, practices and technology

Culturally-specific concepts and terms for climate phenomena and impact, often integrating social consequences, complement climate science (Kenya, Namibia, Congo)	No information or concept of global climate change, implying that communities: are not able to design long-term adaptation strategies; undermine the authority of traditional institutions as these are not able to provide reliable advice; feel powerless and appeal to divine forces; are not involved in discussions and decision-making; do not prioritize attention to climate-related processes (Namibia, Congo)
Unsurpassed knowledge of the environment and specialized resource management (Kenya, Congo, Namibia)	Limited access to land and natural resources, increasing rarity of medicinal plants lead to irrelevance and disruption of traditional knowledge (Namibia, Kenya)
Livelihood strategies based on mobility and flexibility (Kenya, Congo, Namibia)	Assimilation/push towards sedentary agriculture; dominant population groups use wildlife, plants and other natural resources in an unsustainable way (Namibia, Congo, Kenya)
Traditional cultural values regarding sharing of scarce resources serve as social safety net and builds community cohesion (Kenya, Congo, Namibia)	Impossibility of investments and profit-making in accordance with capitalist/markets mechanisms (Congo, Namibia)

### New knowledge, practices and technology

New practices and technology that expand the options, flexibility and mobility of communities, and contributes to the resilience of traditional livelihood practices (Congo, Kenya, Namibia)	Technology used to destroy natural resources (Kenya, Congo)
	Increased dependency, increased costs of new technology, not an option for poorer community members (Kenya, Namibia)
	Low level of knowledge and skills necessary to make positive use of emerging non-traditional opportunities and livelihood elements (Congo, Namibia, Kenya)
Government or foreign sponsored development projects, e.g. water holes and solar pumps (Kenya, Namibia)	
Migration as a source of income and coping strategy, expanding options and maintaining relations (Kenya, Namibia)	Cultural values not adapted to life in urban areas; migration, leading to disruption of traditional knowledge, cultural values and community cohesion (Kenya)
Access to information about weather /climate change (Kenya)	Lack of information and warning systems (Namibia, Congo)
Higher level of formal education (Kenya)	Low level of / limited access to formal education; inadequate curricula, education limiting mobility (Congo, Kenya, Namibia)
Economic diversification, income-generating activities	Lack of skills to compete for employment; limited opportunities in local areas (Kenya, Namibia, Congo)
	No access to credit (Namibia, Congo)
	Limited access to markets, dependency on middlemen (Namibia, Congo, Kenya)



## LESSONS LEARNED ON LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

African indigenous peoples still possess a vast traditional knowledge on natural resources and their management in their respective areas. However, under the current socio-political circumstances, particularly the increasing limitations on access to traditional lands and natural resources, the physical, cultural and social space for applying, renewing and further developing this knowledge is reducing. This carries a risk that important elements of knowledge may be lost in the near future, or, in the worst cases, that there will be a total disruption of traditional knowledge that may not be passed on to future generations.

The case studies reveal a mixed picture of strong adaptive capacity along with extreme vulnerability and marginalization of indigenous communities. Further, the research did not find concrete evidence of government support to strengthen these communities' long-term strategies for sustainable adaptation. In all cases, the starting point for sustainable adaptation would be to address the issue of communities' access to land and natural resources, to ensure the physical space where adaptation could unfold.

In general, the research confirms the legal and policy-wise discrimination against African indigenous peoples' traditional lifestyles and livelihoods, the replication of discriminatory attitudes at the local levels and the invisibility or disregard of the situation of these peoples for decision-makers. In parallel, indigenous peoples' own representative institutions are being undermined and have only weak institutional capacity to assert their rights, including to basic participation in decision-making that directly affect their lives. In most cases, this marginalization in terms of participation is replicated in the context of climate-related adaptation strategies. Thus, the research confirms the importance of democratization and good governance as a key factor for countering the negative effects of climate change for African indigenous peoples and as a means to overcome discrimination. Basically, this requires African governments to address the situation of these peoples in a more coherent and holistic way, acknowledging their fundamental human rights.



Photo: Billy Kapua

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Recognize that indigenous peoples are highly vulnerable to climate change impacts, given their high dependency on natural resources for their livelihoods and their generally marginalized position within national societies.
- Recognize and respect indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge and its relevance for sustainable development and climate change adaptation.
- Adopt a human rights-based approach to climate change adaptation, in line with international and regional human rights instruments and ensuring implementation of emerging national provisions for protection of indigenous peoples' rights.
- Recognize and respect indigenous peoples' right to land, territories and natural resources as an indispensable element of strengthening their long-term resilience towards climate-induced stresses.
- Recognize and respect indigenous peoples' right make their own adaptation priorities, and participate in all decision-making that affects them – locally, nationally and internationally.
- Provide adequate financial and technical support to indigenous peoples' own priorities and initiatives to adapt to climate change, including by ensuring direct access to adaptation funds at all levels.
- Devise targeted programs for particularly vulnerable indigenous peoples, adopting a human rights-based and holistic approach to strengthening their adaptive capacity, including by addressing fundamental discrimination in terms of citizenship rights, access to education and health, etc.
- Provide sustained institutional and capacity-building support to indigenous peoples' institutions to access information, be consulted and participate in decision-making, to respond to climate change hazards and to devise long-term strategies for sustainable community development.
- Initiate training, awareness-raising, capacity-building and sensitization initiatives at local and national levels, to overcome discriminatory attitudes against indigenous peoples and their traditional livelihood practices.
- Share relevant information on predicted climate change impacts, policies, strategies and programs in appropriate and efficient ways with indigenous communities.

**Key instruments for a human rights-based approach to climate change adaptation** are the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; ILO Convention No. 169 on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; ILO Convention No. 111 to eliminate discrimination in employment and occupations.

## STUDY PARTNERS

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Turkana people. Photo: Stephen S. Moiko

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