



THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Private adaptation in semi-arid lands: A tailored approach to 'leave no one behind'

LSE Research Online URL for this paper: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/102537/

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Gannon, Kate, Crick, Florence, Atela, Joanes, Babagaliyeva, Shanna, Batool, Samavia, Bedelian, Claire, Conway, Declan, Diop, Mamadou, Fankhauser, Samuel, Jobbins, Guy, Ludi, Eva, Qaisrani, Ayesha, Rouhaud, Estelle, Simonet, Catherine, Suleri, Abid and Wade, Cheikh (2019) Private adaptation in semi-arid lands: A tailored approach to 'leave no one behind'. Global Sustainability. ISSN 2059-4798 (In Press)

Reuse

Items deposited in LSE Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the LSE Research Online record for the item.

Private adaptation in semi-arid lands: A tailored approach to `leave no one behind'

Journal:	Global Sustainability
Manuscript ID	GSUS-IB-2019-0002.R1
Manuscript Type:	Intelligence Briefing
Date Submitted by the Author:	n/a
Complete List of Authors:	Gannon, Kate; London School of Economics and Political Science, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment Crick, Florence ; London School of Economics and Political Science, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment; International Institute for Environment and Development, Climate Change Research Group Atela, Joanes; African Centre for Technology Studies, African Centre for Technology Studies Babagaliyeva, Zhanna; Regional Environment Center for Central Asia , Regional Environmental Centre for Central Asia Batool, Samavia; Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Sustainable Development Policy Institute Bedelian, Claire; Overseas Development Institute, Overseas Development Institute Carabine, Elizabeth; Overseas Development Institute, Overseas Development Institute Conway, Declan; London School of Economics and Political Science, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment Diop, Mamadou; Innovations Environnement Développement en Afrique Innovations Environnement Développement en Afrique Fankhauser, Samuel; London School of Economics and Political Science, Grantham Research Institute Jobbins, Guy; Overseas Development Institute, Overseas Development Institute Ludi, Eva; Overseas Development Institute, Overseas Development Institute Qaisrani, Ayesha; Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Sustainable Development Policy Institute; University of Oxford, University of Oxford Rouhaud, Estelle; London School of Economics and Political Science, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment Institute Qaisrani, Ayesha; Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Sustainable Development Institute Suleri, Abid ; Sustainable Development Institute, Overseas Development Institute Suleri, Abid ; Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Sustainable Development Policy Institute Wade, Cheikh; Innovations Environnement Développement en Afrique Innovations Environnement Développement en Afrique
Keywords:	Adaptation and mitigation, Policies, politics and governance

SCHOLARONE[™] Manuscripts

1 Private adaptation in semi-arid lands: A tailored approach to 'leave no one

2 behind'

3

4 Non-Technical Summary

Globally, semi-arid lands (SALs) are home to approximately one billion people, including some of the
poorest and least food secure. These regions will be among the hardest hit by the impacts of climate
change. This article urges governments and their development partners to put SAL inhabitants and
their activities at the heart of efforts to support adaptation and climate resilient development,
identifying opportunities to capitalise on the knowledge, institutions, resources and practices of SAL
populations in adaptation action.

11

12 Technical Summary

13 Semi-arid lands (SALs) in developing countries are climate change 'hotspots' where climate hazards 14 will affect poor populations disproportionately. This represents a major threat to the 2030 Sustainable 15 Development Agenda pledge to 'leave no one behind'. In this paper we argue that national 16 governments have underestimated opportunities to support climate resilient development in SALs 17 and highlight ways in which the resilience of SAL populations has been undermined by current top-18 down approaches to adaptation and development. We argue a radical shift in national policy 19 landscapes is required that refocuses on leveraging the existing adaptive capacities of private actors 20 - women, farmers, cooperatives and firms - to cope with and respond to prevailing environmental 21 shocks and weather extremes. This, we argue, requires providing enabling business environments that 22 are tailored to the diverse and specific needs of the private sector in SALs and which support the full 23 range of private sector actors in SALs to meet the challenges and opportunities of climate change. In 24 doing this, we identify opportunities to overcome structural weaknesses that currently contribute to 25 a lack of private investment, undermine important resilience strategies and limit opportunities to 26 unlock broader resilience in SALs through the private sector.

2728 Social Media Summary

Unlocking the existing adaptive capacities of women, farmers and businesses in semi-arid areas is keyto realising the SDGs.

31

32

33 Introduction

34 Semi-arid lands (SALs) in developing countries are high-risk climate change 'hotspots' (De Souza et al., 35 2015; Huang et al., 2016; Tucker et al., 2015). They occupy over 15% of the earth's land surface (Safriel 36 et al., 2005) and are home to approximately one billion people, including some of the poorest and 37 least food secure (Middleton et al., 2011; Tucker et al., 2015). In Africa and Asia, these populations 38 rely heavily on rain-fed agriculture, pastoralism and agricultural processing for their livelihoods, 39 making them particularly exposed to climate and environmental variability. In addition, SALs in these 40 regions are often remote, politically and economically marginalised areas that have limited access to 41 markets, infrastructure and services (Middleton et al., 2011; Thorpe and Maestre, 2015; Tucker et al., 42 2015). Formal institutions and legal frameworks are typically underdeveloped, with land, water and 43 other resource rights often insecure and unequally distributed.

44

Climate change will exacerbate the challenges faced by SALs, as global warming trends are expected
to be particularly intense in these regions (Huang et al., 2016; IPCC, 2014), with droughts and floods
already becoming more severe. This confluence of climate and non-climate risks, combined with

- 48 broader socio-economic inequalities, means climate hazards will affect poor populations in SALs
- 49 disproportionately. Yet to date SALs have been given limited attention in international climate policy.
- 50 This represents a major threat to the pledge within the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda to

'leave no one behind', and the Paris Agreement commitment to take into account the urgent andimmediate needs of those that are particularly vulnerable to climate change.

53

54 In this paper we argue that national governments have underestimated opportunities for climate 55 resilient development in SALs and we revisit and update literatures which highlight ways in which the 56 adaptive capacity of SAL populations has been undermined by current adaptation and development 57 policy and practice. In response, we call for a refocusing on approaches to supporting climate 58 resilience in SALs that build on the opportunities of SALs and concentrate on leveraging the inherent 59 adaptive capacities and flexibility of private actors - women, families, farmers and firms - to cope 60 with and respond to prevailing environmental shocks and weather extremes. This, we argue, requires 61 public provision of business enabling environments that support the full range of private sector actors 62 in SALs to meet the challenges and opportunities of climate change.

63

Challenging existing development and adaptation policy and practice, we highlight opportunities to
pursue a tailored approach to SAL adaptation, to open up more inclusive avenues of development (c.f.
Manuel-Navarrete and Pelling, 2015; Pelling et al., 2015b). In so doing we identify opportunities to
overcome some of the structural weaknesses that currently contribute to a lack of private investment,
undermine important resilience strategies, hinder efforts to develop enabling conditions for private

- adaptation and limit opportunities to unlock broader resilience in SALs through the private sector.
- 71 Our analysis draws on five years of research conducted through the Pathways for Resilience in Semi-
- arid Economies (PRISE) programme in seven developing countries across West and East Africa, and
 South and Central Asia, as well as on broader engagement with literatures on climate change
- 74 adaptation and development policy and practice in SALs.
- 75 76

77 Existing resilience and adaptive capacity in SALs

78 SALs are sites of dynamic social, as well as environmental, change. They are characterised by existing 79 adaptive capacities and flexibility within the strategies that households and businesses adopt in the 80 context of climatic and environmental variability, to manage their exposure to risk and maximise their 81 own welfare (de Jode, 2009; Hesse, 2011; Hesse et al., 2013; Mortimore et al., 2009; Mortimore and 82 Adams, 1999). This flexibility in autonomous adaptation behavior (c.f. Fankhauser, 2016; Mendelsohn, 83 2012) can be seen in people adjusting and diversifying their livelihood strategies in response to the 84 marked wet and dry seasons and the shifting availability of resources (Krätli, 2015). It can be seen in 85 the heterogeneity of agricultural production systems and the prevalence of mixed farming systems. 86 And it is frequently shaped by mobility and migration of humans and livestock and wildlife herds 87 (Augustine, 2010; Behnke et al., 2011; Opiyo et al., 2015; Rain, 1999).

88

89 Pastoralists particularly have developed a diverse range of institutions and networks, as well as long-90 standing traditional strategies, characterised by mobility, flexibility and reciprocity, to manage the 91 variability of resources in drylands and gain access to pasture and water (Bedelian and Ogutu, 2017; 92 Hesse, 2011; Scoones, 1995). Indeed there is increasing evidence that, under the same conditions in 93 climatically variable dryland environments, mobile and communal pastoralist systems may be more 94 productive and resilient than sedentary and commercial ranch-based systems of livestock production 95 (Behnke and Kerven, 2013; Behnke and Muthami, 2011; de Jode, 2009; Hesse et al., 2013; Hesse and 96 Macgregor, 2009; Little et al., 2008; Rodriguez, 2008; Scoones, 1992). Other forms of internal or 97 international and temporary or permanent human migration common to SALs, meanwhile, can make 98 an important contribution to individual and societal adaptation. Migration may increase, as well as 99 reduce, vulnerabilities (Hasan and Raza, 2009; Newborne and Gansaonré, 2017; Stapleton et al., 2017; 100 Waldinger and Fankhauser, 2015). Yet, recent literatures reiterate the understanding that well 101 planned migration can improve the resilience of rural households through livelihood diversification,

> Page 2 of 24 Cambridge University Press

inflow of remittances, transfer of knowledge and skills, promotion of innovation and expansion of
social networks (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2018; Krishnamurthy, 2012; Qaisrani et al., 2018; Salik et al.,
2017; Scheffran et al., 2012; Sward and Codjoe, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2018).

105

Recent research on the private sector in SALs has demonstrated ways in which micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) are actively responding to climate risks, for example, by diversifying into different activities and taking up insurance or loans from financial institutions (Carabine and Simonet, 2018; Crick et al., 2018a; Eskander et al., 2018; Gannon et al., 2018a). Indeed, this research has shown that SAL businesses are not only highly aware of the current climate risks they face, but also, in some cases, are taking steps to prepare for future climate change (Crick et al., 2018a).

112 113

114 Top-down development policies and erosion of SAL resilience

115 Much of the economic and social dynamism and ingrained resilience that has evolved in SAL societies 116 has been widely and continuously documented in academic and civil society literatures (Behnke et al., 117 1993; Catley et al., 2012; Hesse and MacGregor, 2006; Mortimore, 1989, 1998; Mortimore et al., 2009; 118 Mortimore and Adams, 1999; Rain, 1999; Scoones, 1995). However, driven by typically centralised and 119 top-down approaches to adaptation and development policy, national governments in developing 120 countries have almost invariably failed to capitalise on the knowledge, institutions, skills and practices 121 which underpin these existing adaptive capacities in SALs. Indeed, in many cases, the traditional 122 institutions and livelihoods that have evolved to not only cope with, but also often to harness 123 opportunities from, the climatic and environmental variability of SALs, have been actively undermined 124 and destabilised by these policies.

125

126 As stated by Hesse, (2011), drylands policies in developing countries have tended to focus on bringing 127 'stability' and 'order' to environments viewed as unstable and disorganised and have sought to replace 128 traditional land use and resource management practices with techniques seen as more 'modern'. 129 Narratives of resource scarcity and degradation, linked to conventional ecological equilibrium theory 130 and notions of carrying capacity, for example have dominated policy and practice in SALs (Hesse, 2011; 131 Mortimore et al., 2009; Scoones, 1995; Tiffen et al., 1994). This has led to popular misconceptions of 132 pastoralism as backward, irrational and unproductive (Hesse and MacGregor, 2006; Jenet et al., 2016; 133 Leach and Mearns, 1996; Swift, 2003). In addition, policy development in Africa's SALs has had a long 134 history of favouring agriculture over pastoralism and encouraging sedentarisation and the 135 privatisation and commercialisation of pastoral land.

136

137 Opportunities for broader forms of human migration to function as resilience strategies have also 138 been curtailed in SALs, by a tendency for national governments to continue to consider internal 139 migration as a developmental concern that needs to be restricted. Pakistan, for example, has no 140 domestic migration policy, exacerbating many of the structural barriers and vulnerabilities faced by 141 SAL migrants (Saeed et al., 2016), and its climate change policy advocates limiting rural-urban 142 population flows (Qaisrani and Salik, 2018). Other examples of large scale, centrally managed 143 development strategies that have eroded or failed to recognise traditional resource management 144 institutions and created new vulnerabilities and exacerbated degradation and conflict, have been 145 widely documented in SALs, including in areas such as irrigation, forestry, land reform, livestock 146 ranching, transportation infrastructure and natural resource extraction investments (e.g. Houdret, 147 2012; Mdee et al., 2014; Sandford, 2013; Söderbaum and Taylor, 2001; Weng et al., 2013, see also 148 Hesse, 2011; Scoones and Wolmer, 2003).

- 149
- 150
- 151
- 152

153 An under-recognised private sector in SALs

Widespread missed opportunities for climate resilient economic development in SALs, have also been
 underpinned by failure to recognize the full range of economic actors and their economic potential
 within SALs.

157

At national levels, the dominant framing of SAL economies has been one of low productivity, vulnerability and unsustainable livelihoods. This framing has emphasised the aridity and climatic variability that characterises SALs, alongside limited access to 'blue water' in rivers and lakes to support irrigation, as major constraints to productivity (Jobbins et al., 2018). Representation of SALs as resource scarce, remote, landlocked and sparsely populated regions, with limited access to markets, has further enhanced the 'bad geography' narrative attached to SALs (ibid; Lemma et al., 2015). While these features are pertinent, they are not the whole story.

165

166 SAL economies make major contributions to national livelihoods and present significant additional 167 opportunities for the development of national economies¹. Agricultural producers and pastoralists, 168 are linked to large, and sometimes highly competitive, value chains spread across formal and informal 169 sectors, incorporating a range of different sized businesses within and outside of SALs and exporting 170 to domestic and international markets (Carabine and Simonet, 2018). There are opportunities across 171 these key value chains to upgrade processing activities and to provide additional benefits to SAL and 172 national economies, including enhanced employment opportunities (Bedelian et al., 2019; Carabine 173 and Simonet, 2018). There is also increasing evidence that key value chains in SAL economies, such as 174 the livestock sector in East Africa, have been grossly undervalued in terms of their contribution to 175 national GDP (see for example Rodriguez, 2008; de Jode, 2009; Hesse and Macgregor, 2009; Behnke 176 and Muthami, 2011; ICPALD, 2013; Carabine et al., 2017). Indeed, GDP itself may be a poor indicator 177 of the potential and productivity found in drylands, where wealth is often held in assets, such as 178 livestock.

179

180 The dominant discourse of SALs as unproductive has partly been able to dominate national 181 development and adaptation policies, as the economic role and potential of the households, 182 producers, and businesses – and their activities – in SALs have traditionally not been well recognised. 183 This is mainly because: (1) economic actors operate largely at the level of agricultural producers and 184 micro and small enterprises in the informal (unregistered) sector (Dougherty-Choux et al., 2015; 185 International Labour Organisation, 2015); and (2) businesses, households and producers are often not 186 clearly defined, static units, as producers businesses and households often engage in and move in and 187 out of a range of different livelihood activities (Carabine and Simonet, 2018; Gannon et al., 2018b).

188

189 Within this landscape, SALs have suffered from long-term and disproportionate under-investment and 190 political and economic marginalisation within national development agendas (Hesse, 2011; Jobbins et 191 al., 2016; Mortimore et al., 2009), which in turn has broadly contributed to a lack of private 192 investment. Where increasing investment has emerged in SALs, for example through foreign capital 193 from countries such as China, it has often been focused on resource extraction and large-scale 194 infrastructure and agriculture investments, which are typically detached from local livelihoods, have 195 not produced the 'trickle down' benefits they purported to achieve and have often been accompanied 196 by large-scale land grabs (Baxter et al., 2017; Borras et al., 2011; Deininger and Byerlee, 2011; 197 Dzumbira et al., 2017).

- 198
- 199
- 200

¹ The textile sector in Pakistan, for example, based on cotton produced in the country's SALs, is the largest industrial sector and accounts for around 40% of the country's industrial labour force. Indeed, ten million people in Pakistan rely on the textile industry for employment (Batool and Saeed, 2018).

201 An under-provided for private sector in SALs

Where investments and policies have been made to support the private sector in SALs, a failure to recognize and account for the full range of private sector actors (and their multiple livelihood pathways) within their design, has also compromised opportunities to capitalize on the autonomous adaptation potential of SAL populations.

206

207 As described by Fankhauser, (2016: 10), the underlying paradigm of autonomous private sector 208 adaptation "is of economic agents that maximize their profits or welfare in the light of climatic risk". 209 However, while Hesse (2011: 2) is undoubtedly right when he argues that "dryland people have much 210 to teach us about living in an increasingly uncertain world", SAL populations face very real structural 211 and resource constraints which limit adaptive capacity (c.f. Cleaver, 2009, 1999). Existing adaptation 212 strategies and behaviours employed to cope with immediate shocks and stresses in SALs are 213 accordingly not all sustainable and will not all be sufficient to buffer against current or future shocks 214 and stresses (see also Chambwera et al., 2015). Indeed, some autonomous adaptation strategies 215 observed in SALs, such as diversification into environmentally destructive practices (e.g. deforestation 216 linked to charcoal production), distress sales of land and other assets and the scaling back of 217 production and workforces, are likely to reduce future adaptive capacity, result in private actors being 218 drawn into risky activities that increase their vulnerability, degrade natural resource bases or transfer 219 vulnerabilities along value chains (Atela et al., 2018; Batool and Saeed, 2018; Carabine and Simonet, 220 2018; Crick et al., 2018a; Rao et al., 2017). Current responses also do not necessarily take future 221 climate risk into account, for example in the selection of new crops and production methods. And in 222 some cases, changing climate parameters may undermine the viability of current livelihood strategies 223 in more fundamental and perhaps inescapable ways.

224

225 Signaling a clear and strong role for public policy to support private actors to manage climate risk, 226 research has nevertheless demonstrated that the ability of private sector actors to adapt effectively 227 and sustainably to climate risk is strongly influenced by the external business enabling environment, 228 in areas which are often lacking in SALs. Lack of access to finance, inappropriate incentive structures 229 and limited access to markets and technologies (including climate smart inputs) are all factors that 230 decrease the probability of firms engaging in sustainable adaptation actions, such as changing to 231 climate resilient product mixes (Crick et al., 2018a). While access to tailored climate information 232 services, information about adaptation options and general business support from public sources all 233 increase the probability that businesses will engage in sustainable adaptation (ibid, see also Agrawala 234 et al., 2011; Averchenkova et al., 2016; Chaudhury, 2018; Conway et al., 2019; Crawford and Seidel, 235 2013; Crick et al., 2018b; Davies, 2018; Dougherty-Choux et al., 2015; Stenek et al., 2013).

236

237 Sustainable private sector adaptation and climate-resilient development therefore requires many 238 structural deficits within general business environments (such as limited access to markets, finance 239 and transport and communication infrastructure) to be addressed, alongside conditions that support 240 climate specific adaptive capacity (Carter et al., 2019; Crick et al., 2018a, 2018b). Such a holistic and 241 multi-sectoral approach to supporting private sector adaptation is in itself a challenge since 242 adaptation policy is often embedded within environment ministries (Pardoe et al., 2018), typically 243 resulting in limited integration of (and capacity for) adaptation planning for the private sector within 244 local and national development agencies.

245

Where climate change adaptation policies have given some consideration to private sector needs, they have generally promoted and recognized only a limited range of business and production models. Most notably, private sector adaptation policies have tended to focus primarily on the needs of larger and formal businesses, with less consideration given to smaller businesses, operating in the informal sector, which dominate the enterprise landscapes in SALs. Yet, informal enterprises, and those with more restricted access to formal land ownership, including women, mobile pastoralists and other 252 producers who farm land that is either communally owned or allocated through informal tenure (and 253 thus who have little or no collateral), particularly struggle to access the support and especially the 254 credit they require through formal channels (Atela et al., 2018; Batool and Saeed, 2018; Carabine and 255 Simonet, 2018; Stein et al., 2013)². Female entrepreneurs often face notable additional barriers to 256 resource access and economic participation, shaped by strong sociocultural orientations around 257 gender roles and resource use and access. However, the specific needs of women as economic actors 258 have similarly often been overlooked, through blanket approaches to the design of enabling policies 259 and programmes, hinged on linear assumptions of readily transferable technology that fail to reflect 260 the context, motivations, and power structures in which actors take adaptation decisions (e.g. Atela 261 et al., 2018 c.f. Agarwal, 1994)

262 263

264 Missed opportunities for building resilience in SALs through the private sector

The failure to tailor public provision of enabling conditions for private sector adaptation and development to the diversity of private sector actors also risks further undermining adaptive capacities in SALs and means national governments and their development partners are likely to miss out on important opportunities to build and support SAL resilience.

269

Informality in the private sector in SALs, for example, reflects the heterogeneity of livelihood activities in SALs, as private actors move in and out of different market activities and adjust their livelihood strategies in response to stressors and the variability in drylands. In this way, despite structural disadvantages for informal businesses, including restricted access to new market opportunities and public-sector services, informality has even been described as "a key adaptive characteristic" to manage risks and variable resources in SALs (Carabine and Simonet, 2018: 24).

276

Smaller, informal and often women-led enterprises are also being overlooked in the dominant neoliberal agenda on development via market-based interventions. Yet these actors too have the potential to make important and wide-ranging contributions to building resilience along key value chains and within communities. Formal and informal enterprises in SALs can, for example, support increased access to new inputs, technologies and services (including those which are climate smart), create new markets and provide local and non-agricultural employment opportunities (Carabine and Simonet, 2018; Gannon et al., 2018b).

284

285 Women involved in entrepreneurship are understood to make relatively higher contributions to family 286 and social welfare, by more efficiently allocating returns from MSMEs and other employment 287 opportunities to the most critical household assets, including health, education and food security, which themselves shape resilience in SALs³. Preliminary findings from PRISE research also suggest that 288 289 female entrepreneurs may be more likely to engage in sustainable adaptation than men (Crick et al., 290 2018a), while wider literatures emphasise that women's responsibilities in households and 291 communities position them well to find solutions to changing climate risks and to adapt livelihood 292 strategies (UN WomenWatch, 2009; Wedeman and Petruney, 2018).

² Even among formal enterprises, climate and business development finance opportunities are often limited. While microenterprises may be able to access finance through microfinance initiatives, and larger enterprises find it easier to access bank loans, these credit sources are often not suited to the more established, yet still vulnerable, enterprises that fall outside of micro-industry and within the larger 'small' and 'medium' enterprise classifications. This often creates a 'missing middle' when it comes to accessing finance for businesses (Fjose et al., 2010).

³ At macro-scales, the development economics literature over the last several decades, has similarly supported this narrative, associating gender equality and factors facilitating female inclusion within human capital accumulation and skill demanding economic activities with progress in macro development indicators, such as GDP growth (Baten and de Pleijt, 2018; Klasen and Lamanna, 2009).

293

294 There are also examples of table banking groups and other women's groups and farmer cooperatives 295 undertaking a range of other activities with potential to overcome barriers in business enabling 296 environments and increase resilience in SALs. These include sharing knowledge, for example about 297 new markets, technologies and production techniques and requirements (e.g. certification standards) 298 and initiating cooperatives and other common pool resource management initiatives, such as 299 reforestation and greenhouse farming. Producer groups and other forms of MSME aggregation are 300 also mechanisms that have been used to reduce costs of trading (for example through group purchase 301 of climate smart inputs, such as drought-resilient seeds) and to increase the lobbying power of small 302 businesses in respect to both government programming and accessing new markets at better rates 303 (Atela et al., 2018; Lemma et al., 2015; Tripathi et al., 2012). In any agenda that seeks to mobilise the 304 private sector for equitable adaptation and climate resilient development, these diverse actors need 305 to be accounted for.

306 307

308 Delivering transformative adaptation in SALs

For reasons outlined above, 'development-as-usual' pathways are likely to continue undermining resilience strategies among SAL populations, restricting development and limiting the ability of private actors to adapt to climate change. Continuing on current pathways risks prolonging the marginalisation of the poorest and most vulnerable groups, including informal enterprises, women, and pastoralists. While the exclusion of these private actors from public support services that enable business development and adaptation to climate change also undermines the potential to unlock opportunities to build broader resilience in SALs *through* the private sector.

316

We argue a radical shift in national policy landscapes is required that refocuses on leveraging the inherent adaptive capacities and flexibility of private actors in SALs and provides enabling business environments that support the full range of private sector actors in SALs to meet the challenges and opportunities of climate change.

321

322 Delivering on this agenda will be not be an easy task. Meaningful change will require a break from 323 longstanding and entrenched national development trajectories. Moreover, policies and institutions 324 deployed ostensibly to enhance SAL resilience have frequently had unanticipated consequences: 325 Community-based adaptation and development strategies have often been deployed in ways that 326 reinforce local power structures, with opportunities for capture of processes by local elites, 327 government officials and private players (Bersaglio and Cleaver, 2018; Cleaver, 2012; Cleaver and 328 Hamada, 2010; Galvin et al., 2018; Leach et al., 1999). Decentralisation often leads to recentralized 329 control and has rarely been accompanied by transfer of sufficient funds to enable local government 330 to fulfill their mandates (Hesse et al., 2013; Ribot, 2011; Scoones and Wolmer, 2003). Liberalisation 331 agendas have often entrenched marginalization, by prioritising certain modes of doing business and 332 failing to tackle barriers to market participation for the most vulnerable (Scoones and Wolmer, 2003). 333 Similarly, climate responses that have been defined through short-term, projectised, single-sector 334 responses have so often failed to recognise and respond to social context and build resilience over 335 time (LDC Group, 2019).

336

337 Drawing on emerging strategies and novel mechanisms for supporting private adaptation that are 338 showing signs of success within SALs, below we nevertheless propose key principals that we believe 339 should be embedded within efforts to support development and adaptation within SALs.

- 340
- 341
- 342

343 Recommendation 1: Elevate the role of SALs and their inhabitants as key priority areas for 344 appropriate investment and support within national and international development agendas

345

346 SALs have been neglected within development and adaptation landscapes for too long. National 347 governments and their development partners need to recognise the importance of supporting 348 adaptation in SALs for achieving climate-resilient development and the pledge within the 2030 Agenda 349 for Sustainable Development to 'leave no one behind', and upscale support for adaptation in these 350 areas. In order to meet the objectives under the Paris Agreement to make climate finance flows 351 consistent with demand and needs, national representatives ('focal points') to the UNFCCC, should 352 position SALs, and the private actors within them, as priority areas for investment and support. 353 Developed countries and other development partners, meanwhile, should support SAL governments 354 in this aim through institutional capacity-building and increasing the share of their funding 355 commitments directed towards supporting adaptation within SALs.

356

357 Recommendation 2: Reorient SAL policy landscapes to focus on the public provision of enabling 358 environments for private sector adaptation and climate resilient development 359

360 Maximising the opportunities of SALs requires a policy environment that capitalises on the existing 361 adaptive capacities within SALs and puts private actors at the center of development and adaptation 362 action. To do this, national governments, supported by development partners, will need to pursue a 363 holistic approach to developing enabling environments for private adaptation and climate-resilient 364 development. This will require supporting climate-specific adaptive capacity, for example through 365 increasing access to climate-smart technologies and inputs, supporting the development of innovative 366 climate tools and building capacity for climate information providers and private actors to translate 367 climate information into useable formats that can inform adaptation options suited to SAL 368 environments (Carter et al., 2019; Conway et al., 2019). But it will also require addressing the broader 369 structural and development deficits that limit general business growth and development and shape 370 underlying vulnerabilities, such as access to finance, transportation, water, energy, health, education 371 and communication infrastructure.

372

373 These enabling conditions are not themselves specific to SALs, representing conditions required to 374 support private adaptation and climate resilient business development more broadly. Yet they all 375 deserve explicit consideration in public efforts to support private adaptation and climate-resilient 376 development in SALs, where many of these elements are currently missing and where people are often 377 acutely vulnerable⁴. Since many of the factors required to enable adaptation in SALs are cross-cutting, 378 spilling over the traditional remits and capabilities of any single sector, institution or actor, enabling 379 conditions to support private adaptation will also require significant coordination across sectors and 380 scales. To achieve this, policies and institutions targeting private sector development and climate 381 change adaptation - which have to date been typically developed independently and remain 382 disconnected – need to be aligned.

383

384 Recommendation 3: Tailor support for businesses to grow and adapt to climate change to the 385 diverse and specific needs of the private sector in SALs.

- 386
- 387 To avoid entrenching existing inequalities and to maximize opportunities for inclusive adaptation and 388 growth, investments designed to deliver enabling environments for private adaptation in SALs need

⁴ This is especially important in light of Tol and Yohe's (2007) "weakest link" hypothesis, which suggests that adaptive capacity may be disproportionately influenced by the least developed aspects of enabling environments. This means that underinvestment in generic as well as climate-specific determinants of adaptive capacity could lead to fundamental gaps that could disproportionately limit people's ability to adapt, despite additional public investment to support adaptation.

to be designed in ways that reflect the flexibility, heterogeneity, informality and mobility that are inherent to SAL socioeconomic systems and to the way in which private actors manage variability, buffer shocks and capitalise on opportunities. Specifically, this will require policies, products and services, that are flexible enough to support the diverse nature of actors and their activities and which support different adaptation responses, modes of production and ways of doing business within the same overall system.

395

396 The development of lightweight bee hives that women can carry from one geographical region to 397 another in response to shifting climate pressures (Atela et al., 2018) is an example of the way in which 398 even fairly simple inputs and technologies can be designed in ways that are more responsive to the 399 needs of a wider range of economic actors in SALs. To avoid maladaptation and to support the 400 sustainability of investments, the design and development of these products needs to be informed by 401 climate information tailored to SAL environments and uncertainties (Conway et al., 2019; Vincent et 402 al., 2018) and which support sustainable management of crucial natural resources: For example 403 prioritizing green water management and avoiding blue water investments that threaten off-farm 404 ecosystem services (Keys and Falkenmark, 2018).

405

406 Business finance opportunities especially need to be broadened to more inclusively target the range 407 of private actors in SALs and their varied requirements, including Sharia-compliance in areas where 408 Muslim populations live. These need to be made accessible to informal enterprise, individual 409 producers, mobile pastoralists, women's collectives and producer cooperatives, as well as to private 410 actors that experience more restricted access to formal land ownership. International climate funds 411 such as the Green Climate Fund, the Global Environment Facility and the Adaptation Fund, similarly 412 need to be made more accessible to the private sector in SALs, by recognising the diversity in type, 413 size and formality. For example, smallholder farmers should be recognised as 'producers' rather than 414 simply 'households', to make them eligible for new streams of international climate finance for the 415 private sector (Carabine and Simonet, 2018).

416

Recommendation 4: Unlock broader resilience by building on productive sectors and drivinginnovation along value chains

419

420 National governments and their development partners have a responsibility to ensure that all 421 members of SAL societies have the ability to manage climate risk, engage in sustainable growth and 422 adaptation and avoid transferring vulnerabilities along value chains. However, notwithstanding the 423 need to mitigate the many challenges that underpin market-based development paradigms (see, for 424 example, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003), opportunities to build adaptive capacity and unlock climate-425 resilient development through the private sector should be thoughtfully and critically scaled up in 426 SALs.

427

428 Novel risk sharing mechanisms, mobilised through public private partnerships and multi-stakeholder 429 partnerships⁵, have highlighted ways in which governments and their development partners can 430 remove barriers to private sector investment in adaptation in SALs. For example, action and 431 investments in areas such as infrastructure, research, data access, policy change and subsidies can 432 help facilitate a business case for the private sector to develop new products, services or markets that 433 build resilience and support local capacities in adaptation. These can and should include more 434 vulnerable groups, in more marginalised regions, that would otherwise fall outside of market 435 inclusion. In Senegal, for example, the national agricultural insurance fund, Compagnie Nationale 436 d'Assurance Agricole du Sénégal (CNAAS), is a multi-stakeholder partnership that has brought

⁵ Multi-stakeholder partnerships are typically partnerships that bring together actors from the three main social sectors: Government (national, regional and international), the private sector and civil society, including NGOs, research organisations, faith and grass-roots organisations (Dyer et al., 2013; Pauw and Chan, 2018a).

Global Sustainability

437 together the government of Senegal, insurance companies, farmer organisations and the private 438 sector, including Senegal's Agricultural Bank (La Banque Agricole⁶), to develop agricultural insurance 439 products, including weather-index crop insurance products for smallholder farmers in remote areas. 440 This has involved, among other things, investments in new rainfall stations, new crop production and 441 climate databases and increased use of satellite data, to enhance data quality and improve the 442 reliability of the weather indexes that expand the commercial viability of weather-index crop 443 insurance products (MAER Sénégal, 2018).

444

445 Value chain and market analyses are approaches that can help identify risks, weaknesses and 446 opportunities within and along SAL value chains and identify and broker linkages between private 447 actors that help maximise opportunities for the full range of private sector actors to contribute to 448 resilience in SALs (Batool and Saeed, 2018; Bedelian et al., in press.; Carabine and Simonet, 2018). 449 Creating a closer link between actors along the value chain, for example, can support the development 450 of new products based on more climate-resilient crops: This is seen in Kenya where East African 451 Breweries Limited (EABL) has develop a new low-cost beer which has provided smallholder cereal 452 producers in Kenya's eastern regions with access to a direct market for more climate resilient crops 453 (Business Daily, 2018). Value chain analysis has also identified opportunities to increase the resilience 454 of beef and milk value chains in the SALs of East and West Africa through the development of new 455 market linkages with local processing and cold storage facilities (Carabine and Simonet, 2018).

456

457 Partnership, value chain and cooperative approaches, which depend on often uncertain market forces 458 for their viability and which are embedded within formal and informal power structures that shape 459 what decisions are taken and by whom (Eriksen et al., 2015), present their own challenges as models 460 for structuring adaptation action. They require sensitive implementation and monitoring and 461 evaluation – including of the distribution of risk and value added across the full range of economic 462 actors - if they are to avoid further entrenching marginalisation and creating new vulnerabilities for 463 SAL communities (Bulkeley and Newell, 2010; Schoonhoven-Speijer and Ruben, 2015; Selsky and 464 Parker, 2005; Thorpe, 2018; Thorpe and Maestre, 2015; Tripathi et al., 2012). Nevertheless, building 465 on productive SAL sectors and mobilising private sector investment in adaptation will likely be 466 fundamental to plugging gaps in adaptation and development finance. Reflecting a need to broaden 467 what Pauw and Pegels, (2013: 258) describe as "the private sector *for* adaptation"⁷, in SALs attention 468 needs to turn to supporting the full range of private sector actors to contribute to equitable national 469 development agendas, as drivers of inclusive sustainable development and climate resilience. Women 470 and informal enterprise in particular need to be better supported and incorporated into the economy 471 to fulfil their potential to become key agents of change. Within this agenda, innovation is required to 472 identify and support business models that encourage private sector actors to develop equitable 473 business linkages and partnerships with a wider range of other businesses, including those that don't 474 have the formal land entitlements that larger companies, seeking legislative protection and resource 475 security, often require.

476

477 Recommendation 5: Reorient government policies to value and support human and livestock478 mobility

479

National and local governments need to support the mobility of people and livestock across borders
 by removing policies that seek to limit migration and population return and developing regulatory
 frameworks and legal instruments that support migrants' rights and freedom of movement. For
 example, national and local governments need to think carefully about how to introduce social

⁶ Formerly known as the Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole au Sénégal

⁷ International and national adaptation policy processes have typically focused on the role of large domestic and transnational companies in resourcing adaptation and driving innovation, with limited inclusion of MSMEs or recognition of their role (Averchenkova et al., 2016; Pauw and Chan, 2018b).

484 protection measures and labour laws that reduce the opportunity for exploitation of migrants and 485 reduce their vulnerability (Newborne and Gansaonré, 2017; Wade et al., 2017). National governments 486 also need to provide supportive infrastructure and financial services for effective migration, including 487 for safe remittance transfers (Stapleton et al., 2017). These need to account for the heterogeneous 488 nature of migrants, as well as the diverse forms of temporary and permanent migration that they may 489 engage in and should be supported through the integration of migration planning across rural and 490 urban scales, to avoid migrants falling between the cracks (Qaisrani et al., 2018; Qaisrani and Salik, 491 2018). Similarly, national and county governments need to develop an institutional framework that 492 supports sharing of grazing resources and develop land use plans that transcend administrative 493 boundaries and maintain and protect livestock corridors and migratory routes to facilitate the mobility 494 of livestock across subnational or national borders. This will require creating and preserving corridors 495 that enable livestock and wildlife movement between private lands and around infrastructure 496 investments. And, in many regions, this will entail protecting communal landholdings from land 497 subdivision (see also IPBES, 2018a, 2018b).

498

500

499 Recommendation 6: Invest in inclusive bottom-up adaptation planning

501 Fundamentally, the failure to account for the diverse and specific characteristics and needs of SAL 502 populations – and to build on the strengths, dynamics and characteristics of dryland systems – has 503 arisen from adaptation and development policy and practice too often ignoring local knowledges, 504 practices and power structures and failing to give SAL businesses and households the power to shape 505 development and adaptation provision according to their own specific needs and realities (c.f. 506 Agrawal, 2011; Cleaver, 2012; Eriksen et al., 2015; Ferguson, 1990; Leach et al., 2010; Scott, 1999; 507 Tanner and Allouche, 2011). It is therefore increasingly recognized that effectively supporting 508 equitable and inclusive adaptation and climate-resilient development requires adaptation decisions 509 to be made at the local level by local actors (e.g. Soanes et al., 2017).

510

511 The Devolved Climate Finance (DCF) mechanism that has been piloted in the drylands of Senegal, Mali, 512 Kenya and Tanzania has grown from this school of thought, seeking to increase the adaptation funds 513 that reach the local level⁸ and to support local actors and local institutions to make decisions about 514 how and where to allocate these funds. The DCF mechanism is anchored within devolution and is 515 designed to facilitate the flow of climate finance to local governments, while at the same time 516 empowering local communities by strengthening their participation in the management and use of 517 these funds (Crick et al., 2019; DCF Alliance, 2019; Odhengo et al., 2019; Orindi et al., 2017).

518

519 Ecosystem-based adaptation (EbA) approaches, that use biodiversity and ecosystem services to help 520 people adapt to climate change, have similarly evolved around a commitment to co-produce 521 adaptation solutions by combining local knowledges with evolving information about climate change 522 (Reid et al., 2019b, 2019a). EbA currently receives a small proportion of adaptation finance compared 523 to hard infrastructure options (Chong, 2014). Yet with increasing recognition of the parallel threat of 524 biodiversity loss to the world's poorest (Archer et al., 2018; Karki et al., 2018), nature-based solutions 525 are gaining increasing political traction (Carrington, 2019; UN News, 2019; United Nations Secetary 526 General, 2019). EbA can be integrated with devolved climate finance, multi-stakeholder partnership 527 and value chain approaches to supporting adaptation (see for example Reid and Orindi, 2018). It offers 528 a lens to ensure fundamental environmental and biodiversity safeguards are integrated into 529 adaptation investments (Seddon et al., 2016a, 2016b). It has also shown some important potential to 530 support cost-effective and equitable social resilience to climate change among SAL populations so 531 dependent upon natural resources. Reid et al., (2019b), for example identifies a range of economic

⁸ Soanes et al (2017) estimate that only US\$1 in every US\$10 committed from global climate funds between 2003 and 2016 was for local-level climate action.

Global Sustainability

532 benefits of EbA interventions for private sector actors, such as avoided costs (e.g. from reduced 533 dependence on agricultural inputs) decreased losses (e.g. fewer animal deaths from improved pasture 534 and reduced crop losses due to diversification on farms) and new market opportunities (e.g. from 535 tourism).

536

537 Building on such emergent approaches that support the principles of community-driven bottom up 538 planning and inclusion of climate-vulnerable people in decision making is likely critical. Indeed, this is 539 a key assumption underpinning rising interest in the multi-stakeholder partnership, value chain and 540 cooperative models for supporting adaptation, previously discussed. Yet if we are to achieve the 2030 541 Agenda for Sustainable Development pledge to 'leave no one behind', their development needs to 542 draw on the lessons of literatures which have highlighted the challenges of ensuring equitable 543 participation in local institutional arrangements and the potential for localised adaptation and 544 development planning responses to reproduce existing politics of exclusion, subordination and 545 vulnerability (e.g. Eriksen et al., 2015; Sovacool et al., 2015; Tanner and Allouche, 2011).

546

547 For governments, non-governmental organisations and other development partners supporting the 548 design and delivery of adaptation projects, market integration initiatives and new climate 549 partnerships, this is going to require a more critical engagement with the norms and forums of 550 decision making. What decisions get taken, by whom, and to what extent embedded arrangements of 551 authority reproduce social inequalities or create space to challenge them, require deep scrutiny 552 (Cleaver, 2012, 1999; Scoones, 2015, 2009)⁹. So too do the framings that justify specific sets of actions 553 to support adaptation and which are used to define what transformational adaptation looks like for 554 different actors (Adger et al., 2009; Eriksen et al., 2015; Tanner and Allouche, 2011). Development of 555 productive mechanisms for bridging global and local scientific and traditional knowledges and co-556 producing locally tailored solutions, based on the aspirations and social and political realities of the 557 communities they seek to target, within the context of changing climatic parameters, are therefore 558 an urgent priority. This suggests the importance of broadening the research agenda focused on 559 identifying models of defining and co-designing inclusive adaptation institutions and modes of 560 participation with the diverse range of SAL actors they seek to target. Remodeling of monitoring and 561 evaluation frameworks to support this agenda will likely also be required.

562 563

564 Momentum for change

565 The need for a reorientation in SAL policy that mobilises local knowledges, experiences and practices 566 in action to support adaptation and development, as has been proposed in this paper, is not in itself 567 a novel assertion within academic development and adaptation literatures. Moreover, many of our 568 assertions are strongly reminiscent of the livelihood agenda that emerged with such force in the 1990s 569 (see for example, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003). However, progress towards these goals to date has 570 remained inadequate. This paper, reflecting on practical experience with supporting climate change 571 adaptation in SALs, has grown from a belief that the time to move beyond routine and incremental 572 policy changes in current development pathways (cf. Few et al., 2017; Kates et al., 2012) and to drive 573 innovation within the adaptation and development of SALs through refocusing on the role of private 574 actors, is now.

575

576 Earlier iterations in development policy reform, can reassure us of the potential to reshape prevailing 577 methods, frameworks, funding commitments and resource flows in line with evolutions in

⁹ Scoones (2015: 82), drawing on earlier work of Henry Bernstein, poses some key questions that communities, development practitioners and researchers should be asking, which provide a helpful entry point into the reflexivity required. These are: Who owns what (or who has access to what)? Who does what? Who gets what? What do they do with it? How do social classes and groups in society and within the state interact with each other? How do changes in politics get shaped by dynamic ecologies and vice versa?.

Global Sustainability

578 development theory (Scoones, 2009). Meanwhile, globally, political will for transformative adaptation 579 action is higher than it has ever been before. Alongside commitments under the United Nations 2030 580 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement, are a range of other initiatives at 581 international levels, designed to support innovation in adaptation planning and upscale adaptation 582 action, consistent with local demand and needs and through participatory mechanisms. These include 583 the 'empowering locally led action' track from the Global Commission on Adaptation 584 (https://gca.org/global-commission-on-adaptation/action-tracks), as well as the LDC Initiative for 585 Effective Adaptation and Resilience (LIFE-AR), being led by the Least Developed Countries (LDC) Group 586 (http://www.ldc-climate.org/about-us/long-term-initiatives/), which itself recognises the need to go 587 beyond business as usual and to develop transformative strategies in adaptation planning.

588

589 Momentum created at international and national levels by these agendas should provide a positive 590 force for tackling historical and current drivers of marginalisation, for giving voice to this critical 591 agenda and for challenging intransigent political barriers to inclusive development in SALs. Delay will 592 be more costly than action now (Stern, 2007). With developing countries under pressure to prepare 593 their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) ahead of the 2020 update deadline, national 594 governments have an important window of time to rethink the ways in which they have approached 595 development and adaptation in SALs to date, to clearly articulate their priorities, and to request the 596 necessary international support.

597 598

599 Acknowledgements

600 This perspectives article is the product of a collective effort and is based on the results of five years of 601 stakeholder-driven research carried out under the consortium for Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid 602 Economies (PRISE) in Senegal, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Tajikistan and 603 Kyrgyzstan. Much of the empirical basis for this briefing is provided by research from across PRISE, 604 produced by the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment at the London 605 School of Economics and Political Science, Innovation Environnement Développement (IED) Afrique, 606 Kenya Markets Trust (KMT), Mountain Societies Research Institute (MSRI), Overseas Development 607 Institute (ODI), Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Regional Environment Centre for 608 Central Asia (CAREC) and the University of Ouagadougou (UO). We would like to particularly 609 acknowledge the following individuals from PRISE, and from PRISE's CARIAA research consortium 610 partner Adaptation at Scale in Semi-Arid Regions (ASSAR), who shared invaluable additional insights 611 from their research to inform this perspectives article and/or who provided valuable feedback and 612 logistical support during the design and writing process: From SDPI: Ahmed Khaver and Imran Khalid; 613 from IED Afrique: Assane Bèye, Bara Guèye and Lancelot Ehode; from ODI: Rajeshree Sisodia, Peter 614 Newbourne, Helen Mountfort and Nathalie Nathe; from the Grantham Research Institute: Judith Rees, 615 Abbie Clare, Shaikh Eskander, Patrick Curran and Swenja Surminski; from KMT: Robina Abuya and 616 Joseph Muhwanga; from the Indian Institute for Human Settlements: Chandni Singh; from the 617 University of Cape Town: Dian Spear; and from the University of East Anglia: Mark Tebboth. The 618 authors are also grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their clear and constructive feedback.

- 619
- 620

621 Author contributions

K.E.G. and F.C. led the analysis and manuscript writing. All authors contributed to the ideas anddiscussed and reviewed the manuscript.

- 624
- 625

626 Financial Support.

This work was carried out under the Collaborative Adaptation Research Initiative in Africa and Asia(CARIAA), with financial support from the UK Government's Department for International

Development (DfID) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. Financial
 support from the Grantham Foundation for the Protection of the Environment, and the UK Economic
 and Social Research Council (ESRC) through the Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy is

- and social research council (ESRC) through the centre for climate change economics and Po 632 also acknowledged.
- 633
- 634
- 635 Conflict of interest
- 636 The authors declare no conflict of interest.
- 637
- 638
- 639 References
- Adger, W.N., Dessai, S., Goulden, M., Hulme, M., Lorenzoni, I., Nelson, D.R., Otto, L., Johanna, N.,
 Anita, W., 2009. Are there social limits to adaptation to climate change? Climatic Change 93,
 335–354. doi:10.1007/s10584-008-9520-z
- Agarwal, B., 1994. A field of ones own: Gender and land rights in South Asia. Cambridge University
 Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Agrawal, B., 2011. Food Crises and Gender Inequality, Working Papers 107. Department of Economicand Social Affairs, United Nations.
- Agrawala, S., Carraro, M., Kingsmill, N., Lanzi, E., Prudent-Richard, G., 2011. Private Sector
 Engagement in Adaptation to Climate Change: Approaches to Managing Climate Risks. OECD
 Environment Working Paper No 39. doi:10.1787/5kg221jkf1g7-en
- Archer, E., Dziba, L., Mulongoy, K.J., Maoela, M.A., Walters, M., 2018. The IPBES regional assessment
 report on biodiversity and ecosystem services for Africa. Secretariat of the Intergovernmental
 Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), Bonn, Germany.
- Atela, J., Gannon, K.E., Crick, F., 2018. Climate change adaptation among female-led micro, small and
 medium enterprises in semi- arid areas: A case study from Kenya, in: Leal Filho, W. (Ed.),
 Handbook of Climate Change Resilience. Springer, Cham, pp. 1–18.
 doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71025-9 97-1
- Augustine, D.J., 2010. Response of native ungulates to drought in semi-arid Kenyan rangeland.
 African Journal of Ecology 48, 1009–1020. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2028.2010.01207.x
- Averchenkova, A., Crick, F., Kocornik-Mina, A., Leck, H., Surminski, S., 2016. Multinational and large
 national corporations and climate adaptation: are we asking the right questions? A review of
 current knowledge and a new research perspective. Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate
 Change 7, 517–536. doi:10.1002/wcc.402
- Baten, J., de Pleijt, A., 2018. Female autonomy generates superstars in long-term development:
 Evidence from 15th to 19th century Europe, Centre for Economic Policy Research. London, UK.
- Batool, S., Saeed, F., 2018. Towards a climate resilient cotton value chain in Pakistan: Understanding
 key risks, vulnerabilities and adaptive capacities, Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid
 Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.
- Baxter, J., Howard, A., Mills, T., Rickard, S., Macey, S., 2017. The Extractive Industries and Society A
 bumpy road : Maximising the value of a resource corridor. The Extractive Industries and Society
 4, 439–442.
- 671 Bedelian, C., Moiko, S., Said, M.Y., 2019. Harnessing opportunities for climate-resilient economic

672	development in the semi-arid lands: The Kenya Southern Rangelands Beef Value Chain.
673	Working Paper. Kenya Markets Trust.
674 675 676	Bedelian, C., Ogutu, J., 2017. Trade-offs for climate-resilient pastoral livelihoods in wildlife conservancies in the Mara Ecosystem, Kenya: Small Grants Programme. Pastorialism: Research, Policy and Practice 7. doi:10.13140/RG.2.1.3625.1127
677 678 679	Behnke, R, Scoones, I., Kerven, C., 1993. Range ecology at disequilibrium: new models of natural variability and pastoral adaptation in African savannahs. Overseas Development Institute/International Institute for Environment and Development, London, UK.
680	Behnke, R., Fernandez-Gimenez, M.E., Turner, M.D., Stammler, F., 2011. Pastoral migration: mobile
681	systems of livestock husbandry, in: Milner-Gulland, E.J., Fryxell, J.M., Sinclair, A.R.E. (Eds.),
682	Animal Migration: A Synthesis. Oxford Scholarship Online, pp. 144–171.
683 684 685	Behnke, R., Kerven, C., 2013. Counting the costs: Replacing pastoralism with irrigated agriculture in the Awash Valley, north-eastern Ethiopia. Climate Change Working Paper No.4. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK. doi:10.4324/9780203105979
686	Behnke, R., Muthami, D., 2011. The contribution of livestock to the Kenyan economy. IGAP LPI
687	Working Paper No.03-11. IGAD Center for Pastoral Areas & Livestock Development.
688	Bersaglio, B., Cleaver, F., 2018. Green Grab by Bricolage – The Institutional Workings of Community
689	Conservancies in Kenya. Conservation and Society 16, 467–80.
690 691 692	Borras, S.M., Hall, R., Scoones, I., White, B., Wolford, W., 2011. Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: An editorial introduction. Journal of Peasant Studies 38, 209–216. doi:10.1080/03066150.2011.559005
693	Bulkeley, H., Newell, P., 2010. Governing Climate Change. Routledge, New York, NY.
694	Business Daily, 2018. EABL pays sorghum farmers Sh1.5bn. Business Daily Africa September 1st 2018
695	https://wwwbusinessdailyafricacom/corporate/companies/EABL-pays-sorghum-
696	farmers/4003102-4738494-unmf24z/indexhtml.
697	Carabine, E., Lwasa, S., Buyinza, A., Nabaasa, B., 2017. Enhancing climate change development
698	programmes in Uganda: Karamoja livestock value chain analysis for resilience in drylands, ODI
699	Working Paper. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.
700	Carabine, E., Simonet, C., 2018. Value Chain Analysis for Resilience in Drylands (VC-ARID):
701	Identification of adaptation options in key sectors. VC-ARID synthesis report, Pathways to
702	Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. London, UK.
703	Carrington, D., 2019. Greta Thunberg: 'We are ignoring natural climate solutions'. The Guardian.
704	19th September. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/sep/19/greta-thunberg-
705	we-are-ignoring-natural-climate-solutions.
706 707	Carter, S., Steynor, A., Vincent, K., Visman, E., Waagsaether, K.L., 2019. Co-production in African weather and climate services: Manual. WISER and FCFA.
708 709	Catley, A., Lind, J., Scoones, I., 2012. Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic change at the margins. Routledge, New York, NY.
710	Chambwera, M., Heal, G., Dubeux, C., Hallegatte, S., Leclerc, L., Markandya, A., McCarl, B.A.,
711	Mechler, R., Neumann, J.E., 2015. Economics of adaptation, in: Climate Change 2014 Impacts,

- 712 Adaptation and Vulnerability: Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspects. Contribution of Working
- 713 Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
- 714 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 945–978.
- 715 doi:10.1017/CBO9781107415379.022
- Chaudhury, M., 2018. Conceptualizing micro, small and medium enterprise engagement in climate
 change adaptation, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Eds.), Private-Sector Action in Adaptation:
 Perspectives on the Role of Micro, Small and Medium Size Enterprises. UNEP DTU Partnership,
 Copenhagen, Denmark, pp. 29–37.
- Chong, J., 2014. Ecosystem-based approaches to climate change adaptation: progress and
 challenges. International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics 14, 391–405.
 doi:10.1007/s10784-014-9242-9
- Cleaver, F., 2012. Development Through Bricolage: Rethinking Institutions for Natural Resource
 Management, Development Through Bricolage. Routledge, London, UK.
 doi:10.4324/9781315094915
- Cleaver, F., 1999. Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development.
 Journal of International Development 11, 597–612.
- Cleaver, F., Hamada, K., 2010. "Good" water governance and gender equity: a troubled relationship.
 Gender and Development 18, 27–41.
- Conway, D., Nicholls, R.J., Brown, S., Tebboth, M.G.L., Adger, W.N., Ahmad, B., Biemans, H., Crick, F.,
 Lutz, A.F., De Campos, R.S., Said, M., Singh, C., Zaroug, M.A.H., Ludi, E., New, M., Wester, P.,
 2019. The need for bottom-up assessments of climate risks and adaptation in climate-sensitive
 regions. Nature Climate Change 9, 503–511. doi:10.1038/s41558-019-0502-0
- 734 Crawford, M., Seidel, S., 2013. Weathering the Storm: Building Business Resilience to Climate
 735 Change. Centre for Climate and Energy Solutions, Arlington, VA.
- Crick, F., Eskander, S., Fankhauser, S., Diop, M., 2018a. How do African SMEs respond to climate
 risks? Evidence from Kenya and Senegal. World Development 108, 157–168.
- Crick, F., Gannon, K.E., Diop, M., Sow, M., 2018b. Enabling private sector adaptation in sub-Saharan
 Africa. WIRES Climate Change 9, e505.
- 740 Crick, F., Hesse, C., Orindi, V., Bonaya, M., Kiiru, J., 2019. Delivering climate finance at local level to
 741 support adaptation: experiences of County Climate Change Funds in Kenya. Ada Consortium,
 742 Nairobi.
- 743 Davies, J., 2018. Barriers and Enablers to Climate Change Adaptation in North Central Namibia.
 744 ASSAR (Adaptation at Scale in Semi-Arid Regions).
- 745 DCF Alliance, 2019. The Devolved Climate Finance mechanism: Principles, implementation and
 746 lessons from four semi-arid countries. The DCF Alliance.
- de Jode, H., 2009. Modern and mobile. The future of livestock production in Africa's drylands. IIED
 and SOS Sahel UK, London, UK.
- De Souza, K., Kituyi, E., Harvey, B., Leone, M., Murali, K.S., Ford, J.D., 2015. Vulnerability to climate
 change in three hot spots in Africa and Asia: key issues for policy-relevant adaptation and
 resilience-building research. Regional Environmental Change 15, 747–753. doi:10.1007/s10113015-0755-8

Deininger, K., Byerlee, D., 2011. Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can It Yield Sustainable and
 Equitable Benefits?, Rising Global Interest in Farmland. World Bank, Washington DC.
 doi:10.1596/978-0-8213-8591-3

- Dougherty-Choux, L., Terpstra, P., Kammila, S., Kurukulasuriya, P., 2015. Adapting from the ground
 up. Enabling small businesses in developing countries to adapt to climate change, World
 Resources Institute and United Nations Development Programme. Washington DC.
- Dyer, J., Leventon, J., Stringer, L., Dougill, A., Syampungani, S., Nshimbi, M., Chama, F., Kafwifwi, A.,
 2013. Partnership Models for Climate Compatible Development: Experiences from Zambia.
 Resources 2, 1–25. doi:10.3390/resources2010001
- Dzumbira, W., Jr, H.S.G., Geyer, H.S., 2017. Measuring the spatial economic impact of the Maputo
 Development Corridor. Development Southern Africa 34, 635–651.
 doi:10.1080/0376835X.2017.1318699
- Friksen, S.H., Nightingale, A.J., Eakin, H., 2015. Reframing adaptation : The political nature of climate
 change adaptation. Global Environmental Change 35, 523–533.
 doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2015.09.014
- Fankhauser, S., Jha, S., Batool, S., Qaisrani, A., 2018. Do natural disasters change
 savings and employment choices? Evidence from Pakistan., Grantham Research Institute
 Working Paper No. 293. Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment,
 London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.
- Fankhauser, S., 2016. Adaptation to Climate Change, Working Paper No. 255. Grantham Research
 Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, London School of Economics and Political
 Science, London, UK.
- Ferguson, J., 1990. The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic
 Power in Lesotho. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Few, R., Morchain, D., Spear, D., Mensah, A., Bendapudi, R., 2017. Transformation, adaptation and
 development: relating concepts to practice. Palgrave Communications.
 doi:10.1057/palcomms.2017.92
- Fjose, S., Grünfeld, Leo, A., Green, C., 2010. SMEs and growth in Sub-Saharan Africa: Identifying SME
 roles and obstacles to SME growth. MENON Business Economics Publication no. 14/2010.
- Galvin, K.A., Beeton, T.A., Luizza, M.W., 2018. African community-based conservation: a systematic
 review of social and ecological outcomes. Ecology and Society 23. doi:10.5751/ES-10217 230339
- Gannon, K.E., Conway, D., Pardoe, J., Batisani, N., Ndiyoi, M., Odada, E., Olago, D., Opere, A.,
 Kgosietsile, S., Nyambe, M., Omukuti, J., Siderius, C., 2018a. Business experience of El Niño
 associated floods and drought in three cities in in sub-Saharan Africa. Global Sustainability 1.
 doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/sus.2018.14
- Gannon, K.E., Crick, F., Rouhaud, E., Conway, D., Fankhauser, S., 2018b. Supporting private
 adaptation to climate change in semi-arid lands in developing countries. Pathways to Resilience
 in Semi-Arid Economies Briefing. Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the
 Environment, London, UK.
- Hagen-Zanker, J., Postel, H., Mosler Vidal, E., 2018. Poverty, migration and the 2030 Agenda for
 Sustainable Development, in: Migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

- 795 Overseas Development Institute, London, UK, pp. 15–32.
- Hasan, A., Raza, M., 2009. Migration and small towns in Pakistan. IIED Working Paper Series on
 Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies. No. 15. International Institute for
 Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Hesse, C., 2011. Ecology, equity and economics: reframing dryland policy, iied Opinion: Lessons from
 adaptation in practice. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED),
 London, UK.
- Hesse, C., Anderson, S., Cotula, L., Skinner, J., Toulmin, C., 2013. Managing the boom and bust:
 Supporting Climate Resilient Livelihoods in the Sahel, IIED Issue Paper. International Institute
 for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Hesse, C., Macgregor, J., 2009. Arid waste? Reassessing the value of dryland pastoralism. IIED
 Briefing. June 2009. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London,
 UK.
- Hesse, C., MacGregor, J., 2006. Pastoralism: drylands' invisible asset? IIED Drylands Issue Paper No.
 142. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Houdret, A., 2012. The water connection: Irrigation, water grabbing and politics in southern
 Morocco. Water Alternatives 5, 284–303.
- Huang, J., Ji, M., Xie, Y., Wang, S., He, Y., Ran, J., 2016. Global semi-arid climate change over last 60
 years. Climate Dynamics 46, 1131–1150. doi:10.1007/s00382-015-2636-8
- 814 IGAD Center for Pastoral Areas & Livestock Development (ICPALD), 2013. The Contribution of
 815 Livestock to the Ethiopian Economy. IGAD Center for Pastoral Areas & Livestock Development
 816 Policy Brief Series, Nairobi, Kenya.
- IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), 2014. Climate change 2014: Impacts, adaptation
 and vulnerability. Part A: Global and sectoral aspects, in: Field, C.B., Barros, V.R., Dokken, D.J.,
 Mach, K.J., Mastrandrea, M.D., Bilir, T.E., M.Chatterjee, K.L. Chatterjee, Ebi, K.L., Estrada, Y.O.,
 Genova, R.C., Girma, B., Kissel, E.S., Levy, A.N., MacCracken, S., Mastrandrea, P.R., White, L.L.
 (Eds.), Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC. Cambridge
 University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Jenet, A., Buono, N., Lello, S. Di, Gomarasca, M., Heine, C., Mason, S., Nori, M., Saavedra, R., Van
 Troos, K., 2016. The path to greener pastures. Pastoralism, the backbone of the world's
 drylands. Vétérinaires Sans Frontières International (VSF-International), Brussels, Belgium.
- Jobbins, G., Conway, D., Fankhauser, S., Gueye, B., Liwenga, E., Ludi, E., Mitchell, T., Mountfort, H.,
 Suleri, A., 2016. Resilience, equity and growth in semi-arid economies: a research agenda,
 Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. Overseas Development
 Institute, London, UK.
- Jobbins, G., Ludi, E., Calderone, M., Sisodia, R., Sarwar, M.B., 2018. 'Leaving no one behind ' through
 enabling climate-resilient economic development in dryland regions, Pathways to Resilience in
 Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) Policy Brief. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.
- Karki, M., Senaratna Sellamuttu, S., Okayasu, S., Suzuki, W., 2018. The IPBES regional assessment
 report on biodiversity and ecosystem services for Asia and the Pacific. Secretariat of the
 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES),
 Bonn, Germany.

- Kates, R.W., Travis, W.R., Wilbanks, T.J., 2012. Transformational adaptation when incremental
 adaptations to climate change are insufficient. Proceedings of the National Academy of
 Sciences 109, 7156–7161. doi:10.1073/pnas.1115521109
- Keys, P.W., Falkenmark, M., 2018. Green water and African sustainability. Food Security 10, 537–
 548. doi:10.1007/s12571-018-0790-7
- Klasen, S., Lamanna, F., 2009. The Impact of Gender Inequality in Education and Employment on
 Economic Growth: New Evidence for a Panel of Countries. Feminist Economics 15, 91–132.
 doi:10.1080/13545700902893106
- Krätli, S., 2015. Valuing variability: New Perspectives on climate resilient drylands development.
 International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Krishnamurthy, P.K., 2012. Disaster-induced migration: Assessing the impact of extreme weather
 events on livelihoods. Environmental Hazards 11, 96–111. doi:10.1080/17477891.2011.609879
- LDC Group, 2019. Delivering our Climate-Resilient Future: Lessons from a global evidence review.
 LDC Climate Change 2050 Vision. LIFE-AR LDC Initiative for Effective Adaptation and Resilience.
- Leach, M., Mearns, R., 1996. Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African
 Environment. James Currey, Oxford, UK.
- Leach, M., Mearns, R., Scoones, I., 1999. Environmental Entitlements: Dynamics and Institutions in
 Community-Based Natural Resource Management. World Development 27, 225–247.
 doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(98)00141-7
- Leach, M., Scoones, I., Stirling, A., 2010. Dynamic sustainabilities: technology, environment, social
 justice. Earthscan Publications, London, UK.
- Lemma, A., Jouanjean, M., Darko, E., 2015. Climate change, private sector and value chains:
 Constraints and adaptation strategies, Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE)
 Working Paper. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.
- Little, P.D., McPeak, J., Barrett, C.B., Kristjanson, P., 2008. Challenging Orthodoxies: Understanding
 Poverty in Pastoral Areas of East Africa. Development and Change 39, 587–611.
 doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.2008.00497.x
- MAER Sénégal, 2018. Feed the Future Senegal Project D'Appui auc Politiques Agricoles. Série Note
 d'Information 004. Ministere de L'Agriculture et de L'Equipement Rural
 http://www.papa.gouv.sn/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/PAPA-Note-dinformation-surlassurance-agricole-au-Sénég.
- Manuel-Navarrete, D., Pelling, M., 2015. Subjectivity and the politics of transformation in response
 to development and environmental change. Global Environmental Change 35, 558–569.
- Mdee, A., Harrison, E., Mdee, C., Mdee, E., Bahati, E., 2014. The politics of small-scale irrigation in
 Tanzania: Making sense of failed expectations, Future Agricultures Working Paper. University of
 Sussex, UK.
- Mendelsohn, R., 2012. The Economics of Adaptation To Climate Change in Developing Countries.
 Climate Change Economics 3, 1250006-1–21. doi:10.1142/S2010007812500066
- Middleton, N., Stringer, L., Goudie, A., Thomas, D., 2011. THE FORGOTTEN BILLION: MDG
 Achievement in the Drylands. United Nations Development Programme & United Nations

- 877 Convention to Combat Desertification, New York, NY.
- Mortimore, M., 1998. Roots in the African dust: sustaining the Sub-Saharan drylands. Cambridge
 University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Mortimore, M., 1989. Adapting to drought : farmers, famines, and desertification in West Africa.
 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Mortimore, M., Adams, W., 1999. Working the Sahel: environment and society in northern Nigeria.
 Routledge, London, UK.
- Mortimore, M., Anderson, S., Cotula, L., Davies, J., Faccer, K., Hesse, C., Morton, J., Nyangena, W.,
 Skinner, J., Wolfangel, C., 2009. Dryland Opportunies: A new paradigm for people, ecosystems
 and development. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), London, UK.
- Newborne, P., Gansaonré, N.R., 2017. Agriculture, Water, Climate and Migration in semi-arid lands
 in Burkina Faso, Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) Working Paper.
 London, UK.
- Odhengo, P., Atela, J., Steele, P., Orindi, V., Imbali, F., 2019. Climate Finance in Kenya: Review and
 Future Outlook. Discussion Paper. ADA Consortium, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Opiyo, F., Wasonga, O., Nyangito, M., Schilling, J., Munang, R., 2015. Drought Adaptation and Coping
 Strategies Among the Turkana Pastoralists of Northern Kenya. International Journal of Disaster
 Risk Science 6, 295–309. doi:10.1007/s13753-015-0063-4
- Orindi, V., Elhadi, Y., Hesse, C., 2017. Democratising climate finance at local levels, in: Ninan, K.N.,
 Inoue, M. (Eds.), Building a Climate Resilient Economy and Society: Challenges and
 Opportunities. Elgar, pp. 250–264. doi:https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785368455.00028
- Pardoe, J., Vincent, K., Conway, D., 2018. How do staff motivation and workplace environment affect
 capacity of governments to adapt to climate change in developing countries? Environmental
 Science and Policy 90, 46–53. doi:10.1016/j.envsci.2018.09.020
- Pauw, P., Chan, S., 2018a. Multistakeholder partnerships for adaptation: the role of micro, small and
 medium enterprises, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Eds.), Private-Sector Action in Adaptation:
 Perspectives on the Role of Micro, Small and Medium Size Enterprises. UDP Perspectives
 Series, UNEP DTU Partnership, pp. 98–109.
- Pauw, P., Chan, S., 2018b. Private-sector action in adaptation: Perspectives on the role of micro,
 small and medium size enterprises, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Eds.), Private-Sector Action in
 Adaptation: Perspectives on the Role of Micro, Small and Medium Size Enterprises. UNEP DTU
 Partnership, Copenhagen., pp. 99–108.
- Pauw, P., Pegels, A., 2013. Private sector engagement in climate change adaptation in least
 developed countries: an exploration. Climate and Development 5, 257–267.
 doi:10.1080/17565529.2013.826130
- Pelling, M., O'Brien, K., Matyas, D., 2015. Adaptation and transformation. Climatic Change 133, 113–
 127. doi:10.1007/s10584-014-1303-0
- 914 Qaisrani, A., Salik, K., 2018. The road to climate resilience: migration as an adaptation strategy., in:
 915 Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) Policy Brief. Sustainable Development
 916 Policy Institute (SDPI), Pakistan.

- Qaisrani, A., Umar, M.A., Siyal, G. e A., Salik, K.M., 2018. Rural Livelihood Vulnerability and Scope of
 Migration as an Adaptation Strategy in Semi-Arid Pakistan, in: Pathways to Resilience in Semi Arid Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI),
 Pakistan.
- Rain, D., 1999. Eaters of the dry season: circular labor migration in the West African Sahel.Routledge, New York, NY.
- Rao, N., Lawson, E.T., Raditloaneng, W.N., Solomon, D., Angula, M.N., 2017. Gendered vulnerabilities
 to climate change: insights from the semi-arid regions of Africa and Asia. Climate and
 Development 1–13. doi:10.1080/17565529.2017.1372266
- Reid, H., Hicks, C., Jones, X.H., Kapos, V., Rizvi, A.R., Wicander, S., 2019a. Nature-based solutions to
 climate change adaptation. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED),
 London, UK.
- Reid, H., Jones, X.H., Porras, I., Hicks, C., Wicander, S., Seddon, N., Kapos, V., Rizvi, A.R., Roe, D.,
 2019b. Is ecosystem-based adaptation effective? Perceptions and lessons learned from 13
 project sites. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Reid, H., Orindi, V., 2018. Ecosystem-based approaches to adaptation: strengthening the evidence
 and informing policy: Research results from the Supporting Counties in Kenya to Mainstream
 Climate Change in Development and Access Climate Finance project, Kenya. International
 Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
- Ribot, J., 2011. Choice, recognition and the democracy effects of decentralisation. Working Paper
 N°5, Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy, Sweden.
- 938 Rodriguez, L., 2008. A Global Perspective on the Total Economic Value of Pastoralism: Global
 939 synthesis report based on six country valuations. The International Livestock research Institute
 940 / World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (WISP), Nairobi, Kenya.
- Saeed, F., Salik, K.M., Ishfaq, S., 2016. Climate Change and Heat Waves: Rural to Urban Migration in
 Pakistan. A Silent Looming Crisis. Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad,
 Pakistan.
- 944 Safriel, U., Adeel, Z., Niemeijer, D., Puigdefabregas, J., White, R., Lal, R., Winslow, M., Ziedler, J.,
 945 Prince, S., Archer, E., King, C., 2005. Chapter 22: Dryland systems, in: Hassan, R., Scholes, R.,
 946 Ash, N. (Eds.), Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. Vol. 1. Ecosystems and Human Well-Being:
 947 Current State and Trends. World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, pp. 623–662.
- Salik, K.M., Qaisrani, A., Umar, M.A., Ali, S.M., 2017. Migration futures in Asia and Africa : economic
 opportunities and distributional effects the case of Pakistan, Pathways to Resilience in Semi Arid Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI),
 Islamabad, Pakistan.
- Sandford, S., 2013. Pastoralists and irrigation in the Horn of Africa: time for a rethink?, in: Catley, A.,
 Lind, J., Scoones, I. (Eds.), Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the
 Margins. Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, pp. 47–56.
- Scheffran, J., Marmer, E., Sow, P., 2012. Migration as a contribution to resilience and innovation in
 climate adaptation: Social networks and co-development in Northwest Africa. Applied
 Geography 33, 119–127. doi:10.1016/j.apgeog.2011.10.002
- 958 Schoonhoven-Speijer, M., Ruben, R., 2015. Maintaining a sustainable livelihood: effects of Utz

959	Certification on market access, risk reduction and income strategies of Kenyan coffee farmers,
960	in: Ruben, R., Hoebink, P. (Eds.), Coffee Certification in East Africa: Impact on Farms, Families
961	and Cooperatives. Wageningen Academic Publishers, Wageningen, Holland, pp. 149–173.
962	doi:10.3920/978-90-8686-805-6
963	Scoones, I., 2015. Sustainable rural livelihoods and rural development. Practical Action Publishing,
964	UK.
965 966	Scoones, I., 2009. Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. The Journal of Peasant Studies 36, 171–196. doi:10.1080/03066150902820503
967	Scoones, I., 1995. Living with uncertainty: new directions in pastoral development in Africa.
968	Intermediate Technology Publications, London, UK.
969	Scoones, I., 1992. The economic value of livestock in the communal areas of southern Zimbabwe.
970	Agricultural Systems 39, 339–359. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/0308-521X(92)90074-X
971	Scoones, I., Wolmer, W., 2003. Introduction: Livelihoods in crisis: Challenges for rural development
972	in Southern Africa. IDS Bulletin 34, 1–14. doi:10.1111/j.1759-5436.2003.tb00073.x
973	Scott, J.C., 1999. Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have
974	Failed. Yale University Press, US.
975	Seddon, N., Hou-Jones, X., Pye, T., Reid, H., Roe, D., Mountain, D., Rizvi, A.R., 2016a. Ecosystem-
976	based adaptation: a win–win formula for sustainability in a warming world? International
977	Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London, UK.
978	Seddon, N., Reid, H., Barrow, E., Hicks, C., Hou-Jones, X., Kapos, V., Rizvi, A.R., Roe, D., 2016b.
979	Ecosystem-based approaches to adaptation: strengthening the evidence and informing policy
980	Research overview and overarching questions. International Institute for Environment and
981	Development (IIED), London, UK.
982 983	Selsky, J.W., Parker, B., 2005. Cross-Sector Partnerships to Address Social Issues: Challenges to Theory and Practice. Journal of Management 31, 849–873. doi:10.1177/0149206305279601
984 985	Soanes, M., Rai, N., Steele, P., Shakya, C., MacGregor, J., 2017. Delivering real change: getting international climate finance to the local level. IIED, London. http://pubs.iied. org/10178IIED.
986	Söderbaum, F., Taylor, I., 2001. Transmission Belt for Transnational Capital or Facilitator for
987	Development ? Problematising the Role of the State in the Maputo Development Corridor. The
988	Journal of Modern African Studies 39, 675–695.
989	Sovacool, B.K., Linnér, BO., Goodsite, M.E., 2015. The political economy of climate adaptation.
990	Nature Climate Change 5, 616–618.
991	Stapleton, S.O., Nadin, R., Watson, C., Kellett, J., 2017. Climate change, migration, and displacement:
992	The need for a risk-informed and coherent approach. Overseas Development Institute, London,
993	UK. doi:10.1002/9781444351071
994 995	Stein, P., Hommes, M., Pinar Ardic, O., 2013. Closing the credit gap for formal and informal micro, small and medium enterprises. International Finance Corporation, Washington DC.
996	Stenek, V., Amado, JC., Greenall, D., 2013. Enabling Environment for Private Sector Adaptation - An
997	Index Assessment Framework, International Finance Corporation. International Finance
998	Corporation.

- 999 Stern, N., 2007. The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review. HM Treasury, Cambridge1000 University Press, UK.
- Sward, J., Codjoe, S., 2012. Human Mobility and Climate Change Adaptation Policy: A Review of
 Migration in National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs). Migrating Out of Poverty,
 Research Programme Consortium, Working Paper 6. UK Department for International
 Development, London, UK.
- Swift, J., 2003. The global drylands imperative: pastoralism and mobility in the drylands. UNDPDrylands Development Centre.
- Tanner, T., Allouche, J., 2011. Towards a New Political Economy of Climate Change and
 Development. IDS bulletin 42, 1–14.
- Thorpe, J., 2018. Procedural Justice in Value Chains Through Public–private Partnerships. World
 Development 103, 162–175. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.10.004
- Thorpe, J., Maestre, M., 2015. Brokering Development: Enabling Factors for Public-Private-Producer
 Partnerships in Agricultural Value Chains. International Fund for Agricultural Development,
 Rome, Italy.
- Tiffen, M., Mortimore, M., Gichuki, F., 1994. More People, Less Erosion. African Centre for
 Technology Studies (ACTS) Press and Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London, UK.
- Tol, R.S.J., Yohe, G.W., 2007. The weakest link hypothesis for adaptive capacity: An empirical test.
 Global Environmental Change 17, 218–227. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2006.08.001
- Tripathi, R., Chung, Y.B., Deering, K., Saracini, N., Willoughby, R., Wills, O., Mikhail, M., Warburton,
 H., Jayasinghe, D., Rafanomezana, J., Churm, M., 2012. What Works for Women: Proven
 approaches for empowering women smallholders and achieving food security. OXFAM,
 London.
- Tucker, J., Daoud, M., Oates, N., Few, R., Conway, D., Mtisi, S., Matheson, S., 2015. Social
 vulnerability in three high-poverty climate change hot spots: What does the climate change
 literature tell us? Regional Environmental Change 15, 783–800. doi:10.1007/s10113-014-0741 6
- UN News, 2019. Actions not words: what was promised at the UN's landmark climate summit? 23rd
 September 2019. UN News. https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/09/1047112.
- 1028 UN WomenWatch, 2009. Women, Gender Equality and Climate Change The Need for Gender
 1029 Sensitive Responses to the Effects of Climate Change. The UN Internet Gateway on Gender
 1030 Equality and Empowerment of Women.
- 1031 United Nations Secetary General, 2019. Deputy Secretary-General's remarks at the Nature Based
 1032 Solutions Momentum High-level Event at the UN Climate Action Summit [as prepared for
 1033 delivery]. 22nd September 2019. United Nations High-level Event at the UN Climate Action
 1034 Summit, New York, US. https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/dsg/statement/2019-09 1035 22/deputy-secretary-generals-remarks-the-nature-based-solutions-momentum-high-level 1036 event-the-un-climate-action-summit-prepared-for-delivery.
- Vincent, K., Daly, M., Scannell, C., Leathes, B., 2018. What can climate services learn from theory and
 practice of co-production? Climate Services 12, 48–58. doi:10.1016/j.cliser.2018.11.001
- 1039 Wade, C., Dime, M., Tandian, A., Ehode, L., 2017. État des lieux des liens entre migration, transferts

1040	et résilience au changement climatique au Sénégal. Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid
1041	Economies (PRISE) Working Paper. Innovation, Environnement Dévloppement en Afrique (IED
1042	Afrique), Dakar, Senegal.
1043	Waldinger, M., Fankhauser, S., 2015. Climate Change and Migration in Developing Countries:
1044	Evidence and Implications for PRISE Countries, Pathways to Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies
1045	(PRISE) Working Paper. Grantham Research Institute, London School of Economics, London, UK.
1046 1047	Wedeman, N., Petruney, T., 2018. Invest in Girls and Women to Tackle Climate Change and Conserve the Environment. WomenDeliver.org.
1048	Weng, L., Klintuni, A., Dirks, P.H.G.M., Dixon, J., Irfansyah, M., Sayer, J.A., 2013. Mineral industries ,
1049	growth corridors and agricultural development in Africa. Global Food Security 2, 195–202.
1050	Wilkinson, E., Schipper, L., Simonet, C., Kubik, Z., 2018. Climate change, migration and the 2030
1051	Agenda for Sustainable Development, in: Migration and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable
1052	Development. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK, pp. 201–215.
1053	doi:10.1016/j.tripleo.2005.08.041
4054	

1054