

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 What is pastoralism and who are pastoralists?

Pastoralism constitutes 12-16 % of the total population of arid and semi-arid regions of eastern and western Africa numbering between 25-30 million people. These people, in most countries of the world are “Minorities” of different ethnic identities with their own culture and socio-economic ways of life, i.e. they distinguished by different ways of life, cultural values, language and considered “Minorities” by such categories. Attention to consider the needs and problems of pastoralists had started to be paid firstly in 1986 at the meeting held in Senegal (Dakar) sponsored by UN. Consequently, the project called NOPA (Nomadic pastoralists in Africa) established by the end of 1990 mainly by UNICEF and UNESCO. The project has its head quarter at Nairobi (Kenya) and covers many countries in Africa which have concentrations of livestock. It includes:

1. The Sudano-Sahalian Zone (Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Chad and Burikinaso)
2. Eastern-African- (Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea etc.)

Definitions

Pastoralism: There are a number of potential definitions of pastoralism, highlighting different perspectives. For example, an economic definition focuses on livestock production, whereas an ecological definition emphasizes collectively owned and managed pasture. A socio-cultural or ethnic definition highlights identity and customary social institutions. Other definitions will focus on geographical mobility.

However, the classic definition given by Jermy Swift is frequently used and little bit comprehensive. According to swift, pastoralism is production system in which fifty percent or more of the household gross revenue (the total value of marketed product + the estimated value of subsistence production consumed with in the household) comes from livestock and livestock related activities or more than 15 % of the household energy consumption consists of milk and milk product. But this definition does not consider nomadism which refers the movement of pastoralists rather emphasize the subsistence base.

Pastoralists- any population or segment of population subsisting primarily via pastoralism (if also practice significant amount of agriculture, termed "agro pastoralists")

The term "subsisting" is intended to exclude those who raise animals strictly for exchange value rather than direct consumption (for example commercial ranchers and dairy farmers), though as we will see most subsistence pastoralists rely on trade to some extent, even if large-scale impersonal markets and monetary currency are absent.

N.B Anthropologists argued that pastoralism and pastoralists cannot be viewed in isolation which is the problem of most explanatory models. And it should be viewed as dialectic between varieties of shaping forces.

Pastoralism currently has taken different form due to the fact that it is constantly in a process of change (i.e. its dynamic nature). Therefore, whatever definition is given it did not yet fully explain the changing features of pastoralism. Hence, different variables should be considered in order to come to pastoralism.

1. Socio- economic variable. This parameter holds principal features of pastoralism and its definition.
2. Types of power wielded by pastoralists (political power)
 - Some are at the margin of political sphere, some others are active in a political arena, and others may even be pastoral state.
3. Access to control over land and other natural resources
 - Some pastoralists have secured access and other are alienated in terms of their access to resources.
4. Quality and quantity of environmental resources (The nature of natural resources)
 - Some are endowed well while others less endowed
5. Predominant type of animal they raising (The mix of animals)
 - Some are cattle herders, other are sheep, goat & camel.
6. Mobility- some pastoralists are constantly on move (i.e. frequent and integrated mobility) and others are moving back and forth (transhumance) pastoralists.

In light of the above perspective, it is impossible to say pastoralists and their way of life is homogenous. That is typologies vary and there is a dynamic and varied nature of pastoralists in different areas of the world.

According to Wilson, the most common ground on which to classify pastoralists is based on duration and distance of livestock movement i.e. mobility and the pattern it takes.

These are:

I. Nomadic pastoralists: are those societies that for various reasons not settled permanently at one place. For example, horticulturalists and hunter gatherer societies are nomads who move periodically across the ecological setting. Generally, Nomadic pastoralists are people that constantly on frequent movement and travel long distance for effective adaptation to their environment. They have little dependence on activities other than pastoralism. The Massai in Kenya, Gog in Tanzania and the Somali pastoralist in Ethiopia are good examples in this regard.

II. Semi- nomadic pastoralists: are those pastoralists who maintained a permanent base camp where bulk of the population reside (women's, children's and elders) and only some members of the society (youth) who attached themselves to cattle move back and forth between wet and dry season. Hence, their frequency of movement is shorter and they partly depend on the other complementary activities.

III. Settled pastoralists: - are those keeping animals in one place most or all of year, provisioning them with fodder (e.g., hay), which is the typical pattern for many traditional European pastoralists (or agro pastoralists); this system is relatively capital-intensive (need substantial barns, means to transport hay, etc.)

The other standard argued by scholars up on which to classify pastoralists is based on degree dependence on pastoralism and other mode of adaptation. These are:

I. Agro-pastoralists- are societies in which agriculture constitutes the subsistence base and people derive their bulk of subsistence from cultivation. But, agriculture integrated with livestock production.

IV. Pure-pastoralists: are societies in which the bulk of subsistence derived from their domesticated animals (livestock).

Here it is not to mean that pure pastoralists do not use agriculture and agricultural products. Today it is difficult to put a clear demarcation line between the two; rather they are found in continuum. Taking this continuum as a ground, anthropologist Paul Baxter classified pastoralists in to three groups:

1. Highly specialized pastoralists: are those pastoralists who derive the biggest sharing of their subsistence from livestock and livestock products and agricultural in a much

marginalized way (i.e. they can be said those who do not cultivate). Somali pastoralists in Ethiopia, Samburu and Masai pastoralists in Kenya are good examples.

2. Those who consider themselves and are considered by others as pastoralists but cannot subsist without some form of rain fed agriculture (i.e. take cultivation as supplementary activities). Afar and Borana pastoralists in Ethiopia, Bana in Kenya Karomajong in Uganda and etc are example.

3. The pastoral societies in which agriculture is a dominant subsistence activity and animal husbandry again simultaneously the integral component of the economy. In other words, there is a symbiotic relationship between pastoralism and agriculture. Nevertheless, in spite of such reliance on rain fed agriculture they consider themselves as cattle people and to the large degree maintain pastoral mentality. Agro-pastoralists are an Example.

1.2. The pastoral setting

The Horn of Africa is home to the largest aggregation of traditional stockbreeders in the world, estimated at 15-20 million people (FAO, 2000a). For all the states of the region, arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) represent a major portion of the land area.

In such areas, characterized by erratic rainfall and periodic droughts, pastoralism is a well-suited natural resource management system. Nevertheless, pastoralists in the Horn of Africa are now amongst the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups. This is due to a number of elements historical, social, economic and political in nature linking and influencing one another. Traditional livestock production is becoming increasingly impracticable because of a greatly reduced access to land and water, as they are turned over to cultivation. This loss has been facilitated by the reluctance of states to acknowledge and respect pastoralists' rights to land (Lane and Moore head, 1995). Restrictions on the mobility of herders and their cattle have disrupted the process of adjustment that maintains an ecological balance between men, animals and land (Baxter, 1990). Pastoralist society has been negatively affected by state borders that divide ethnic groups, separating people from their kin, pastures, watering places and markets. Colonial and postcolonial arrangements disrupted the social and political cohesion of pastoral societies, and poverty intensified competition for resources, further undermining social

organization (Markakis, 1993; Barfield, 1993). The result was conflict, both within pastoralist society and with state authority supporting sedentarised farmers (Maknun, 1986).

State policies throughout the region aim to develop livestock production rather than to improve the living conditions of pastoralists. They are based on a desire to turn their land over to commercial cultivation through irrigation, or over to meat production in ranching schemes, leaving pastoralists, whose land has remained state domain, as the only social group without any land tenure rights.

In a situation characterized by marginalization, conflict and competition over meager resources, it is widely recognized that extension and education services have had a limited impact on the status of pastoralist societies. Often provided by governments, these services have failed to achieve their goals. Education programmes have been at odds with and in opposition to nomadic culture at every level, from their principles and goals to their approach to evaluation (Krätli, 2001). Extension services have been undermined by communication gaps between extensionists and pastoralists (Butcher, 1994).

From the context of Ethiopia pastoral societies constitute 10-12 % of the total population inhabiting the peripheral dry, arid and semi-arid regions of the country including the central highland of Ethiopia, 500,000 km² almost half of the country's areas occupied by these groups. In most areas rain fall is <700 mm, which is too scanty to cultivate.

The UN development programmes identify the geographical locations of pastoral societies into five geographical boundaries.

1. North Eastern pastoralists:

- Cover 75, 000 Km² surface areas, located in the northern part of the rift Valley.
- The annual rain fall <700 mm & it is bimodal type.
- The pastoral groups in this area are: Afar, Issa, Karrayu & Ittu pastoralists

2. South Eastern region:

- The total surface area of 293, 000 km² – the largest of all.
- It covers the Ogaden region to Ethio-Somali border.
- ARF 100 – 700 mm. i.e. the most arid region in the country

- Bimodal rainfall type.
- Constitute Somali pastoralists

3. Southern pastoral region:

- Commonly known as the Borana Oromo (Southern rangeland).
- Total land area 95, 000 Km²
- Better amount of rain fall than the rest and it is bimodal type.
- The temperature is still high
- The quality and quantity of natural resource is relatively better i.e. it has better grazing land.
- Inhabited mainly by Borana and Guji pastoralists. However, there are small Pastoral groups found along the pocket areas of the Borana Oromo (Garri, Dogodi & Gabra).

4. South western pastoralists:

- Total surface area = 63,000 Km²
- Mean ARF 700mm in the North & 200mm in the south.
- Characterized by some form of irrigated agriculture (i.e. flood retreat cultivation in the Omo plain) & its occupied by agro-pastoralists.
- Encompasses diversified ethnic groups (i.e. ethno linguistically diversified region)
- Inhabited by mursi, Bana, Tsamai, hamer and Arbori pastoralists
- Also endowed in grazing resources.

5. North western pastoralists

- Commonly thought of as Beneshangul Gumuz region
- ARF 1000-1400 mm and it has relatively high rainfall.

1.3. Characteristic Qualities of pastoralism

1. Dependence on Livestock (the back bone of their economy)

This is the first basic characteristic that accounts for pastoralists' orientation towards livestock. Livestock is both the backbone and the cultural value of pastoralists. Despite differences in dependence on livestock all of them perceive themselves as livestock people (have pastoral mentality).

Baxter, pointed out, pastoralism is both a mode of perception as well as a mode of production. (I.e. dependence on livestock has economic value, cultural, social and political value). In this sense the term "pastoralists" has to be extended to people who have been forced by poverty to depend on non-livestock activities, as well as to wealthy households who have successfully diversified into trade or agriculture, both groups still holding common beliefs about the fundamental importance of livestock to their ways of life and self-perceptions.

2. Marginal environment

The second characteristic which has been focus for new range ecology, are their physical environment which characterized by extreme variability and unreliability of rain fall. Pastoral areas, even though they may produce crop in good season, due to its marginal nature in pastoral environments permanent settlement has often had a negative impact on the local environment and extensive livestock production is often the sole way to overcome the fluctuating forage resources.

3. Herd diversification

This is herding a variety of different stock in different areas by pastoralists due to the fact that different animals have different niche specializations and vulnerability to drought and disease.

4. Herd maximization: pastoralists tend to maximize their herds and this herd growth opportunistic rather than conservative. The rationale behind herd growth among pastoralists are obvious:

- To use them during critical time (insurance for poor season)

- The larger their herds at the beginning of drought more likely survive at the end.
- Consideration of socio-economic and cultural uses (i.e. as compensation, Marriage payment etc)

5. Seasonal mobility- Due to vulnerability and variability of rain fall nomadism is enforced among pastoral people even though the degree of nomadism is virtually not the same. Mobility allows pastoralists to simultaneously exploit more than one environment, thus creating the possibility for arid regions to support human life. Rather than adapting the environment to suit the “food production system”. The system is moved to fit the environment.

It is argued that, the movement among pastoralists is not random rather it is highly ordered and planned movement based on the logical calculation of: when, How, where, how long to move?

6. Communal ownership of grazing resources (communal tenure arrangements)

Again this characteristic reveals that, because of the scarce and variability of potential grazing resources pastoralists tend to develop communal ownership in order to best adapt to this challenge. This actually does not mean that there are no rules over access to the resources. Access is regulated well by defined social groups like clan net work which is responsible for rational use of resources.

CHAPTER TWO- FALLACIES, MYTHS, ASSUMPTIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT PASTORALISM

Pastoralist's way of life, economic and socio-political system have historically been misrepresented and misunderstood by nation states. They have also been further disadvantaged in their relation with policy makers; due primarily to the perceptions and analysis of pastoralism has traditionally been affected by many myths, faulty assumptions and half-truths. These myths are including the following:

- Nomadic pastoralism is an archaic form of production, whose time has passed.
- Nomadic pastoralism is practiced by people who were not modern and who had been left behind.
- The pastoralist mobility taken as inherently back ward, unnecessary, chaotic and disruptive.
- Most rangelands are degraded as a result of pastoral over-grazing because they do not care of the land thus they increase their herds beyond caring capacity of the land (the so called 'tragedy of the commons')
- Pastoralists do not sell their animals instead they prefer to hoard them.
- They contribute little to national economy and pastoralism has very low productivity.
- A sedentary cattle rising is more productive than mobile system and pastoral mobile systems are archaic and hence modern scientific methods need to be introduced.
- Pastoralist permanent settlement assumed to benefit them from service to be offered.

However, empirical evidence does not back up these assumptions and misconceptions; yet, they are common in the minds of policy-makers and often place pastoralists at disadvantaged position in the policy processes.

2.1. Pastoralism and the environment

Here, emphasis has been laid on to discuss some critical issues regarding how pastoralists blamed for the way they exploit their natural recourses in line with justification given by empirical anthropological researches.

To this context, there are two contradicting views on natural resource management capabilities of pastoralist. The first one is pastoralist have been criticized for destroying the environment by accumulating excessive numbers of animals and overexploiting the

pastures. According to this view, pastoralists damage the environment due to their irrational fondness for large numbers of animals.

Paradoxically, the second view postulates that, pastoralism should be seen as a dynamic adaptation to difficult environment, providing pastoralists with high standards of living on the basis of marginal resources. According to this perspective, environmental damage is not due to any internal process in pastoral society but caused by external factors (restriction on movement, bans on bush burning). The stands actually taken between “romantics” (often anthropologists) and “pessimists” (ecologists, range managers and economists).

In line with the above arguments, the dominant theory on which government pastoral policy and development workers idea rested on for long is, the Garrett Hardin’s classical theory of “**Tragedy of the commons**”. The mounting criticism for the pastoral environmental management pattern came from this Hardin’s theory for that matter. The theory presented that; pastoralism is inherently destructive of its environment because livestock are held individually but grazing is held communally. Hence, pastoralists have no care to look after the environment because any loss in range productivity is felt by community as whole rather than individual pastoralist.

In other words, if land is communally owned and livestock privately owned, every individual maximize his/her herds at the cost of communal property regardless of considering possible consequences (i.e. land degradation). And this idea of Hardin shared by many economists and range managers and they came up with the proposition that that are only two ways to halt such overexploitation:

- 1) Converting the commons into private property that owner will use it wisely.
- 2) Up holding it to the state (i.e. putting it under state regulations) that will ensure conservation.

Critics and the empirical reality

The common criticisms of the ‘tragedy of the commons’ which is the result of empirical anthropological researches are:

i) The normal communal land tenure arrangement in pastoral societies do not involve open access to the resources, rather access is frequently reserved for members of particular social groups. Hence, in order to talk about common property we have to distinguish between, open access and controlled common property.

ii) Many others who argue for the idea of ‘Tragedy of the commons’ have not been careful about different system of property rights and assume only three systems: private, state and commons. But the actual type of property rights/access at least must involve the following patterns:

Private ownership		Collective ownership		
Individual	corporate	State	communal	Open access

Here the Hardin’s view anything other than individual or state ownership is open-access is proved false. It is argued this theory obtain its analytical foundation from the “prisoners dilemma” and “Game theory”. This is case in which the prisoners try to escape from the prison, provide information to many that complicate situation.

2.2. Pastoralism and the economy

This is the second area in which pastoralists blamed regardless of their indigenous system. Economically, pastoralists criticized as if they are irrational. In other words, pastoralists keep their livestock for cultural as well as economic reasons. Therefore, they do not respond to the price incentives when selling their livestock and try to hang on to their livestock until they are forced by drought

The most influential theory in this view is the classical theory of **Herskovit’s, “the East African cattle complex”**. According to this theory, pastoralists tend to maximize their herds on communal grazing land not for economic advantage but for prestige and status. On top of this, pastoralists considered as very much fond of their livestock by accumulating and retaining it. The emotional and ceremonial value is so important that livestock cannot be sold to meet their needs (pastoralists). In this respect, the theory emphasized the mass psychology of pastoralists. This theory has two seemingly important implications:

- 1) Pastoralists are in responsive to “market prices”. They don’t want to sell their animal even though the break of market is in favor of them.
- 2) The increment of livestock beyond the carrying capacity of the resource (land) will have an adverse effect in the long run on the system.

*** What does an empirical anthropological study indicate?**

The empirical evidence do not support the idea contemplated by the Herskovit’s theory. Here some critics of theory: it didn’t take into account:

- i. The rationality of pastoralist in an environment characterized by ecological and economic fragility and instability.
- ii. The extensive implications of pastoralists in market transaction
- iii. The relevance of non-market transaction
- iv. The ineffectual market system
- v. The sell of animal products and small herds

i). the rationality of pastoralist in an environment characterized by ecological and economic fragility and instability. In the marginal environment where resource is erratic, unreliable and scarce, herd maximization is rational response to avert risk associated with small number of herds. In addition to this, herd maximization would be considered insurance against loss by veterinary disease. Again economically (herd maximization) is only form of wealth accumulation open for pastoralist societies.

ii). the extensive implications of pastoralists in the market transactions.

the idea that pastoralists are resistant to market price is counter criticized in light of empirical studies that pastoralists are not ignorant of market, they are incorporated either with the regional or national market. Fore instance, through purchasing of consumer goods (grain, clothes... etc).

Another point neglected by theory is the sell of small stocks (sheep, goats) by emphasizing only on large animals. The sell of diary products also understated (milk and milk products) in the market transaction analysis.

iii). the relevance of non-market transactions.

The possession of livestock constitutes the central element in the social, political, cultural and ritual life of the society. Even though livestock is an economic means of subsistence, this is not its mere value. To the considerable degree pastoralists have emotional and ideological attachment to their livestock, but this should not be accounted for their “irrationality”.

In addition to this, they distributed (transfer) animals through gift, marriage payment, religious ceremonies, Mutual assistance, loan, money social security network etc. but these all did not valued among the advocate of the above theory.

iv). the ineffectual market system

To this point in effectual market system refers to the situation in which pastoralists become vulnerable to price fluctuation in a volatile market system. Most of the time market forces are in favour of grain so that pastoralists pay more livestock.

The theory of pastoral conservatism

This theory takes synthesis of the above theories and it has three main interests:

1. Pastoralists lack the interest in exchanging cattle for cash which prevent them from the benefit of cash economy
2. Pastoralists retain cattle for social value than economic needs.
3. The lack of institutional means that limit the increase of stock on communal resource.

2.3. Pastoralism and animal Husbandry Techniques

This is again the areas in which pastoralist suffer criticism as if their production system is stagnant, out dated and worthless production system. There is groundless bias in the mind of policy makers, economist, ecologists and animal specialists. International development agencies and African governments devoted much of their energies to suppressing pastoral livestock and land management techniques based on the assumption that these techniques are unproductive and ecologically destructive. Nevertheless, empirical studies do not back up these assumptions. And most researches and analysis by anthropologists and others who are the advocate of the pastoral society have postulated;

- The efficiency of indigenous pastoral use of natural resources for food production
- The validity and richness of pastoral indigenous know ledge (time tested and time proved system)

Livestock movement (mobility) as an animal husbandry techniques assumed by policy makers as manifestation of instability, fond of moving, blindly following the tail of animals. For empirical studies, mobility is option less strategy for systematic and sound use of scarce and varied resources. The indigenous system of land use is appropriate to cope with rainfall variability. Response to environmental challenge is possible through opportunistic movement across geographically distributed grazing units. Understanding pastoral techniques needs understanding of ecosystem of pastoral societies (i.e. answering the question what is sound techniques? indigenous or new range management techniques).

There are two theoretical debates that during the previous decades around range management system in pastoral areas. These are equilibrium and non-equilibrium theories. Equilibrium theory developed in the mainstream range management science, while non-equilibrium theory is by those argues for the effectiveness of indigenous range management knowledge system.

According to **equilibrium model**, grazing systems in many parts of Africa are in equilibrium system that livestock and forage productivity can control each other. In other words, livestock mortality during drought is derived by **density-dependant** factors (malnutrition caused by low calving rate). The theory postulate that increased forage productivity during wet season results in livestock density while decline in forage productivity results in livestock loss and reduced density (i.e. there is direct relationship between them). The theory again presented that changes in rangelands are predictable, so that the right management can be used to control livestock density in response to change in forage productivity. The failure results in overstocking followed by degradation because overstocking reduces the productivity of forage resources.

Paradoxically, **non equilibrium theory** maintains the idea that grazing systems in arid and semi arid range lands are in dis-equilibrium system that vegetation and livestock cannot control each other. Livestock population is controlled by **density-independent** factors such as drought, tribal raids and animal disease which are episodic and hardly predictable with

any certainty. Rainfall is highly unreliable so that making prediction to match livestock density with forage productivity is impossible. Therefore, livestock population seldom overshoots the carrying capacity of rangeland since changes are unpredictable. The theory reasoned that in an ecosystem controlled by stochastic weather events, reduced range productivity creates stress in animal number before intensity of drought. It is during this time herders take the opportunistic coping strategies to reduce livestock loss.

The empirical researches are take the stand of non-equilibrium model that states; variability of climatic condition, unpredictable productivity, prediction of carry capacity is not useful in an environment uncertainties dominant future events and the suitability of pastoral land use system. There is need to understand pastoral areas that are characterized by high level of unpredictable variability that therefore need to tackled head-on and encouraging the pastoral techniques, rather attempting to provide blue print solution based simple on concepts such as ‘carrying capacity.’

2.4. Pastoralism and cultural change

The other widely held bias and misunderstanding of pastoralist society is around cultural adaptation and change. It is assumed that pastoralists are conservative in their very nature and grimly resistant to all propositions of change /development. In other words the pastoralists’ value system, behavior and their social organizations are generalized as obstacle for any means of change/development efforts. Their entire material as well as cultural aspects put into questions in relation with the compromise of economic development.

In the sharp contrast to the above assumptions, the anthropological inquiries demonstrate:

-) The needs to understand pastoral institutions and appropriate balance between state institutions and pastoral ones.
-) The importance of understanding attitudes and behaviors of individuals in making policy relevant to marginalized groups.
-) Pastoral communities are innovative and can adapt new techniques from others. If they found it effective and if circumstances allow them they are ready for positive change.

2.5. Pastoralism and conservation

Pastoralists again accused again conservation. The issue of conservation is taken as incompatible with pastoral production system. Fore instance, right from the colonial period the conservation schemes and parks have been appropriated into pastoral areas. Game reserves, national park and sanctuaries devised into the potential grazing areas which bring with it the alienation of pastoral communities. All these conservation schemes were intended to introduce new strategies to efficiently use and conserve rangelands as well as wild life which previously persecuted as a result of pastoralist movement that is destructive to environment.

- There are two justification for these assumption:
 - I. pastoralism and conservation are incompatible.
 - II. Pastoralism is ecologically unsound and has destructive effects on environment and wild life.
- The empirical research present that Pastoralists do not exploit wild life except their little reliance during the period of crisis. It is in fact, misleading to believe that, because wild animals and domestic animal co-existed for many centuries in harmony.

CHAPTER THREE -THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PASTORAL CHANGE

Under this chapter emphasis is on the notions of pastoralist marginalization in their relationship with nation state. In other words, locating pastoralists within the political economic context and analyzing their relation with state and how this operate and contribute for pastoralist's marginalization and impoverishment.

To this context, marginalization often thought of as the process by which pastoralists deprived of their ability to control their own life. For instance, where they live and drive their income, what stock type they produce, how hard and when they work. This process is partly the outcome of historical process of political subjugation and partly due to the incorporation of pastoral societies into a state dominated by an outlook biased in favor of other modes of livelihood. The pastoralists have to an increasing extent lost influence over policies and events that in fact are central to their livelihood.

The outcome of these processes of marginalization will have grave implications for the communal resource management regimes that sustained pastoralists for long. Consequently, resource depletion and destruction are linked to failing management regimes, and in turn resource problems resulted in food security issues.

Marginalization can take different forms: political, ecological and economic and others. It is argued that the set of circumstances that commonly experienced by the pastoralists that traditionally marginalized in their relationships with public authorities should be considered.

These include: - geographical distance from government

- Geographical distance from other population groups
- Lack of transport infrastructure
- Mobile life style
- Cultural differences
- Linguistic differences

- Harsh train and climate which make service delivery difficult
- Unwillingness of professionals to work in these areas.

3.1. Political marginalization

In the first place, political marginalization refers to process by which certain categories within the political framework its class, ethnic groups or occupational strata are excluded from the making of decision about their own affairs and see their scope of autonomous action increasingly circumscribed by externally imposed restrictions.

Many pastoral societies were only incorporated into the states polity in the last one hundred years or so. The relationship between pastoralists and their state center has therefore often been ambivalent at best, and at worst openly hostile. The general attitude of policy makers towards the pastoral areas has ambivalent; they have been regarded as trouble some border areas inhabited by “primitive nomadic tribes” who can contribute little to national economy. Due to this endured misrepresentation of pastoralist in the mind of policy makers and governments, pastoralists are not the respecters of their state borders. This can be best illustrated from the case of Ethiopia in which the Ogaden and Southern Ethiopia have seen recurrent revolts against state authorities in the 1960’s and 1970’s. And the define characteristic of the relationship has been extractive and authoritarian.

Politically, pastoralists are subjects of broader pressure from the national government and in the many African countries they are “minority” in a weak political participation. Their involvement and representation in the political field is very minimum or no involvement at all.

In light of the above perspectives, it is not surprising that the general attitude of pastoralists to the center is one of suspicion and hostility. Government viewed as alien and unrepresentative of their interests and concerns. Consequently the mutual suspicion and lack of understanding reinforced between them.

Across the world, in many countries there has been history of tension between nomadic people who look forward for autonomy and mobility, and government and non

governmental agencies that run for dominance and security. Hence, pastoralists have been marginalized and discriminated and have actively persecuted in many countries.

The concept of “participation”, has been essential to development thinkers, However it neglect the idea of political participation which stress on legitimate representation, system of public accountability, party formation, political mobilization, lobbying and so on. There are a number of circumstances that pave the ways for pastoralist political marginalization. These include:

- Lack of well-developed institutions and experiences in the participation of regional and national development policy formation.
- The pastoralists’ mobile lifestyle also stimulated the process of marginalization.
- Lack of well-established clear cut boundary sated by the government.
- In appropriate relationship between state institutions and pastoral institutions (i.e. the ambivalent relationship)

In spite of the above fact, the global pressure of democratization today is raising consciousness with regard to participation in various areas of interest for participation such as social equity, respect for human rights and better economic management. And the trend that has been previously between state and pastoralists had been changing due to increasing pressure from pro-pastoralists and others. This is the matter that we will address more in the last chapter of this course.

3.2 Ecological Marginalization

Ecological marginalization refers to as the process in which pastoralists are forced to retreat from original settlement and pushed towards peripheries where they produce less and less. This process was mainly derived by the encroachment of various programmes to the original pastoral grazing land. Fore example state sponsored agriculture, conservation schemes, commercial ranching and so on, which spontaneously leads to the collapse of resources in the pastoral ecology.

In other words, ecological marginalization refers to environmental deterioration and resource degradation in the pastoral areas which in turn explicitly linked with changing tenure arrangements in the pastoral areas. In Ethiopia fore example, national tenure legislation arising from conditions within arable agriculture in the highlands, is now increasingly relevant also in the lowlands which inhabited by pastoral societies. Changes in national tenure arrangements also distribute local uses in new ways. A disturbing trend is the on-going exclusion of pastoralists from critically important resource. This happens partly through internal stratification, as part of pastoral societies attempts to reserve previously common resource for their own use at the expense of less fortunate members of the society, and partly due to external encroachment from various combination of state and commercial interests.

Resource poverty is thus becoming a major aspect of poverty in pastoral society. In the pastoral areas, communities have developed coping strategies over centuries to optimize production in harsh environment. Development and relief efforts by the governments and NGOs have not strengthened the capacity of pastoral peoples to survive. On contrary, their institutions which are the strength of the indigenous management systems have been weakened. Dependence is created and the system of self-help been disabled.

The justification for land alienation is often that the land will be put to a better use and that the community will be benefiting from the development that takes away part of their grazing land. Fore example, water development on private ranches, building of veterinary clinics and employment opportunities for the displaced would be compared with the opportunities for gone for losing the land. This process of pastoralist's alienation can be illustrated by the diagram shown below:

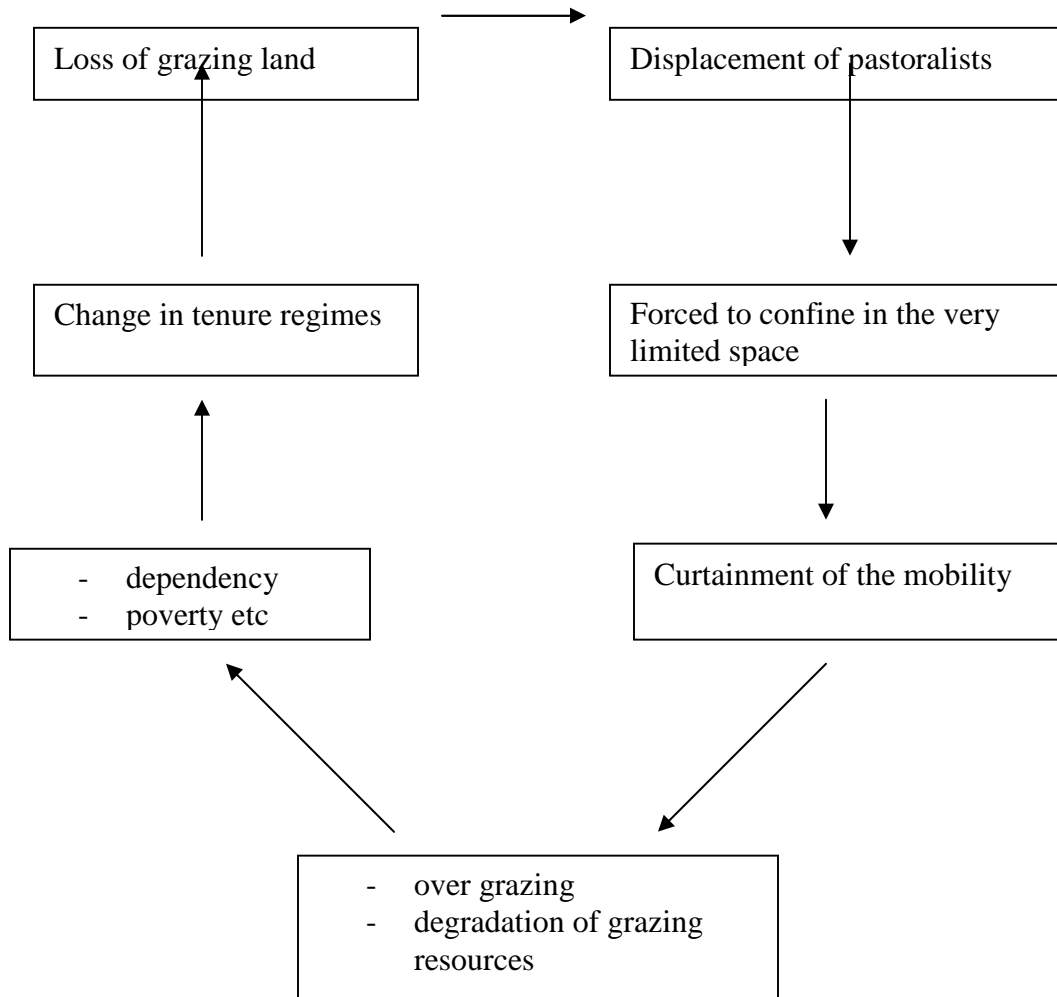


Diagram 3.1 ecological marginalization and its consequences on pastoralist's prospect

Thus undermining the pastoralist authority makes their indigenous institutions lose its powers to regulate resource use. By contrast, if the decisions to allocate resources follow the indigenous model then the process of resource privatization will be gradual and adaptive. Sudden resource alienation creates shocks that might lead to the breakdown of the indigenous institutions. Moreover, if the action of pastoralists meant to alleviate poverty is incapacitated by administrative intervention, the breakdown of resource management is therefore not due to the inability of pastoralists to cope with fast evolving

land tenure regimes, rather it is because the means used to make the adjustment have been lost to them.

3.3 Economic Marginalization

In spite of the potential contributions of pastoralism to the national economy, providing significant employment and income opportunities that seldom shown in the official statistics, the pastoralist and their production system has been non-viable through the gradual erosion of access to land and water, as they are turned over to cultivation. In other words, pastoralists in the many corners of the world have become among the most marginalized and disadvantaged segment of the society economically as they are ecologically, socially and politically.

This process of economic marginalization is primarily due to the commercialization of agriculture in which pastoral land misappropriated and given to private investors. This is because governments in different countries believe that commercial agricultural schemes will help to attain the goal of food security of their country. In addition to this, the government policy was directed to alter the traditional system of production in order to reduce over grazing and encouraging integration of pastoral economy into the consumer economy. For example, in Ethiopia during Imperial period, the five year plan (1968-73) focused on the commercialization of agriculture in which many investors invited by the government and invest their capital in the pastoral areas, particularly Awash valley pastoralists like: Afar, Karrayu, Ittu and others given little or no attention and their indigenous means of subsistence come to crisis consequently.

Surprisingly enough, the performance of agricultural schemes in pastoral areas looks even grimmer when compared with the magnitude of initial investment in establishing the schemes. It is arguable that if this investment costs had been diverted to the pastoral sector, the benefit that could have been derived would have been far greater than from irrigation agriculture. This condition could vividly show even if pastoral production system found cost effective government favored agriculture at expense of pastoralism. This again entails the non-viability of pastoralism in the economic sphere.

3.4 Specific analysis of marginalization of pastoralists: Horn of Africa despite constraints

1. Government policies

The range of policies pursued by successive post-colonial governments has led to the marginalization of pastoralists from mainstream national development in most countries in the Horn. Over the years, there has been a tendency to neglect the needs of pastoralists and even to envisage the gradual eradication of pastoralism.

In addition, there has been a tendency by governments to focus on the interests of agriculture and urban dwellers, thus marginalizing other stakeholders. Most states in the Horn have pursued policies based on containment, pacification and sedenterisation of pastoralists. The pastoral livelihood has always been exposed to the vagaries of climate and harsh environmental conditions. However, in recent years, pastoralists have faced a myriad of new problems, including competition for water and pasture in the context of decreasing access to land; more explicit political and economical marginalization: lack of appropriate responses to the deteriorating situation; and the proliferation of weapons across the region.

2. Socio-economic and political marginalization

Government in the Horn is dominated by manipulated ethnicity, patronage and a political culture of exclusion. This has continued, in large part, from the period before independence. Although the governments of the Horn have made some efforts to include pastoralists in the civil service, cabinet ministries, and the army, they are still not adequately represented in political life. Pastoralists are not represented according to their numbers in parliament or in high-level civil service posts, nor do they have education rates in line with the majority of the population. In many of the semi-arid and arid areas of the Horn, pastoralists have very little formal education. For Kenya, this is borne out by the 1999 population-housing census. The situation is generally similar in nomadic areas of Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Sudan and Northern Uganda.

3. Inadequate land tenure policies

The majority of pastoral land resources are held a controlled access system that is communal in form. 'Communal' land tenure relates to that system of tenure in which the

tribe or clan or group has access to land. Tenure is thus a social institution: a relationship between individuals and groups or tribes consisting of a series of rights and duties with respect to the use of land.

Pastoralists in the horn of Africa have become among the most marginalized and disadvantaged of minority groups. This is due to their wide dispersal, climatic and ecological conditions, state neglect, development plans that have excluded them, seizure of their land, land tenure laws, national borders that restrict their freedom of movement, internal strife and national conflicts. The corollary has been the neglect of gender issues in the pastoralist communities, where custom and religious teachings defining women's role have been overtaken by rapid modern development.

Consequently, the bulk of the land in the Horn of Africa, the pastoralist habitat, lies in the semi-arid and arid Zone, home to the largest aggregation of traditional livestock producers in the world, estimated at 15 million people. While there is some non-pastoralist production, the pastoralist contribution is more important economically, providing significant employment and income opportunities seldom shown in official statistics.

Traditional livestock production is becoming non-viable through the gradual erosion of access to land and water, as they are turned over to cultivation. This loss has been facilitated by the unwillingness of states to acknowledge and respect pastoralists' rights to land. Loss of mobility of people and animals has disrupted the process of adjustment that maintains the balance between people, land and livestock. State borders dividing ethnic groups, separating people from their kin, traditional leaders, places of worship, markets, pasture and watering places, have adversely affected pastoralist society.

Colonial and postcolonial arrangements violated the social and political integrity of pastoralist society, and material hardship intensified competition for resources, further undermining social cohesion and traditional authority. The result was conflict both within the pastoralist society and with state authority.

Pastoralists thus became known as 'unruly' and 'rebellious'. State policy throughout the region aims to develop livestock production, not to improve the life of pastoralists. It is based on the desire to turn their land over to commercial cultivation through irrigation, or to meat production through ranching schemes, leaving pastoralists, whose terrain has

remained state domain and can be alienated at whim, as the only sector without any right of land tenure. All attempts to secure ownership rights for the pastoralists have failed.

4. Good governance and Pastoralism

The political marginalization of pastoralist communities was preceded by forcible eviction from their land and/or restriction of their movements. Currently, the trend towards globalization of the market, with pastoral lands increasingly being commercialized and/or turned into national parks, has resulted in environmental and ecological disaster. Poverty has increased, with women in particular being severely affected. Pastoralists are faced with a double marginalization- as one of the dominated Ethnic groups and pastoralists.

The marginalization they face as pastoralists is more severe than the oppression faced by other dominated ethnic group. Traditionally, in pastoralist society, land 'belongs' to a group or family that is linked by descent or cultural affiliation. Land is not owned but is held in trust for future generations. Because of the political marginalization of pastoralists, unfavorable land tenure reforms and the alienation of pastoralists from their lands, traditional mechanisms and customary methods of negotiation, arbitration and adjudication over land issues are breaking down. Pastoralists do not respect the state, which is seen as repressive rather than democratic, coercive rather than persuasive, as tax collector and embezzler rather than assisting development, nor do they respect state boundaries.

However, the issue of land is equally pivotal to pastoralists for whom pastoralist land tenure and land use is the most sustainable. African states do not consider pastoralism a viable way of life. Pastoralists are not considered when it comes to formulating macroeconomic policies, or discussing state-society relationships, questions of democracy and the role of state in development-i.e. good governance. The role of civil society (i.e. representative institutions independent of the state) in good governance has been neglected.

The African states' neglect of the indispensable role of civil society in political, social and economic development, as well as of gender issues, has cost them dear in terms of

the resulting poverty and conflict. The state must assume the role of regulator rather than dictator, and recognize the rightful role of civil society.

In good governance, the relationship between state and society is dynamic, involving the state in encouraging civil and community institutions to cooperate with state organs in development undertakings. Popular participation does not just mean taking part in elections, but includes social organization within civil society independent of the state, recognizing the separate role of civil society in development and the political process, and encouraging a rapport between state and civil society through transparency and dialogue.

CHAPTER FOUR- THE ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN PASTORAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

4.1. Anthropologists and Development planners

The relationship between anthropologists and development planners and administrators has frequently been characterized by mutual incomprehension as well as a certain degree of tension. Today, many anthropologists, for that matter J.Helland argued that if anthropologists involvement in development planning and implementation is ought to be accepted, then their role needs to be clarified and their relationship with those directly responsible for development work needs to be improved.

Here it is important to reveal what actually the development workers and anthropologists problem is. Many scholars argue that the development workers problem is a practical task i.e. how to use the means available in order to bring about a certain state of affairs. For example, this task is obviously technical, such as developing an effective vaccine, eradicating tsetse, developing higher-yielding crop varieties, exploiting grazing recourses etc. and these solutions to technical problems as contended by anthropologists relatively unequivocal i.e. the yardstick for measuring first-order consequences of technical performance are quite clear and it have wide spread ramifications i.e. second-order consequences affecting human affairs as well as process in nature in unanticipated ways.

For example, the construction of deep wells → reliable water supplies
→ spatial concentration of livestock → overgrazing → desertification.

Hence, the applied Anthropologists task is to deal with this second-order consequences in a social system. In other words the problem of anthropologists is research task i.e. how to discover and document the features of the social system which are relevant in order to anticipate social ramifications with higher degree of certainty and probability.

Due to the different task they perform there are some difficulties in the relationship between development workers and anthropologists. Since development workers emphasis is finding technical solution to specific problems, most of the time they are not concerned

about the possible scenario which social scientists especially anthropologists concerned much about.

Previously, the development workers dealing with specific technical problems frequently sees anthropologists consideration of wider ramification as another obstacle to development. However, in recent years, there has been growing concern about such unintended consequences which leads to change in perspectives on development. In other words this has windened the scope for cooperation between development planners and anthropologists and provides development workers understand that social system and processes are very complex phenomena.

4.2. Pastoral Planners Needs for Anthropological Data (information)

There is an increasing demand for anthropological data as a basis for planning development programs for pastoral areas and this demand arises from:

1. A genuine recognition by the planners themselves that they need this information and that failure of many programmes in the past relies on purely technical factors with insufficient for the human element.
2. As self-defensive response by planners to complaints by academic anthropologists who have been concerned with pastoral societies and who are indignant because previous development programmes have appeared to ignore their special knowledge of these societies.
3. A large part of demand comes as a result of pressure from international agencies who are expected to finance development programmes and who feel that those programmes present particular problems which anthropological data can elucidate.

What sort of Anthropological data in fact demanded?

-Here it's important to define what anthropological data is. Is information including both descriptive facts and conceptual models about pastoral societies, in contrast to information about their physical environment (Soils, climate, vegetation, water) or about physiology of their livestock.

- Together with other information, a planner needs anthropological information on which to base forecasts about the future as well as description and analyses of the past and present.

The anthropological data which desperately demand for planners are:

- ❖ Information about the way which pastoral people use their energy and time
- ❖ About their demography
- ❖ About the way in which they manage their livestock and physical environment (including their pattern of movement)
- ❖ About property right in land, water and livestock
- ❖ About the distributions of income, wealth and power
- ❖ Relationship of pastoral people with each other and with outsiders
- ❖ Decision making process and the way in which decisions are made
- ❖ Pattern of production
- ❖ Interaction between all these factors

N.B. Development workers in pastoral societies interested much to the factors listed above as a sort of anthropological data rather than details of religious observances, ceremonies etc although these could also be defined as anthropological data.

4.2.1. Anthropological Data as a General Picture of Pastoral Life

In improving the planning of pastoral projects, anthropological data can perform two different functions: The first of these is to provide a general and all-inclusive picture of the nature of pastoral life, the ecological constraints under which pastoralist operate, the way in which they adopt to these constrains and the functions performed by their institutions. In this view, the anthropologists for most concern is constructing a conceptual model or framework of pastoral life which reveal how and why different physical and social elements are related. This in turn helps enhance the compatibility of the development programmes being planned with the pastoral information feedback provided by anthropologists.

Hence, it is argued that, it is helpful; of course, if general picture or model of the particular society for which development programme is currently being planned exist for all pastoral societies within a nations boundaries. This will again in turn restrain planners from intruding hastily and enable them to see what they will have to replace if, in the course of development they destroy what was there before.

Here it is important to note that painting the overall picture of particular society for which development projects is being devised have one obvious problem- the period of time required to obtain the picture may be at variance with the time-scale and for investment planning and decision making.

4.2.2. Anthropological Data as Answers to Specific Questions

The second general function of anthropological data is to provide answers to specific questions arising during the course of development planning. To illustrate this function, the note relies on experiences in planning pastoral development in Ethiopia in the early 1970's.

The case was presented by multi-disciplinary planning team in the Ethiopian Government's Livestock and Meat Board responsible for planning, identifying and implementing live stock projects to be funded by World Bank. Such projects are rather special form of livestock program and note one that every one believes to be appropriate or valuable. The planning decision which was made in this case was not different from other livestock planning in other countries.

In five out of the six projects which were prepared, providing anthropological data formed an integral and early part of the planning process. It was found that far more anthropological information was collected than could be used in the course of planning which perform only two roles rather than different roles.

- 1) Designing the overall content and precise shape of the package which was put together.
- 2) To enable a pre investment evaluation and justification in terms of decision-making criteria (i.e. social cost benefit analysis) of the package formulated.

Nevertheless, the project failed to use some of anthropological data directly in either of roles which results in failure in improving the planning.

In other words, it is only part of anthropological information needed to design livestock development projects in Ethiopia was actually made available to project planners. Thus failure arose because the planners did not realize early enough in the planning process what the critical issue going to be.

In line with above perspectives, planners in Ethiopia asked relevant questions but failed to get satisfactory answers. This was probably due to the studies that have been carried out by inadequately qualified people.

Obviously, in pastoral areas, anthropologists have generally carried out longer and detailed field studies than other scientists and as consequences anthropologists offer, and planners expect from them, information and advice on a very wide range of subjects.

CHAPTER FIVE -PASTORALISM AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

ORIENTATIONS IN ETHIOPIA

5.1 The Pastoral Areas in National Perspectives

Calculated across 39 countries of tropical Africa, Ethiopia has 17% of the ruminant Tropical Livestock Units (TLUs, where 1 TLU = 250 kg live weight (Jahnke, 1982)) and about 60% of the equines (Jahnke, 1982: pp 13-14). Ethiopia thus has the largest national totals of these animals in tropical Africa. This is related to Ethiopia's large area (1224000 km²), high ecological diversity, large human population and historical and cultural factors.

Ethiopia can be divided into highlands (39%) and lowlands (61%) using 1500-m elevation as a crude threshold. While the highlands typically have higher annual rainfall than the lowlands, this is not always the case. The highlands are characterized by relatively low mean temperatures during growing periods. The highlands have climates that vary from semi-arid to humid (i.e. sufficient moisture for 90 to over 270 growing days per year) and contain nearly all of the important areas for cereal cultivation and mixed crop-livestock enterprise. The lowlands, in contrast, are dominated by arid to semiarid climates (i.e. up to 180 growing days and 700 mm of precipitation per year). The lowlands are home to a diverse array of pastoral people who depend to a high degree on livestock for their sustenance. These livestock, in turn, depend nearly exclusively on native vegetation for forage, and net primary production is highly variable over time and space. The lowland regions that support wildlife and extensive livestock operations on native vegetation can also be referred to as rangelands.

The uncertainties of rainfall and primary production in the rangelands have promoted animal-based life-styles that enable people to be mobile and opportunistic. Pastoralists typically rely on milk for food and also use animals to store and generate wealth. Animals are consequently important in social value systems. Pastoral social systems also commonly emphasise decentralized leadership that promotes flexibility in resource use. Ethiopia's lowlanders are derived from 29 Nilotic and Cushitic ethnic groups. It has been

estimated that 93% of these people are pastoralists or agro pastoralists, with the remainder being hunter-gatherers or pure cultivators.

It was recently reported (FLDP, nd: p 22) that Ethiopia had about 29 million cattle, 24 million sheep and 18 million goats in 1987-88. Jahnke (1982: p 14) estimated 6.8 million equines from FAO data for Ethiopia in 1979. Distribution of animals differs sharply with elevation. The highlands have 80% of the cattle and 75% of the sheep but only 27% of the goats (FLDP, nd: p 22). Assuming two-thirds of the equines occur in the highlands (with a TLU equivalent of 0.6 each), this translates into a total of 44 TLUs/km² in the highlands with 76% cattle, 14% equines, 8% sheep, and 2% goats. For the lowlands about one million camels need to be figured in (Jahnke, 1982: p 13), which brings the lowland total to 11 TLUs/km² with 49% came, 16% goats, 16% equines, 12% camels and 7% sheep. Thus, despite being over 50% larger in area than the highlands, the lowlands have only about 40% as many TLUs at one-quarter the density. Lowland livestock, however, are more diverse in terms of species composition.

The subsistence character of the livestock contribution to rural economies of Ethiopia is illustrated by ratios of animals to people. Considering that the human population is currently 42 million, with 12% in the lowlands and 95% in rural areas (EMA, 1988), the rural highlands support some 72 people/km² on average, with 1.6 people/TLU. In contrast, the lowlands support about six people/km² with 1.8 TLU/person. Other estimates have ranged from 1 TLU/person in the highlands to 5 TLU/person in the lowlands (FLDP, nd: p 22). These ratios differ markedly from those of developed commercial systems. For example, successful commercial beef operations in Kenya may require a herd size of 70 head/person employed. Even pastoral systems may require at least 5 TLU/person for subsistence, which challenges the commonly held view that the lowlands have a large, marketable surplus of animals.

Despite the low level of commercialization, livestock production in Ethiopia overall contributed about 33% of the gross value of annual agricultural output and 15% of gross domestic product during the mid-1980s. The per capita consumption of animal protein is relatively high for Africa and averages up to 13 kg/person annually, with 51% consisting

of beef (IBRD, 1987). Improved livestock marketing is viewed as an important national development strategy to increase both rural incomes and foreign exchange. A rising domestic demand is expected to compete more in the future with demand for live animal exports (FLDP, nd: pp 1, 10).

During the mid-1980s coffee contributed about 60% of gross annual export revenue for Ethiopia, followed by hides and skins (12%). Revenue from live animals was far behind at 1%. The recent volatility in coffee markets has probably increased the relative importance of livestock products in Ethiopia's exports, but room for improvement exists in absolute terms. It is anticipated, for example, that expansion of live animal and carcass exports to Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates now offers one of the best opportunities for increased trade; the major competitor in this market has traditionally been Somalia. Australia has also recently become a competitor

Although the lowlands have fewer animals than the highlands, the lowlands still play an important role in the national livestock economy. Overall, the Ethiopian highlands are considered as livestock-deficit areas with the lowlands as the major source of supply. Twenty per cent of the highland draught came are thought to come from the lowlands. Lowland breeds of cattle (e.g. unimproved Boran; Plate 1.1) and sheep (e.g. Somali blackheaded) are often regarded as superior to indigenous highland breeds in terms of size, durability, productivity and/or consumer preferences in the Middle East.

As a consequence, lowland stock may comprise over 90% of export animals. Boran cattle have also played an important role in cross-breeding programmes with Friesians to provide dairy came for smallholders in the Rift Valley and highlands. Finally, lowland animals contribute to a very large flow of income from illegal exports, since all of Ethiopia's international borders occur in lowland areas. This trade may involve on the order of 150000 cattle and 300000 small ruminants per annum, and is encouraged by external prices averaging up to 150% higher than those within Ethiopia in recent years.

Livestock in the lowlands provide subsistence employment and investment opportunities for around five million people and a source of meat, milk and fibre for residents of some

two dozen major towns and cities within and adjacent to lowland areas. It has been estimated that the human population in the lowlands will grow at an average of 2.1 % per year with a doubling time of 26 years. Although this is lower than the 3 to 4% growth rates of the highlands, it will still produce marked pressure on the less-productive resource base. As will be discussed, economic interaction between the highlands and lowlands will probably have to be intensified in response to population pressure.

One objective for national development should be to strengthen interregional linkages to help buffer populations from local droughts and other perturbations. The lowlands can thus be expected to play a larger role in the national economy in the future. As elsewhere in Africa, however, livestock development in the lowlands will often occur in situations where human populations are rapidly increasing, prime grazing lands are being lost to cultivation, traditional leadership and cultural value systems are being diminished and where land in general may be increasingly under threat of degradation.

5.2 History and Evolution of Pastoral Development Policies

The history of pastoral development intervention & policies marked by history of failure that is it brought little change in the life of the people. And it is argued that this failure was attributed to various reasons. Firstly, right from its outset, the policy formation and interventions were relied on faulty assumptions and generalizations. Secondly, since the feudal time policy makers and development workers focused on the highlanders and they were from highland background who had little knowledge about pastoral livelihood.

Thirdly, the primary interest of the successive Ethiopian government was to extract surplus under the context of national development. It is arguable that past development policies were of utilitarian and extractive (i.e. intended to increase off take from livestock sub sector in order to promote national development.

There were three important pastoral development interventions & policies introduced into pastoral areas previously.

1. Development of larger scale commercial farms
2. Range land and livestock development projects
3. Pastoral extension system

1. Development of LSCF

LSCF was given emphasis and expanded fastly before dawn fall of imperial regime (1974). The main intention of the then government was mechanization of agriculture will best alleviate the problem of agricultural backwardness. Most of these schemes were devised mainly into areas of upper, middle and lower Awash valleys giving little or no attention to pastoral communities inhabited the territory. It can vividly understandable that these schemes were not performed in the highland areas of the country that best suited to farming. This happened because of population density, environmental degradation and low carrying capacity of highland areas.

Consequently, commercial farms was launched mostly in the Awash Valley starting from west Showa down to the rift valley and finally terminates in Lake Abe in Djibouti covering about 70000 Km² which accounts 6% present of the total land areas of the country.

During 1962, the Awash valley authority was established to distribute land for investors and to supervise such schemes dividing the areas into three to ease its administration.

These are i) upper Awash ii) Middle Awash iii) lower Awash

i) Upper Awash – the most important development project was sugar plantation and sugar processing at Wonji and Methara. The production of small scale plantation concerned with production of vegetables and cotton was also emphasized.

ii) Middle Awash – this project was largest in terms of area coverage and it was in this area which most development schemes were concentrated. The primarily objective was to develop commercial agriculture taking most areas of pastoral land which results in alienation of the pastoralists (Afar). The establishment of Awash national park also exerted pressure on the Afar pastoral community and the compensation for land taken was not balanced.

iii) Lower Awash valley – is the most arid region with annual reinfall of less than 200 mm and largely inhabited by Afar pastoralists. The dominant commercial scheme in this area was the British based Tendaho plantation share company (TPSC). Cotton plantation was also dominant. Important plantation areas are Dubti and Assayta. Generally, before the onset of Ethiopian revolution, there were 33 agricultural schemes operating in Awash valley.

Development policies During the Derg regime (1974-91)

-like that of five year plan of imperial government (1968-74), the military government come up with 10 years prospective plan (1974/5-1984/5) in which large scale commercial farming given due emphasis to produce industrial raw material. During this time middle and lower Awash valley were the area in which the agricultural schemes concentrated. Large scale private mechanized farms and those belonged to imperial government was converted into state owned farm. Cotton production was the main emphasis because of the domestic textile factory.

- This was the period in which pastoral land labeled as state land and exacerbated pastoral alienation in different areas of the country.

Overview of livestock development projects

Ethiopia has long collaborated with the World Bank, African Development Bank (ADB), African Development Fund (ADF), International Development Association (IDA) and other lending institutions in economic development programmes. This has included assistance with a series of livestock development projects that continues today. Lenders have commonly provided over two-thirds of the operating funds for any given project, with the remainder contributed by the Ethiopian Government. In most instances projects have been intended to improve economic linkages between highland and lowland systems.

The First Livestock Development Project (1958-63) was narrowly focused and created the Dairy Development Agency (DDA) in the highlands. The Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP) was initiated by the Livestock and Meat Board (LMB) and budgeted at 14.7 million Ethiopian Birr (EB). The SLDP ran from 1973-81. The SLDP was only loosely affiliated with the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). It was directed by the LMB because the project emphasised development of a marketing and infrastructure network to promote sales and processing of livestock. This was supposed to initiate commercial links between the lowlands and highlands. Only half of the original budget was eventually used because of administrative problems and Ethiopia's conflict with

Somalia, which interrupted projects. The SLDP did succeed, however, in building a number of primary and terminal markets and slaughterhouses and 600 km of roads.

After the SLDP was initiated the LMB funded studies of several pastoral areas that were thought to offer potential for supplying animals for the newly created infrastructure. The consultancy firm AGROTEC/CRG/SEDES Associates (see AGROTEC/CRG/SEDES Associates, 1974a-1) was chosen to study the southern Borana rangelands because this was considered the most important region. Other consulting firms and experts supplied by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) conducted surveys in two other rangelands to the east (LMB, 1974a) and north-east (LMB, 1974b). These studies included surveys of population demography, vegetation, water resources, pastoral socio-economics and animal husbandry.

The final reports were used to generate proposals to finance a range project called the Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP), headquartered in Addis Ababa. Budgeted at EB 88 million, the TLDP was initiated in 1975 with the primary objective of developing infrastructure and natural resources to support livestock production and marketing. The three target regions totalled 203000 km². The TLDP has traditionally operated as a semi-autonomous entity outside of the MoA. The general manager of TLDP has reported directly to the Vice Minister for Animal and Fisheries Resources Development Main Department (AFRDMD), who in turn has been charged with overseeing all aspects of livestock development as one of four vice ministers in the MoA. The TLDP received a couple of extensions to enable full use of the original funds, allowing it to operate through 1987.

The TLDP continues to function at the time of writing this, however, with the Ethiopian Government funding much of the core administrative activity. Additional funds have also come into TLDP from the Fourth Livestock Development Project (FLDP), operational since 1988. The FLDP is very diverse and has focused on forage development, livestock epidemiology and livestock marketing in mixed farming systems of the highlands (FLDP, 1987). A small portion of FLDP funds, however, were allocated to the Pilot Project, which operates with TLDP staff. The Pilot Project has been based in the southern

rangelands since 1988 and has focused on institution building and development of extension and monitoring capabilities for better outreach to the Borana pastoral community (Hogg, 1990a).

It was originally intended that the TLDP would gradually be phased out by the mid-1980s, but as of 1992 the TLDP remains as the only corps of national range professionals in Ethiopia. It has subsequently become the management entity for the South-east Rangelands Project (SERP), initiated in fiscal 1990-91 with funding from ADF. SERP will operate in what have been the Eastern Hararghe Administrative Region and Ogaden Autonomous Region. It is intended to be a hybrid of previous range development projects, combining the infrastructural development emphasis of TLDP with the outreach approaches of the Pilot Project.

When the TLDP is phased out there will be no permanent organization to represent rangeland interests within the MoA. It is possible that either a new range department would be created within the MoA, or that range development would fall under another semi-autonomous authority.

The problems of merging rangeland development interests within the farming-oriented MoA lies in important distinctions between lowland and highland projects in terms of staff skills, staff management and implementation of development activities

A number of other rural development projects are currently operating in Ethiopia. These include smallholder dairying in the highlands and highland reclamation. A concise review of these and other projects is provided in FLDP.

History of lowlands development and the TLDP

Interactions among highlanders and lowlanders in Ethiopia historically have been characterized by a mix of trade and warfare (Luther, 1961; Kaplan et al, 1971; Wilding, 1985a). The establishment of contemporary trade routes between the highlands and lowlands is commonly attributed to Emperor Menelik. Following his victory over Italian forces at Adowa in 1896, he sent his armies to consolidate a grip over the lowlands by

1908. Modern roads followed such military routes in many cases (Ethiopian Road Transport Authority, unpublished data). Gravel roads were constructed by Italian companies during 1943-53 for five arteries from Addis Ababa to the lowlands. During 1960-70 some of these roads were rehabilitated and asphalted by the Ethiopian Transport Construction Authority. These included roads from Addis Ababa to Negele, Moyale, Jijiga and Assab.

One of the first attempts at infrastructural development for livestock production in the lowlands was initiated in 1965 by the Ethiopian Government and USAID. Tilaye Bekele (1987: p 16) mentions, however, that some stock ponds were built in the southern rangelands by the Ethiopian Government in the 1950s. The joint Ethiopian-USAID project was referred to as the Pilot Rangeland Development Project (PRDP) and the Ethiopian side of the project was conducted through what was then the Range Development Unit in the Livestock Department of the MoA.

The intervention concept focused on development of large ponds to improve access of livestock to some 1600 km² of *Themeda* and *Acacia* spp savannah within 50 km of the town of Yabelo on the Borana Plateau, about 570 km south of Addis Ababa. Traditionally Borana pastoralists and their cattle had relied on ephemeral, rain-fed ponds in wet seasons and deep wells in dry seasons. Pond development in the PRDP was intended to relieve pressure on wet-season grazing and improve efficiency of range use overall. About 20 large ponds were constructed using heavy machinery that removed some 200000 m³ of soil. Some of these ponds became perennial rather than ephemeral, however, and resulted in a large exodus of people and stock from the central Borana Plateau that had become degraded over several hundred years of use. Over the next 25 years, pastoralists settled and became permanent residents in several areas that had been opened up.

The preliminary results of the PRDP were considered encouraging and led the MoA to formulate a more comprehensive strategy on pastoral development. This, in conjunction with activities of the LMB led to the selection of the Southern Rangelands Development Unit (SORDU), North-east Rangeland Development Unit (NERDU) and the Jijiga

Rangeland Development Unit (JIRDU) as the basis of the proposal for the TLDP in 1974. These target areas were considered superior because of their proximity to highland markets, their generally higher stocking potential and because they possessed the highest quality animal breeds in the largest numbers. They also offered good proximity to export markets and meat packing plants. The NERDU area was close to the port of Assab; the JIRDU area had rail access to Djibouti and the SORDU area was bisected by a tarmac road conceived as part of a transcontinental highway system. NERDU was close to the Kombolcha meat packing plant near Dessie; JIRDU was near a plant in Dire Dawa and SORDU was about 200 km south of the Melge-Wondo plant near Shashamene.

Despite the excellent grazing potential of the lowlands to the west and south-west, these could not be considered for the TLDP because of remoteness and prevalence of trypanosomiasis (UNDP/RRC, 1984). The three TLDP sub-projects thus incorporated 27% of the lowlands in total, home to nearly one million pastoralists herding some three million TLUs in 1974. The overall purpose of each sub-project was to develop infrastructure (roads, market facilities, veterinary clinics) and natural resources (water and forage) to stimulate animal production and off take and to increase incomes and welfare of pastoral producers. The sub-projects are described below.

JIRDU

Headquartered in Jijiga, this sub-project has been responsible for about 33000 km² of semi-arid (60%) and arid (40%) land in the eastern half of Ethiopia (Figure 1.2). In 1974 the human population was estimated at about 500000, with the majority being semi-nomadic Somali-speaking pastoralists. The livestock population was estimated at 600000 cattle (57% of TLU), 1.3 million small ruminants (12%) and 200000 camels (31 %) for a total of over one million TLU (LMB, 1974a). This represented an average of 32 TLU/km² in wet seasons and a ratio of TLU to humans of 2.1:1. Livestock numbers change dramatically depending on season, however.

During the rainy season the population may be almost twice that in the dry season. Rainfall and forage production tend to decrease to the south and south-east but local

forage conditions are greatly influenced by landscape. Of particular importance are the large valleys that extend west into the highlands near Harar. These collect soil moisture and offer higher forage production than the rest of the JIRDU area. These valleys have been traditionally used as dry-season grazing reserves for livestock which spend the rest of the year on the dry tablelands. The cattle population is dominated by a short-horned *Bos indicus* breed regarded as a good dual-purpose animal well adapted to difficult conditions. It also has a commendable export value to the Middle East. The cattle are concentrated more to the north in the large valleys, while the small stock and camels are more abundant to the south and south-east. Except for areas traditionally prioritized for cattle, access to sub-surface water using traditional means is very difficult. Market access to Jijiga and Harar is fair, but it is thought that the vast majority of animal off take is illegally sold to Somalia.

NERDU

Headquartered in Weldia, this sub-project has been responsible for about 75000 km² of arid (85%) and semi-arid (15%) land in north-central Ethiopia (Figure 1.2). In 1974 the human population was estimated at 225000, the majority of whom were nomadic Afar pastoralists. The livestock population was estimated at 734000 cattle (62% of TLU), 1.2 million small ruminants (10%) and 206000 camels (28%) for a total of over 1.18 million TLU (LMB, 1974b). This was equivalent to 16 TLU/km² and a ratio of TLU to humans of 5.3:1.

Severe drought in 1973-74 probably had reduced livestock numbers substantially compared to previous years. The less-predictable nature of rainfall and forage production mitigate against reliable animal production and off take in NERDU, despite good access to large markets in the region (UNDP/RRC, 1984). Herbaceous forage production and dominance of cattle typically increase with greater proximity to the highland escarpment. Sites in the Teru Depression and basins of the Awash and Mille rivers have traditionally been dry-season retreats for livestock. The main development objectives for NERDU were similar to those for the other sub-projects except for a great emphasis on rehabilitation of drought-stricken pastoralists. This rehabilitation was intended to include

irrigation schemes as an alternative life-style for those who had lost access to dry-season grazing because of irrigated cultivation of cash crops along the Awash River.

SORDU

Headquartered in Yabelo, this sub-project has been responsible for about 95000 km² of semi-arid (70%) and arid (30%) land in southern Ethiopia (Figure 1.2). In 1974 the human population was estimated at 500000, dominated by the Boran (to the west) and Somali (to the east) whose life-styles vary from semi-nomadic to semi-settled. The livestock population was estimated at 1.3 million cattle (74% of TLUs), three million small ruminants (17%) and 94000 camels (9%) for a total of over 1.75 million TLU. This equated to 11 TLU/km² and a ratio of TLUs to humans of 3.5:1. SORDU was considered to have the highest ecological potential for livestock production of the three sub-project areas because of higher rainfall and lower temperatures. The more productive environment and reliance on wells for dry-season water also influenced the Borana people to be more sedentary and socially organized, which was expected to improve prospects for animal off take. In addition, the Boran breed of cattle was considered of high value for domestic use and export.

At its height in the early 1980s, the TLDP supported a permanent staff of over 1000 and a temporary staff of about 4000 (Girma Bisrat, PADEP Coordinator, personal communication). SORDU had the largest staff due to concentration of activities in the south and the absence of civil unrest there. Thus, SORDU used 44% of the TLDP budget (Girma Bisrat, PADEP Coordinator, personal communication). Until the change of government in June 1991, the region around NERDU had been a focal point of armed conflict. Administrative and natural resources at JIRDU have been strained in the last few years because of 250000 refugees who have fled Somalia.

5.3 Pastoral Land Tenure in Ethiopia

Pastoral adaptations in the lowlands of Ethiopia depend entirely on access to wide tracts of land to make full use of a resource base that is generally poor and unevenly distributed. Although there is little specific information available about the different

pastoral tenure systems, it is assumed that they display a number of differences. Land tenure systems must be linked to a number of organizational features (social, political, economic) of pastoral society; on the other hand land tenure arrangements are also assumed to have evolved in response to the nature of the resources involved.

The main contemporary problem in Ethiopian pastoral societies, however, is that various indigenous forms of tenure that no doubt evolved as indicated above now are increasingly subordinated to unitary national land tenure legislation. Initiatives and reforms within Ethiopian land tenure legislation at the national level are formulated on the basis of issues relevant primarily to the arable agriculture in the highlands, secondarily to urban lands. The situation in the pastoral areas is either ignored or very superficially treated.

Land rights to agricultural land in Ethiopia are obviously much more elaborate than rights to land and resources in the pastoral areas, specifying the terms and conditions under which farmers gain and maintain access and security of tenure to land. In practical terms, the pastoral lands have not been covered by specific national legislation granting security of tenure to the people who live from pastoralism. By implication, arable agriculture always enjoys precedence over pastoralism if there is a conflict over land use. As long as the pastoral areas only are of interest to the pastoralists themselves, access to the available resources is usually governed by the indigenous tenure regimes in place. If and when there is competition or any kind of confrontation between pastoralism and other forms of land use, however, the national legislation will, mostly by default, grant land rights to agricultural competitors.

The recent system of ethnic federalism, which in principle should allow e.g. pastoral societies like the 'Afar and the Somali to make their own arrangements with regard to land tenure, has not yet resulted in land tenure regulations specific to the pastoral system in question. But the introduction of new legislation itself is only one of many new issues faced by the pastoral societies. There are a number of other concerns arising from contemporary processes of national integration that may be equally threatening. Major issues like the recurrent food security crises of the pastoral areas of Ethiopia may only be properly understood if the current changes in land and resource tenure are taken into account. The distribution of rights to resources and security of tenure will be central to

any initiative to improve on the current situation of persistent poverty and high level of risk and enable the pastoral communities to create sustainable livelihoods in the dry lands of Ethiopia.

Land Tenure in Ethiopia

Access to land is a vitally important issue for the many people in Ethiopia who depend on agricultural production for their income and sustenance. Land tenure issues therefore continue to be of central political and economic importance, as they have been at several crucial junctures in Ethiopian history.

The decisive significance of the land question was perhaps most explicitly expressed in the course of events leading to the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. The subsequent 1975 Land Reform represents one of the most important events in modern Ethiopian history and its imprint still weighs heavily on the rural (as well as the urban) communities.

The 1975 Land Reform no doubt has had its most significant social and economic impact in the arable farming sector of the country. Land tenure issues still remain, however, a central, contentious and highly flammable political theme in Ethiopia, in national as well as regional politics, in both urban and rural contexts

The 1975 Land Reform

The 1975 Land Reform is one of the most far-reaching land reform projects implemented in Africa. In 1975 all rural lands in Ethiopia were placed under state ownership and referred to as the collective property of the Ethiopian people. Within Peasant Associations (PA)s established to implement the reform, land was distributed to each household on the basis of central guidelines (using a standard model of 80 families and 800 ha of land for each Peasant Association) but with considerable local adaptations. The reform provided usufruct rights to everybody with a declared interest to farm the land, up to a maximum of 10 hectares per household (but normally considerably less). Sale, lease, transfer, exchange or inheritance of land was prohibited, as was the use of hired farm labor.

The Land Reform achieved equitable distribution of land within the agricultural communities, but did not confer secure ownership rights. Repeated re-distributions of land to accommodate new claimants diminished the size of holdings and security of tenure. The command economy of the state introduced compulsory delivery of set quotas

of agricultural produce at predetermined prices, which impoverished households even further and deepened rural poverty. The originally autonomous Peasant Association soon became instruments for coercive state control over the rural sector. The highly extractive, centralized and authoritarian structure of the Derg military government rapidly undermined the initial popularity of the Land Reform.

Pastoral land tenure

Access to land and to the natural resources on it is as important to pastoralists as to arable farmers.

Pastoralists represent some 10% of Ethiopia's population and approximately 40% of the land area of Ethiopia is considered suitable for pastoral land use only. But in line with the general social and political marginalization of pastoralists in Ethiopia, land tenure issues as they refer to pastoral resources and grazing lands are not given much attention in public policy. In the 1975 Land Reform proclamation, only 4 short articles (out of 33) were directed at the situation in the 'nomadic lands'. In the Ethiopian Constitution of 1994, one article only mentions the pastoral areas.

There are of course some good reasons for the pre-eminent attention given to agricultural lands in land tenure legislation in Ethiopia. Land is the overwhelmingly most important, valuable and scarce capital asset in agricultural production, on which the majority of the population depends. In pastoralism, on the contrary, the most important capital asset is livestock, not land!

In his seminal essay from 1973 on nomad-sedentary relations in the Middle East, Fredrik Barth points out that "*... the time required to extract value from land is great in agriculture, so control over land is precarious and ad hoc*" (Barth, 1973).

This observation reflects the empirical facts of land tenure systems in many situations also in Eastern Africa. While access to land is important to agriculturalists and pastoralists alike, the institutional arrangements governing access to and control over land resources are usually markedly different. Codified land tenure legislation in the region is primarily preoccupied with tenure of agricultural lands and to the extent land issues are brought into the public domain, such as in policy debates, legislation or litigation, the issues usually concern agricultural lands.

Pastoral land tenure is at best a simplified version of the tenure regimes in the agricultural areas; a situation where tenure rights to pastoral lands are either assumed to be non-existent or are simply appropriated and held by the state is very common (cf S. Shazali & A.G.A.Ahmed, 1999 and Yacob Arsano, 2000)

State ownership of pastoral lands

The exact content of the rights appropriated by the state is a moot point. Pastoralists usually retain rather vaguely defined rights of access and use, as granted by the state in the most general terms, but the pre-eminent rights of the state to do as it pleases with pastoral lands is usually not in question.

Beyond that, there is considerable variation in both the content and organization of pastoral resource tenure. Much seems to depend on the extent of the involvement of the state, in a situation where the absence of the state has been, up to very recently, a major feature. Sometimes user rights are explicitly attached to social groups, i.e. land rights (such as they are) are an aspect of group membership (often according to some definition of ethnic groups) and sometimes the state even creates such groups³ for the specific purpose of holding land, managing and/or developing it.

At present, formal land rights in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia seem to be a matter of loosely defined group rights that are granted to named ethnic groups without taking locally evolved tenure rights, if and where these exist, much into consideration. Security of tenure remains poor, particularly in relationships affecting the interests of the state. These interests are often expressed in policies favoring other economic activities, including alternative uses of pastoral lands.

In strictly legal terms, all pastoral lands are now owned by the state on behalf of the peoples of Ethiopia. The 1994 Constitution guarantees access to land for all Ethiopians who want to earn a living from farming, but leaves it to subsidiary legislation, to be worked out by the ethnically based regional states, to specify the terms and conditions under which land is made available to users.

The present government of Ethiopia has been reluctant to change the main structures and policies of the 1975 Land Reform. The 1994 Constitution declares that all land is the common property of the various ethnically based regional states ('the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia') and says (in Article 40), that

Ethiopian pastoralists have a right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands. The implementation shall be specified by law.

A system of leasehold of land from the state is envisaged, particularly in the investment codes of the various regional states as these are promulgated. The 'pastoral states' of 'Afar and Somali in particular have yet to develop coherent land policies and as far as smallholder agriculture is concerned, the structures and regulations of the 1975 Land Reform have tended to remain in place.

The elaboration and codification of land rights which apply to agricultural lands place legal restriction on the state to an extent not found in the pastoral areas. The payment of agricultural land tax, for instance, has provided and continues to provide a large measure of legal protection and security for farmers in Ethiopia. In fact, farmers often insist on paying the land tax if it for some reason is not collected (as happened for a period before the current government was properly established in the rural areas).

In the pastoral areas the payment of land tax was never a practicable proposition, so from an early stage pastoralists paid an animal tax, differentiated by species. As a mechanism for taxation the animal tax was only moderately successful, but most importantly, it was never equated with the agricultural land tax in legal terms. The animal tax did not confer legal protection with regard to pastoral user rights the way that the agricultural land tax offered security of tenure in agriculture.

CHAPTER SIX -SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN THINKING ABOUT PASTORALISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PASTORALIST DEVELOPMENT

6.1 'Good Governance' and Pastoralism

In many countries there has a history of tensions between nomadic people who seek autonomy and mobility, and a sedentary state that strives for dominance and security. As state have attempted to impose institutions developed for a sedentary population on nomadic population, pastoral institutions have come under strain and pastoralist/state relations have often been conflictive (salih, 2001). At best, pastoralists have been marginalized and discriminated against, and in many places they have been actively persecuted. However, the global wave of democratization over the past decade has raised expectations in many places of participation, social equity, respect for human rights, and better economic management. Understandings of the role of the state in development have changed, with the so-called 'good governance' agenda becoming central. How do these concepts relate to the pastoral way of life? Do they imply any changes in the pattern of historical conflict between states and pastoralists? Do the changing structures and perceptions imply increased openings and opportunities for state and pastoralist authorities to build mutually collaborative and synergistic relationship? How can these opportunities be capitalized on?

To address these questions this section introduces some of the changes in thinking about governance and tries to consider how they might be relevant to pastoralists. There is also a discussion of what might be appropriate forms of governance in pastoral areas.

What have been the significant shifts in thinking about governance?

It is now widely recognized that a key challenge for the twenty-first century is the construction of new relationships between ordinary people and the government institutions which affect their lives. The 'voices of the poor' consultation, which took place in 26 countries as preparation for the world Development report 2000/2001, asked people about their views on their governments and found that there is a worldwide crisis

in the relationship between people and their governments. Government institutions are not seen to be responsive or accountable.

Although the assumption in the past has been that in representative democracies citizens express their preference through electoral politics and their elected representatives hold the state accountable, however in north and South mechanisms are now being developed to allow more direct connections between people and bureaucracies. It is also recognized that working on rebuilding relationship between citizens and their governments means neither focusing exclusively on 'civil society' nor 'state-based' approaches, but rather focusing on their intersection. There are therefore new emphases in policy-making on both forms of citizen participation, and responsiveness and accountability from government institutions. This section will provide a brief introduction to ideas of participation, accountability, decentralization and civil service reform.

Participation in Policy

'Participation' has been an important concept in development thinking for a number of decades. In the past, the drive for 'participatory development' has focused on the need for local knowledge and understanding and on direct forms of participation through out the project cycle. A range of methodologies and tools have been developed to help facilitate such participation.

However the concept has often been divorced from ideas about 'political participation' which draw on debates from political science emphasizing legitimate representation, systems of public accountability, party formation, political mobilization, and so on. Although the two approaches have traditionally drawn little on each other, they have much to learn from each other (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999). Both ideas are however now being brought together in the concept of 'citizenship' which links participation in the political, community and social spheres, and implies a shift towards citizens being 'makers and shapers', rather than 'users and choosers' of interventions designed by others (Cornwall and Gaventa 2000).

It is also to identify three broad steps in citizen engagement with states: consultation, presence, and influence. Consultation involves opening arenas for dialogue and

information-sharing. Present involves institutionalizing regular access for certain groups in decision-making. Influence brings citizen engagement to the point where groups can translate access and presence into a tangible effect on policy-making and service delivery.

Policy is often thought of as a smooth linear process which moves from formulation to implementation. In this way of thinking policy is 'top-down', decisions are based on information which has been gathered, and knowledge is technical and quantified knowledge. However, many people have questioned this view of policy-making as being unlike what actually happens. Recent research in Uganda and Nigeria, for example, has suggested that to understand policy processes in any particular context it is useful to consider the full range of actors, different type of knowledge and varied spaces of policy-making within particular historical, political and socio-cultural contexts.

New spaces and arenas for citizen participation have been developed through programmes of democratic decentralization, which include opportunities in the planning, budgeting and monitoring of programmes. At national level, spaces are opening up in sectoral programmes, also in poverty policies and PRSP (poverty reduction strategy paper) processes. At a global level there are opportunities for citizen groups to contribute to the policies and programmes of multilaterals, or to join in global campaigns on specific issues, such as the campaign against the world trade organization's General agreement on trade in Services (GATS).

How ever it is necessary to ask:

Whose Voice? Can everyone participate at once? Usually there must be some representation, and it is important to consider whose voices is being heard, and not assume that communities are homogenous.

Do traditional pastoralist institutions, with a tradition of representation through male elders adequately represent the many voices within pastoralist groups?

Whose space? Participation varies a lot depending on where it occurs. It has traditionally been between the jobs of governments to provide, with little space for consultation. We are now seeing more and more invited spaces in policy processes. Who comes and what people say will depend on who issues the invitations, and the power relations that surround the forum. It is also important to look at where people are participating and to find spaces where people most naturally participate and not to create artificial spaces.

What difficulties might pastoralists face in participating in those spaces which exist for policy-influencing? How can the physical constraints of large distances and harsh terrain, as well as the socio-cultural and linguistic differences be overcome in seeking to involve pastoralists in policy processes?

Whose purpose is served? Why is participation occurring? Often differing actors have differing purposes. While some may want to challenge power in favor of poor and marginalized people.

Legal framework can enhance citizen participation in governance. The legal framework for participation can be understood as a 'bundle', incorporating the constitution, national laws and policies relating specifically to participation, the supportive guidelines accompanying policies and laws, and other local or national laws which can impinge positively or negatively on citizen participation (McGee 2003). These include legal frameworks:

-) For more representative structures, such as quota systems which operate in Uganda and India;
-) For holding representatives to account, such as recall processes in Uganda and the Philippines;
-) For complementing representation with direct forms of participations, such as village assemblies, in Madhya Pradesh, India;
-) For local level participatory planning, such as the processes of participatory budgeting found in the state of Rio Grande do sul, Brazil;

-) For greater accountability, such as popular Vigilance committees in Bolivia.

Decentralization structures (discussed below) can also provide space for citizen participation.

Legal framework is, however, only one of the elements that need to be in place for citizen participation to happen. A review of over sixty case studies of citizen ‘voice’ in service delivery suggests that certain other conditions also need to exist for consultation to be translated into influence. In addition to legal standing for non-governmental observers within policy-making arenas or the institutions of public oversight which scrutinize service delivery, it was also necessary to have

- i) a continuous presence for these observers throughout the process of the agency’s work;
- ii) Structured access to the flow of information from the agency and
- iii) Either:
 - the right of observers to issue a dissenting report to the legislature;
 - Or the right of service-users to demand a formal investigation/seek legal redress for poor delivery of services (Goetz and Gaventa 2001).

Accountability

Accountability is a popular concept at the moment in discussions of good governance. Normally political scientists think accountability has two aspects:

1. Answerability – to whom do you have to explain why you took a certain decision?
2. Enforceability or punishment. If a mistake has been made, how is that action investigated, is it punished- how and by whom?

Conventionally people have focused on ‘hierarchical control’ as the key to processes of public accountability. This involves the supervision and control through a review and reporting process of service providers, through a chain of command that links bureaucrats to a minister and either a legislature or other ruler. However, in public services, this has tended to lead a neglect of actual service outcomes in monitoring, and the dominance of

some stakeholders to the exclusion of others. It has not generally ensured responsiveness to the public or satisfactory services (paul 1994)

However, in recent years there has been a growing emphasis on the importance of service users influencing the accountability of service providers through a variety of 'voice' mechanisms. A 'new accountability agenda' has been developing around five questions:

- From who is accountability sought? (new types of public actors who are insufficiently accountable- particularly large international firms)
- For what are authorities accountable? (new standard of accountability, eg human rights)
- To whom are they accountable? (a new sense that authorities should be more directly accountable to citizens, instead of to other non-elected authorities)
- Where is accountability being sought? (for example, in new geographic jurisdictions beyond the nation-state)
- How is the powerful being held to account? (new methods that include an increase in citizen 'voice')

A range of accountability institution is supposed to prevent abuses that exacerbate the deprivations facing poor and marginalized people. However there tend to be failures of these institutions, including:

- Reporting systems within bureaucratic hierarchies. Often disciplinary procedures are either too insensitive to the special conditions facing poor and marginalized groups, or too remote from the sites of injustice. This allows collusion between officials and their supervisors;
- Oversight of regulatory agencies that fail to take action, either because of corruption or because of the undue influence of political leaders or interest groups.
- Electoral systems that fail to create incentives for representatives to promote the interests of the poor, or which fraudulent;
- Judicial proceeding that provide little protection for poor and marginalized groups because of the limited access they provide, the language they operate in, or the bribery of judges and court officials.

Policy-makers' efforts to improve accountability tend to consist of what are by now fairly mainstream initiatives:

- Electoral reforms, such as variants of proportional representation systems and 'reserved constituencies' for disadvantaged groups.
- Legal and judicial reforms, such as the creation of human rights commissions or specialized bodies for the promotion of women's interests.
- Civil service reforms, such as result-oriented management schemes and market-based approaches to service delivery (see below).
- Reforms to systems of public-sector oversight, such as the establishment of anti-corruption commissions, ombudsmen, auditors-general and parliamentary public accounts committees, and widespread programmes designed to increase technical capacity.

What are the barriers to pastoralists accessing accountability institutions? How can such institutions be made more accessible? How can reforms be tailored so that they acknowledge the particular needs of pastoralists?

Decentralization

Recently many countries have introduced decentralization reforms. Decentralization can be defined in many ways, but it is generally understood that decentralization involves: "the transfer of power and/or authority to plan, make decisions, and/or manage public functions from a higher level of government to lower one." (Conyers, 1990, cited in Nierras et al 2002, p15). There are different types of decentralization which are often confused when people write and talk:

Deconcentration is the allocation of particular powers or functions by central government to subordinate levels of national or sectoral bureaucracies. It may involve the relocation of staff, but lower level agencies remain part of the national hierarchy. This may strengthen the capacity of central government to exercise its functions throughout the national territory.

Delegation is the allocation of specified functions or services to other agencies outside the main governmental hierarchies, such as parastatal corporations or NGOs, with their own territorial reporting hierarchies.

Devolution is a form of power sharing between national and sub-national units, in which the sub-units are granted legal, financial and/or political autonomy over agreed areas of activity. The allocation of some element of legally guaranteed status represents a reduction in the scope of central power. Federalism may be seen as one especially strong sub-type of devolutionary decentralization.

There are many forms and systems of decentralization, but the most common are:

- Federalism – power is shared and co-ordinated between central government and semi-independent territorial units or states;
- Local government decentralization;
- Mixed deconcentration and devolution- line Ministries (e.g. health, education) with field officers at local level are mixed with locally elected government officials;
- Deconcentrated field administration- moving of Ministry officials and responsibilities to the local area, but still central government control and financing.

There can be many problems with setting up a devolved system, especially in multi-ethnic societies. How do you define the areas to which you will give power? How do you delimit areas? How do you draw boundaries around rural districts? These are all very critical political issues, which have to be balanced against technical and economic efficiency issues. Decentralization can alleviate or exacerbate existing culturally based political conflict. In Nigeria, for example, attempts to accommodate ethnic minorities, have in turn created new ‘minorities within minorities’ and resulted in the continuing fragmentation of the state and the local government system. In Sri Lanka and Papua Guinea, provincial decentralization was almost a purely political response to sub-national political movements. Delimitation may also be used as a device for enhancing central power, by cutting across and demobilizing cultural units which are seen as threatening, as for example in cote d’Ivoire where the government’s fear of regional political opposition was reflected in the extreme weakness and fragmentation caused by a large number of local government communes. Similarly, in Uganda the delimitation of local government

areas has divided the main ethnic power bases which were seen as the causes of two decades of conflict and civil war.

However, decentralization can provide opportunities to shape and re-form the relationship between states and citizens, opening up spaces for dialogue and different types of participation. If democratization is democratic (that is, when lower level of government are both elected and largely or wholly independent of central government) then central government is also required to form new relationships with local level governance institutions.

The most obvious and frequently cited advantage of decentralization is that it is the only strategy which addresses the issue of exclusion or subordination of mobilized minority or sub-national groups. However, because it is inherently a spatial and political strategy, it is probably only relevant where there is a geographic concentration of cultural segments. Moreover it may not be particularly advantageous for nomadic people who cross the boundaries of delimited areas.

How are pastoralists affected by a static and spatially-based form of government?

Can pastoralists exert more leverage within a decentralized system? What aspects of a decentralized system make government more accessible to pastoralists?

Moreover there is rather mixed evidence about the extent to which decentralization has increased government responsiveness to poor and marginalized groups. A recent review of the experience of a number of sub-Saharan Africa countries suggested that the degree of responsiveness to poor people is determined primarily by the politics of local-central relations and the general regime context- particularly the ideological commitments of central political authorities to poverty reduction. In most cases, local power structures were 'captured' by elites, and this was reinforced by weak accountability mechanisms. Decentralization is therefore unlikely to improve the lot of poor people without a serious effort to strengthen and broaden accountability mechanisms at both local and national levels (Crook 2003).

Civil service reform

Civil service reform (CRS) programmes have also become very common in developing countries, often as part of a package of ‘good governance’ reforms funded by donors. The aims of such programmes vary from country to country, but they are often driven, at least partially, by a desire to improve efficiency in service delivery and reduce costs. Processes informed by ideas from ‘new public management’ (NPM) usually involve a shift to results oriented performance with a greater emphasis on efficiency and targets for assessment; ‘down –sizing’ usually through a freeze in recruitment, coupled with rationalization of the payroll and voluntary redundancy package, but sometimes through forced retrenchment; increased delegation to departmental heads or managements; improved financial management systems; performance-related pay with ‘decompression’ of pay scales; market based or lateral recruitment into the civil service from outside, with a move away from the idea of a career for life; and sometimes the creation of arms-length-semi autonomous agencies. However, assessment of CSR programmes consistently show disappointing performance in terms of outputs, outcomes and impact. It is not yet clear therefore that CRS will significantly affect the way that services are delivered to pastoralist people.

What might be an appropriate model of governance in pastoral areas?

The critical questions about pastoral governance concern the relationship between the formal institutions of the state and the informal and partly traditional rules and social structures of the pastoralists. Customary authorities and traditional rules still dominate large areas of decision-making, especially about natural-resource management and economic life. In the past, formal government has struck an uneasy compromise with customary authority, and its functions overlap. Effective pastoral governance needs to be a mix, varying with local circumstances, of informal and formal institutions and rules. The role of formal government should be provide a framework within customary local institutions and rules regulate everyday economic and political affairs.

No single type of governance will be appropriate for all pastoral areas, but three general principles should apply:

- Great flexibility and diversity in institutional design to make it possible to track dynamic changes in the environment, such as drought;
- Subsidiary is crucial, that is, administrative tasks should be carried out as near to the level of actual users of resources or beneficiaries as is compatible with efficiency and accountability;
- The transaction costs of organization should be kept as low as possible.

Such an agenda means a retreat from formal state administration, and an extended role for customary institutions and mixed customary/formal ones. In many cases they may be able to provide the basis for new pastoral administrative structures. The main role of formal government should be:

- to create the legal the framework within which a devolved pastoral administration can operate efficiently, especially over natural resource tenure;
- mediation of conflict;
- to act as a guarantor of minimum democratic processes in local administration;
- to provide appropriate macro-economic policies including development of markets;
- to provide major infrastructure investments;
- to provide major public services;
- to guarantee an effective social security safety net in case of disaster (Swift 2003 c).

6.2 Service provision to pastoralists

Governance issues are very closely linked with service issues. Very often, if poor people have any interaction with government it is through services, and the issues of accountability, participation, and decentralization discussed above all impact on service delivery.

What is significant new thinking on service-delivery?

Much has been written by researchers and other analysts about different approaches to and models of services delivery. Civil service reform programmes (discussed above) are designed to implement much of the current thinking and writing about service delivery. However, this writing often does not portray the complex reality of service provision in different contexts. Standard international ideas about public service organization- especially notions of ‘copying best practice’- are typically unhelpful, especially at the ‘grassroots’ or frontline.

There are a number of myths which are perpetuated by researchers and analysts about service provision. Firstly, there is a myth that a single producer (Government or NGO) is responsible for service-provision. It is, in fact, intrinsically difficult for regular, hierarchically-structured public organizations (or commercial organization) to provide effective services to poor rural people in low income environments.

Instead, arrangements are usually more complex, with a number of public agencies and private firms producing different types of services, even within the same sector. In many pastoralists areas there are simply no government or NGOs present, and the limited services available are provided by a mixture of small-scale private providers. Secondly, the role of the provider at ‘street level’ is critical and often ignored in planning. Thirdly, the effective production of service requires the active participation of those receiving the service. Some writers refer to this as ‘co-production’. Co-production can create synergy between what a government does and what citizens do (Ostrom 1996).

Another element that is often overlooked in thinking about how government relates to people in service-provision is the issue of trust. Trust is essential to the way that many businesses operate, and it is often ignored in trying to understand public services. Governments often promise a great deal, raising expectations, and then fail to deliver, which erodes trust. Reliability is central to re-building relationships between governments and citizens.

These myths are particularly inappropriate in pastoralists' areas where there is often a close relationship between non-formal institutions and services delivery. In many pastoralists' areas, populations have been organizing services on their own, through:

-) local institutions for access to land and water and dealing with conflicts;
-) insurance through traditional initiations of mutual aid;
-) traditional animal health care;
-) indigenous mechanisms for information sharing;
-) indigenous innovation;
-) local form of organizing and working together;
-) Building on local institutions and leaders to exert more political pressure at district, regional and national level.

In some areas, local efforts are strengthened by other agents, such as NGOs, private entrepreneurs and government. Given financial and human resource constraints, finding an appropriate balance between different agents is the absolutely critical issue in ensuring efficient, sustainable and accessible services to pastoralists.

Service to pastoralists

Human health services

There has been little research specifically focused on pastoralist health, and as a result there is a lack of data specific to pastoralists, especially demographic data. Such data is expensive and difficult to collect, with pastoralists often unaware of their age, and also unwilling to reveal information in surveys. However, available data suggests that there is little evidence for number of frequently perpetuated myths. Such myths include the fact there are low fertility rates and high levels of sexually-transmitted diseases. Rather, there appears to be huge heterogeneity among different pastoralist groups, with population trends dependent on differing cultural traditions around marriage.

There are a number of different health services which may be available to pastoralists, including:

- indigenous health care, including herbalists, bone-setters, spiritual healers etc. these are often both highly accessible and highly acceptable to pastoralists;
- government facilities, such as health posts, district hospitals;
- missionary health providers;

- NGOs;
- Private-formal and non-formal providers (shops, vendors, quacks, private practitioners, providing unregulated, but often accessible, services).

Government health service outlets often do not meet the health needs of pastoralists because:

- Facilities are geographically inaccessible, and coverage is usually very low in pastoral areas;
- They are mostly staffed by men, or not staffed at all. Government often has problems recruiting for isolated areas;
- They sometimes require payment in cash, and it can be difficult for pastoralists to pay cash on demand;
- They are often poorly equipped and lacking in medicine;
- Staff sometimes do not speak local languages;
- Follow-up is difficult;
- There is sometimes a 'cultural' gap;
- People often go to formal health service providers when their conditions are serious. The service is then often judged against its failure to solve problems or save lives;
- Traditional Western models, such as old childbirth models, are sometimes culturally inappropriate.

There are also implications of introducing medicines to communities which have not previously had access to medication:

- ❖ Over-prescribing is common and dangerous to all, especially to those previously unexposed to medicines. It could also affect natural immunity;
- ❖ This and poor compliance results in resistance, especially with drugs for malaria, TB and STDs;
- ❖ There tends to be a reliance on injections and this can be dangerous (especially where there are high prevalence rates of HIV).

A variety of health care interventions have been tried with pastoralists in different locations. Mobile services have been run by AMREF to reach nomadic Maasai

communities in Kenya and Tanzania. However these have tended to be very expensive, involve complicated logistics and, in the long run, be unsustainable. Even wealthy countries such as Saudi Arabia have found mobile units to be too costly.

Other interventions have proven more successful and sustainable. Training of traditional birth attendants (TBAs) is recommended in most literature. Training can reduce morbidity by discouraging harmful practices and promoting TT (tetanus toxoid) vaccination where available. Emergency obstetric care can also be provided through safe birthing centers, which can be simple huts equipped with life-saving equipment and staffed by a skilled provider. However, it can be difficult in pastoralist areas to recruit women for these jobs. There has been successful programme in Garora in Eastern Sudan, where the Amal Trust has trained traditional birth attendants (TBAs) to perform weekly checks, distribute vitamins and dispense nutritional advice. A number of health problems in this area are being resolved gradually through nutrition programmes for women and children.

There are also a number of services in different regions which stress the concept of community ownership of health provision. Appropriate solutions for pastoralists health care issues will include:

-) An understanding of the issues, including epidemiology;
-) An understanding of local cultures;
-) An understanding of pastoralist interests and needs;
-) A consideration of whether national health strategies are appropriate for pastoralists;
-) Identification of local resources;
-) Involvement of pastoralists in identifying solutions, owning them and carrying them out;
-) A consideration of how pastoralists will pay for health services, including whether there will be a flexible system which allows for deferred payment;
-) A discussion of who can be trained as health providers and communicators.

Most pastoralists are illiterate, so educational materials produced at the national level will not necessarily be appropriate for them.

In other locations, experiments have taken place in providing joint medical and veterinary health services in an integrated programme.

Veterinary services

Like human health services, animal health services can be divided between public, private and community-based organizations. The services that provide a 'private good' in which the user gains most of the benefit can often be provided by the private sector, for example the sale of veterinary drugs. For services that benefit a wider public, e.g. vaccinations against contagious diseases, sanitary and quality control, the public sector has an important role to play.

The role of the public sector includes:

-) The role of the private sector can be:
-) Provision of curative veterinary clinical services
-) Provision of artificial insemination services
-) Production of animal vaccines and drugs
-) Supply and distribution of veterinary drugs and other animal health inputs
-) Management of dips and crushes
-) Research and diagnostic support services

Joint roles include:

-) Provision of meat inspection and inspection of slaughter houses;
-) Vaccination against notifiable diseases;
-) Collection of samples for disease surveillance and monitoring;
-) Provision of research and veterinary laboratory services for some diseases.

Public-private partnerships can work in the area of livestock services, for example through the use of networks of local part-time agents, Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs). VetAid trained 200 paravets in Somaliland in 2001-03, providing a network of paraprofessionals in 133 villages who are trained in the most troublesome diseases, as identified by pastoralists. Some were also trained in human primary care, and

they also play a role in providing disease surveillance information to national veterinary authorities. The CAHWs have been officially accepted in new state legislation. The advantage of such a system is that animal health services are provided at minimum cost to the government, and an affordable service provided locally for pastoralists. However few graduates have been involved so the technical level of service may be low, and there might a danger of inappropriate dosing, hastening drug resistance.

The fundamental tenets of community-based animal health delivery services are:

-) Recognize pastoralist voices and work with them.
-) Recognize that veterinary para-professionals have a role in veterinary service provision that is under used but practical.
-) Rationalize the roles of public and private sectors in veterinary service provision.
-) Be serious about meeting international standards.

There are no easy solutions to providing animal health care for pastoralists. A high level of service was provided in socialist times in Mongolia, but this depended on unsustainably high levels of funding. Therefore community-based animal health care seems to be the most viable system in pastoral communities. However, it is important that the government provides adequate monitoring and regulation.

Pastoral women also play a crucial role in livestock husbandry, particularly in caring for young and sick animals. Several studies have shown a direct and positive effect on livestock production when female extension workers receive specific training and are employed to work with female livestock-keepers. However pastoral women are often illiterate so they may need to receive training tailored to their needs, as well as receive confidence-building measures.

Education

There are two main, and potentially conflicting, rationales for policies and programmes for the education of pastoralists. They may work together or against each other:

- i) The full accomplishment of the individual as a human being. Education is seen as being an individual's basic need and fundamental right. Ideas of inclusion and empowerment are emphasized in this view.
- ii) National development requires the integration of nomadic groups. Therefore education focuses on nomads' economic and social development, around concerns like sedentarization, modernization, poverty reduction, resource management and state building.

Education for pastoralists can be understood as having gone through three phases, reflecting trends in development thinking about both pastoralists and the role of education:

- i) Education for sedentarisation. Prior to the 1980s, education policy was seen as being instrumental in encouraging sedentarisation (seen as a 'superior' existence), and was based on assumptions that pastoralists' educational problems were because of nomadism and would disappear when they settled. The curricula of schools and the values they express tended to be opposed to a nomadic way of life, promoting the values and world-view of a sedentary society.
- ii) Education for productivity. In the 1980s the development focus shifted and there was greater concern with how education could improve pastoralism. It was based on a belief that nomadic pastoralists should receive formal because they control important 'national' resources which should be as productive as possible. Education would change attitudes and beliefs and introduce 'modern' knowledge and 'better' methods and practices which would lead to an improvement in the standard of living. It was believed that education would 'modernize' pastoralists without uprooting them from their culture. However the claims about the beneficial effects of education on productivity are not supported by the evidence available. Moreover, this evidence suggests that education often does transform pastoralists into settled farmers or wage laborers. Pastoralists' demand for education is often driven by an interest in new opportunities, not a desire to acquire further specialization in pastoralism.

- iii) Education for all (reflecting a view coming from the World conference on Education for All 1990). In this view, education should enhance the life and survival of pastoral societies, rather than trying to transform them into something else, therefore education should be based on responsive provision based on consultative, participatory processes of teaching and learning which value pastoral livelihood systems as appropriate and technically adapted to their environment and are based in part on indigenous or local expert knowledge. Such education should recognize that pastoral children may need to be equipped for life in other livelihood systems, but not assume this is the main objective of their schooling.

Typically, however, there are a number of problems relating to the provision of education to pastoralists. The challenges of providing educational services for pastoralists include: low density of population, mobility, harsh environmental conditions, and remoteness. These lead to high costs of provision, and difficulties in organization and management.

Different types of provision have been tried in different contexts:

- Drop-in to regular schools;
- Boarding schools, often seen as an “insurance option” for one body while the family continues with pastoralism. However there is a need to create a familiar, friendly environment and the school may have a majority of non-pastoral children and so school culture may be anti-pastoralist;
- Mobile schools, such as tent-schools, schools-on-wheels, collapsible schools, cars, existing Koranic mobile schools;
- Distance education, e.g. by radio in Mongolia for nomadic women.

Despite the different types of provision that have been tried, the provision of appropriate education to pastoralists remains a challenging area. Key issues include:

- Security, especially for girls and in areas close to insecure international borders and in conflict-prone regions;
- Staffing difficulties. High turnover is common due to low salaries, isolation, lack of teaching resources;

- Language of instruction. Often teachers and children speak different languages, and it is not always clear in which language children should become literate;
- Curriculum relevance. School curricula often developed for sedentary people, with urban bias, so this can be irrelevant to pastoralist concerns and experience. The demotivation caused by this can lead to a high drop-out rate.

However it is complex to assess what type of knowledge pastoralists want and why they are sending their children to school.

Food security provision

There has also been new thinking in the area of food security and famine. In the last 30 years, there have been three particular shifts in thinking about food security:

-) From the global and national to the household and the individual. There has been a shift away from a focus on food supply to ideas of access and ‘entitlement’ to food. Now the most commonly used definition of food security is one developed by the World Bank in 1986, “food security is access by all people at all times to enough food for an active healthy life”.
-) From a ‘food first’ perspective to a livelihood perspective. The conventional view of food security used to be of food as a primary need. However, now it has been recognized that food, especially short-term nutritional intake, is only one of a number of objectives. People will often endure considerable short-term hunger to preserve longer-term assets such as seeds. There is now a view of food security which is linked to livelihood security, and which focuses on the long-term viability of households.
-) From objective indicators to subjective perception. Conventional approaches have relied on objective measurement, such as ‘target’ levels of consumption. However new approaches have stressed qualitative approaches in which nutritional adequacy is a necessary but not sufficient condition for food security.

These three shifts together have switched the focus of discussion from national food supply and price to ‘the complexities of livelihood strategies in difficult and uncertain environments... [and to] understanding how people themselves respond to perceived risks and uncertainties’ (Maxwell 2001. p21)

There have also been changes in understanding of famine and its causes.

Demography, economics and political science have all provided theories about the causes of famine. Two views currently compete for dominance. The first sees famine as a natural disaster or economic crisis which is not ameliorated because of failures of policy, early warning, markets or relief intervention. The second views famine as a political issue which should be analysed in terms of power struggles, state repression and a failure of international groups to enforce the human right to food. It has also been recognized that there are also close links to conflict. Virtually every country in Africa, which has suffered a famine in recent decades, has also suffered civil conflict (Devereux 2000).

Although there are different analyses of why famines occur, in practical terms, similar preventive measures are being proposed for famine-prone countries as were put forward a number of years ago, including the provision of roads, seed, fertilizer, schools, clinics and so on.

However, there are also attempts to promote diversification of incomes that do not depend on the local economy, for example promoting small towns where people can get work which is not related to rain. There is also a need for appropriate development policies and actions at national and international level. At national level, some analysts argue that democracy is important in promoting a 'social contract'. India, for example, no longer suffers from famine, and this has been partly attributed to its democratic political system, also the vibrancy of its media which promotes the sharing of information. At an international level, it is important to ensure that famine and food aid are not used as political weapons as they have been in the past.

While governments often have policies on food security, pastoralists will usually require specific policies drawn from an analysis of the characteristics of modern pastoralism which create pastoral food insecurity. Contrary to popular myth, across Africa, pastoral nutrition is heavily dependent on cereals and other purchased foods, obtained either through selling livestock products or earned in exchange for labor. A recent estimate is that Ethiopian pastoralists obtain between half and three quarters of their total calories intake from purchased foods. This makes pastoralists very vulnerable to changes in the relative prices of things they sell and those they buy, and they can become food insecure

through the operation of the market in drought years rather than the failure of their own production systems.

Policies to address pastoral food security should therefore:

-) Recognize differences in patterns of food insecurity between pastoral and agricultural livelihoods, and the need for a specific pastoral food security policy and plans;
-) Highlight the importance of better information about pastoral food insecurity, including local indicators of stress as perceived by pastoralists, collected and reported in a timely manner in an early warning system which gives adequate warning of a forthcoming crisis;
-) Emphasis rapid reaction strategies;
-) Encourage a substantial but orderly destocking of the rangelands in the event of major drought in a way that reduces high levels of animal deaths, and preserves a reservoir of breeding females for rapid post-drought recovery;
-) Maintain adequate cereal availability at reasonable prices through the affected area;
-) Provide employment on useful public works to destitute people in order to protect entitlements;
-) Given the role of human population concentrations in the spread of infectious disease among malnourished people, maintain as long as feasible the dispersed pattern of population distribution typical of pastoral areas;
-) Give high priority to human health and immunization, recognizing that mortality in famine situations is more often a direct product of disease than starvation itself.

6.3 Pastoralist productivity

This section looks at recent thinking not only in the area of improving livestock productivity but also the related and essential issue of promoting the trade in livestock and livestock products for both domestic and export markets.

It is around livestock productivity that there has been the most pastoralist-specific work and analysis, with significant shifts in thinking in recent years. The last 30 years have seen widespread failure of livestock development projects across Africa. Most

commentators agree that despite the expenditure of millions of dollars, there have been few obvious returns and much damage done. International development agencies and African governments devoted considerable energies to suppressing pastoral techniques of land and livestock management on the grounds that pastoralism was unproductive and ecologically destructive. However, empirical research does not support these assumptions (Behnke and Scoones 1990). Research and analysis from a number of sources has highlighted:

-) The efficiency of traditional pastoral use of natural resources for food production;
-) The complexity of pastoral livelihood systems, in which exchange relations and markets are vital for survival;
-) The richness and validity of indigenous pastoral knowledge;
-) The innovative and adaptive capacities of pastoralists (waters-Bayer, Bayer et al. 2003).

New thinking in range ecology has to explain some of this failure, challenging the assumptions of traditional range management thinking based on an understanding of rangelands in the temperate US. 'New range management' (NRM), drawing on the 'new ecology' thinking, can be summarized as follows.

- Grazing systems in many parts of Africa are not 'in equilibrium' that is, livestock and vegetation do not control each other. External shocks (eg drought or war) rather than endogenous processes (eg low calving rates caused by malnutrition) determine livestock numbers and the state of the vegetation (Behnke and Scoones 1990)
- In these non-equilibrium systems grazing by livestock has only a small effect on the productivity of grasslands.
- Therefore an 'opportunistic' or 'tracking' strategy, in which livestock numbers (and so the demand for feed) closely matches in time the production of grass is the best way to avoid wasting feed supply which cannot usually be stored economically.
- African rangelands are highly varied in space, producing different amounts and qualities of feed at different times and in different places. This feed cannot be

economically transported, and therefore herd mobility is desirable to exploit this.

- Efforts to improve management in these disequilibrium systems should focus on improving the efficiency of opportunism/tracking. This is done by ensuring the quickest and least costly methods of adjusting the 'demand' (from the number, species, breeds and age/sex composition of herd) for feed to the 'supply' of feed which is largely determined by rainfall.
- Past thinking stressed the potential for improving the productivity (quantity/quality of feed output) of the rangelands. By contrast, the 'new ecology' focuses on particular patches or key resources as the sites where investments to ensure productivity gains should be concentrated. The amount/quality of feed available at the height of the drought in these final areas determines the size of the breeding herd from which herd numbers can be reconstituted when the drought is over.
- In Africa, 'disequilibrium systems' are actually the norm in rainfall areas where the variability of rainfall, as determined by the 'coefficient of variation' of annual rainfall is in excess of 30% where mean annual rainfall is less than 600mm.

The development policy implications from these include the following:

-) In highly dynamic, non-equilibrium environments land degradation is not the major issue it was once assumed. Therefore boreholes and water points should continue to be a priority in areas where water is a limiting factor. The cost of bare 'sacrifice' zones immediately surrounding each borehole is usually outweighed by the benefits of more efficient fodder use and higher livestock populations. However, very high densities of boreholes in arid environments may ultimately result in a decreased resilience of the system as the patchy nature of the environment is destroyed. Changes in resource access following borehole investment also remain a concern.
-) Maintaining the size and health of animal populations through investments in veterinary care also remains a priority. High populations do not necessarily impose long-term environmental damage, and healthy animals are able to

track environmental variations more effectively. Conventional veterinary support, through vaccination campaigns, needs to be complemented by decentralized animal health services and the indigenous knowledge of herders themselves.

-) Conventional range management in dry areas is of limited value. Technical support should be focused on particular niches where productivity increases are most likely. Investment in the development or creation of key resource patches, for instance, deserves attention from technical experts. Breeding programs using exotic breeds should be abandoned in favor of improving the physiological tracking capacity of indigenous breeds. So-called 'traditional' pastoral systems have higher returns (when these are calculated to include the cost of products consumed by pastoralists as well as those sold) than ranches under comparable conditions. The ranch model for pastoral development in dry land Africa therefore should be abandoned in favor of support for existing system.

Pastoral areas are typified by high level of unpredictable variability. Variability and uncertainty therefore need to be tackled head-on, rather than trying to implement generalized blueprint solutions or basing responses on simple concepts such as 'carrying capacity'. NRM is therefore about seizing opportunities and evading hazards. This is what pastoralists have always done and known. The responses of planners and governments have to shift to accept different ways of interpreting livestock management, encouraging the mobility and flexibility of livestock rather than restricting or controlling it. Planners need to employ process planning and adaptive, opportunistic management approaches, building on the innovation and management approaches of pastoralists.

Pastoralists cope with high levels of variability in many ways. To be able to react to changing conditions and requirements, pastoralists are interested in a diversity of animal types, and men and women may work with different animals. When designing policies and plans for livestock production, it is important to give attention both to the production system and to issues of adaptation to the environment. Some animals are more able than others to adapt to high ambient temperature, low-quality feed, low and erratic water

supply and resistance to different diseases. A change in appropriate types of animals as walking long distances become less important, but coping with low-quality forage becomes more important.

There are also many examples of innovation by pastoralists to deal with variability in their environments. These examples include haymaking in Sahelian countries, the formation of informal dairy marketing groups, especially by women, and the capturing of new market opportunities in many areas. Identifying viable locally developed innovations is also a positive entry point towards involving local people in participatory research and extension. It identifies the directions in which local people want to develop their livelihood systems and encourages a greater 'partnership' approach between scientists and extension workers.

There are, however, limits to opportunistic management responses in the absence of major opportunities for productivity increases in the livestock system. A broader perspective, centered on understandings of 'sustainable livelihoods' suggests the need to employ wider assessment of the dynamics of livelihood change, incorporating the following important external, contextual factors:

- ❖ Multiple, flexible livelihoods, with livestock as part of portfolio
- ❖ Drought risk
- ❖ Non-pastoral diversification, but not necessarily the 'mixed farming' model
- ❖ Globalization and market access
- ❖ Land rights
- ❖ Disease and markets
- ❖ Borders and conflict.

In particular, two aspects that need to be understood as part of complex livelihood systems are irrigation and land right.

Land rights

Access to land is becoming an increasing problem in Africa, as elsewhere. Land policies are of fundamental importance to sustainable growth and economic opportunities, but there are different views on what policy measures should be implemented.

As recently as 1989, the World conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development noted that "... land availability (is) not a major problem in the context of most African

countries” (WCARD 199:17). However, nowadays, access to land is becoming problematical. African’s land use and tenure frontiers are shifting. Colonial legacies across much of the continent left nation-states claiming ownership to over half the landmass in many countries. However, national ownership did not generally mean equitable and sustainable access to natural resources, but rather benefits tended to accrue to political and economic elites.

Three major lines of policy towards land prevailed in Africa during the early 1980s. In some countries, there was a shift towards the socialization of land by way of cooperatives and state farms (e.g. Mozambique). In other countries, the privatization and individualization of land ownership was either begun or continued (e.g. Malawi, Kenya). Thirdly, some countries adapted existing tenures to modify the relationships between tribal chiefs and the state, as in the Gambia and Lesotho. In general the switch towards the second type of land policy, that is, individualization and privatization, seems to be prevailing in Africa at the moment.

Those who promote a private/individual model, including the World Bank and other international organizations, argue that:

-) Property right affects economic growth;
-) Security of property rights are needed for
 - investment
 - credit
 - insurance for shocks
 - facilitation of transfer of land at a low cost
-) unequal land distribution reduces productivity;
-) insecure land rights prohibit letting of land;
-) poorly designed land markets and corruption hamper non-farm economic development;
-) access to land and improving poor people’s ability to make effective use of land central to reducing poverty;

-) Inequitable land systems can increase conflict and violence. Where these overlap with race and ethnicity issues, build-up of land-related conflict can even result in the collapse of states (Deininger 2003).

In the view of those who promote an individual view of land rights, tenure reform should reduce the role of uncertainty in discouraging investment on land that is held without long-term security. The granting of land titles that enhance security may induce investment and productivity increases, both because farmers are more sure of reaping the benefit of investment, and because their access to credit is increased.

However this justification and approaches to land reform can be questioned from economic, ecological and social points of view, especially for those regions where agro-ecological conditions are limiting and local groups lack the necessary experience and formal education to compete with better equipped groups in society. In Kenya, for example, the Maasai pastoralists have lost huge amount of land. They currently face an influx of agricultural groups and large-scale capitalist farmers following the individualization of land held under statutory group title. The commoditization of land can be said to responsible for a rapidly growing stratification in this area (Rutten 1997).

Other approaches to land reform move away from either an emphasis on individualization of property rights or state ownership of large tracts of land, and instead stress the importance of community-based property rights (CBPRs). CBPRs emanate from and are enforced by communities. They are a bundle of rights, both communal and individual, and include rights to water, land, forest products and wildlife. They can be considered as private, group resources which give the holders more bargaining leverage with outside interests, including government. Legal recognition of CBPRs is a way to ensure that local voices are heard and respected in the use of land and to promoting and supporting local incentives for conservation and sustainable management (Lynch 2000).