

THE INTRICATE ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT:

GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN THE PASTORAL AREAS OF THE HORN OF AFRICA



Edited by: Yohannes Aberra and Mahmud Abdulahi



Institute For Peace And Security Studies (IPSS)
Addis Ababa University

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The cover picture is an image of a villagization project in Benishangul-Gumuz region of Ethiopia.

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Kidane Kiros

Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)
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Introduction

Pastoral Way of Life, Role, and Challenges

Pastoralism is a livelihood strategy and a system of mobile livestock production that makes wide-ranging use of grazing lands in arid and semi-arid environment that doesn't uphold sustainable crop cultivation. The freedom of mobility over outsized land for seasonal pastures is indispensable to pastoralist production primarily in order to convert the pastures residues into human food. The people and livestock in pastoral communities may move to avoid various natural and/or social hazards, to avert competition with others, or to seek more favourable conditions. Shaped by both social and ecological factors of uncertainty and variability of precipitation (IPCC, 2014), extensive pastoralism is practiced on about 25% of the earth's land area, mostly in the developing world, from the drylands of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula to the highlands of Asia and Latin America where intensive crop cultivation is physically not possible (FAO, 2001 cited in Dong *et. al.*, 2011). According to some studies, pastoralism supports worldwide about 200 million households and herds nearly a billion head of animals including camel, cattle, and smaller livestock (FAO, 2001 cited in Dong *et. al.*, 2011); and hence is important in its ecological, economic and social contributions to some of the world's poorest regions (Nori and Davies, 2007).

Pastoral livestock production systems are mostly found in Africa's vast arid and semi-arid areas characterized by marked rainfall variability and associated uncertainties in the spatial and temporal distribution of pastures and water resources. African pastoral ecosystems are ancestral homeland to a substantial portion of the population for whom pastoralism is a traditional way of life capable of adapting to trends such as new economic opportunities and better access to modern means of communication (AU, 2010). Pastoralism contributes 10 to 44% to the GDP of African countries. An estimated 268 million African people (over a quarter of the total population) occupying about 43% of the continent's total land mass (AU, 2010) are dependent on pastoralism for their livelihood. All countries of the Horn of Africa host a large population of pastoral communities. More than half of the population in Somalia/Somaliland are pastoralists and at present pastoralism contributes up to

65% of their GDP. Most of the arid and semi-arid land of Kenya hosts some 4 million (10% of the total population) pastoral people along its borders, sustaining almost a quarter of the livestock wealth of the nation and significantly contributing to the agricultural GDP of Kenya. In Ethiopia, arid and semi-arid pastoral areas comprise approximately 60% of its total land area, mainly peripheral, where no alternative production takes place (Homann et al, 2004). This way of life sustains the livelihood of some 14% of the population and makes the country first in Africa in its livestock populations. North-eastern Uganda (Karamoja) is the dominant pastoral region in the country with some 1.2 million agro-pastoral communities of less than 20% of the total population of the country.

Thus, a large number of pastoralists inhabit substantial parts of the Horn of Africa, deriving their livelihood from pastoralism and agro-pastoralism. These people have survived many centuries in a difficult and harsh natural environment through mobility and efficient use of various and fluctuating resources in their environment applying the principles of flexibility, complementarity, multi-functionality, reciprocity and sustainable communal use (Abdulahi, 2007).

State Development Policies and Strategies

Numerous studies have identified the potential of the pastoral areas to the socio-economic development of countries of the Horn of Africa; and states in the region have made several attempts to design, adopt and implement policies and strategies they consider appropriate for these areas. Yet, pastoralists of the Horn of Africa have remained vulnerable, poor, and marginalized due to various factors including conflict, inappropriate government policies, government large scale projects, and climate change that exacerbates the intensity of droughts (PFE 2000; PFE 2002; PFE 2004; PCDP 2005a; PFE 2007). As Nori and Davies rightfully pointed out, these threats and pressures associated with human population growth, economic development, land use changes, and climate change are challenging professionals and practitioners when it comes to sustaining and protecting these invaluable social, cultural, economic, and ecological assets worldwide (Nori and Davies, 2007). These are indeed true for pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa triggering

hot debates among the scholars, practitioners and policy makers regarding the appropriate development policy and strategy to address these threats.

While state policy and strategy has become a critical tool guiding the efforts to address socio-economic and political challenges in any society, there are diverse views on the effects or roles of state policy and strategy. State policy and strategy is always at the centre of success and failure in development of human communities of any society including the pastoralists. In other words, policy can either promote or hinder economic and social development in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa. Specifically, policy and institutional environment determine access to the resources of these areas and, therefore, have a significant impact on equity, productivity and livelihoods. Limited or uncertain resource tenure and access to, or ownership of land, water and other resources are long-term, fundamental constraints to pastoralism. In addition, limited formal education, health and communication facilities, inappropriate market development, and poor access to livestock and other services can lead to discontent, generate injustice and further promote conflict. These problems can also lead to non-sustainable resource use and environmental degradation. In contrast, appropriate pro-pastoral policy and institutional reforms can empower pastoral people and promote equitable access to resources, facilities and services, and guarantee sustainable land use and environmental management (AU, 2010).

Normally, performance of a given sector justifies a continued policy support. While pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa have potentially significant contribution to the socio-economic life of the people of the region, having proper policy support is always a challenge. The dominant views among the scholars and practitioners are that state development policies and strategies in the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa have less and negative role. This book, therefore, explores and synthesizes the lessons learned in the approaches of state development policies and strategies in the pastoral areas of the region. The book is organized into thirteen chapters and two interrelated parts that present feasible framework which can be key input for various stakeholders aspiring to work on improving the lives of millions of pastoralists in the countries of the Horn of Africa.

In the first part of the book (Part I), six case-specific chapters have analyzed the lessons learned on the general theme of pastoral policies and strategies in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa. The book starts off with a chapter on '*Ethiopian Pastoralist Policy at the Cross-road: Further Marginalization or Revitalization?*' in which the author inquires into whether the current pastoralist policy in Ethiopia is marginalizing or revitalizing their way of life. The chapter elucidates that mobility vs. settlement debates in Ethiopia are common phenomena and have overshadowed the issue of pastoralists as both sides took extreme positions and failed to compromise and look for middle ground. The author argues that Ethiopian pastoralists today are at the crossroads where a crucial decision with far-reaching consequences must be made – either to design appropriate policies to enable the revitalizations of pastoralism or to continue with the current inappropriate and inadequate policy trends that enhance further marginalization of pastoralism. The first requires delineating pastoral areas along with dry season grazing territory and designing clear land policy that ensures collective tenure security while the second path has to be supported and facilitated by promoting market participation, expanding non-farm income activities and increasing livestock productivity through provision of productive technologies and health and extension services. Finally the author concludes that without good governance and a bureaucracy that operates efficiently, any development policies and strategies in pastoral areas of Ethiopia, no matter how well intentioned they may be, are doomed to failure.

Chapter Two on '*The Ethiopian State and Pastoralism: Appraisal of praxis of pastoralist policies in the Afar National Regional State*' analyses the praxis of pastoralism in Ethiopia by looking into changes and continuities since Emperor Haile Selassie's regime based on a case study on the Afar pastoralists. The chapter analyses that Ethiopia's state policy of modernization through peasantization, sedentarization and proletarianization of the pastoralists is facing numerous challenges some of which are natural (anthropogenic induced) and others entirely manmade – a vulnerability context. Even in areas where pastoralists are willing to transform their mode of life, there are challenges of delayed state service delivery and weak response to shocks and vulnerable trends. The author argues that the future of the community in terms livelihood

is determined by the state's willingness and commitment to put into practice what is in the policy paper, which should be participatory and incremental in approach. Most elements of the state policy on paper seem to echo this principle of participation and volunteerism in transforming pastoralism. The chapter concludes that successful modernization projects and effective bureaucratization and good governance will determine the transformation of pastoralist life in the Afar Regional State in particular and in Ethiopia in general.

Chapter Three on *'Implementation of Government Development Strategies on Afar Pastoralists in Ethiopia: Challenges and opportunities'* inquires into the key challenges facing the state in implementing its pastoral policies and strategies based on a case study of the Afar pastoralists. The chapter is aimed at providing input for the governments strive to come up with appropriate pro-pastoral policy and institutional reforms that can empower pastoralists and promote equitable access to resources, facilities and services and guarantee sustainable land use and environmental management. After analyzing the challenges and opportunities of state policies and strategies in light of the reaction of the Afar pastoralists, the author concludes that stakeholders should work jointly to minimize the challenges and maximize opportunities particularly by formulating appropriate and a full-fledged pastoral policy and implementing accordingly.

Exploring another case study related the issues of implementation of state policies and strategies, Chapter Four on *'Opportunities and Challenges of Government Implementation Strategies in Pastoral Areas: Shinile district, Somali Region, Ethiopia,'* examines the sustainability of government development interventions in the pastoral area with a better understanding of the livelihood dynamics and rural and urban interfaces. The author argues that while the government policies and practices are by and large skewed towards permanent settlement and expansion of crop farming with transfer of modern technologies, they have stimulated undesired outcomes such as risk of vulnerability of farming under arid and semi-arid agro-ecology, conflict of different land uses, rural urban migration, dropouts from pastoralism and high dependence on charcoal making and safety net supports that trigger the vicious circle of poverty. The chapter reveals that the interventions have gaps that brought undesired outcomes including increase in

vulnerability to risks, land degradation and food insecurity. Finally, the author concludes that holistic and integrated approach is the basis of sustainable development and suggests that empowerment of pastoralists in decision making, reorientation of policy and practices to mobility, and revitalization of indigenous knowledge and customary institutions with synergy of modern interventions are the foundation to sustainability.

Chapter Five on '*Government Development Strategies in the Borana Pastoral Lowland of Southern Ethiopia: Lessons learned*' examines current government development strategies and implementation among the Borana Oromo of southern Ethiopia. The chapter depicts that the government development strategies among the Borana are marked by tremendous experience of failure and misfit. The chapter reveals that settling pastoralists to practice rain-fed farming has failed to enable the Borana pastoralists have sustainable living even though more pastoralist families are willing to practice farming; it only resulted in an intense land use competition with multiple user groups. The chapter also analyses how the resettlement and water-shed development programmes have resonated significant repercussion on food security and land use changes as the intended voluntary settlement turned coercive compelling pastoralist families to stay in an area despite the stipulated provisions in rural development policies and strategies. The author then concludes that a more plausible approach should be engendering policy community dynamics where decision is made in a positive bargaining process putting the issues of pastoral productivity at the top of policy agenda and taking into account the potential of the pastoral land for pastoral use and sedentary livelihood before making this kind of heuristic model of socio-economic development.

Chapter Six on '*A Critical Appraisal of Government Development Interventions in Karamoja*' explores the diverging views of the policy makers and the Karamoja community of North-Eastern Uganda. The chapter reveals that although the nature of Karamoja requires a systematically designed state intervention, the complexity involved in doing so due to lack of national standards, overlooking the local context of the agro-pastoralist Karamoja community, and absence of coordinated efforts among the different levels of state authority have led to slow progress in all sectors. The author argues that there is a mismatch between government programmes and

realities in Karamoja as such programmes failed to take into account the cultural and ecological realities of the community and suggests that local priorities and local knowledge should be put at the centre of programming of any initiative. Moreover, the chapter reveals the effects of top-down approach in the state policy and recommends bottom-up approach with a room for community participation at all stages.

Part II of the book takes a more thematic approach and tackles a number of specific issues related to state policies and strategies in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa. Chapter Seven on '*Sedentarization and Drought Resilience: Government Strategies to Support Pastoralist Livelihood in Ethiopia*' uncovers the fact that understanding of particular constraints and strategies of pastoralists is an important first step in designing appropriate emergency interventions to support their economies at times of crisis. It then analyzes the settlement policy of state and the resultant reaction of the pastoralists and reveals that pastoral livelihoods today are highly vulnerable because of loss of valuable natural resources, increasing restrictions on herd mobility and unsound sedentarization programmes pursued by successive governments with cumulative effect of extreme poverty, recurrent food insecurity, and deterioration of livestock herds – exacerbating the impending disaster threats. The author argues that while protecting, building and rebuilding the livelihood assets of pastoralists require an integrated approach to risk management that goes beyond cash or food transfers to address the underlying causes of pastoral livelihood vulnerability, the risk management system must be implemented within the broader structural development framework. The chapter concludes that mechanisms should be put in place to enable pastoralists mitigate and adapt to drought through mobility as mobility is one of the strategies for pastoralists that enables them to recover from shocks of several kinds; and the restrictive policy environment in Ethiopia that prioritizes settlement and sedentary farming in pastoral areas must be changed.

Chapter Eight on '*Policies and Practices of Consultation with Pastoralist Communities in Ethiopia: The Case of Omo-Kuraz Sugar Development Project*' provides an extensive analysis of the state policies and strategies with regard to the issue of consultation. The chapter inquires into policies and practices of consultation process in Omo Kuraz Sugar Development

Project in order to identify negotiated benefits, lessons and limitations of the project. By analyzing the policy framework and how members of the local community see the impact of the project in light of their traditional land holding system, i.e., their spiritual, cultural, social and economic tie with their traditional lands, the chapter reveals that the project has employed a wide range of public participation where the project makes use of the basic social services, infrastructures, employment opportunities and social development schemes as negotiated benefits. The author argues that while the project adopted a broader process of local participation and accrued some benefits to the community, it also had shortcomings when seen from the point of the state's view of participation as consultation and the failure of the process to adopt bottom-up approach, which could have helped to adequately take into account the multi-dimensional reality of the pastoralists in the process. The author suggests that consultation should not be narrowly defined as mere participation to negotiate over losses and benefits and that proper consultation of people in general demands voluntary submission, roles in agenda control, option generation and say on the project that affects their life.

Chapter Nine on '*The Nexus between Villagization, Land Use Changes and Conflict Management in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State*' explores the extent to which villagization has contributed to the transformation process of the livelihood of the shifting cultivators in the regional state taking a case study of Assosa *Woreda*. The chapter also analyses how the villagization process can, while providing a great potential for citizens to access public services and creating a favourable condition to reduce conflicts as the state now provides security services, lead to unintended consequences due to the structural problems in the process. The author concludes that although the villgization programme can contribute to social transformation, several structural and institutional problems undermine the realization of its benefits in the long run – the promised social services are not adequate; farmers have limited harvests on their new plots as they continue to use their primitive tools; and deforestation is increasing at an alarming level as the farmers try to compensate the deficit through charcoal production.

In a related theme of conflict issues but from a different perspective, Chapter Ten on *'Minimizing Conflicts and Extinction of Traditional Knowledge System of Minority Groups'* presents an analysis of the traditional knowledge systems of pastoral communities in Ethiopia, justifications for large-scale agricultural investment, its conflict implications, and policy considerations. The chapter reveals that transforming pastoral communities into large-scale agriculture entrepreneurs comes with a lot of resistance to protect the original community values that enabled resilience against harsh climatic conditions. The author argues that as the unique and resilient cultures of pastoralists were capable of becoming an economic force in their potential for tourism and a source of pride, unity, peace, and solidarity, such values should not be alienated in the name of development. The chapter concludes that indigenous knowledge is a valuable asset used in tourism providing employment opportunities as guides and security guards, and needs to be promoted. It also suggests that the new development strategies should seriously consider advancement of local solutions in solving local problems.

Chapter Eleven on *'Government Strategies as Contributing Factors for Resource Conflict among Pastoralists and Farmers in Tana River County, Kenya'* explores the relationship between government development strategies and pastoralism in Tana River District and the potential of the strategies to exacerbate conflicts as a result of resource scarcity among pastoralists and farmers pushing them into further poverty. The chapter highlights that development projects promoted by the government have the potential to bring development in the region but they should aim at the right kind of strategies that can make a difference for the communities living in the region. The author argues that government development strategies aimed at agricultural development in the Tana River County of Kenya have resulted in periodic tensions and disruptions in the indigenous practices of community resource management leading to resource conflicts between the Pokomo farmers and Orma pastoralists. The chapter finally emphasises the importance of clear understanding of pastoralism by development planners so as to help the government adopt pro-pastoralists policies in the national policy. To achieve this, there should be context specific information gathered and analyzed for better contextual understanding of the socio-economic values of pastoralism.

This in turn requires community participation in decision-making process eventually empowering them and tackling marginalization.

Chapter Twelve on *'The Viability of Pastoral Society in Post-Conflict Settings: Evidence from Somaliland'* unveils the challenges that face the Somaliland pastoral society and suggests ways of building viable pastoral community in post-conflict context by analyzing a number of key indicators including access to social services such as education, health, sanitation, clean water, and grazing land, among others. The chapter thus reveals the challenges and problems that face the pastoral society in Somaliland on the one hand, and some possible interventions by the state and non-state actors to address the challenges on the other. The author argues that exclusion and isolation of pastoralists of Somaliland could result in further future discontents, and suggests that the state policies/strategies should help pastoralists who are the backbone of the nation's already fragile economy. The chapter concludes that if pastoralism, which is the prime source of income for both the state's economic nucleus and the individuals' livelihood, is not incorporated in the state policy priorities, Somaliland which has no legal status and does not qualify for a foreign direct investment, will face critical socio-economic crises and its political and social stability will remain in limbo.

Chapter Thirteen, entitled *'Transitioning Pastoralism towards a Green Economy: Key Lessons from Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Areas (ASALS)'* transcends the "tyranny of sedentarization and agro-pastoralism" and explores ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy. One of the key challenges that the chapter reveals is that although the state in Kenya is good at policy formulation, the policy regulatory commitments have failed to turn into meaningful gains for communities living in ASALs in general and for pastoralists in particular as attention has shifted to sedentarization and agro-pastoralism. The author argues that ASALs are "an opportunity and not a liability" possessing great economic potential. Accepting the unique realities that underpin them in terms of ecology, economy, population distribution and social system is the key to unlocking the ASAL development potential. The chapter suggests that the emergence of a green economy should serve as hope for the government to achieve the multiple benefits of reviving the pastoral sector, mitigating climate change, and enhancing sustainable pastoralism.

The contributions to the present book generally aim at analyzing state policies and strategies in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa through interdisciplinary approach. They show the progress achieved, yet also clearly identify the gaps that still need to be filled in the realization of better life for the pastoral communities in the region. It is thus hoped that the book delivers positive inputs to the further development and refinement of state policies and strategies as well as the related practices in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa. Likewise, it is the editors' hope that the contributions assembled in this book will trigger further research regarding socio-economic, political and policy issues related to the pastoral communities in the region.

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1

PART ONE

**PASTORAL POLICIES
AND STRATEGIES**

CHAPTER ONE

Ethiopian Pastoralist Policy At The Crossroads: Further Marginalization Or Revitalization?

Lemessa Demie Anbessa

Abstract

Current policy for pastoralist livelihoods is flawed in Ethiopia. This is in part because it is based on the common misunderstanding that pastoralism is not a viable livelihood strategy. The misunderstanding led policymakers to push for sedentarization of pastoral communities. There is, however, no empirical support for sedentarization in the form of evidence showing that settlement leads to improved livelihoods or reduced vulnerability. Partly because of this misunderstanding, and partly due to the political economy of policy making in Ethiopia, the current institutional setting in the country is poorly equipped to result in improved livelihood of pastoralists. Generally, there are two blocs: pro-mobility and pro-settlement. Regardless of two decades of debate between the two groups, they are yet to find a middle ground. Ethiopian pastoralists today are at the crossroads at which a crucial decision with far-reaching consequences must be made. Two-pronged pathways to pastoral development are proposed for the revitalization of pastoralism in Ethiopia. The first one supports mobile pastoralism and envisages a situation in which the level of aridity and fragility of the ecology are not suitable for crop farming due to lack of water. This development pathway requires delineating pastoral areas along with a dry

season grazing territory and putting in place a clear land policy that ensures collective tenure security. The second pathway is facilitating the succession of pastoralism into agro-pastoral system and non-agricultural activities. It has to be supported and facilitated by promoting market participation, expanding non-farm income activities and increasing livestock productivity through provision of productive technologies and health and extension services. It seems that a well designed and voluntary small-scale settlement of pastoralists in selected irrigable areas such as the Fentale Irrigation Scheme is also helpful to diversify the livelihoods of pastoralists and dropouts/the destitute and also to protect their land ownership/security, which otherwise, could be passed over to investors/state-sponsored enterprises as usual. Cognizant of the population growth and the size of cultivable land by the river banks, the sustainability of the second pathway needs further study. However, for the time being, it seems that the feasible option is to facilitate a small scale voluntary settlement of pastoralists along the river banks essentially as a strategy to minimize the potential risk of land grabbing that highly attracts investors and state-sponsored enterprises along the riverine areas.

Key words: *Pastoralist, Pastoralist policy, pro-mobility, pro-settlement*

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Pastoralism is a system of mobile livestock production that makes wide-ranging use of grazing lands in the lowlands of the Eastern Africa and the Horn. Pastoralists in this area reside in an arid dryland topography that does not uphold continuing crop cultivation. Freedom of mobility over outsized regions of land is indispensable to pastoralist production, and it was an honoured privilege of the people in the pre-colonial period. However, colonialism dispossessed pastoralists of the right and freedom of mobility by blocking them inside the borders of states created in a new geo-political model. Mobility was more restricted within every state by district boundaries, parks, nature reserves, quarantine and tribal grazing zones. Unfortunately, no infrastructural development such as communications, education, health care, and transport was brought to the pastoralist economy and the environment. Consequently, at the time when independence came, pastoralism was out-of-the-way on

the periphery of the African state and the social order (Markakis, 2004, Ayalew, 2001, Africa Union, 2009, Africa Union, 2010; Helland, 2000).

Independence of African states from colonial rule stretched out over time from the late 1950's to the 1990's with Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa coming final. Hence, the processes of nation building which consist of formation of autonomous political systems and design of policies and development strategies comprising land reforms and land policy making were spread out as well. To rectify colonial-based asymmetrical ownership and to rationalize biased land use policies and insecure land tenure systems, principally land reforms begun in the 1950's and continued more strongly from the 1960's onwards. Nevertheless, independence did not stop the decline of pastoralism; it rather sped it up (Africa Union, 2009; Helland, 2006; Niamir, 1995).

In particular, the states in Eastern Africa and the Horn maintained the colonial blueprint of the economy, and pastoralism is still considered as an 'archaic' mode of life that has to be challenged and transformed. State policy all through the region has been to urge the pastoralists to espouse a settled style of life in order to benefit from state services (Markakis, 2004; Dyer, 2008; Helland, 2006). In Ethiopia, a classic example to corroborate this position is the pastoral policy of the incumbent government which takes "voluntary sedentarization along the banks of major rivers as the main direction of transforming pastoral societies into the agro-pastoral system, from mobility to sedentary life" (MoFA, 2008:11). This suggests that Ethiopian pastoralists do not have the right to pursue a livelihood of their choice although the new African Union policy framework on pastoralism in Africa clearly recognizes this right. In fact, this is not peculiar to the current government only; previous regimes in Ethiopia had also undertaken policy actions that were not suitable for pastoralists. These policy actions incorporated, among others, the allocation of land for non-pastoral use, restriction of herd movements; transfer of agriculturalists to pastoral areas, and coercive settlement of pastoralists (Ayalew, 2001, Dyer, 2008; Helland, 2006; WISP, 2008; Boku, 2000; Niamir, 1995).

On the other hand, over the recent years, encouraging achievements are emerging. An inspiring and fascinating case in point is that West

African countries such as Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger have approved a series of pastoral laws to defend pastoral land and boost livestock mobility. Collectively, the laws present several affirmative features that consist of recognition and protection of mobility (the Pastoral Charter in Mali and the Pastoral Code in Mauritania); recognition of priority use rights over resources (the Rural code in Niger); and recognition of “productive” pastoral land use (Pastoral Charter) (Dyer, 2008, African Union, 2010). In addition, a pan-African pro-pastoral policy framework that was long overdue has been approved recently. It is the first continent wide policy initiative and platform for mobilizing and coordinating political commitment to pastoral development in Africa (African Union, 2010).

Furthermore, many organizations and people are greatly aware that mobile pastoralism is performing well in many of the richest countries of the world. Pastoralist mobility does not have to be an impediment to governance and in reality pastoralists have strong institutions that have allowed them to administrate themselves and their environment for centuries. Notwithstanding the “new understanding” that has emerged and come into sight over recent years, public attitudes towards pastoralists have not altered to the same extent and destructive policies and practices keep on to be proposed and implemented, encouraging unsustainable development in pastoral areas (WISP, 2008:5).

In Ethiopia pastoralism is one of the fundamental socio-economic classifications in which livestock husbandry in open grazing areas characterizes the key means of survival. Ethiopia’s arid or semi-arid pastoral lands encompass around 63% of the total land area and comprise about 12% of the total population. The majority of pastoralists live in the four regional states of Somali, Afar, Oromia and Southern Nations. Pastoralist areas mark Ethiopia’s border with neighbouring countries (Mohammed, 2004; MoARD, 2008).

The policy options that are discussed and recommended for the revitalization of pastoralism include topics such as livestock mobility, settlement, land tenure and use, water management and use, livestock development and marketing, pastoral affairs institutional setting, customary institutions, access to social services, and disaster risk

management. Though there is substantial overlap among some of the policy options, however, the broad message is that pro-pastoral policies and legislations similar to those of West African Countries (Niger and Mali) are indispensable to protect the significance of pastoral mobility, reduce land grabbing in the pastoralist areas, circumvent settlement as the only resolution to pastoral predicaments, curtail the hindrances to livestock marketing, and recognize customary tenure systems that ensure pastoralists' access to resources.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Policy has all the time been at the centre of successes and failures in the development of human beings. Accordingly, policy can either encourage or hamper economic and social development in pastoralist areas. In particular, policy and institutional setting determine access to resources in pastoralist areas and consequently, have a considerable impact on equity, productivity and livelihoods (Africa Union, 2010). However, evidences from East Africa corroborate that policy has hindered economic and social development in pastoralist areas. In other words, the mockery is that misinterpretation persists in the face of mounting research results offering sound scientific corroboration of the value of pastoralism as a livelihood system. The grounds for the persistence of such well-established prejudice is extremely multifaceted given that they are embedded in history, culture and past and present socio-economic and political processes, which vary from one country to the other (Hesse and Odhiamabo, 2006). The anti-pastoralist bias of the dominant highland culture has long been and persists to be an influential force in Ethiopia (Halderman, 2004). This bias has been mirrored in the official outlook toward pastoralists and the approach to pastoral development strategy and policy by successive Ethiopian governments (Mohammed, 2004; Lister, 2004).

The Feinstein International Centre stated that the policy environment for pastoralism in Ethiopia exemplifies the "misunderstandings about pastoralism found in many other countries. For example, objectives such as sedentarization of pastoral communities are often included in policy documents, although there is no evidence which attributes improved

livelihoods or reduced vulnerability to settlement”¹. Earlier development works in pastoral areas were not embedded in the desires and main concerns of the people. To be grounded, a “pro-poor development policy and practice must start with the realities of people who are marginal, vulnerable and living in poverty. These realities can be described in terms of the conditions they experience, and their awareness, aspirations and priorities” (Chambers, 2010:16).

After the regime change in 1991, restructuring of the Ethiopian State into an ethnic federation was commended as a novel model that would present a new legitimate foundation to the Ethiopian State, resolve ethnic conflicts and address longstanding pastoralist’s problems. The Ethiopian Constitution (1995) affirmed in its preamble that the government is “fully cognizant that our common destiny can best be served by rectifying historically unjust relationships” (Government of Ethiopia, 1995). In addition, Article 40 (5) of Ethiopian Constitution states that “Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands” (Government of Ethiopia, 1995). Nonetheless, twenty years after its commencement, the testimony of Ethiopia’s federalism, predominantly against the backdrop of its promises, remains worrying (Assefa, 2012). Ethiopian pastoralists were given enormous hope and they were supposed to enjoy self rule as they were one of the historically marginalized groups of people in the country. But what has been happening was not up to their expectation and pastoralists are the ones suffering most.

In fact, it is not reasonable to deny the achievements gained so far since the introduction of the federal system in 1991. There has been an improvement in access to education, health and infrastructures in the country in general and in pastoral areas in particular (Catley and Iyasu, 2010; Abbink, 2011; Maasho, 2011). In addition, under the current regime, there are some improvements seen in the life of the pastoralists. Some of such changes, among others, are the recognition given by the Constitution of FDRE to pastoralism for the first time in Ethiopian history, though not properly implemented; the establishment of the Pastoral

¹ <http://sites.tufts.edu/feinstein/program/pastoralism-and-policy-in-ethiopia>

Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) in the Parliament; the setting of an annual National Day of Pastoralists; and the establishment of Pastoral Commissions in the major pastoral regional states such as Oromia, Afar and Somali.

Be that as it may, what Ethiopian pastoralists have essentially been demanding is the implementation of what were already promised in the Ethiopian Constitution. They expect nothing more or less as it is a means of rectifying past inequalities experienced by the communities as revealed in the Preamble of the Constitution. Nonetheless, it has been almost two decades since the adoption of the Constitution but the implementation laws have not been prepared to date. In contrast, the Ethiopian government's pastoral policy is determined to resettle the pastoralists and transform their way of life into a sedentary one.

Thus, the fundamental problem is the contradiction of pastoral policy with Article 40 (5) of the country's Constitution. In other words, "the legal security of pastoral land tenure has improved in recent decades in Ethiopia, however, this has not been translated into more secure land tenure practice, with alienation from valuable resources continuing. This appropriation of pastoral areas for other uses threatens the survival of pastoralism in Ethiopia and exacerbates land conflicts" (Dyer, 2008:12). This contradiction with the constitution has thus resulted in displacement of pastoral communities leading to livelihood crises. At present the Ethiopian government plans to displace up to 1.5 million pastoralists under its "villagization" programme ostensibly intended to improve access to basic services by moving people to new villages. This will be the main source of conflict in the coming years as it cannot be easily agreed upon especially by the pastoralists and probably by their respective regions (Flintan, 2011).

In general, the Ethiopian pastoralists today are at the crossroads at which a crucial decision must be made that will have far-reaching consequences. There are two main options: either rectify the policy issues for revitalizations of pastoralism or continue with the current policy trends for further marginalization of pastoralism.

1.3. Objectives of the Research

1. Examine the trends of pastoral policies and representations of pastoralists in the successive Ethiopian regimes (Imperial, Derg, and EPRDF) and why such trends emerged across the board.
2. Explore policy options for the revitalization of pastoralism in Ethiopia.

1.4. Research Questions

- What are the trends of pastoral policies and representations of pastoralists in the successive Ethiopian regimes (Imperial, Derg, and EPRDF) and why did such trends emerge across the board?
- What policy options are there for the revitalization of pastoralism in Ethiopia?

1.5. Research Methodology

The study generally relied on qualitative research methodology. In terms of the analysis, the study adopted both analytical and descriptive approaches. The methods of data collection mainly relied on secondary sources as well as some primary information. To this end, secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, newspapers, information from the media, materials from the Internet and other sources were used. In addition, secondary data, particularly from development policies of earlier Ethiopian regimes and the current thinking on pastoralism were reviewed.

Furthermore, various sources such as outputs of researches carried out by international development and humanitarian organizations were used. Particularly, I used the primary information gathered during the two-week experience sharing visit of November 2011 undertaken by thirty six (36) delegates from East African (Ethiopia, Somaliland and Uganda) and West African (Niger and Mali) countries to ventilate and strengthen policy options/recommendations in the research paper. While I was working for Oxfam GB as Senior Disaster Reduction (DRR) Advisor,

I was one of the key coordinators of the visit and I have the privilege to use the data. The visit was dubbed, “Learning from West Africa’s Experience to Help Eastern African Pastoralists Reach their Potential”. In other words, the visit was to share experiences and extract best practices from West Africa’s pro-pastoral policies and legislations and see how best practices could be tailored and shared with the respective countries. The delegation met with policy makers, herders and local stakeholders and visited several development projects.

Against this background, after the return of the delegation, a national workshop on pastoral development in Ethiopia was organized from 9-11 March 2012 by a consortium of partner organizations including Oxfam GB, USAID/CIAFS/ELAP, FAO, MoFA, MoARD and PFE as a means to draw lessons from the visits. The workshop deliberated on the experiences gained and largely focused on four thematic areas: land resource and rangeland management, mobility and cross-border trade, livestock development, and legislation on pastoral land use.

1.6. Significance of the Study

Over the past decade, research has started to corroborate the economic strengths of pastoralism and the environmental logic of pastoral production, and has begun to dismiss some of the fears that pastoralism might be unsustainable, unviable, or irrational. Prominent arguments have been put forward for mobile pastoralism as both a necessary adaptation that enables people to construct livelihoods in many climatically challenging environments, and as an integral component of many rangeland ecosystems to the extent that its removal leads to the loss of health and resilience of the ecosystem (WISP, 2008; UN OCHA, 2007; Dyer, 2008).

Nevertheless, in the Ethiopian context, much more work is needed to convince policy makers and planners that pastoralism has intrinsic value, sustainable, viable, or rational mode of production. The Ethiopian government in its policy admits that there is knowledge gap on pastoralism, however, it takes settlement programme as the way out to tackling pastoralist predicaments in the country. Indeed, the policy is thus conflicting in that if there is knowledge limitation, then there is a

need for consulting with the pastoral communities and designing the most suitable policy and strategies as an alternative rather than pre-determining the solution as settlement (Mohammed, 2004).

Cognizant of the insufficiency of key pastoral policy studies in Ethiopia, this study mainly tries to show the importance of pastoralism to dryland environments and economies so that the Ethiopian government could utilize the information in designing appropriate policies that can support sustainable pastoralist development and promote the environmental services of pastoralism. The study provides a qualitative insight into the role policy could play in enabling pastoralism, and the role pastoralism can play in improving rangeland environments and the economies. It retrospectively reviews successive policies of past regimes that impact on pastoralism and the good experiences and lessons learnt from different countries especially from West Africa (Niger and Mali).

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study cannot respond to all research needs and priorities related to pastoral policy issues in Ethiopia. More research will be needed to complement and deepen the findings of this study. The research also lacks field-based empirical evidences though I have tried to ventilate and strengthen my policy options/recommendations from lessons learned from West Africa (Niger and Mali).

2. Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

2.1. Context and Definition of Pastoralism

Pastoralists are a human being and social group historically and socio-culturally illustrated by its mobility and whose key occupation is rearing livestock. Pastoral production systems as defined by Swift (1998) are those in which at least 50% of the gross income of households comes from pastoralism or its related activities, or else, where more than 15% of household's food energy consumption involves milk or dairy products they produce. In addition, pastoral production systems are grazing-based livestock production systems established exclusively for animal production, where animals are fed with more than 90% dry matter and less than 10% of the total value of production comes from non-livestock making activities.

Pastoral production systems are also based on grazing of livestock on seasonal, shifting, or upland pastures principally found in marginal areas unsuitable for crop farming because of high or low temperatures, low rainfall, or steep topography, and largely semi-arid and highland-lowland environments. This kind of grazing areas covers 26% of the earth's ice-free land surface. Thus, within pastoral production systems, mobile pastoralism is defined as a mode of life, a production system and has been recognized as the most feasible type of livestock production and land use system. Pastoralism contributes significantly to the national economy of many countries, although it still lacks support from government and development agencies in contrast to other production sectors (Bonfoh *et. al.*, 2011; Scoones, 1995; Markakis, 2004; Halderman, 2004; Behnke, 2010; Knips, 2004; Norton, 2004).

Pastoralist societies persist to herd their livestock in the arid lands of Africa, the Mideast, Central Asia, Mongolia, highland Tibet and the Andes, and Arctic Scandinavia and Siberia. Pastoral production is growing in China and Mongolia because these economies decentralize and expand their markets (Fratkin, 2001; Scoones, 1995). Pastoral production in Africa for the most part lives in dry environments with dynamic, non-equilibrium ecologies. To be sure, 59% of all ruminant livestock in Africa is reported to be found in arid and semi-arid areas. This represents a significant proportion of Africa's agricultural production and the total value of livestock products is estimated to be 25% of the total value of agricultural output equivalent to US\$12 billion in 1988. If livestock benefits of manure and drought power are also included, this figure may increase to 35% of the total agricultural GDP (Scoones, 1995).

The remaining sections of this chapter are devoted to the different contrasting conceptual frameworks and theories: anti-pastoralism and pro-pastoralism. The anti-pastoralism conceptual frameworks and theories include political economy (multiple marginalization), "tragedy of the commons", and "cattle complex". However, the pro-pastoralism conceptual frameworks and theories include international conventions, declarations and policy statements; pan-African pro-pastoral policy framework; and "new thinking" in rangeland ecology. Understanding these two contrasting views is indispensable to know the historical perspectives and challenges of pastoralism and to anticipate where it

is heading or what its future would look like in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular.

2.2. The Political Economy of Pastoralist Transformation: Multiple Marginalization

The concept of marginalization implies the process by which peasants and pastoralists lose the ability to control their own lives including where they live and derive their income from, what crops or stock they produce, and how hard and when they work. Basically, this is due to their incorporation into the world economic system. The idea of marginalization is an overriding thinking notifying on the political economy of pastoralism and equipping us with an overall anchoring point for an assessment of the problem of present-day pastoralism (Ayalew, 2001). Consequently pastoralist societies face more threats to their way of life now than at any previous time. For instance, population growth; loss of herding lands to private farms, ranches, parks, and urban areas; increased commoditization of the livestock economy; out-migration of poor pastoralists; and intermittent displacements brought about by drought, famine, and civil war are rising in pastoralist regions of the world (Fratkin, 2001).

Marginalization can be political, economic, ecological or all of these. Political marginalization is a process by which certain categories within a political framework are gradually excluded from the making of decisions about their own affairs and made to see their scope of autonomous action increasingly circumscribed by externally imposed restrictions (Doornbos, 1993; Ayalew, 2001; Assefa, 2000; Kandagor, 2005; Doornbos and Markakis, 2000). Marginalization in ecological terms has a propensity to refer to the fact that pastoralists recoil to the margin where they produce a lesser amount as crop farming and commercial ranching enlarges. This means an incremental reduction of land and other resources that steadily push them deeper and deeper into a spiral of less productivity and rising poverty (Horowitz and Little, 1987; Ayalew, 2001; Salzman and Galaty, 1990; Hogg, 1992; Bonfiglioli, 1992).

On the other hand, economic marginalization is literally clear-cut that as a result of commercialization of agriculture launched by governments,

huge areas of African rangelands were appropriated by concessionaries for large-scale mechanized farming and by conservationists for game/tourism parks. Inevitably, pastoralists are likely to suffer most and the overall consequences of the development schemes have been abject poverty and dependence on food aid to the local population whose standard of living was falling sharply, partly due to their rapidly deteriorating economic capability and this finally led to the economic marginalization of the pastoralists (Ayalew, 2001; Horowitz and Little, 1987).

2.3. Competing Interpretations/Trends of Pastoralism

The “tragedy of the commons” and the “cattle complex” arguments are the most noticeable and overarching paradigms vis-à-vis livestock production and pastoralist utilization of common land. Although it sounds obsolete, particularly “the tragedy of the commons” concept is still influential in informing main policy interventions that attack communal resource-based communities. The proponents were indirectly calling for the individualization of the communal held resources.

2.3.1. Negative Trends

2.3.1.1. “Tragedy of the Commons”

Hardin’s “Tragedy of the Commons” published in Science in 1968, played a substantial role in environmental studies and development policies. His thesis (cited in Fratkin, 1997) is as follows:

The tragedy of the commons develops in this way. Picture a pasture open to all. It is to be expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. As a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain. The rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd. And another; and another... But this is the conclusion reached by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system which compels him to increase his herd without limit in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination towards which all men rush, each pursuing his own interest in a society

that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all (Fratkin, 1997:232).

Niamir (1995) stated that one of the most prevailing myths of our period has been that of the “tragedy of the commons” arguments at first propagated by Hardin (1968). This argument asserts that when land is communally owned, every individual has no motivation to curtail and limit his utilization of the resources, as a result leading inescapably to abuse of resources. This notion was incorrectly attributed to communal property when it actually refers to open access land, i.e., where there are no communal and social controls over the land. All the lands are maintained either communally or privately in many traditional communities. However, the concept of “vacant” open access or unclaimed land had been pioneered by “colonialists” and implemented, particularly on range and forest lands because of the fact that maps of these places usually depended on surveys made in one season and missing the pastoralists who are on transhumance (Ayalew, 2001; Boku, 2000; Simpson and Evangelou, 1984; Lamprey, 1983).

Researchers in pastoralism (both theorists and empiricists) highly refuted the theory of the “tragedy of the commons”. They explain that natural resources in the pastoral areas are not open to all the members of the community as they are assumed to be. However, indigenous institutions and rules are there to regulate the fair utilization of resources to all the members (Niamir, 1995). Anthropological research has demonstrated that African pastoralists in general have developed common property regimes of controlled access, that their use of range takes place with a framework of rules, alliances, and agreements within or between tribes and clans. Hence, the occurrence of the “tragedy of the commons” is more associated with incidents when the rules, traditional social arrangements and institutional managing methods collapse because of national incorporation and market integration. During this time, people will have less incentive to protect the resources from damage as individual interests will take priority over group interests. Therefore, the disintegration of the system is aggravated by the exploitative nature of the state of the pastoralist society (Ayalew, 2001; Bonfiglioli, 1992; Manger, 1996).

The “tragedy of the commons” had been used initially to “justify policies for tenure modification, land privatization, registration of title deeds and formal land use planning” (Boku, 2000). Baxter (1990) contests that though in the West it is still believed that natural resources are best conserved when they are owned privately, there is no evidence at all from Africa that supports these arguments; and all the evidence suggests just the opposite. The empirical work is not intrinsic to common property regimes, however, is caused by lack of common property rules and that the “tragedy of the commons” ought to be written off as the “tragedy of open access” (Fratkin, 1997). Despite the rising scholarly criticisms of the “tragedy of the commons” idea, its adoption in policy remains highly suggestive of the “the colonizing power of Western ideologies” (Boku, 2000:20). That being said by the anti-pastoralism proponents, pastoralism is an appropriate and efficient adaptation to the arid and semi-arid environments generally inhabited by pastoralists and the crisis encountered by contemporary African pastoralism is caused overwhelmingly by externally imposed factors and inputs.

2.3.1.2. “The Cattle Complex”

The term “cattle complex”² originated from Melville Herskovits’s PhD thesis in which the American anthropologist serialized “The Cattle Complex in East Africa”. The theory of “cattle complex” is meant to refer to the propensity of pastoralists to accumulate and retain cattle for their social value and prestige rather than what is required for their subsistence. The implications of this argument are the harmful effects on the long term feasibility of the system as a result of the expansion of herd size beyond the carrying capacity of the resource base and the pastoralists’ refusal of prices when the market gives them comparatively reasonable prices. Because of the scarcity of fodder or grass to feed their cattle, they face the consequence of physical downgrading and death (Herskovits, 1926).

Boku (2000) asserted that what has been powerfully manifested in Herskovits’ (1926) works is nothing but the beginning of the distorted portrait of East African pastoralists that Herskovits tried to integrate into

²[http://what-when-how.com/social-and-cultural-anthropology/cattle-complex-anthropology/\(last-consulted-24-February-2013\)](http://what-when-how.com/social-and-cultural-anthropology/cattle-complex-anthropology/(last-consulted-24-February-2013))

the culture area paradigm. He viewed East Africa as an area characterized by a unified cattle culture where the pastoralists accumulate animals for their own sake and for prestige rather than for economic values. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the “cattle complex” argument has been destabilized by a number of scholars who are in favour of the view that pastoralists have both economic and non-economic (social value) reasons to build up the size of their herd.

In view of the harsh nature of the ecology they settled on by owning a large number of herds and maintaining a buffer stock, pastoralists can “opportunistically” ride the environment roller coaster and resist the effect of droughts and other calamities. Thus, herd maximization is regarded as a tactic to keep away from the risks correlated with small size herd, and serves as a hedge against losses of cattle caused by raids and veterinary epidemics. Besides, it is economically one of the ways of wealth accumulation. Furthermore, it bridges and strengthens the ties of social relationships. For instance, livestock is used for gifts, mutual aid, blood compensation, sanctions, marriage arrangements and in all types of social activity (Ayalew, 2001; Namir, 1995; Manger, 1996; Mtetwa, 1978).

2.3.2. Positive Trends

2.3.2.1. International Conventions, Declarations and Policy Statements

There are several international conventions, declarations and policy statements that could have a bearing on pastoral environments, intentionally or unintentionally and that support pastoralists and/or indigenous people with regard to land access and rights. This thesis highlights only a few of them. For instance, International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 with reference to Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries was signed in 1989 and entered into force in 1991. Article 14 (1) states that the rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands they traditionally occupy shall be recognized and measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the peoples, and particular attention shall be paid to the situation of “nomadic” peoples and shifting cultivators in this respect (Markakis, 2004; Dyer, 2008; Helland, 2006).

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples approved on 13 September 2007 by the UN General Assembly is a non-binding, so-called “soft” international law. Article 10 affirms that indigenous peoples should not be compulsorily evicted from their lands, and can only be displaced with prior, informed permission and subject to remuneration. Moreover, Article 26 advocates that countries offer legal acknowledgment to traditionally occupy lands (Dyer, 2008; Helland, 2006). Other “soft” law statements with significance to tribal and indigenous peoples’ land rights include Agenda 21, in particular Chapter 26³, and Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992) which promote that countries grant sufficient information to concerned citizens and encourage a participatory approach. Even though not legally compulsory, “soft” law can usually feed into national legislations and constitutions. In fact, binding accords such as the ILO Convention do not have direct application for citizens, however, can positively influence national legislations. The assumptions are that these agreements may establish the foundation of the promising international legal framework governing land rights of marginalized communities that could in the prospect be developed into customary international norms regulating state behaviour (Dyer, 2008; Markakis, 2004).

2.3.2.2. African Union Pro-pastoralist Policy Framework

2.3.2.2.1. The Pan-African Institutional Setting

The development policy state of affairs on the African continent is dominated by the African Union (AU) which was established in July 2000. It provides a forum that helps governments in the continent in assuming harmonized stands on issues of common concern, with a significant aim to “promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies” (Ugo *et. al.*, 2011). In fact, Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa was long overdue and approved recently. It is the first continent-wide policy initiative, which “aims to secure, protect and improve the lives, livelihoods and rights of African pastoralists” (African Union, 2010). It is a platform for mobilizing and coordinating political commitment to pastoral development in Africa.

3 <http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21chapter26.htm>

2.3.2.2.2. The Regional Institutional Setting

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are the building blocks of the African Union and are supposed to uphold synchronization and coordination of policies and institutions at the regional level. In 2008, the African Union espoused the 'protocol on the relations between the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities' intended to grant legal framework for coordinating and harmonizing the relations between the AU and the Regional Communities. Accordingly, the protocol recognizes eight RECs comprising the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Ugo *et. al.*, 2011).

It calls attention to the need to coordinate and harmonize policies and institutions of the different regional blocs and of countries within blocs. In fact, the protocol is mostly unvoiced on some critical legal issues. The lack of a structured legal framework to coordinate the legal relations between the AU, RECs and member states is widely considered as a binding constraint to the effectiveness of pan-African and regional policy making and implementation. Undeniably, this also affects pan-African livestock sector programmes and interventions, as NEPAD and AU-IBAR are expected to essentially work at the country level through the interface of the different Regional Economic Communities (Ibid).

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is an eight-country, regional development organization in East Africa. The member states include Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda⁴. In IGAD, a Regional Policy Framework on Animal Health was concluded in late 2009 and though not straightforwardly focused on pastoralism, the framework is extremely appropriate to the pastoralist areas of IGAD Member States (Africa Union, 2010). Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are recognized by the AU as the pillars

4 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intergovernmental_Authority_on_Development

of African integration. At the level of RECs, the ECOWAS decision made in Abuja in October 1998 provided a regional framework for cross-border transhumance between fifteen member states. The decision authorized cross-border transhumance with respect to certain conditions, the chief of which was the granting of an International Transhumance Certificate (Dyer, 2008; African Union, 2010). Therefore, the basic assumption is that Ethiopia can benefit from the aforementioned pastoral policy principles of African Union in general and best practices of West Africa in particular in designing appropriate and sound pastoralist policy.

2.3.3. New Thinking of Pastoralism

At present researchers fundamentally agree that pastoralism is idiosyncratically well adapted to dryland environments. It functions successfully in low and highly variable rainfall conditions as an economic and social system managing the complex relationship between man and the natural environment. Economists operating in Sub-Saharan Africa have found that livestock is an engine for trade, farming, tourism and urban activities and experience in West Africa has also shown how pastoral societies can integrate with the state and regional institutions to create an effective system of governance (UN OCHA, 2007:5).

In the earlier period, pastoralists have been held responsible for the presupposed environmental ruins of the drylands. Nevertheless, “new ecological thinking” highlights how this is most unlikely. The risks of environmental degradation in non-equilibrium environments are limited. This is because livestock populations rarely reach levels likely to cause irreversible damage and it is rather large shifts in rainfall that are seen as the major factor determining the availability of grass in the rangelands. Most traditional pastoral management can now be seen to be environmentally benign, and indeed customary institutions for land management are potential models of the future. Moreover, the new thinking in range ecology sheds light on several of the continuing controversies and debates about development policy and practice in pastoral areas. It highlights how and why the many earlier interventions failed and points to new ways forward (Scoones, 1995; Blench, 2001).

The standard conclusion from different studies indicated that land is

being managed more sustainably in a number of rangeland regions through a process of re-enabling mobile pastoralism and most notably through policy support for communal land management and customary decision making. Reversing land degradation in the pastoral areas does not necessarily require the development of new technologies or management innovations, but it often requires acceptance that mobile pastoralism is valid and that pastoralists have existing knowledge and skills that can be used. Imported land-use models have been tried and have often failed, and in many countries pastoralists are still recovering from the damage that those imported models have done to both their environment and to their customary arrangements (WISP, 2008, Scoones, 1995; Roe *et. al.*, 1998).

In general, it is clear that the “new thinking” in rangeland ecology is beginning to influence pastoralist development programming in different countries. All the same, opinions remain obviously divided about the relationship between pastoralists and their environment, and as a result, there are many ambiguities and inconsistencies in government policy. I argue that in order to rectify the existing ambiguities and inconsistencies in government policies and be able to come up with better alternatives, government and non-governmental organizations should organize different discussion forums with the participation of all stakeholders including academics, policy makers and pastoralists themselves. The next part looks at pastoralism, representation and successive regimes’ pastoral policies and is hoped to help in understanding the existing ambiguities and inconsistencies in government policies over the last six decades.

3. Pastoralism, Policies and Representation in Ethiopia

3.1. Pastoralism and Successive Governments’ Policies

Ethiopia’s pastoral policies lapsed three distinct regimes: the pre-1974 Imperial regime, the Derg regime from 1974-1991, and the EPRDF regime from 1991 to the present. The three regimes have had very varied pastoral policies and linked pastoral developments were slow to emerge and then were carried over to the next regime. Moris (1998) stated

that the disjuncture happens for the reason that successive Ethiopian regimes have been uncertain how to acclimatize policies intended for highland agriculturalists to the extremely dissimilar environments of lowland pastoral regions of the country. In broad terms, the testimony of development policies and strategies in Ethiopia demonstrates that pastoralism has been mistreated even though the mode of production contributed to the national economy. Regrettably, there have not been proper pastoral development policies and strategies in the country even if the current regime's pastoral policies are somehow better than those of the two previous regimes albeit there are implementation predicaments of what is stipulated in the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution. The next sections will provide a brief overview of pastoral policies and laws during the successive regimes.

3.1.1. The Imperial Regime's Pastoralist Policy (1960s - 1974)

Ayalew (2001) stated that a series of policies and laws linked to land tenure has been originated and imposed during the Imperial regime. The most important one, among others, with considerable impact on the Ethiopian pastoralists was the 1955 Constitution and land policy. For instance, Article 130 stipulates that "all property not held and possessed in the name of a person, natural or legal, including all land in escheat, and all abandoned properties, whether real or personal, as well as products of subsoil, all forests and all grazing lands, water resources, lakes and territorial waters, are State Domain" (Ayalew, 2001:88). The stipulation makes it apparent that the State was hereafter the guardian of all natural resources together with rangelands and, in consequence, deprived pastoralists of access rights over their traditional held grazing land and allowed the regime to apportion land unreservedly to different investors, concessionaires, and enterprises.

Moreover, marginalizing the pastoral mode of production, the first and the second five-year development plans (1957-1962, 1962-1967) of the Imperial regime provided precedence to industry and large scale farming and export crops. Livestock projects promoted during the Imperial period were the Livestock Meat Board (LMB), which was established in 1964, and the Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP) designed in 1973 to develop an integrated livestock marketing and route system in order

to improve livestock off-take (Workneh, 2006; Desta, 1993). Nevertheless, the projects abandoned legitimate linkages among the lowland pastoral and highland agricultural systems, even as promoting an imaginary national beef industry. For instance, in highland areas, scarcity of oxen was the gravest problem farmers faced during farming functions through the traumatic 1985-86 famine years. Up until early 1972, no institution or planner looked forward to the decisive role which the lowlands play in supplying substitute stock to nearby highland farmers. Planners looked instead at pastoral animals only as potential beef slaughter stock (Moris, 1998; Desta, 1993).

Thus, I argue that the intention of giving priority to the promotion of imaginary national beef industry without giving due support to the pastoralist areas is, in fact, astonishing. However, this principally emanated from greed and just to exploit pastoral resources to satisfy the consumption needs of urban inhabitants and to acquire foreign currency through export to the world market. Indeed, this would not have been as such immoral if the regime provided appropriate social services to the pastoralists and recognized security of their grazing land. The reality is that the overall policies of suppressing pastoralists' indigenous institutions and culture sharpened during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie.

At the end of the day, the Imperial regime's failure to comprehend the realities average Ethiopians were encountering came back to haunt Emperor Haile Selassie himself leading ultimately to his death in 1975. Indeed, the key event which triggered Emperor Haile Selassie's downfall was his administration's tardy and completely inadequate response to Ethiopia's 1973 famine (Moris, 1998; Desta 1993; Markakis, 2004; Helland, 2008).

3.1.2. The Derg Regime's Pastoralist Policy (1974-1991)

The political turmoil that brought the Derg regime to power in 1974 led to the implementation of a number of essential measures related mainly to land use and tenure. The most influential one was the March 1975 Land Reform Proclamation (Agrarian Reform) which made all rural lands and its natural resources "public property" under the guardianship of the state (Moris, 1998; Workneh, 2006, Yacob, 1995).

Accordingly, the Derg regime nationalized all land and industry in Ethiopia by abolishing private ownership and landlord-tenant relationship. The reform gave pastoralists “possessory right” of traditionally held pastoral lands. Article 24 of Chapter 5 stated, “As of the effective date of this proclamation, nomadic people shall have possessory rights over the lands they customarily use for grazing or other purposes related to agriculture” (Ayalew, 2001:90). However, the “possessory right” title rendered to pastoralists did not prevent alienation of their communal grazing land for mechanized state farms and was unsuccessful in bringing basic change in the position of the pastoralists in relation to the land occupied and claimed by them as incontrovertible property (Dejene, 1987; Moris, 1998; Workneh, 2006).

During the Derg regime, the Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP), a large scale pastoral development project, was run from 1975 to 1984. The TLDP, during its lifetime through its separate sub-project for each of the three target regions of Borana [Southern Rangelands Development Unit (SORDU)], Somali [Jijiga Rangeland Development Unit (JIRDU)], and Afar [North East Rangeland Development Unit (NERDU)] provided pastoralists with primary veterinary services and rehabilitated the rangelands, water and infrastructural development. Nevertheless, the records of these projects were not encouraging and the expected results failed to materialize.

Remarkable among the failed projects was SORDU in Borana which tried to introduce water in dry places and now remembered in retrospect for its emphasis on water development and causing disruption on customary pastoral land use patterns (Helland, 2000; Ayalew, 2001, Moris, 1998). The construction of water points has done more harm than good in pastoral contexts in that the maldistribution of water points caused a growing number of pastoralists to inhabit permanently and steadily in certain localities, the latest circumstances leading to exclusion of the customary, understandable and well-established division between dry and wet season grazing areas. I argue that the ultimate consequence was the “tragedy of the commons” caused by external factors and not by the pastoralists themselves as is thought.

In addition, the villagization and resettlement programmes that the Derg regime kicked off as rural development strategies were not in

the interests of pastoralists. In fact, the settling of displaced pastoral households started back in the 1959/60 by the Imperial regime's Awash Valley Authority but the scale somehow went up during the Derg period. Nevertheless, the endeavours proved ineffective and even counter-productive. Pastoralists grew mistrustful of the motivations on the part of the regime and came to suppose that every move of the state was deliberated to appropriate more land from them than to advantage them (Workneh, 2006; Ayalew, 2001; Moris, 1998; Desta, 1993; Yacob, 1995). The incumbent Ethiopian government could have taken lessons from the previous attempts to settle pastoralists and farmers, and from the failures encountered. In the next section, I will briefly highlight pastoral policies of the incumbent government.

3.1.3. The EPRDF Regime's Pastoralist Policy (1991 to the Present)

The 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia proclaims in Article 40 (5) that "Ethiopian pastoralists have a right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as a right not to be displaced from their own lands" (Government of Ethiopia, 1995). This proclamation is fundamental enhancement as long as the pastoral land matter is concerned. It is for the first time that the constitution makes an explicit statement about pastoralists and offers a visible constitutional assurance against dislocation from their land. In general, it is feasible to articulate that this constitution goes one step forward from the earlier regimes' (Imperial and Derg) land appropriation since it provides pastoraists with the right to free grazing land and prohibits displacement from their own land. Indeed, the application of this provision would require specific policies and regulations for the identification and demarcation of pastoral lands.

Paradoxically, contrary to Article 40 (5) of the 1995 Constitution, pastoral policy statement of the incumbent government emphasizes the settlement or sedentarization of pastoralists although it mentions this is done on phased voluntary basis. The Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA, 2008) pastoral policy statement also emphasises the importance of transforming pastoral societies from mobility to sedentary life. It is obvious that the pastoral policy statement is contradictory to what the pastoralists of Ethiopia would expect from the current government.

The incumbent government during its transitional period (1991) issued a policy entitled *An Economic Policy for the Transitional Period*, which stated that areas with special problems require special attention and treatment. It suggested that communities deserted previously should be given exceptional contemplations in development policies and the groups addressed here would seem to include pastoralists. I argue that in Ethiopia the most important policies appear to be designed in general and idealistic forms and used more for mobilizing a populace that is at a standstill trying to learn about the policy implications. This move towards settlement of pastoralists may be a meagre choice that could be pursued in situations where well calculated policy framework does not exist. In fact, in the absence of new and appropriate policies, old ones put in place by previous Ethiopian regimes would linger as *de facto* rules and regulations, even if they are not suitable at the moment.

The current Ethiopian government apparently believed and underlined that in the short term and medium term, intervention will focus on pastoralism and livestock-based production extension services. Nevertheless, in the long term, Commune Program (settlement) is the option that will ensure accelerated and sustainable development in the pastoral areas. On the other hand, resettlement programmes in agricultural areas in Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and SNNP Regions is focused on changing their location, not their agronomy practice. Commune Program in pastoral areas, however, is about changing the basic lifestyle and altering pastoralism to sedentary life (MoFA, 2008; PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010).

It is not difficult to imagine how ugly it is to be told and dictated on the kind of lifestyle one should pursue through policies that impose lifestyle changes. It is a denial of freedom of choice of lifestyle for pastoralists of Ethiopia and it should be discouraged right away because lifestyle, in any way and by any standard, is not something that others choose for an individual or a group. In general, no appropriate policies are there that could be applied in the management and administration of land resources in pastoral areas of Ethiopia. Review of current policies and laws confirms that pastoral areas are treated marginally and the blanket policy and legal frameworks on land use and administration cannot serve the interests of the pastoralists. The next part will briefly discuss why

existing policies are inappropriate for pastoralists and the implication of this for the political-economy and representation of pastoralists in the current government.

3.2. Ethiopian Federalism and Political Representation of Pastoralists

This part looks at federalism under the incumbent government only and does not assess the governance situation during the Imperial and Derg regimes as it is not of much use for the current pastoralist situation. To begin with, the notion of representation is a complex one and it is highly disputed in the Western political thought. Amongst political scientists and other theorists, there is much debate but little harmony on what representation essentially means. Thoughts about representation are found in the theories of Burke, Bentham, Hobbes, John Stuart Mill, Toqueville, Schumpeter and Dahl. The fact that there are such disagreements about the idea of representation hints that there is no one “correct” way to view it (Lister, 2004).

The broad view is that representation means acting on behalf of the represented community or the extent to which elected representatives of government “act in the interests” of their constituents, and how they determine what those interests are. In politics “representation describes how some individuals stand in for others or a group of others for a certain time period. Representation usually refers to representative democracies where elected officials nominally speak for their constituents in the legislature”⁵. The Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC), which was established as one of the Standing Committees within the Ethiopian House of Peoples’ Representatives, is expected, among others, to represent the interests of the pastoralists and to articulate their voices. Nonetheless, it is tricky to draw a conclusion that the PASC represents the pastoralists of Ethiopia, in a strong sense of the word (Mohammed, 2004). This will be more elaborated and discussed in the Ethiopian context in the subsequent paragraphs.

The present regime in Ethiopia appeared after the overthrow in 1991 of the Derg, which had practiced a centralized Marxist-Leninist system

⁵ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Representation_\(politics\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Representation_(politics))

of government ever since 1974. Following a period of transition led by the ruling coalition, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) dominated by the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front), government power was formally taken by the same coalition. In December 1994 a new constitution was adopted and as a result, federation of nine National Regional States (NRSs) was created. The regional states have been named after the major ethnic group that governed a particular regional state (Alem, 2003; Lister, 2004; Aalen, 2006). The quotation below illustrates how the political system in Ethiopia alienates the pastoralist regions in terms of decision making.

There are three types of political parties in Ethiopia. The first are those parties belonging to the EPRDF. The dominant party is the TPLF, followed by the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM). The Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDF) for the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) are weaker members of the Front. The second types of party are EPRDF-affiliated parties which operate with somewhat looser ties in the more "peripheral" areas in Ethiopia: Afar, Somali, Harari, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Gambella. Thirdly, there are opposition parties. These are mostly very weak in organizational capacity, suffering from substantial resource limitations, and have shown little ability to coordinate amongst themselves to put pressure on the government (Lister, 2004:7).

The majority of pastoralists in Ethiopia live in the Regional States of Somali, Afar, Oromia and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. These regional states are categorized as weaker members of the EPDRF (OPDO and SEPDF) and the EPRDF-affiliated parties (in Afar and Somali) are in the periphery and have looser ties. For the last 21 years, the dominant party has been the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), followed by the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM). Therefore, the parliament has been extensively criticized for merely "rubber-stamping" the decisions of the executive and being a body with little authority or power.

Moreover, the Ethiopian constitution (Article 47/4) affirmed that all units of the federation shall have equal rights and powers. However, pastoral

regions, remarkably Afar, Somali, Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz, have not yet been able to develop into feasible entities as expected, even after two decades of federal experience (Assefa, 2012; Asnake, 2004; Abbink, 2011). Federal and state institutions are “currently instruments of a hegemonic party system: the party—not the people, as such—is supreme. Constitutional and parliamentary supremacy have given way to party hegemony” (Assefa, 2012:464).

As aforementioned, the majority of the Ethiopian pastoralists exist in peripheral areas of the country, and an old man quoted in Mohammed (2004:5) said, “Those who are close to the pot are always the first to enjoy the food and we are far from it”. The elucidation of this proverb was that policies are designed by highlanders (people with peasant background) and the Somali pastoralists are not represented in the policy-making processes and are usually the losers. Those who are politically marginal are also economically marginal, and this is the characteristics of pastoralists in Ethiopia in general.

Pastoralists in Ethiopia are not only politically and economically marginalized but also located in the peripheral regions of the country. Nevertheless, after the 1990s, government changes in Ethiopia favoured the marginalized groups and the pastoralists. At least, participation at the level of policy dialogues and inclusion of pastoral issues in development policies and strategies have somehow started. The principal step in this process was the establishment in 2002 of the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) in the parliament and this suggests policy changes positive to pastoral development. However, the incorporation of pastoral issues in development policies and strategies can be understood as a political tactic by the government as some authors think. There have, at all times, been feelings that since pastoralists are in the periphery they could be means for political and military infiltration from neighbouring countries. Thus, the formation of the PASC can also be considered as part of government strategy (Mohammed, 2004; Lister, 2004; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008) to prevent such infiltration.

PASC members strongly believe that there is a need for the establishment of a Federal Pastoral Authority, Ministry or Commission that will be in charge of pastoral issues. However, during the last two decades, they

have failed to influence the government because it insists that there is already an Inter-Ministerial Board taking care of pastoral issues. PASC members still claim that the Inter-Ministerial Board is rather loose and cannot be dependable to focus on the multifaceted issues of pastoralism. Only two regional states, Oromia and SNNP, have created Pastoral Commissions. On the contrary, majority of West African (Niger, Mali and others) and Eastern African countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) have a Ministry of Livestock. Indeed, this is a classic case in point of the political weight of the main ethnic groups which are pastoralists in Ethiopia.

3.2.1. Translation of the Marginalization into Poor Policy

It is tricky to draw a conclusion that PASC represents the pastoralists of Ethiopia, in a strong sense of the word (Mohammed, 2004). The key challenge to the successful political representation is identified as the broader political environment together with lack of political competition and non-existence of institutionalized democratic processes (Lister, 2004). The following are some of the reasons why it is difficult to draw a conclusion that PASC is a representative of pastoralists and how political marginalization is translated into inadequate policies.

First, elected officials in several diverse contexts can be demanded to make tradeoffs among the roles of a delegate, a trustee and a party representative. In the Ethiopian context, officials at all levels are strongly supposed to perform principally as party representatives and not of their constituents. Although there are structures in which those who hold representative positions participate, the most significant policy decisions are taken outside those structures (Mohammed 2004; Lister, 2004). Such a practice corroborates Cammack's (2007) *the logic of African neo-patrimonialism* which states that actual power and real decision-making lie outdoor the formal institutions in that decisions about resources are made by "big men and their cronies". These people are linked by informal (private and personal, patronage and clientelist) networks outside the state structure and follow a logic of personal and particularist interest rather than the national betterment (Cammack, 2007). I argue that the scope for effective linking of pastoralists' interests to policy outcomes through these political structures is limited.

Second, the committee is made up of MPs elected from pastoral and non-pastoral communities, and some of them are members of the EPRDF (the ruling party). The committee is, first and foremost, a government structure rather than a system of representation of pastoralists (Lister, 2003). Therefore, there is always a reservation about the ability in the practice of the EPRDF members within the PASC to confront the policy of the party itself.

Third, the hbackground of the pastoral MPs within the committee is generally not directly from pastoral environment. The MPs are comparatively better-off people who also live in towns though they grew up in pastoral communities and this may limit the effectiveness of their representation of pastoralists, particularly poor pastoralists (Mohammed, 2004).

Fourth, even if the members of the committee in general expressed their concerns about pastoralists and pastoral development, they place different relative emphases on the different strategic options for the improvement of pastoralist livelihoods. Committee members from the non-pastoral communities are in favour of settlement as a solution for pastoralists whereas those from the pastoral communities contend that the existing system of mobile pastoral way of life should be maintained. I argue that such divergent opinions among members limit the capability of the committee to lobby and advocate for pastoralists in agreement. Their way of thinking seems to be somehow analogous to Genesis 11:7-17 (The Tower of the Babylon) that reads “let us go down and mix up their language so that they will not understand each other”. Likewise, PASC members and other representatives of pastoralists in the Ethiopian parliament in the last two decades were unable to lobby for sound pastoral policies because they rarely understand each other and work in harmony let alone convincing or lobbying other members of the parliament. The translation of marginalization into inadequate policies and lack of collective actions on the side of PASC members is manifested especially in land administration and land use policies which will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.2. Inadequate Land Administration and Land Use Policy of the Regional States

Due to poor understanding of the dynamics of dryland ecology and the rationale underpinning pastoralism, livestock mobility is considered backward and a cause of degradation and conflict. The idea of livestock corridors is little understood by many. For instance, in the Ethiopian Constitution only one article out of 105 relates to pastoral areas. Although the legal security of pastoral land tenure in the country has theoretically improved in recent decades, it has not been practically translated into a more secure land tenure. There still is alienation of pastoralists from valuable resources and appropriation of pastoral areas for other uses which threaten the survival of pastoralism in Ethiopia (Dyer, 2008; Helland, 2006; WISP, 2008).

With the emergence of the EPRDF government in 1991, all land came to be under public ownership with regional governments possessing the right of governing the land and other administrative affairs. Proclamation No 456/2005 of the Rural Land Administration and Land Use gave regional states the responsibility and mandate to ratify rural land administration and land use laws. Following this, agriculture-based regional states such as Amhara, Tigray, Oromia and SNNPS enacted new land policies which improved the land tenure security of smallholder farmers, but tend to exclude the pastoral land from the formal land registration and certification process. Though very inadequate, after a long delay, regional states like Oromia (for pastoral areas), SNNPS (for pastoral areas) and Afar ratified Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamations. However, Somali, Gambella, and Benishangul-Gumuz regions have not done this yet.

In general, security of land rights will not come to pastoralists in Ethiopia until the productive value of transhumant livestock rearing is recognized on a par with agriculture (Helland, 2006; Ayalew, 2001; Assefa, 2000). Tools such as livestock corridors that help facilitate livestock mobility, link producers to markets and reduce conflict are rarely discussed by Ethiopian policy makers and little understood. The next part deals with policy options for the revitalization of pastoralism in Ethiopia.

4. Policy Options for the Revitalization of Pastoralism in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia mobility versus settlement debates are common phenomena in different workshops and meetings organized by NGOs, CSOs or the government. Generally, there are two blocs: the pro-mobility group and the pro-settlement groups. Mostly those from NGOs are in favour of mobility whereas those from the government are in support of settlement. The debates, however, seem to be endless and no agreement appears to be imminent just like debates on religious issues. With such “hypocrisy and rubbish discussions”, the fate of Ethiopian pastoralism is dark and hopeless. In fact, it seems that the issue of pastoralists is overshadowed by typical Ethiopian tradition of rigidity sticking to extreme sides in discussions and by the failure to compromise and look for middle ground. However, the issue of Ethiopian pastoralism calls for middle-ground solutions and contextualization rather than generalizations.

Under the incumbent government, despite two decades of debate between the pro-settlement and pro-mobility blocs, no middle ground has been found yet. Lots of people wonder why it has taken so long to reach a meaningful consensus. The pro-settlement bloc points finger at the pro-mobility bloc for the misconceptions regarding the implementation of the ongoing settlement or commune programs in the pastoral areas. The pro-mobility bloc also blames the pro-settlement one for promoting a blanket settlement policy without considering the reality on the ground and for failing to recognize that it is not possible to settle all pastoralists given the different circumstances such as the size of cultivable land by the river banks, its ownership and clan issues.

Having said this as backdrop, however, this part mainly deals with policy options for the revitalization of pastoralism in Ethiopia so as to address pastoralist problems and contribute to the development of the country’s economy. The policy options discussed here include mobility, settlement, land tenure and use, water management and use, livestock development and marketing, institutional setting of pastoral affairs, customary institutions, access to social services, and disaster risk management. There is a considerable overlap among some of the policy options, however, the broad message is that pro-policies and legislations

are indispensable to protect the significance of pastoral mobility, demarcate livestock mobility routes or corridors, circumvent settlement as the only resolution to pastoral predicaments, minimize the hindrances to livestock marketing, and recognize customary tenure systems that assure pastoralists' access to land and water resources.

4.1. Policy Relevance to Livestock Mobility

In order to start demarcation of mobility routes in Ethiopia, it would be crucial to utilize West African (Mali's and Niger's) experiences as benchmark. At present Mali provides an instance of a wide-ranging set of laws to safeguard livestock movement that can have relevance for Ethiopia's pastoral lowlands (Little *et. al.*, 2010). Until 2000, pastoralism was not acknowledged as an acceptable form of land use in Mali, however, clearing land for cultivation of crops was considered productive use. This legal disequilibrium led to a number of conflicts linked to the encroachment of agriculture corridors, water points and other pastoral spaces. Nevertheless, the pastoral charter passed in 2001 formally recognized pastoralism as a livelihood system. It provided legal recognition of the right of pastoralists to move with their livestock in search of pasture and water (Alden, 2003; Dyer, 2008).

In addition, Niger's experience is essential to Ethiopia in that mobility is a fundamental right of pastoralists in Niger. Livestock corridors are protected across regions and villages, facilitating the movement from the pastoral zone in the mid and northern parts of the country through the agricultural zone in the south. This allows using parts of the agricultural zone during the dry season when crops have been harvested and access to livestock markets, including in neighbouring countries (Dyer, 2008). Furthermore, cross-border movement between Niger and the majority of its neighbours has been legitimized through the use of the ECOWAS passport issued by 10 of the 15 ECOWAS member states. Though the protection of these livestock corridors is granted by Niger's Rural Code (1993) and revised Pastoral Code (2010), the government lacks funds for the implementation. As a result, NGOs and development agencies are supporting the process working hand-in-hand with local and regional governments. For example, the Swiss Development Cooperation is facilitating a project called PASEL (*Programmed d'Appui au Secteur de*

l'Eleavage - Support Programmed for the Pastoral Herding Sector), which seeks to protect migration routes at a landscape level and over 3,000 kms of livestock corridors have been rehabilitated and mapped so far (Moutari, 2008).

In Ethiopia livestock corridors or routes are pre-requisite if pastoral production is to be optimized. The experience of the PASEL project in Niger could be considered as a role model. Similarly, NGOs, CSOs and donors in Ethiopia need to be proactive and take the lead in the demarcation of migration routes. In Mali and Niger, civic societies have played important roles during the pastoral law drafting process and implementation, and similar undertakings are needed in Ethiopia as well. It is now time to take action on the demarcation of mobility routes and pass laws to ensure land security for pastoralists. It is expected that the new African Union policy and the “new thinking” on pastoralism will also help this to happen.

4.2. Policy Relevance to Settlement/ Sedentarization

Little *et. al.*, (2010) stated that the economic viability of irrigation schemes was viewed as uncertain and there was a great deal of pessimism that these would turn out to be feasible commercial enterprises. In general, the sense was that the drive behind this effort was not economic but government's concern to encourage pastoralists to sedentarize and abandon mobile pastoralism. However, the testimony by a team from West Africa after an experience-sharing visit to the Fantale Irrigation Scheme (FIS) in Oromia suggests that both pastoralism and settlement could complement rather than compete with each other particularly along the major riverine areas of Ethiopia. A workshop was then organized to draw lessons from the visit by the team and organizers believed that bringing together the Ethiopian experience so far on pastoral development added considerable value to the deliberations at the workshop. Following the workshop, it was decided that two teams that also included some members from the delegation visit the Borana and the Karrayu pastoral areas and reflect on the pastoral policy and development experience in these important rangelands of Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, due to shortage of time, only the visit to the Karrayu area/FIS was materialized. In general, it was learnt that it is undesirable to disconnect livestock herding from small scale irrigation farming in the riverine area like the Karrayu because the two activities are complementary and will help the community to diversify its incomes. Given their historical deprivation and alienation from their land by state-sponsored enterprises, the Karrayu pastoralists are unable to make adequate household income from livestock alone; hence they need additional activities. However, both engagements (pastoralism and small scale irrigation) should be taken up by the pastoralists and settling other communities like farmers in the area should be discouraged as it will lead to conflicts over resource sharing. It would be economically counterproductive to detach these two activities and what needs to be done by the government and customary leaders is to resolve disputes when those engaged in farming and herding get into conflict because of different issues like resource use and transit corridors.

As witnessed in the FIS, pastoralist life is highly connected with livestock and the pastoralists buy livestock with the money they make from the irrigation scheme. The government assumes that the cattle owned by the settlers will decrease in number, but settlers usually buy some and send them to their relatives in the pastoral villages. This shows that the settlers have sedentarized only in part. Thus, the government should stop blanket settlement and try to accommodate and integrate pastoralism with irrigation farming. The FIS could be a classic case material for future settlement programmes planned to be implemented along the riverine areas. But the weaknesses witnessed so far need to be improved. The scheme is still at risk of population growth because this type of irrigation schemes in the riparian areas is never able to accommodate more than a minority of pastoralists. The sustainability of the settlement programme and irrigation scheme should be explored by further research and is beyond the scope of this study.

4.3. Policy Relevance to Land Tenure and Land Use

Recent studies have specified the non-existence of a rural land administration and utilization institution at the federal level while there are some that function with slight variations among the different

regions. Without proper land use institution and plan in place, the current trend of unwise use will further exacerbate the current problems on production and economic growth. To strengthen land tenure in the country, the incumbent government is carrying out land certification programme in the highlands and it hopes to provide holders with robust and enforceable land tenure security through land administration systems. However, because of lack of clear land tenure procedures in the pastoralist areas, pastoral lands are encroached on resulting in tenure insecurity (Demese *et. al.*, 2010; PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010; Little *et. al.*, 2010; Helland, 2006).

Certification has worked well in the highlands and its application among pastoralists could help protect their land from different forms of encroachment. Communal pastoral lands should be mapped and this will be a significant step towards addressing encroachment and differentiating their land. Once communal land is mapped, the process of certification can be considered in consultation with the community involved (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010; Little *et. al.*, 2010; Lemessa, 2006). Not all pastoralist communities are alike, so one system may not be suitable for all and each should be studied in its own context. When embarking on pastoral land-use study, inclusion and consideration of the traditional system plays a pivotal role in making such studies complete.

To extract a lesson from West Africa, it would be commendable to mention that the land use in Niger is divided into three zones. The extreme north that is rather too dry is not much of use even for grazing purposes. The central area is for pastoral use while the southern part is widely used for agriculture. Pastoralists move to this region mainly after harvest to feed their animals on crop residues. They are backed by legal protection and corridors exist during the movement from north to south. The tenure system in pastoral areas is group-based while in agricultural areas, lands are owned on private basis. In the southern part of the country where agriculture is practiced, the lands could be sold and exchanged and the new owners can carry on with agriculture (Dyer, 2008; Mourtari, 2008). If lessons are to be taken, land use plan in Ethiopia should consider the demarcation of pastoral versus farming zones and corridor/route development. In addition, the wet and dry season grazing areas are important for consideration in land use system for the pastoral

communities. The land use planning of any region in Ethiopia should provide a legal framework conditions for pastoral lands. To this effect, pastoral and farming communities must continue having dialogue on land use mechanisms so that peaceful coexistence of the people can be ascertained.

4.4. Policy Relevance to Water Management and Use

Water is in short supply in pastoralist areas where its presence or absence determines mobility. Traditional institutions manage water and have the authority to determine usage and to mediate disagreements over its use. In instances where traditional institutions are absent, democratically elected water committees may fill the gap. Availability of water and rights to its use are critical in determining access to water, pastures and other resources. Thus the location, legal status and technical characteristics of water sources are critical components that determine the conditions under which pastoralists can access and manage pastures. Local water user associations improve the distribution and management of water. They also help ensure that water interventions consider the use of rangelands and grazing patterns (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010).

The experience in Niger has shown that the Niger's Water Code 1993 (amended in 1998) provides that public water points, managed by local management committees, are open to all including outsiders such as nomadic pastoralists. Construction of new water points with a daily capacity of over 40 cubic meters requires government authorization. However, the Water Code conflicts with some of the provisions in the Rural Code. For example, the Rural Code grants pastoralists a common right to rangelands and priority rights to both land and water in their home areas (*terroir d'attache*). Outsiders must negotiate access to water and rights to grazing in these areas. In contrast the Water Code grants open access to public water points. In the pastoral zone, water is managed through communal and customary institutions. It is forbidden by law to establish a private water point unless the person allows it to be utilized by all pastoralists. Groups that create water points by digging wells have priority rights to the water. Groups may negotiate the terms of access for outsiders to use the water source such as length of stay, time of day for watering, and health of livestock. Payment for access can be made

in cash or barter. Groups often demand reciprocal access to water rights controlled by the outsiders. These local agreements (*conventions locales*) help reduce conflicts over resources. Thus, the development of private water points is well-controlled particularly in the pastoral zone of Niger (Cotula, 2006; Dyer, 2008; Mourtari, 2008).

Thus, Niger's experiences with regard to water management offer valuable lessons for Ethiopia. One of the hints for using water is to apply "use-based" and water balance model through application of strict control measures. Construction of water points is one of the strategies that can be undertaken in a wise manner because too many watering points could also damage the entire environment as it had happened to the Borana rangelands in the 1960's and 70's (Ayalew, 2001; Moris, 1998). In other words, putting in so many water points can be dangerous and leads to "tragedy of the commons" since pastoralists could concentrate around the water points and degrade the area provided that their customary management systems are weakened. Nevertheless, some people question if we have so many water points in Borana land. This issue needs further research and it is beyond the scope of this study to address such a discourse.

4.5. Policy Relevance to Livestock Development and Marketing

Livestock breeding policy and strategy has been formulated though criticized for not being comprehensive enough to include animal health and animal feed. A policy attention is still needed in terms of managing free grazing practices. The livestock sub-sector, despite its huge potential, seems to be a forgotten area in the national economic development endeavours. The sector still has several problems to be resolved in relation to animal feed, animal health, breed improvement and associated production, and processing and marketing activities (Demese *et. al.*, 2010; PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010).

The experience of West Africa is of great importance to East Africa; one policy that stands out is the support for the pastoral mobility and cross-border trade through regional organizations such as ECOWAS. Through ECOWAS, the government rectified disease screening and certification

for animal vaccination. While pastoralists are moving, they carry their certificates across the boundaries of ECOWAS countries. The government facilitated cross-border trade through ECOWAS at ministerial level. The livestock trade is an important component of the livestock mobility in the region, a factor that binds the regional governments. It is, therefore, in the interest of the countries to protect travel corridors to strengthen the livestock trade. They use a single currency among neighbouring countries to facilitate trade (Mourtari, 2008; Dyer, 2008).

This good lesson should be replicated in East Africa through IGAD and other regional-level organizations. Strengthening domestic and international market information system and livestock trade through regional organizations such as IGAD and COMESA would be necessary. Livestock marketing plays a major role in supporting the national economy and access to good marketing facilities and prices also stimulates the producers to produce more and sell more. Where there are no adequate marketing facilities, both the government and the producers are the ones to lose.

Moreover, a good livestock trade and marketing is essential for making the most out of pastoral lands. Currently, livestock marketing is hindered by factors such as lack of infrastructure in pastoralist areas, inadequate livestock marketing cooperatives, livestock disease, inadequate national policies, poor technical know-how, and insecurity and unpredictability of climate (Little *et. al.*, 2010; Catley, 2009; Ayele *et. al.*, 2003). To make marketing more effective, producer organizations can be formed to capture economies of scale in marketing. To bring the illegal cross-border trade into legal status would require improving prices and easing domestic marketing through major investments in infrastructure including additional customs and banking facilities on the borders, and providing subsidies. Currently, traders in Ethiopia's border areas need to traverse several hundred kilometres of territory to officially export their animals because of the glaring lack of banking facilities and customs posts.

4.6. Policy Relevance to Pastoral Affairs Institutional Setting

There is a gap in terms of having a legalized body which has the mandate to mobilize internal and external resources for the purpose of development in the pastoral areas. The Government of Ethiopia has given a high priority for the holistic development of pastoral areas. This is manifested through the establishment of institutions such as the Pastoral Standing Committee in the House of Representatives, the Inter-Ministerial Board under the MoFA, and the special coordination offices of the pastoral areas. Currently, the pastoral institutions located in the different Federal institutions are not communicating systematically with strong legal base as each institute appears to take its own course of action (Demese *et. al.*, 2010).

I argue that the livestock sub-sector in Ethiopia warrants a much more institutional arrangement than it has at the moment. Specifically, it should grow to a ministry level calling for ex-ante policy and institutional formation. As discussed in Section 3.2 above, the PASC members, although they have not been successful in influencing the government so far, strongly believe that there is a need for the establishment of a Federal Ministry of Livestock that will be in charge of pastoral issues. In fact, the majority of West African countries (Niger, Mali and others) and East African countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) have a Ministry of Livestock. Therefore, the advocacy and lobbying works should continue to put pressure on the Ethiopian government to set up Federal Ministry of Livestock.

4.7. Policy Relevance to Customary Institutions

Pastoralist communities have accumulated centuries of experience and knowledge about resource management and dispute resolutions (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010; Lemessa, 2006). The vast majority of interpersonal and inter-group disputes that are both violent and non-violent in Ethiopia's pastoral areas are arbitrated by customary leaders. Customary conflict resolution is profoundly rooted in social norms and rituals, and often

involves the negotiation and payment of blood compensation. With the exclusion of urban dwellers, pastoralists by and large prefer customary conflict resolution to the formal legal system when resolving disputes and grievances. State officials often lack the necessary evidence to file charges against perpetrators as large parts of the population turn to customary authorities and mechanisms for dispute settlement (Tobias and Alemaya, 2008; Lemessa, 2006).

The pastoral communities in Ethiopia have elaborate laws on natural resource management and dispute resolution, but these laws are not written (Alula and Getachew, 2008). To ensure the compatibility of the customary laws to human rights standards adopted by the Country, it is high time that the customary laws of the pastoralists were written and codified, and probably amended in consultation with communities. When recognizing/empowering customary institutions to manage resources and disputes, it is imperative that regulations that lay clear procedures and functioning accountability mechanisms should be adopted. Enacting regulations that define the powers and duties of customary institutions and creating accountability mechanisms are very important⁶.

Moreover, contrary to the “Tragedy of the commons” and “Cattle complex” arguments, recent experiences and evidences point out that the customary pastoralist management is based on herd diversification, herd splitting and movement between the wet and dry season grazing areas. Behenke and Scoones (1993) articulate these empirical observations arguing that such kind of extensive pastoralism embedded in customary institutions is the best response to the dryland environment and fragile ecology, and that many of the assumptions that livestock mobility inevitably degrades the environment are unfounded.

4.8. Policy Relevance to Access to Social Services

Community infrastructure is weak in the pastoral areas and none of such areas or communities has adequate access to health and education

⁶ Abebe Mulatu (2012) Report on Pastoral Legislation in Niger and Mali, Experience Sharing Visit to West Africa

facilities. Unless pastoral children are educated, it will not be possible to achieve the goals and objectives of any pastoral development policy; and school attendance of children is influenced by recurrent drought. During extended dry seasons and droughts, children stop attending school and instead follow parents in search of water and pasture. Lack of health services is one of the common constraints in the pastoral areas, though there are improvements under the current regime. Most of the time, members of pastoralist households are mobile and are at a disadvantage in getting health services from static centres. In some cases, these health centres are not functional and are often without practitioners (Mohammed, 2004). This corroborates Banerjee and Esther's (2006) arguments that absenteeism is a major problem for public health facilities and primary schools in developing countries. Their research findings indicated that the absence rates in India for teachers and health providers is over 24% and over 40% respectively. Cognizant of this context, it is possible to imagine how bad absence could be in the schools and health centres of pastoralist areas of Ethiopia although it should be proven by further studies.

Mohammed (2004) stated that the Ministry of Education has been working on the development of mobile and regular education systems; however, it has not yet been possible to convince the Ministry of Health to do the same. In fact, the Ministry maintains that it is the responsibility of the Regional Health Bureau to handle health matters in the pastoral regions. It thus seems that concerned bodies including the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee should continue lobbying for static and mobile education and health services in the pastoral areas.

4.9. Policy Relevance to Disaster Risk Management (DRM)

The recurrent drought in pastoral areas has caused a great problem to pastoralists who have had to sell their assets, including livestock, at low prices in order to buy day-to-day household necessities. While the policy tackles the issue of saving human lives, it has not yet managed to establish and implement a systematic livestock early warning system

and the necessary measures to be taken. The emergency food aid would not be sustainable unless an appropriate early warning system is designed for livestock as well. In addition, strengthening drought management and service delivery mechanisms for pastoralists such as the establishment of the guarantee fund for destocking and restocking, fodder banks, pastoralist-friendly early warning system and basic social services are crucial. Disaster occurs when the foundation of safety is weak and disaster risk reduction measures are not in place; and it is entirely the government's responsibility to ensure this safety (IIRR, 2008; Mohammed, 2004). Furthermore, the Ethiopian parliament should ratify the disaster risk management (DRM) policy, which is already the 10th version, as soon as possible.

5. Conclusion

At present, it is determinedly acknowledged around the world that the issue of good governance highly matters in the development of a given country. In other words, institutions, rules and political processes play a great role in achieving development. Of fundamental importance in understanding politics and its implications for development is the recognition that there are two distinct but related levels at which politics and political contestation over policy occurs. These levels are the rules of the game (institutions) and games within the rules. The critical level of politics is the first level, which, in essence, establishes the "regime" type; it is the fundamental "settlement" (Leftwich, 2008).

Because of absence of a political settlement in the Ethiopian history, good governance has never existed in the conventional traditions of the state. It is relatively only recently that the incumbent government in its Constitution (1995) stipulated a constitutional order based on good governance although this has not been adequately implemented. The situation, compared to other parts of the country, has been the worst in pastoral areas in that the pastoralists have never had the opportunity to realize their full potential not only due to inappropriate development policies and strategies but also because of absence of good governance. I argue that without good governance and a bureaucracy that operates efficiently, any development policies and strategies in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia, though well intentioned, are doomed to failure.

The pastoral communities in Ethiopia have been politically and economically marginalized. The verification of development policies in the country shows that it has neglected pastoralism even though the system contributes to the national economy. The key challenge to the successful political representation is identified as the broader political environment coupled with lack of political competition and non-existence of institutionalized democratic processes. Moreover, the major reasons for the failure of past development attempts include, among others, lack of appropriate policies, top-down approaches and lack of the participation of the pastoral communities. Hence, sound pastoral policies and strategies should be designed with representation and active participation of the pastoral communities. The potential of pastoralism to contribute to the sustainability of large arid and semi-arid areas, which are often not used for other deeds, should be emphasized, and if appropriately managed, pastoral lands will contribute to the national economic development.

Ethiopia does not require a completely new or modernized system of pastoral tenure; however, it needs to build upon existing customary systems and spell out their relationship to government, a process of legal and administrative evolution, not a fundamental change. To execute this, the country needs explicit laws that put into practice the pastoral land rights enshrined in its constitution (Little *et. al.*, 2010). The example of West Africa confirms that it is legally feasible to frame laws that protect pastoral land rights. Nonetheless, legislation cannot do anything by itself and a key lesson emerging is that the legal protection of pastoral land rights should be accompanied by measures focusing on awareness-raising on land use, promoting sustainable development of socio-economic activity and reducing tensions between groups using natural resources.

Customary resource management institutions should be strengthened and provided with legal recognition and this will help ensure controlled utilization of the range and water sources. In other words, customary pastoralists' resource management system needs to be revitalized, strengthened and re-empowered with formal knowledge so as to manage natural resources in harmony. Supporting customary institutions that contribute to ecosystem management can help reverse aspects of climate

and environmental change. Customary institutions have been harshly undermined in recent years, though, they still have a great deal to offer and there is no solution to the problems of land administration and use in Ethiopia without including them. Policies that support livestock mobility should be strengthened because this is an important strategy in maximizing the productivity of livestock in areas where rainfall is variable. Modern institutions should also complement existing strategies.

Policies toward pastoralists have been shaped by deep-rooted misinterpretation of how the pastoral system works. Mobile pastoralism is socio-culturally and ecologically an enduring livelihood system whose development policy and strategy needs to be based on profound understanding of pastoralists' culture and attitude and their participation in the policy making process. However, the pastoral development policies and strategies pursued in the last five decades shared a centrally running perspective that eventually transforms the pastoral production system into sedentary life/agro-pastoral system. Moreover, due to external and internal pressures, pastoralists who live along river banks and thus have the opportunity to access these water sources are somehow practicing agro-pastoral system and other non-agro pastoral engagements like trade and labour employment.

Under such contexts, Workneh (2006) has suggested two-pronged pathways to pastoral development which I also concur with slight modification by giving more emphasis and recognition to the first pathway. The first pathway is supporting mobile pastoralism and it envisaged a situation in which the level of aridity and fragility of the ecology is not suitable for crop farming due to lack of water. This development pathway requires delineating pastoral areas along with a dry season grazing territory and clear land policy that ensures collective tenure security. I argue that the collective tenure security and livestock corridors/routes are necessary if pastoralist production is to be optimized in Ethiopia. Policies that support livestock mobility should be designed and implemented without delay.

The second pathway is facilitating the succession of pastoralism into agro-pastoral system and non-agricultural activities. The pathway has to be supported and facilitated by promoting market participation, expanding

non-farm income activities and increasing livestock productivity through provision of productive technologies and health and extension services. A well designed and voluntary small-scale settlement of pastoralists in selected irrigable areas like the Fentale Irrigation Scheme is also helpful to diversify their livelihoods and protect their land ownership/security which otherwise could be given to investors/state-sponsored enterprises as usual.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Ethiopian State and Pastoralism: Appraisal of praxis of pastoralist policies in the Afar National Regional State

Firehiwot Sintayehu and Yonas Ashine

Abstract

The study at hand intended to look into the praxis of pastoralism in Ethiopia. In doing so, a review of pastoral policy of Ethiopia has been done looking into changes and continuities since Emperor Haileselassie's regime. Moreover, an appraisal of existing policies has been conducted by undertaking fieldwork in two selected kebeles of Assayita Woreda. The collected data have been analyzed systematically through critical tools. Primarily the policy intervention has been critically problematized focusing on the intention, orientation, ideological dynamics, changes it has brought as well as implication and impacts on the pastoralist community. In addition, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) has been utilized to carefully assess the vulnerability context, livelihood asset and capital and transforming processes and structures of pastoralists of the Afar National Regional State. The research finding shows that at the policy level, modernization which entails peasantization, senterarization and proletarianization of the pastoralists is a major content pursued by the Ethiopian

state. Nevertheless, these aims are yet to be substantiated because of the numerous challenges of which some are natural (anthropogenic induced) and others are entirely manmade. These are explained here as vulnerability context. Pastoralist's willingness to transform their mode of life is in place but it seems to be challenged by delayed state service delivery, and weak response to shocks and vulnerable trends. At this critical stage, the pastoralists of the Afar Region are utilizing any asset and capital both from their age-old mode of life and also from modernization institutions and projects. The future of the community in terms of livelihood is determined by the state's willingness and commitment to put into practice what is on the policy paper. Hence, the transformation shall be participatory and incremental in approach. Most elements of state policy on paper seem to echo this principle of participation and volunteerism in transforming pastoralism. Moreover, the state envisages taking responsibility of providing adequate social service. However, the praxis is still far from planned activities in the Afar Regional State, particularly in Assyita Woreda which is one of the earliest pastoralist areas of state in intervention.

Key words: Pastoralism, Pastoralist policy, Afar Region, Sustainable livelihood framework

1. Introduction

Ethiopia houses 12-15 million pastoralists who reside on 61% of its landmass. The pastoralist areas are said to comprise 42% of the country's livestock population. Pastoralism also contributes to 33% of the agricultural GDP and 16% of the national GDP (PFE, 2008). Nevertheless, the livelihood strategy and the people who adopted it as a lifeline face multifaceted challenges.

Pastoralism⁷ in Ethiopia has been subjected to both natural and manmade challenges for long. Pastoralists were victims of political marginalization expressed in terms of their absence from policy making and their issues not being point of discussion. Pastoralist spaces are the most deprived areas in terms of access to social services and infrastructures. Weakened traditional governance institutions and market linkages, lack of access

⁷ There is much controversy on how pastoralism as a livelihood strategy can be defined. However, mobility and keeping of herd animals have been common features agreed upon (ODI, 2010; Koster and Claudia, 1994, Boto and Edeme, 2013). Moreover, keeping of herd animals molds pastoralists to adapt to certain social, economic, cultural and ideological realities.

to rural finance facilities, multiple violent conflicts, and governmental development interventions such as expansion of irrigation agriculture and sedentarization projects worsen the situation. Moreover, pastoralists are cited as the most vulnerable groups to climate change which is reflected in the case of Ethiopia as they suffer much from frequent droughts leading to death of their livestock (Eyasu, 2007; Gebru et al, 2004; Adugna, 2012; Ayalew, 2001).

The Afar people of Ethiopia are among the major pastoral groups in the country and in the Horn of Africa as well. They reside in the Afar National Regional State (ANRS) of Ethiopia with a population of 1,411,092 and most of them are pastoralists. The pastoralists in Afar are transhumant with home bases and satellite camps in different parts of their own homeland from which they manage to protect their livestock from the prevailing climatic conditions. Farming is not a common livelihood strategy in the area; it was only the Afars residing in the northern Aussa sultanate who were involved in irrigated agriculture along the Awash River. In the post-1991 period, sharecropping was exercised in the ANRS when, following the downfall of the military regime, land was returned to the pastoralists. This was not recognized legally (Rettberg, 2010; Tsegaye et al, 2013; Mohammed, 2004). Like elsewhere in the Horn of Africa (HoA) and arid areas of Ethiopia, the Afar pastoralists in their day to day lives have also been victims of natural and manmade challenges such as long lasting political marginalization, ongoing increase in population, lack of access to financial institutions providing loans, violent conflicts with neighbouring pastoralists as well as ongoing development initiatives such as large scale agricultural investments that do not take their interest into consideration (Rettberg, 2010).

The post-1991 Government of Ethiopia (GoE) has launched a number of policy frameworks to ensure the betterment of pastoralist livelihoods in the last two decades. The overall direction of pastoralist policy of Ethiopia suggests the sedentarization of pastoralists to start farming activities as well as to augment their access to social services and various infrastructures. In this regard, the pastoralist policy of Ethiopia and the Accelerated and Equitable Development Strategy can be cited as the most important frameworks of pastoralism as a livelihood strategy. These frameworks aim at minimizing risks in the short-run by developing

water points along the pastoralist routes and providing 'mobile' social services required while in the long-run, they intend to change pastoralist livelihood strategy into farming by establishing villagization⁸ centres.

The move towards sedentarization of pastoralists, which is highly propagated by the pastoral policy of Ethiopia, is an area of debate among researchers writing on the issue. Authors like Sandford (2006) as cited in ODI (2010) argue that pastoralism as a livelihood is in a crisis as the people/livestock ratio is declining from time to time resulting from continuing increase in population and decreasing rainfall rates. Accordingly, he suggests that the livelihood strategy of pastoralists should be more diversified including the option of more sustained livelihood of rain fed or irrigated crop agriculture. Adugna (2012) discusses the sustainability of pastoralism in the context of Ethiopia and argues that the livelihood of pastoralism ought to change into a more sedentarized one since there is high level of poverty in the pastoral areas which can be explained in terms of high level of child malnutrition. He cites Devereaux (2006) who reported food insecurity as a factor that resulted in 48% child stunting and 11.7% child wasting in the Somali Region and also refers to reports by the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE, 2009) in which was shown that around 275,000 citizens of the Afar Region are chronically food insecure.

On the contrary, other writings are optimistic about pastoralism as a livelihood strategy in arid and semi-arid parts of the world as it suits the environment, and people living in such areas are better-off as pastoralists than as farmers practicing agricultural activities (Kejela *et. al.*, 2007). Davies and Bennett (2007) argue that it is dangerous to adopt sedentarization in drylands of Ethiopia such as the Afar and the Somali Regions where seasonal livestock mobility and strategic use of key natural resources are crucial elements in sustaining pastoralism in dry environments where crop production is unsustainable. Although the studies have indicated opportunities and challenges of pastoralism as a livelihood strategy, some being optimists and others being pessimists, they are not enough in terms of looking into the praxis of pastoralism in Ethiopia. Hence, the study at hand looks into the contents of Ethiopia's

⁸ The grouping of population into centralized planned settlements (Survival International, 1988). Villagization is defined as "...essentially the process carried out to enable the farming and pastoralist communities living scattered in rural Ethiopia to benefit from social and economic amenities and improve the level and standard of their life" (Esete *et. al.*, 2012: 12).

pastoralist policies in an in-depth manner and assesses its effect as well as level of acceptance among the pastoralists of Afar who are one of the important pastoralist groups in the country. In doing so, the study contributes to the existing discussion of pastoralist policy in Ethiopia among the academia as well as policy makers.

The Ethiopian policy on pastoralists clearly puts, among others, the objective of voluntary sedentarization in the ANRS as a way forward. Nevertheless, the Afars have not been fully integrated into irrigated agriculture, the reason being speculated as lack of willingness of the pastoralists in some areas and gaps in proper implementation of policies in others. Nevertheless, the need to clearly pinpoint evidence-based justification is adamant. Therefore, the study at hand raises the following questions in order to contribute to the understanding of the praxis of pastoralism in Ethiopia in general and in the ANRS in particular.

1. What are the characteristics features of the Ethiopian policy on pastoralists?
2. How has the pastoralist policy of Ethiopia been implemented in the ANRS?
3. What are the changes brought about by the state policies on pastoralists in the ANRS?
4. How do the people of Afar perceive the changes resulting from pastoral policies of GoE?
5. How do the people of Afar react to/interact with the changes occurring as a result of state policy interventions?

The study is organized into seven parts beginning with an introduction. It then goes to the second part which describes the selected study area in terms of geography, population and livelihood. Then comes the part on retrospective pastoralist policy review in Ethiopia followed by the vulnerability context of the ANRS. The fifth part presents livelihood assets and capital in pastoral areas focusing particularly on the Assayita *Woreda*. Part six deals with the transformation of structures and processes in ANRS. The last part is conclusion which sums up the study with remarks on prospect of pastoralism as a livelihood strategy in the ANRS.

2. Study Framework and Area

The research takes policy implementation and its effects as a centre of analysis. It tries to capture any change registered as a result of state pastoral policies in the selected *woreda*⁹. Selection of the study area from the Afar Regional State was done after reviewing the history of the state-pastoralist relation in Ethiopia. Since the study was preoccupied with exploration of praxis of state development polices, the Assyita *Woreda* was selected as it is one of the first areas where state penetration into pastoralist communities was most effective. The *woreda* is one of the pastoralist areas known not only for earliest state intervention but also for being the pioneer in hosting both private and state large scale mechanized farming that can be used as a notable example for those interested in studying state-pastoralist relation in Ethiopia. Owing to its historical advantage, the site can illuminate on the dynamics, change and continuity of state-pastoralist relation in the country. The *woreda* comprises *kebeles* inhabited by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. For this study, Galifage *Kebele* from the pastoralist ones and Berga *Kebele* from the agro-pastoralist ones were selected purposively. Two focus group discussions which involved pastoralists and agro-pastoralists from the respective *kebeles* were conducted. The composition of participants included both the youth and the elders. Further, a focus group discussion conducted in Berga *Kebele* also involved pastoralist women practicing farming. There was also a focus group discussion held with civil servants functioning as development workers in the regional state administration. An interview was also conducted with 13 key informants purposively selected from development workers at the regional, *woreda* and *kebele* levels and from pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, elders, youth and so on.

The study attempted to see the intention and action of the state on the one hand and the perception and reaction of the community on the other hand. In so doing, multiple approaches were employed as methods of data collection and tools of analysis. Firstly, important policy documents, articles, books and other publications were reviewed. The review has been embedded in the various sections as necessary instead of creating a separate section for the literature review. As qualitative research, the focus group discussions with pastoral communities

were used as primary method of data collection. Moreover, in-depth interview with government officials, elders, women, and leaders of civil societies in the region were utilized to access data. The data were analyzed systematically through critical tools. The policy intervention was critically problematized with focus on the intention, orientation, ideological dynamics, changes it has brought about, its and implications and impacts on the pastoralist community. In short, policy appraisal and assessment was conducted. It is worth noting here that policy is not just an intention of a government but an action/inaction of a government towards certain perceived public problem.

Secondly, the data gathered from the community were analyzed using Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). The SLF¹⁰ forms the core of the Sustainable Livelihoods¹¹ Approach and serves as an instrument for the examination of marginalized and peripheral people's livelihoods. Like all models, the SLF is a simplification and never a perfect representation of the whole picture of diverse and rich livelihoods. Such livelihoods can only be understood by qualitative and participatory analysis at the local level (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). Similar to any other model or concept map, the framework depicts actors as operating in a context of vulnerability within which they have access to certain assets. It also depicts their meaning and value through the prevailing social, institutional and organizational environment (transforming structures and processes), which inevitably and decisively influences the livelihood strategies that are open to people in pursuit of their self-defined beneficial livelihood outcomes (ibid). In other words, the framework selects the most important qualitative variables and sheds away the messy imperfect part of the picture which can alter our analysis of the correlation and causation of the selected variables. SLF bases itself in various crucial pillars or core concepts such as people-centered, holistic, dynamic, building on strengths, macro-micro links and sustainability. These core concepts are often situated in different

¹⁰ Different literatures use different terms to refer to sustainable livelihood. Particularly, since the late 1990s, a number of very similar approaches were developed by intergovernmental organizations (e.g. UNDP, DFID, FAO, IFAD, World Food Program); NGOs (e.g. Oxfam, CARE, DAWN) and research institutes (e.g. IDS Sussex, ODI London). Some of these terms, for example, are Livelihood Approach (LA), Adaptive Livelihood Approach (ALA), Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and so forth. In this study SLF is used as a core concept.

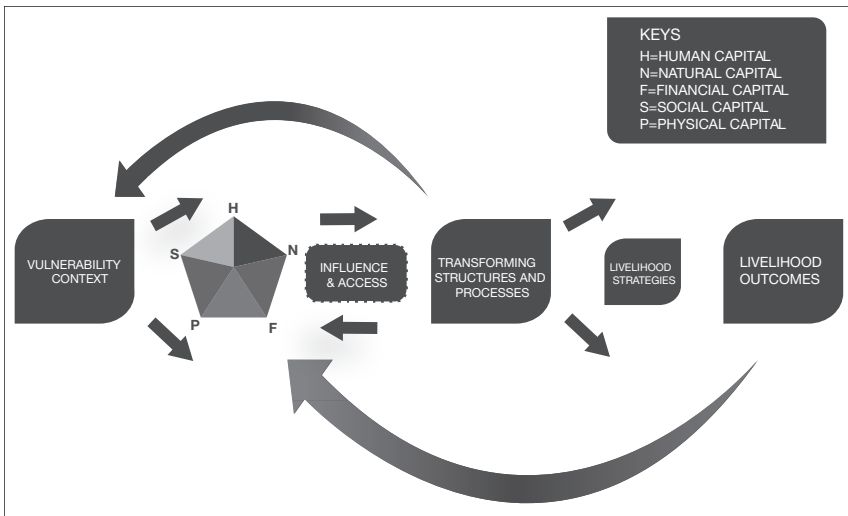
¹¹ the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) for a means of living (DFID, 1999)

contexts such as vulnerability context which is defined as trends, (both timely and qualitatively defined trends) shocks (numerous shocks such as human health, natural, economic, social shocks and so on) and seasonality (variation in prices, production of food and other important inputs on which their livelihood depends) (See the figure below) (DFID, 1999; 2000). In the selected study, for example, the nature of their ecology and resource dynamics might contribute to the nature of vulnerability. How does this ecological and resource distribution difference affect the policy intervention/governance trends and reaction of the community?

Livelihood assets and capital is another key context defining category in which people are the centre. The SLF considers peoples' potential and actual capacities in the form of livelihood assets. Hence this category explains the context in terms of agency in the livelihood. These assets defined in terms of number of capitals which can be human, social, physical, natural financial and so on. The purpose is to evaluate the potential for substitution between different capitals. (See the figure below) (DFID, 1999; 2000). Hence, what is the nature of livelihood assets and capitals in the Assayita *Woreda* of Afar Regional state? How are these assets and capitals utilized enough to transform the human condition in the region? Transforming structures and processes is also a useful category which depicts the governance aspect of the livelihood context. Transforming structures and processes represents the institutions, organizations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods (DFID, 1999; 2000). Structures can be described as the hardware (private and public organizations) "that set and implement policy and legislation, deliver services, purchase, trade and perform all manner of other functions that affect livelihoods." Absence of effective structures often constitutes an obstacle to sustainable development and makes simple asset creation difficult in case of adverse structures impeding access to the application of a certain livelihood strategy (DFID, 1999; 2000).

Processes constitute the "software" determining the way in which structures and individuals operate and interact (See the figure below). There are many types of overlapping and conflicting processes operating at a variety of levels - and like software, they are crucial and complex. Important processes for livelihoods are, for instance, policies, legislation and institutions, and also culture and power relations. They may serve as

incentives for people to make choices; they may be responsible for access to assets; or they may enable stakeholders to transform and substitute one type of asset by another (DFID, 1999; 2000). What are the implications of governance/policy intervention on the existing livelihood assets and capitals in the Afar Regional State? How do local/traditional power structures and state structures affect the nature of livelihood assets and capitals, the vulnerability of pastoralist communities as well as the nature of pastoralist agency. It is in this section that the real politics of structure and agency nexus is explored. Hence, this part of our research is believed to address the gaps identified in the call for proposal.



source: DFID (1999)

The SLF as a framework has been widely adopted in various contexts where the life of a community or a section appears vulnerable and demands the intervention of policymakers and donor agencies. This approach is more applied in natural resource management in rural areas and in reduction of urban poverty in cities. In this particular case, the framework is applied to the Afar pastoralist community. This comprehensive tool of analysis is substantiated by class-based analysis. In so doing, the research focuses not only on state intervention and community reaction but also on exploration of the different power dynamics within the pastoralist livelihood in the Afar Regional State. For

example, the impact of class and generational difference is considered in analyzing the data. In so doing, from the beginning we refrained from searching for a helpless, agencyless and passive subject image of pastoralist women of class of people. Our research is informed by an image of pastoralist men and women, as well as young and old who are agents capable of maximizing possibilities and negotiating power with different actors despite the multiple constraints and challenges they live with. A similar logic is applied in making class-based analysis. Hence, without denying the role of structural factors in affecting and determining the nature of subjectivities in pastoralist livelihood, we also underline the agency role in negotiating its own destiny.

The Afar National Regional State (ANRS) is among the nine regions of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It is situated in the eastern part of the country sharing national boundaries with Tigray Region in the northwest, Amhara Region in the southwest, Oromia Region in the south and international boundaries with the State of Eritrea in the northeast, the State of Somalia in the southeast and the Republic of Djibouti in the east (FDRE, 2014). The total territorial coverage of the ANRS is 270,000 km² having five administrative zones, 32 *woredas* and 28 towns. Assyita is among the *woredas* of the regional state, which has been selected for the study at hand. The total population of ANRS according to the CSA (2007) report is 1,390,273 out of which 185,135 live in the urban areas while the majority of 1,205,138 reside in the rural parts of the regional state. The study area is Assayita *Woreda* consisting of total population of 50,803. The distribution of total population in the urban and rural parts of the two *woredas* is not an exception as the rural population shows a significant size when compared the urban ones. See Table 1 for further information on population.

Table 1. Population of Assayita *Woreda* by location

Woreda	Urban-Rural (Total)			Urban			Rural		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Assayita	27,284	23,519	50,803	8,184	7,868	16,052	19,100	15,651	34,751

Source- CSA, 2014: 7

The Afar National Regional State is considered as lowland. The highest point in the region is Mount Moussa-Alle which is 2,063 meters above sea level while most areas in the region are found below 1,600 meters above sea level. As a result, the temperature is among the harshest in Ethiopia ranging from 25°C during the rainy season to 48°C during the dry season. The average annual rainfall recorded in the past decade is 187.9 mm. The region has three rainy seasons, named *karma* (between mid June and mid September whereby 60% of the annual rainfall is obtained), *dadaa* (in mid-December) and *sugum* (between March and April which is considered to contribute limited amount of rainfall) (EPA, 2010). Looking at the livelihood strategies of the region, 80% of the Afar population are pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. They highly depend on livestock production, as crop cultivation is very much minimal in the region. Here, livestock is used as a source of food, income as well as transportation. The pastoralists are transhumant in nature moving in search of water and pasture when the dry season hits their location. According to the ANRS Atlas (2006: 45), there are 10,179,277 livestock in the region of which 4,267,969 or 41.93% are goats, 2463632 or 24.20% are sheep, 2336483 or 22.95% are cattle, and 852016 or 8.37% are camels. Density of animals significantly varies by zone; it is 31,006 animals/sq km in Zone Five whereas it is only 6044 animals/sq km in Zone Two.

Assayita shares climatic facts of the majority of ANRS. The *woreda* has 13 *kebeles*, 11 rural and 2 urban. It houses both pastoralists and agropastoralists; six of its *kebeles* are inhabited by pastoralists while the other five are occupied by agropastoralists. The *woreda* is said to be much more arable since availability of water is ensured through the Awash River which also stands as a challenge at times because of flooding. Assayita has been prone to numerous interventions since Emperor Haileselassie. When the Emperor came to the region with the idea of commercial farms, the Sultan of Aussa (Alimirah Hanfre) had his seat in Assayita. The Emperor tried to establish amicable relations with the Sultan so that big companies like Mitchelle Cotts could get land for large-scale agricultural investment. The intervention continued through the Derg via its villagization programme. During the EPRDF, the villagization programme persisted while the land certification initiative has not been introduced so far.

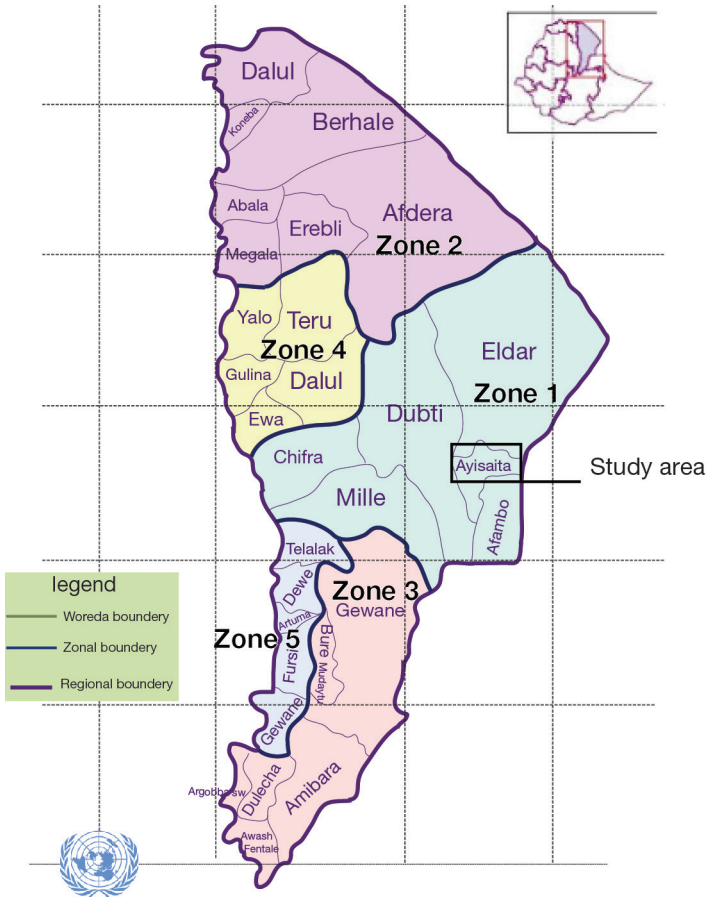


Figure 2: The Study Area

3. The State-Pastoralist Relations: Retrospective View

Modern state of Ethiopia hitherto has three interrelated goals: centralization, modernization, and integration or nation building.¹² Every policy and law of the country has been designed accordingly to achieve these goals. The rural policy of Ethiopia in general and the policy

¹² Markakis J. (1974) Ethiopia: anatomy of a traditional polity. New York: Oxford university press.

toward the pastoral areas in particular is not an exception. Policies, despite change of regimes in the last century, have been seen as instrument of modernization and centralization. Centralization, which was a form of institutionalization and bureaucratization, focused both on control of the subject population and surplus extraction from the rural economic activities to support urban modern sectors. Therefore, there has always been a debate on how to accommodate local knowledge, assets and capitals while modernizing the socio-economic and political dynamics of the country. How to integrate assets and capitals in pastoralism with modernization has been central in this policy debate. The state policy towards pastoral areas hardly exists as a holistic document. Studying this policy, however, is not impossible since the essence and ethos of the state in relation to pastoral community can be abstracted from what government has done and not done. Projects, intervention measures, laws, regulations, state structures and institutions can help us to study government policy pertaining to pastoral areas. For example, land tenure system, state projects and establishments in pastoral areas can indicate the paradigm, orientation and ideology of the state.

When we look at them retrospectively, we understand that the action and inaction of the Ethiopian state towards pastoral areas aimed, among others, at surplus extraction, administration and control not to mention the integration and nation building. The implementation of modernization-oriented action of the government had a similar pattern albeit the pace has been uneven. There are relatively less integrated, controlled and developed regions in the country. Centre-periphery framework, therefore, is often applied in documenting state-society relation in Ethiopia. Some regions, ethnic groups or even modes of life have been considered as centres while others have been seen as peripheries. Documenting state-pastoralist relation in Ethiopia was often

framed according to centre-periphery relation.¹³ In this framework, the pastoralist was presented as a helpless victim located at the periphery in terms of socio-economic development, and political participation. The pastoral areas were considered anarchic and ignored by the state as areas devoid of surplus and resource potentials.

A notable example is the recent work of John Markakis entitled, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*. In this book, the pastoralist areas are considered as frontiers on which the last stage of the making of modern state of Ethiopia was accomplished. Some of the pastoral areas which the state penetrated earlier were considered as an exception to the rule. A prominent example is the Awash Valley areas where the state has already intervened significantly since the 1950s. Markakis describes this exceptional image of the Awash Valley not only in terms of the state's special interest in the area but also in the unique passiveness and silence from the Afar pastoral community. He states that 'the development of commercial cultivation in the Awash Valley was a notable exception, and was managed without significant reaction from the Afar community.'¹⁴ For Markakis, the participation of the elite of the Afar community in establishing their own commercial farms and the possibility of different forms of resistance from the wider Afar community were less 'significant reaction' which is not mature enough to depict the agency of the community leaders nor the wider community at large. If one has to talk about periphery, it appears plausible in the Awash Valley only in terms of class than ethnic or mode of life perspective because the Afar elites were among the first generation of commercial farm owners in the history of the country. Numerous similar projects, laws and regulations coming

¹³ Numerous works employed centre-periphery framework in Ethiopian studies. Among many, a few are works by Triulzi (1984), 'Center-Periphery Relations in Ethiopian Studies: Reflections on Ten Years of Research on Wellega History', presented at the 5th ICES at East Lansing; Abbink, J. (1997) entitled 'Territory, Space and State among the Suri: Changes in an Ethiopian Periphery, 1977-1997' and presented at the 13th ICES in Kyoto; Abbink, J. (1997) 'Paradoxes of Power and Culture in an Old Periphery: Surma, 1974-98', an article that came out in 2000 in a book entitled, *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, edited by W. James, D.L. Donham, E. Kurimoto, A. Triulzi, London: James Currey; Almagor U. (1986), 'Institutionalizing a fringe periphery: Dassanetch-Amhara relations', in *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia. Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, edited by D. L. Donham and W. James. Oxford: James Currey; Donham, D.L (1986) 'Old Abyssinia and the new Ethiopian empire: themes in social history', an article published in *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, edited by D. L. Donham and W. James. Oxford: James Currey; Donham, D. L (1999) *Marxist Modern: an Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Los Angeles: University of California Press and a recent work by Markakis, J. (2011) entitled, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*. East Africa Series. James Currey

¹⁴ Markakis 2011:160

from the state to govern other pastoralist areas such as the south and south eastern parts of the country even before the 1970s were not given any attention. The lowland community, in other words the pastoralists, were presented as distinctly peripheralized subjects (compared to other rural subjects) who live significantly out of the view of the state and the scope the modernization process in the country.¹⁵

The state's lack of interest to invest in pastoral areas is considered one factor for the creation of the periphery.¹⁶ This description of the state position as passive and disinterested in the pastoralist areas seems ahistorical. We have seen the effort of the Ethiopian state to ensure its presence in the lowland pastoral areas of the country. The land tenure system applied in the pastoral areas since the 1940s and the large state farms and natural park establishments which appeared since the 1950s, among others, are the best examples to depict the interest of the state in these areas. The question is not a matter of interest of the state since no state will be disinterested in large part of its territory. The issue might be a matter of capacity and willingness to produce legitimate policy which the pastoralists can accept and support its implementation. Hence, it is plausible to argue that the making of the Ethiopian periphery at lowland areas, wherever the centre is, has not been the result of lack of state interest/policy, but rather that of the absence of adequate policy and strategy that accommodates and improves the asset and capital of the pastoral community of the country.

In this line, one can see numerous state projects which have come into being since the 1960s. Examples are modern farms and the development of capitalism in terms of ideology and policy orientation. The policymaking process and implementation was dominantly designed and guided by international organizations such as USAID, African Development Bank, World Bank, ILCA and CARE. These projects, implemented from 1960 to the 1980's, focused on either water well development or livestock production improvement (Taffese, 2000). All these interventions did not only prove to be non-participatory but also failed to reflect the interest of the pastoral community. They never considered the assets and capitals in pastoral livelihood nor responded to the vulnerability exhibited in

¹⁵ Markakis 2011

¹⁶ *ibid*

this mode of life. In short, they were designed on the basis of the dual economic theory in which the pastoral mode of life was considered traditional and hence shall be transformed through modernizing projects. Taffese interprets the foundation of this paradigm as “the tragedy of the commons” which considers pastoral life not only as unproductive but also as environmentally destructive. The application of such a paradigm is not exceptional to proto-pastoral areas but also to the rural economy in general and to the peasant or smallholder farmer in particular (Dessaegn, 2009). The change in political landscape of the country both in 1974 and in the 1990s brought about significant changes both in terms of discourse and institution pertaining to the governance of the pastoralist areas. Policy documents that resulted from these political changes envisioned a better place for the pastoral community in terms of not only protecting their rights but also recognizing the historical injustice they had passed through.

The 1976 land reform was responsive to the special interest of the pastoralists mainly in eradicating the old structure and traditional land owning elites.¹⁷It declared the ‘possessory rights over the lands they customarily used for grazing or for other purposes related to agriculture’ and the government promised ‘to improve grazing areas, dig wells and settle the nomadic people for farming purpose.’¹⁸The land reform, despite eradication of the landowners and recognition of the land right of the pastoralist, from the beginning it underlined the necessity of settlement and farming as alternative mode of life. The ideology of socialist development with the leadership of the few hegemonic workers envisaged transforming the mass of rural Ethiopia. Hence not only dual economy was reproduced during this period but also the historical agent of change and transformation was considered the modern subject - the worker. According to this paradigm, the pastoralists, together with the rest of the rural community, were supposed to play secondary role in implementing policy after forming associations.¹⁹

Pastoralist right to land has become a constitutional issue as a result

¹⁷Proclamation No.31 of 1975. A proclamation to provide for the public ownership of rural lands, Chapter 5 number 24 in Basic documents of the Ethiopian revolution 1977 POMOA, Addis Ababa

¹⁸Proclamation No.31 of 1975. A proclamation to provide for the public ownership of rural lands, Chapter 5 number 27 in Basic documents of the Ethiopian revolution.

¹⁹See Proclamation No. 31 of 1975 and Proclamation No. 71 of 1975

of changes of the 1990s. Self-administration and decentralization envisaged to solve the hitherto marginalization of the rural community. Pastoralism at rhetoric level is now recognized as legitimate way of life and for its recognition the Ethiopian Pastoralists' Day is celebrated annually at a national level. The alternative mode of life to pastoralism as envisaged in the 1976 land reform has been reproduced for the last three decades. The policy documents of the incumbent government also favours sedentary over mobile way of life, farming over herding as economic activity. Pastoralism hitherto is considered as a traditional economy which should be changed primarily into farming and then into modern economic activities in the long run. This position of the state is also reflected both in Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) and Growth and Transformation plan (GTP). GTP can be classified into two sections with regard to the modality that the plan considers for the pastoralist community. In the first section, one can see mere putting of the category 'pastoralist' wherever the category of 'farmer' is mentioned – 'farmers/pastoralist'.²⁰ Such consideration tied both the farmers and the pastoralist to agricultural activities. It seems that neither a special consideration is given to pastoralism independent of farming nor proper framework is created for consideration of both farming and pastoralism in a comprehensive manner. The second section briefly discussed pastoralism and the need to focus on livestock, water and pasture development. 'In addition, settlement programmes will be executed in order to enable pastoralists' lead settled livelihood. This will be carried out on voluntary basis.'²¹ The progressive aspect of the plan founded itself on voluntary participation of the pastoralist community and its vision to open mobile social services. It visualized the establishment of 'Mobile and para-boarding schools and promotion of school feeding programmes for meeting the needs of pastoralist and semi-pastoralist students'²²

²⁰See Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) 2010: up to page 23. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) 2010/11-2014/15

²¹ibid:24

²²ibid:53

4. Vulnerability Context of Pastoralism in the Afar Regional State

Pastoralists of Ethiopia have been exposed to both disturbance of nature (anthropogenic induced) and manmade multifaceted vulnerabilities. The same is true for the Afar pastoralists who account for about 80% of the total population of the Afar National Regional State (ANRS). These pastoralists have been subjected to state intervention of different sorts since the reign of Emperor Haileselassie when the Ethiopian flag reached the region for the first time and Mictchel Cotts started large scale agriculture in Tendaho mainly cultivating cotton. Such interventions also continued in the successive regimes of the Derg and the EPRDF. It is worth noting that modernization has been the hitherto ethos and ideology of the state.²³ State intervention is said to have contributed to the vulnerability of the Afar pastoralists because of the devastating impact it brought in terms of livelihood. Here the intention is neither to romanticize pastoralism nor to curse modernization but rather to critically explore the praxis of the state in the pastoral areas. This section depicts the impact of state intervention on vulnerability of the Afar pastoralist. As part of modernization scheme, Emperor Haileselassie's regime had the interest in controlling both the land and the people. Such an intervention mainly took the form of getting access to the land of the Afar pastoralists by dealing with the clan leaders in general and the Sultan of Aussa, Alimirah Hanfre, in particular. This resulted in confiscating land from the pastoralists and handing it over to Emperor Haileselassie and to Sultan Alimirah along with their advocates. The triad of the Ethiopian state, the elites of the Afar community and a multinational corporation from the west (Mictchel Cotts) wrote the history of alienation of the Afar community from their land and water. This intervention remained foundational in terms of modernization projects and the fate of pastoralism on the one hand, and state-pastoralist relation on the other. It was also a practical expression of modernization of the Ethiopian state and its position towards pastoralism.²⁴

After the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, the Derg tried to correct the wrongs of Emperor Haileselassie by taking the land away from the

²³ key informant 1 and 13

²⁴ Key informant 13

hands of the clan leaders and giving it back to the pastoralists. At the time, this was considered positive by the pastoralists who were content to have their land back. Nevertheless, the Derg brought the idea of cotton production by the pastoralists, a plan which was not successful due to the sophisticated nature of the crop and the skill gap of the pastoralists. Moreover, the Derg started a villagization programme with the justification of making social services more accessible to the pastoralists while the real intent was to make the EPRDF guerrilla fighters lose cover. Both initiatives failed to improve the lives of the Afar pastoralists as the transition path adopted by the government was not smooth enough to achieve better results in terms of putting bread on their table and providing sufficient access to social services such as health and education. This depicted modernization as the ethos of the state had not changed. Moreover the modernization projects in the area failed not only in providing services but also in accommodating the assets and knowledge from pastoralism.²⁵

The post-1991 period has not achieved much in terms of improved lives to the Afar pastoralists mainly because of paucity of commitment from different tiers of government structures. Gradual transition towards farming and more diversified livelihood approach is a central strategy held by the incumbent regime of Ethiopia. *Mender sefera* (which literally means forming villages in new sites by bringing people from different areas) an Amharic equivalent for villagization used during the Derg regime was replaced by a new expression *Mender massebaseb*, meaning forming villages in proximity to one another. The change of terms is also a gesture to depict the principle of volunteerism and popular participation in implementing the policy. However, from the field visit, it was understood that conduct of unfulfilled promises by the government is not a strange thing to see. The pastoralists move to villagization centres with the hope of getting access to education, health care, and clean water while such facilities are either not provided for long or lack quality if they exist. Especially, problems of access to clean water have been observed in both Berga and Galifage *Kebeles*.²⁶ The incumbent government's perspective, however, suggests that the pastoralists are not willing to inhabit the newly developed villagization centres because

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Key informant 9, FGD 1, 2, 3 and 4

of lack of awareness²⁷ which is very difficult to completely agree with as a number of issues raised in discussions with the pastoralists showed that they are not willing to settle unless they get sufficient social services. Moreover, the experience from Tendaho Sugar Plantation was not positive as compensation was paid to the pastoralists and they could not find pasture in the area anymore.²⁸ In addition to ill interventions by the government, nature has also not been much favourable for the improved livelihood of the Afar pastoralists. Drought, which used to recur once in every five years, became much more frequent haunting them every one or two years. As a result, loss of livestock is rising from time to time while amount of milk obtained by the pastoralists is declining. Loss of livestock also means asset depletion for them as it is by selling goats that they get other complementary food products such as wheat and sugar. The camel is considered as a valuable asset that they do not easily sell or slaughter.²⁹

The climate in general has ceased to be predictable and its variability is getting worse from time to time. Water and pasture availability in a particular place cannot be taken for granted by the Afar pastoralists who are transhumant in their approach. When the climate was less variable, the pastoralists were able to locate water and pasture at different seasons.³⁰ However, this is no more possible as their existing knowledge of locating pasture and water is threatened by the climate variability, which implies when and where it rains is not predictable. This entails that pastoralism as a livelihood strategy cannot sustain unless it is transformed into more resilient strategy. *Prosopis juliflora*, a drought-resistant and salt-tolerant thorny plant, has also been cited as a major challenge for the pastoralists of ANRS.³¹ The plant was introduced by the government of Ethiopia in the 1980s and has spread in many parts of the region occupying land that could have been used for pasture and farming (Rettberg, 2010). The inhabitants of Berga Kebele mentioned that their farmland is covered by *prosopis juliflora* and that they have to pay

²⁷ Key informant 1

²⁸ FGD 1 and 4

²⁹ Key informant 9, FGD 3 and 4

³⁰ Key informant 1

³¹ Key informant 8

for labour to get it cleared for cultivation. Another vulnerability specific to the *kebeles* visited in Assayita is flood. The two *kebeles*, Berga and Galifage, are exposed to flooding from the Awash River which destroys their cultivated land and houses at times. Using water from the Awash River, the pastoralists in Galifage planted crops such as maize as advised by the government. However, the river left them discouraged for there is a possibility of future wash off.³²

From various interviews conducted with key informants, it was understood that there is a challenge of good governance in the Afar National Regional State. The region lacks genuine civil servants and politically appointed officials who have public trust. The system is said to be highly corrupt and when it comes to efficient provision of social services and proper use of allocated budget, officials in many instances are cited to abuse state resources to get own advantages. Here, an elderly man and a historian interviewed mentioned that the Federal Government does not even seem to care much about the real performance of these officials so far as they accept and implement proposals such as villagization and land certification initiatives.

The following is a case story of Munteha Ahmed, an agro-pastoralist living in Berga *Kebele* of Assayita *Woreda*.

Before the villagization process, which started during the Derg regime and continued now, we were pure pastoralists and livestock was central to our livelihood. When we need to buy supplementary goods, we sold livestock and milk but now we cultivate the 4-hectare land we were given. We get limited amount of seed from the government. My household and many others are willing to live in the villagization centres as far as social services such as water and education is ensured for us. We have a school around here and it enabled our children to get access to education. Nevertheless, we do not have access to tap water but we can still compromise because of our proximity to the Awash River. The major challenges we face around here are the "Dergi hari" which covers our farmland after every cultivation cycle, shortage of seed, and frequent flooding from Awash which washes off our houses and cultivated land. The "Dergi hari" has been very difficult to deal with as it spreads very fast and covers our farmland and also quite hard to remove because of its thorns which injure people severely. We have to pay a lot of money to get it cleared whenever we want to cultivate. Moreover, the seed we get from the government is not enough for the proportion of land we have. We want the government to address these challenges for us.

³² FGD 1 and 4

All the problems mentioned above threaten the success of pastoralist policy of Ethiopia designed with numerous ambitions of transforming livelihood into a more sustained one through short term support of minimizing shocks and long term goal of maximizing benefits. If the Government of Ethiopia is serious about the proper integration of Afar pastoralists into the Ethiopian state, the problems should be handled now with no postponement to later time. In the process, the pastoralists should be attentively listened to as their concerns are genuine and would help in transforming their degraded and vulnerable livelihood.

5. Livelihood Assets and Capital in Pastoral Areas: Focus on Assayita Woreda

Pastoralism is people's strategy to survive and achieve their human goal in harsh environment. It can be considered as community-based holistic policy designed to tackle various problems that pastoral communities face every day. It can never be considered as a primordial attribute of the pastoral community. It is a mode of life that humans developed out of necessity. In SLF, this strategy can be considered as livelihood assets and capital defined as people's potential and actual capacities. Taking an ideal situation of pastoralism, one can measure the livelihood assets and capital that people are equipped with and use for survival and achieving of their dreams. This ideal model of pastoralism, unintervened by other modes of life and undisturbed by different human induced challenges, however, remains ahistorical and too abstract to be applied in the present context of any community in Ethiopia, not to mention other parts of Africa. The present empirical reality entails the penetration of capitalist or market forces into every rural locality albeit the penetration is uneven and less uniform. Modernization has intervened pastoralism in most areas of Ethiopia in general and in the Afar National Regional State in particular. Modernization in this context entails different forms and demands of state apparatus encouraging different modes of life (sedentarization, peasantization - smallholder farmer or livestock keeper, and proletarianization) and different land use systems (urbanization, industrialization and mechanized farming). In this section, we try to document how the Afar pastoral and semi-pastoral community in general and those who settled in Assayita *Woreda* in particular not only perceive but also react to, resist or co-opt with the forces of modernization and

the changing world they inhabited. It is an attempt to depict assets and capitals in the present Afar pastoralist condition.

For the Afar pastoral community, human success has been measured in terms of peace and life of happiness which is defined more in terms of social than economic attributes. An individual is successful if s/he has a family and is able to live in love and peace in the community.³³ This, however, does not make an Afar pastoral person less homo-economicus. The economic rationality of pastoral life is not measured in terms of greed and self-centered profit.³⁴ Owing to the need for much more complex interdependence and nature of extended family, the system discourages the development of individual-based economic calculation. This worldview is, therefore, based on community rather than individual rationality.³⁵ Again, such an outlook does not make pastoral mode of life less rational than capitalist mode of life. This complex rationality measures capital in its own terms and thus necessitates the adaptation of the SLF to pastoral worldview. In utilizing the SLF, it is difficult to deploy both the notion of an individual and family into the analysis. Without the clan and supra-clan structure and also without an extended family network, it is less possible to trace the life of an individual.³⁶ Moreover, the economic rationality in the Afar community cannot be separated from social, security and political rationality. Pastoral rationality seems holistic involving every dynamics of capital. For instance, it is difficult to separate the human capital (skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health) of the Afar pastoral community from the social, physical and natural capital of the community. The content of the human Knowledge is measured not only in economic terms but also in social and political terms. Pastoralism has survived for ages in harsh environment and this was only possible because of the above holistic but flexible mode of life.

This mode of life, however, is being challenged from different directions. The worsening of climate and the changing of its pattern serve as

³³ Key informant 9

³⁴ Key informant 9 FGD 1,2,3 AND 4

³⁵ Key informant 6

³⁶ The researcher's attempt to measure livelihood assets at a family level in different kebeles of Assayita Woreda was impossible owing to the fact that in a given temporary household other members of the extended family live and are involved both in consumption and production. Moreover, there were family members traveling with livestock to better grazing areas.

pushing factors that force pastoral community to dropout from their age-old mode of life. Knowledge of climatic pattern is meaningless in the age of climate change. Unexpected climatic conditions make pastoralist decision difficult.³⁷ Modernization and its capitalist principles are penetrating pastoral areas through state and market institutions. As mentioned in the previous section, interventions by the state and market affect the land use system seriously causing not only shortage of land for pastoral life style but also land alienation which makes mobility and even settlement questionable. These changes, on the one hand, reduce the assets used for survival in pastoral areas and, on the other hand, create new assets and opportunities. They reduce old forms of vulnerability and produce new ones. They create new hopes and frustrations as well as challenges and opportunities. In areas such as Assayita, proto-pastoralism as ideal model does not exist. In one way or another, state and market forces penetrated and put pastoral community at crossroads. The mode of life as mixed pastoral and non-pastoral created a long term debate in the Afar-pastoral community. For example, the tendency to sell cattle by young pastoralists may not be considered as a wise life style by most elderly pastoral community members³⁸ while selling animals at good price in the local market might appear viable to the young ones whose demand and aspiration have been shifting away from those of the elderly ones. In an environment where the state and market forces are discouraging pastoral mode of life,³⁹ conversations are going on between the young and the elderly pastoralists on life style that sounds sensible. The intervention of the state, not as rhetoric but as practical service delivery, will determine the debate between the young and the old pastoral community members.

Those elderly pastoralists see pastoralism as a viable mode of life in harsh environment and in absence of state service delivery. For them the high number of livestock is not just an asset but it is also an insurance in the context of vulnerable milieu. The higher the number of livestock, the more that will survive harsh climatic conditions, and the

³⁷ key informant 1

³⁸ FGD 1 and 2

³⁹ FGD 4

better chance of survival and achievement of goals for human beings.⁴⁰ An Afar pastoralist also quite understands the potential of modern livestock keeping and farming in the context of adequate water and other social services. The challenge is how to integrate the two or achieve transition to modern livelihood system. For the Afar pastoralists, as they are encountering vulnerability from two systems, they are utilizing their assets and capitals. As they are doing so for survival, they are also struggling to get benefits from urbanization and other elements of modernization. Like most pastoral communities, the Afar pastoralists are connected through social networks which serve as means of information exchange. The content of the information varies from social, economic and environmental to political and security issues.⁴¹ Pastoralism, therefore, can be defined as a mode life founded on both social and informational links between different sections of pastoral communities. Different sections of the pastoral community from different regions of rain pattern can easily exchange information and host one another annually according to the respective rain pattern. For example, it is observed that the pastoral community from Galifage *Kebele* of Assayita District, travel with their livestock not only crossing *kebeles* but also *woredas* and zones searching for pasture and water. Owing to the flood and absence of grazing areas at Galifage *Kebele*, most pastoral community members travel to other pastoral areas with their livestock and then return when the river recedes.⁴² Without human and social capital, it would have been difficult for the pastoral and semi-pastoral community of Assayita *Woreda* in general and Galifage *Kebele* in particular, to resist the vulnerable condition. Survival and other goals were achieved using social and information networks. Any alternative livelihood should bring more asset and insurance both in terms of economy and security. It should bring more viable social and informational network than the existing form of social and human asset.

When it comes to physical capital such as transport, shelter, water supply and energy, and access to information, the pastoral communities survived using their own age-old mechanisms. From the beginning, their life style was a simple one that does not take much asset for shelter. Most

⁴⁰ Key informant 13

⁴¹ Key informant 5

⁴² FGD 4

of the Afar pastoral community live in a conical-shaped house called *Afar ari* which can be easily dismantled, transported and reconstructed. Their knowledge of geography of the locality contributed to their mobility from one area to the other. They solely depend on natural resource for water and energy supply. The widely grown tree called *prosopis juliflora* (*dergi/woyane hari*) is very important for firewood and for fodder if necessary technology is applied.⁴³ As mentioned above, at present the tree tends to be more of a cause for vulnerability than an asset for use. The state policy-based suggestion is sedentarization, reduction of number of livestock and beginning of farming and other economic activities. The state promises adequate social services such as health, education, water, electric power and agricultural extension programmes. In different *kebeles* of Assayita, infrastructure such as schools and offices for agricultural extension workers have been established. The nearby urban quarters are expanding opening up potential assets. The location of the *kebeles* in the Awash basin provides potential assets and capitals. The electric power line that crosses the *kebeles* boosts the hope that dwellers have for access to electric power.⁴⁴ Nearby markets in urban centres increase pastoralists' access to various goods and if market-based production is employed, the Afar pastoralist can easily sell their product. At present, most of these assets and capital are potential opportunities and they need committed and participatory governance for materialization.

All these dynamics put pastoralism at crossroads. Currently, the Afar pastoralists in the Assayita rural *kebeles* predominantly use their age-old mode of life for survival, on the one hand, and tend to slowly change their mode of life on the other. They have accepted the villagization programme and are beginning to lead a permanently settled life. However, numerous promised infrastructural development schemes from the state have not been fulfilled yet. The dramatic change in the natural environment, the encroachment on pastoral lands by different agents, and the challenges in actual and potential service provisions from state institutions pushed the pastoral community into utilizing whatever alternative mode of life available to them. Some began farming, others pursued modern livestock keeping, a few were employed in state institutions, and many more are

⁴³ FGD 2 and 3

⁴⁴ FGD 1 and 4

hoping to secure job in the state commercial farms and sugar factory in the region. For Abdu, a young Afar attending high school in Assayita, his choices are many: his elder brothers take care of his livestock in a distant village and hence his pastoral life style is open for him; he has the idea of becoming a civil servant or a government official after improving his education; and in the mean time, he is also thinking of applying for labour work at the sugar plantation.⁴⁵

Many more are watching the ongoing change with suspicion mainly because of the delay in service provisions promised by the government. This instigated mistrust in the pastoral community. For instance, for heads of pastoral households such as Sabure who have been vainly waiting for over three years for electricity, the line of which passes through their yard, this change is just fake, empty promise filled with lies of state rhetoric. Sabure partially accepted the villagization programme but never tried to move to a permanent house because of the delay in the services. Asked about his view of pastoralism, he confirmed that he has a lot of hope in it as a way of survival. Sitting on the floor of his *kassala* (a rectangular-shaped shelter that some Afar pastoralists construct for day time use) constructed next to his circular home, he informed us that his reluctance to construct a permanent home lies in his suspicion of the state officials' promise.⁴⁶ A great lesson one can learn from life experience of pastoralists such as Sabure is that any alternative mode of life to pastoralism should provide sustainable asset and capital and minimize vulnerability. For success of state policy suggestion to transform pastoralist mode of life, effective state structure and process is necessary.

6. Transforming Structures and Processes in ANRS

Pastoralism is said to be a vulnerable livelihood strategy in Ethiopia in general and in the Afar National Regional State in particular because of multiple natural and manmade shocks. However, it can be transformed into a more resilient one through government intervention characterized by careful designing and implementation which might otherwise become destructive. In SLF, structures and processes are essential in order to improve the livelihood of the population. Here, policies, legislations,

⁴⁵ Key informant 7

⁴⁶ Key informant 9

culture and power relation make up part of the processes which are largely “software” concerns while institutions implementing them are considered structures without the strength of which policy contents fail to achieve the intended goals. These transforming structures and processes then deal with vulnerability context through political processes. This section tries to point out some potential structures and processes that help pastoralists to make their livelihood strategy more resilient to the vulnerabilities mentioned in the previous discussions.

From the beginning, one must acknowledge numerous positive features such as structures of the Ethiopian state. Federalism, decentralization, self-governance and other similar principles, laws and regulations that govern state-society relations in current Ethiopia are in principle conducive for implementation of bottom-up and participatory policy. *Woreda* level decentralization is one among other positive features of the political structure of the country. There are also specific positive features pertaining to the Afar and other similar regions. The special and affirmative policy designed to support ‘emerging regions’ such as Afar has positive implications in transforming pastoral livelihood in the region. If all of these are implemented with positive political will, dedication and commitment, transforming pastoral livelihood of the Afar will not be a challenge. The Ethiopian government’s policy approaches pastoralism as a transitory livelihood strategy rather than a permanent one which is here to stay. Modernization, put in terms of senterarization, peasantization and proletarianization, is reflected in the state’s policy. This has resulted in state intervention in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia in general and in the ANRS in particular. The villagization scheme of the government is an evidence to the immense level of intervention leading towards more or less settled life as well as transformation of pastoralists’ livelihood from rearing livestock to farming. The scheme can result in positive gains mainly in terms of provision of social services to pastoralists which is very difficult to do so when they are always moving and settling in a more sparsely manner. Some potential gains may also be observed from transforming the pastoralist livelihood strategy into farming if their livestock are kept as an asset enabling them to have more diverse strategy of livelihood and sufficient technical and resource backing is provided as cultivation is not within the mainstream of pastoral livelihood.

In order to transform vulnerable livelihoods into more resilient ones in the ANRS, participatory approach is mandatory. The government of Ethiopia in principle views pastoralists as active agents that can represent their own need in policies than passive subjects on which policies can be imposed. This will ensure their real concerns are addressed both at the policy designing and implementation levels. One of the challenges observed in the region is the fact that the voice of the people is interpreted by the local elites as 'lack of awareness' while the elites' view is seen by the people as mere rhetoric and propaganda.⁴⁷ Such a gap forces us to question the level of decentralization, participation and self-governance as reflected in the policymaking and implementation processes. Field visits in Assayita *Woreda* of the ANRS show not only a level of exclusion from decision making in ones' own matter but also a degree of resistance by pastoralists who, for example, refuse to be part of the villagization scheme because of insufficient service delivery institutions. Moreover, the policy seems to flow top-down from the government to the pastoralists. The exclusion and resistance can be minimized if the concerns of the pastoralists are seriously taken and responded to rather than considering the whole attempt as a government project to be implemented there. In this context, better consultation practices while designing policies and strategies would ensure the incorporation of demands from the grassroots rather than demystifying the policies with the justification of pastoralists being unaware of gains that the villagization scheme would bring to them.

When implementation structures are being discussed with specific reference to villagization schemes of the government, it is essential to look into the promises made versus the actual achievements on the ground. Here, a good example is that social services promised to pastoralists both in Galifage and Berga *Kebeles* have not been adequately fulfilled. Clean water supplies, for instance, are not operating in both *kebeles*. In Galifage *Kebele*, in addition to the problem of clean water supply, pastoralists who have the land to farm also lack the skills and technology to stop the flood from inundating them.⁴⁸ As a result they are likely to leave the villagization centre if the promises made remain unfulfilled and their hope plummets. Transforming livelihood from rearing livestock into

⁴⁷ Key informant 1 and 2

⁴⁸ Key informant 9 and FGD 1 and 4

farming, if believed to be more resilient, should be gradual and flexible than quick and rigid. The government should pause and reflect on the impacts of the approach adopted to achieve better gains for pastoralists. In fact, abandoning livestock and engaging in farming is, for pastoralists, very difficult and a total shift in terms of culture and identity which can be acceptable only when and if substantial change is achieved in their economy. These factors should be taken into consideration when thinking of villagization centres because if the transition is to be smooth, the pastoralists should be able to keep some of their livestock as a guarantee in the short run while the logic of augmented quality than quantity can be applied in the long run when pastoralists start benefiting from the development.

Moreover, the government should be strategic when grand projects like the sugar development of Tendaho are planned. Perception of the Afar pastoralists towards such a mega project can determine the level of acceptance/resistance of similar initiatives elsewhere. According to most informants at the field, particularly the pastoral inhabitants of the *woreda*, the sugar development project has been perceived negatively. To them, it was an initiative that confiscated their land and led to the impoverishment of the local inhabitants than an agent of prosperity. However, there should have been attempts made to help them understand that the project would contribute significantly to Ethiopia's economic growth in general by increasing sugar production capacity of the nation and to the local inhabitants in particular as they could also profit from it through employment opportunities for themselves and obtaining of fodder for their animals from the by-products of sugar production. The negative perception of the Afar pastoralists has emerged from different scenarios: corrupt officials and clan leaders abused compensations; pastoralist recipients mismanaged their compensation money; and the *Dagu* portrayed the initiative as something devastating to the lives of the pastoralists around the sugar plantation area. The government should thus carefully observe why such mega projects can be perceived negatively and resolve the problems beforehand.

Conclusion

The Ethiopian government hitherto presents itself as agent of civilization, modernization and development. Though urban areas are hubs of modernization, the project of modernization is impossible without rural resource and surplus extraction. In countries like Ethiopia where the majority of the population is rural community, modernization entails transformation of the livelihood of this section of the society. Pastoralism has been a livelihood of numerous people in lowland Ethiopia. To put it in a nutshell, the transformation of pastoralism among others entails peasantization, sedentarization and proletarianization of the pastoralist. These alternative livelihoods should ensure sustainable assets for the pastoralist and capitals to replace pastoralism. The transformation shall be participatory and incremental in approaches. Most elements of state policy on paper seem to echo this principle of participation and volunteerism in transforming pastoralism. Moreover, the state envisages taking responsibility of providing adequate social services. However, the praxis is still far from planned activities in the Afar Regional State in general and in the Assayita *Woreda* in particular. *Assayita* has been one of the earliest pastoralist areas of state intervention.

In this vein, the process of transforming pastoralism into non-pastoralist modes of life mentioned above seems to be in critical stage. Pastoralist's willingness to transform their mode of life seems to be challenged by delayed state service delivery and weak response to shocks and vulnerable trends. At this critical stage the pastoralists of the region are utilizing any assets and capital both from their age-old mode of life and also from modernization institutions and projects. The future of the community in terms livelihood is determined by the state's willingness and commitment to put into practice what is on the policy paper. The state believes that a great challenge to the realization of its policy of transforming pastoralism in the Afar Regional State is lack of awareness on the part of the pastoralist community. However, the pastoralists understand the necessity of transformation in their livelihood. For them, the challenge is lack of adequate and practical social services and support from the government. Hence, the problem lies in inefficient state structure and process in terms of ensuring service delivery needed for transforming the pastoral way of life.

The commitment of the pastoralists in the Afar Regional State can be easily seen from the diverse economic activities they began to engage in. It is a common observation that an Afar who was a pastoralist yester year has now become a civil servant, a security guard, a daily labourer, an employee in a factory, an urban businessperson or a farmer. The practice of peasantization, sendarization and proletarianization is already happening in the region. The community, however, still has one of its feet in the pastoral way of life. This is not a gesture of romanticization of pastoralism, but it should be mentioned that lack of trust because of unfulfilled promises on the part of the state made the community not to easily change their mode of life. It is thus possible to say that successful modernization projects, effective bureaucratization and good governance would determine the transformation of pastoralist life in the Afar Regional State.

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CHAPTER THREE

Implementation of Government Development Strategies on Afar Pastoralists in Ethiopia: Challenges and Opportunities

Endalew Addis

Abstract

Ethiopia with Africa's largest livestock population requires favorable policy options to tap such potential as policies are at the centre of success and failure in the development of human communities. In cognizance of this, this study aims at examining the challenges and opportunities of implementation of government development strategies on the Afar pastoralists focusing on Growth and Transformation Plan, Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy, Rural Development Policy and Strategies, Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Policy, Food Security Strategy, Disaster Risk Management Policy, Social Protection Policy, Ethiopian Commodity Exchange Proclamation, Micro-financing Business Proclamation, Population Policy, Health Policy, Water Resources Management Policy, and Education and Training Policy. To attain these objectives, the study has employed different research methods notably observation, in-depth and key informant interview, focus group discussion and documentary analysis to gather both primary and secondary data; and analyzed them using qualitative data analysis techniques such as thematic analysis

and content analysis. The findings showed that there are both challenges and opportunities in implementing development strategies/policies. Some of the opportunities are initiation of pastoralists to participate in the development process through voluntary settlement and practicing irrigation; expansion of veterinary stations to provide veterinary services for pastoralists' livestock; availability of ample land resource; formulation of pastoral and agro-pastoral context strategies; formulation of live animals marketing proclamation; willingness of pastoralists to use contraceptives; training at various levels of health professionals from the pastoralists themselves; awareness of pastoralists to send their children to schools and various levels of educational institutions; and attending adult education of the pastoralists themselves. On the other hand, some of the challenges are inability to change work habits; failure to implement the resettlement programme as they believe it curtails mobility; lack of proper attention to livestock production; unfamiliarity with improved rural cooking technologies; lack of rural finance; lack/shortage of rural infrastructure such as educational and health services, rural road and transport services, marketing and telecommunications and electricity services; emergence of new problems such as climate change with an increasing frequency and intensity of drought over time; shortage of qualified health personnel and lack of medical equipment and instruments; lack of clean water supply; shortage of teachers; and lack of continuous professional development due to various constraints. Hence, it is recommended that different stakeholders should work jointly to minimize the challenges and maximize the opportunities particularly by formulating a full-fledged pastoral policy and implementing accordingly.

Key words: *pastoralists, policies, strategies, opportunities, challenges.*

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Pastoralism is a livelihood strategy based on moving livestock to seasonal pastures primarily in order to convert grasses, forbs, tree-leaves, or crop residues into human food. The search for feed is, however, not the only reason for mobility. People and livestock may move to escape from various natural and/or social hazards, to avoid competition with others, or to seek more favorable conditions. Pastoralism can also be thought of as a strategy that is shaped by both social and ecological factors concerning uncertainty and variability of precipitation, and low and unpredictable productivity of terrestrial ecosystems (IPCC, 2014).

Alternatively, pastoralism is a livestock production system that is based on extensive land use and often some form of herd mobility, which has been practiced in many regions of the world for centuries (WISP, 2007). Currently, extensive pastoralism occurs on about 25% of the earth's land area, mostly in the developing world, from the drylands of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula to the highlands of Asia and Latin America where intensive crop cultivation is physically not possible (FAO, 2001 cited in Dong *et. al.*, 2011). In addition, cattle and sheep ranchers in Western North America, Australia, New Zealand, and a few other regions of the world presently practice a modern form of pastoralism. Worldwide, pastoralism supports about 200 million households and herds of nearly a billion head of animals including camel, cattle, and smaller livestock (FAO, 2001 cited in Dong *et. al.*, 2011). Pastoralism is globally important for the human population it supports, the food and ecological services it provides, the economic contributions it makes to some of the world's poorest regions, and the long-standing civilizations it helps to maintain (Nori and Davies, 2007). Unfortunately, threats and pressures associated with human population growth, economic development, land use changes, and climate change are challenging professionals and practitioners to sustain and protect these invaluable social, cultural, economic, and ecological assets worldwide (Nori and Davies, 2007).

Moreover, pastoralism is based primarily on raising livestock, particularly small ruminants, cattle and camels. Pastoral livestock production systems are mostly found in Africa's vast arid and semi-arid areas. These areas are characterized by marked rainfall variability and associated uncertainties in the spatial and temporal distribution of water resources and grazing for animals. Pastoralists have developed management systems based on strategic mobility, which are well-adapted to these difficult conditions. Although African pastoral ecosystems are ancestral homeland to a substantial portion of the population for whom pastoralism is a traditional way of life, pastoralism is far from static. Pastoralists in many areas are adapting to trends such as new economic opportunities and better access to modern means of communication (AU, 2010).

To this end, pastoralism contributes 10 to 44% of the GDP of African countries, and the pastoralist population in Africa is estimated at

268 million (over a quarter of the total population) living on an area representing about 43% of the continent's total land mass (AU, 2010).

Similarly, Ethiopia has Africa's largest livestock population, and over 60 per cent of its land area is semi-arid lowland dominated by livestock economy. As a result, today Ethiopia is looking for a new and deeper understanding of its pastoralist regions and an accurate appreciation of their environmental and socio-economic trajectories (UN OCHA-PCI, 2007).

As pastoralism has significant contributions, various governments have formulated different strategies and policies to support this livelihood system. However, there are numerous impediments in the implementation of the policies/strategies. According to a study conducted by African Union, African Development Bank, and Economic Commission for Africa, some of such impediments are failure to agree on implementation strategies, lack of capacity to manage change, defects in policy development, lack of baseline data, and inadequacy of implementation infrastructure (AUC-ECA-AfDB Consortium, 2010). Ethiopia, being one of the African countries, is facing such impediments. On the contrary, there are also different potentials like existence of natural resources to be tapped as opportunities.

1.2. Problem Statement

Literature shows that pastoralists are vulnerable, poor, and marginalized due to various factors such as conflict, inappropriate government policies, government's large scale projects, and climate change (PFE 2000; PFE 2002; PFE 2004; PCDP 2005a; PFE 2007). In cognizance of this, different researchers have tried to address various problems faced by pastoralists. However, the challenges and opportunities in implementing government development policies/strategies on pastoralism and related aspects of life have not been adequately addressed.

According to AU (2010), policy has always been at the centre of success and failure in the development of human communities. Putting it differently, a policy can either promote or hinder economic and social development in the pastoral areas of Africa including Ethiopia. Specifically, policy

and institutional environment determine access to the resources in these areas and, therefore, have a significant impact on equity, productivity and livelihoods. Limited or uncertain tenure, access to and ownership of land, water and other resources have been long-term fundamental constraints to pastoralism. In addition, limited formal education, shortage of health and communication facilities, inappropriate market development, and poor access to livestock and other services can cause discontent, generate injustice and further promote conflict. These problems can also lead to unsustainable resource use and environmental degradation. In contrast, appropriate pro-pastoral policy and institutional reforms can empower pastoral people and promote equitable access to resources, facilities and services, and guarantee sustainable land use and environmental management (AU, 2010).

This paper, therefore, has attempted to assess existing challenges and opportunities in implementing government development strategies on the Afar pastoralists and to provide inputs that help to design appropriate pro-pastoral policy, make institutional reforms that can empower the pastoralists, promote equitable access to resources, facilities and services, and guarantee sustainable land use and environmental management. Accordingly, development policies and strategies (mainly Growth and Transformation Plan, Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy, Rural Development Policy and Strategies, Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Policy, Food Security Strategy, Disaster Risk Management Policy, Social Protection Policy, Ethiopian Commodity Exchange Proclamation, Ethiopian Live Animals Marketing Proclamation, Micro-financing Business Proclamation, Population Policy, Health Policy, Water Resources Management Policy, and Education and Training Policy) have been examined. Furthermore, the reactions of the Afar pastoralists towards these policies and strategies have been examined.

1.3. Objectives

The general objective of this study is to examine the challenges and opportunities of Ethiopian government's development strategies for the Afar pastoralists.

Specific objectives:

- To assess opportunities of government development strategies for the Afar pastoralists
- To examine the challenges of government development strategies for the Afar pastoralists
- To explore reactions of the Afar pastoralists towards government development strategies

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study has explored the challenges and opportunities of government development strategies/policies for the Afar pastoralists. Hence, it provides valuable information for stakeholders concerned with the design and implementation of pastoral policies, programmes, strategies and projects for the Afar pastoralists in particular and the Ethiopian pastoralists in general.

2. Policy Review

2.1. General Context of Development Policies/ Strategies

Policy has always been important in determining the success or failure of development of human communities. This implies that it can either promote or hinder the economic and social development efforts made in the pastoral areas of Africa. Moreover, it is increasingly accepted that livestock rearing is a dominant and rational economic enterprise in pastoral communities, but policies to address issues of pastoralism must go beyond those related to livestock production, marketing and trade. Pastoralists also need supportive policies on critical issues such as healthcare, education, land tenure, women's rights, governance, ethnicity and religion. Furthermore, the scope of policy in many areas, especially policies on pastoral mobility, environment and conflict, must range from local policies to regional policy harmonization across borders. This scope recognizes that pastoralist ecosystems often transcend national borders, and that movement within these systems is economically and ecologically rational (AU, 2010).

However, in eastern and southern Africa there are no specific pastoral policies or laws that explicitly address pastoral land tenure issues. Instead pastoral land tenure, when addressed, falls under other policy instruments and laws such as a national constitution or poverty reduction strategies, or as a sub-component of national sector-based laws on land, forests or the environment (AU, 2010). It is in line with this argument that different development policies/strategies of Ethiopia are examined in the following section.

2.2. Development Policies/Strategies of Ethiopia

Currently, Ethiopia has various development policies/strategies. The content of those development policies/strategies, particularly of those focusing on objectives and strategies, are examined in this section.

Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP)

The GTP, in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is maintaining at least an average real GDP growth rate of 11% in the economic sector, and is expanding and ensuring qualities of education and health services in the social sector. It is also establishing favorable conditions for sustainable state building through the creation of stable democratic and developmental state. The overall intent is to ensure sustainable growth by realizing all the above objectives within a stable macroeconomic framework (MoFED, 2010).

The strategies to meet the above objectives are sustaining faster and more equitable economic growth, maintaining agriculture as a major source of economic growth, creating favorable conditions for the industry to play key role in the economy, enhancing quantity and quality of infrastructural and social development, building capacity, deepening good governance, and promoting women and youth empowerment (MoFED, 2010).

Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE)

The CRGE initiative has a vision of achieving middle-income status by 2025 in a climate-resilient green economy through four pillars: improving crop and livestock production practices for higher food security and farmer income while reducing emissions, protecting and re-establishing

forests for their economic and ecosystem services including carbon stocks, expanding electricity generation from renewable sources of energy for domestic and regional markets, and leapfrogging to modern and energy-efficient technologies in transport, industry and buildings (FDRE, 2011).

Accordingly, the government has selected four initiatives for fast-track implementation: exploiting the vast hydropower potential; large-scale promotion of advanced rural cooking technologies; efficiency improvements in the livestock value chain; and Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD). These initiatives have the best chances of promoting growth immediately, capturing large abatement potentials, and attracting climate finance for their implementation. However, to ensure a comprehensive programme, initiatives from all other sectors will also be developed into concrete proposals (FDRE, 2011).

Rural Development Policy and Strategies

The Rural and Agriculture-centered Development Strategy is expected to bring about rapid and sustained economic growth, guarantee maximum benefits to the majority of the people, minimize dependence on foreign aid, and promote the development of a market-oriented economy in Ethiopia using mainly land and labour from the four factors of production [capital, labour, land and entrepreneurship or management]. To this end, the basic directions of agricultural development are strengthening the agricultural labour force by ensuring industriousness and work preparedness; improving farming skills and knowledge and dissemination of appropriate technology; ensuring the health of farmers; using the land appropriately through land ownership, land use policy and water resource utilization; preparing area-compatible development packages through diversification and specialization; developing drought-prone regions and regions with reliable rainfall; developing pastoral areas and areas with large and unutilized agriculturally suitable land (FDRE, 2003).

In addition, the policy aspires to improve rural finance for use in increased agricultural investment and development of non-agricultural

sectors; create strong agricultural marketing system; expand rural infrastructure through expansion of education and health services, rural road and transport services, drinking water supply, and other rural infrastructural services like telecommunications and electricity; strengthen non-agricultural rural development activities such as trade, marketing, finance, etc. for full utilization of development opportunities created by rural development, and build up rural-urban linkages (FDRE, 2003).

Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Policy

The central objective of this policy is to improve the standard of living of the pastoral and agro-pastoral population by appropriately integrating pastoral areas into the mainstream national economy and social development in an environmentally sustainable manner. The policy focuses on improving pastoral livelihoods and asset bases, basic social services, and institutional setups. The strategies to improve pastoral livelihoods and asset bases include developing participatory drought management mechanisms; encouraging livelihood/asset diversification and preservation of dry season range reserves; controlling drought-induced livestock diseases; facilitating local and cross-border livestock trading; promoting 'commercialization' of livestock production objectives; establishing MFIs that go with the pastoralists' nature and character; strengthening veterinary services; training members of the pastoralists on community-based animal health; expanding strategically-placed dry season water points; managing national parks and natural reserves jointly; rehabilitating/constructing main and feeder roads; and developing marketing infrastructure (FDRE, 2008).

Additional strategies to improve basic social services are developing pastoral-friendly curriculum and schooling calendar; expanding both formal and non-formal school systems by giving attention to alternative basic education, boarding schools, school feeding, and training of teachers from the community (pastoral background); encouraging and supporting Community-Based Organizations to engage in the supply of teaching/learning materials; organizing vocational skills training for pastoral-system-drop-outs; focusing on mobile primary health education; strengthening reproductive health programme; expanding

Extended Program of Immunization (EPI) through mobile system; controlling HIV/AIDS expansion by targeting on urban and peri-urban dwellers, ex-soldiers, returnees/refugees, immigrants, and tourists; constructing new or rehabilitating existing health posts/health centres strategically situated; improving efficiency by incentivizing staff, and supplying drugs and equipment; strengthening extension networks and outreach services in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas; improving internal and external market support for various rangeland products such as livestock, meat, milk, salt, honey, resin, wood, etc.; and strengthening the business environment of pastoral economic activities (FDRE, 2008).

Furthermore, some of the strategies to improve institutional setups are designing participatory conflict management system by strengthening indigenous institutional systems to manage conflict and enhance peace building process; building the capacity of pastoralists on local governance and leadership; recognizing pastoral traditional institutions and the leadership as important home grown institutions that have indispensable value in the pastoralist livelihood and in the nation as a whole; transforming both traditional pastoral and modern state institutions to inclusively manage the contemporary political, institutional and public policy and frameworks in the pastoral areas; developing policy innovations that build on both pastoralist traditional norms and modern political ideas in order to generate a framework which accommodates traditional and modern elements in a holistic manner; creating diversified income generating activities for women; studying and acting upon customs and cultural elements that prevent women from participation in development, and political and social spheres of public life; stopping female genital mutilation and encouraging the application of laws against harmful traditional practices; developing participatory land use and ownership policy based on traditional communal land use system; strengthening agricultural extension services in the process of pastoral development; strengthening research-extension-pastoral/agro-pastoral linkages; creating a strong network between pastoral-concerned forums, NGOs and policy makers; consulting pastoral community in designing and implementing development projects that concern them; helping pastoralists benefit from investment, tourism and industries in their areas; and understanding and balancing the economic advantages with the social costs (FDRE, 2008).

Food Security Strategy

The Government of Ethiopia has designed a strategy to improve food security in the country by addressing both the supply/availability and the demand/entitlement sides of the food equation in three components. The first component, economic growth and employment, consists of maintaining sound macro-economic and population policies; giving priority to rural development focusing on agriculture; holding or lowering real consumer food prices through increased food production and lower-cost marketing; encouraging rapid growth of small business enterprises that create jobs; diversifying agriculture and promoting exports in support of food trade; and developing measures for regions with less reliable rainfall and pastoral areas. The second component is establishing additional entitlement/access and target programmes including supplementary employment/income schemes, targeted programmes like safety net programme for very poor and vulnerable groups, and nutrition and health interventions addressing those at the highest risk. The final component is strengthening emergency capabilities for monitoring, surveillance, early warning, and food and relief distribution in kind and cash (FDRE, 1996).

Disaster Risk Management Policy

The overall objective of the National Policy on Disaster Risk Management (DRM) is to reduce risks and impacts of disasters in three major phases or categories (pre-disaster, during disaster and post-disaster) by establishing a comprehensive and integrated disaster risk management system within the context of sustainable development. More specifically, it aims at reducing disaster risks and vulnerability that hinder development primarily by focusing on proactive measures, establishing a culture of risk reduction in regular development programmes, and addressing the underlying causes of recurrent disasters; saving lives and protecting livelihoods in the event of disasters and ensuring the recovery and rehabilitation of all disaster-affected populations; promoting resilience of people vulnerable to disasters thereby combating dependence on relief resources; and insuring that institutions and activities for DRM are mainstreamed into all sectors, coordinated and integrated into regular development programme, and implemented at all levels (FDRE, 2009).

Social Protection Policy

The main objectives of Social Protection Policy of Ethiopia are protecting poor and vulnerable individuals, households, and communities from the adverse effects of shocks and destitution; increasing the scope of social insurance; increasing access to equitable and quality health, education and social welfare services to build human capital and thus break the inter-generational transmission of poverty; guaranteeing a minimum level of employment for the long-term unemployed and underemployed; and enhancing the social status and progressively realizing the social and economic rights of the excluded and marginalized (MoLSA, 2012).

There are different measures and strategies in implementing the social protection policy mainly through social assistance (safety nets), social insurance, health insurance, livelihood and employment schemes (skills development and support to entrepreneurship and household enterprise development), improved coverage and quality of basic services including social welfare services for people in especially difficult circumstances. Accordingly, the policy identifies four areas of focus: social safety net programmes, livelihood and employment schemes, social insurance, and addressing inequalities of access to basic services (MoLSA, 2012).

Ethiopian Commodity Exchange/ECX Proclamation

The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange was proclaimed to transform the country's agriculture into market-oriented production system, to promote increased participation of small agricultural producers by providing up-to-date market information and enabling them to negotiate better prices for their products, and to establish an efficient, orderly and unified marketing system for agricultural commodities. Accordingly, the purpose was to create an efficient, transparent, and orderly marketing system that serves the needs of buyers, sellers, and intermediaries, and that promotes increased market participation of Ethiopian small scale producers; to provide a centralized trading mechanism which offers to sell and to buy bids coordinated through a physical trading floor with open outcry bidding or an electronic order matching system or both; to provide automated back office operations to record, monitor, and quickly disseminate information on exchange transactions; to provide

standardized grade-specific contracts as the basis of exchange trading; to conduct trading on the basis of product grade certificates and guaranteed warehouse receipts; to clear and settle all transactions conducted on the exchange to minimize default risk; to provide a mechanism for dispute resolution through arbitration; to provide timely market information to the public; to carry out market surveillance to insure the integrity of the members and of the market; and to avoid contingent risk to the market through implementing risk management by employing proper management mechanism (FDRE, 2007).

Micro-financing Business Proclamation

As micro-financing institutions play an important role in providing access to financial services for rural farmers and people engaged in other similar activities as well as in micro and small-scale rural and urban entrepreneurs, it is necessary to have an appropriate legal framework that further enhances the development and soundness of the micro-financing business. To realize this, the micro-financing institutions proclamation was issued with a purpose of collecting deposits and extending credit to rural and urban farmers and people engaged in other similar activities, and to micro and small scale rural and urban entrepreneurs. The maximum amount of credit extended may be determined by the National Bank (FDRE, 2009).

Population Policy

The objective of the policy is to attain the goal of harmonizing the inter-relationship between population dynamics and other factors affecting probability of development by closing the gap between high population growth and low economic productivity through planned reduction of population growth and increasing economic returns; expediting economic and social development processes through holistic integrated development programmes designed to enhance the structural differentiation of the economy and employment; reducing the rate to urban migration; maintaining/improving the carrying capacity of the environment by taking appropriate environmental protection/conservation measures; raising the economic and social status of women; and significantly improving the social and economic status of vulnerable

groups (women, youth, children and the elderly) (FDRE, 1993).

Some of the strategies to attain the objectives are expanding clinical and community-based contraceptive distribution services; promoting breast feeding; raising the minimum age at marriage for girls from 15 to 18 years; providing counseling services in the educational system to reduce the current high attrition rate of females and to make appropriate career choices; providing technical and credit support for engaging in small to medium sized private enterprises; making population and family life-related education and information widely available via formal and informal media; establishing a system for the production and effective distribution of low cost radio receivers and information materials; amending all laws impeding women's access and control of resources; amending relevant articles and sections of the civil code in order to remove unnecessary restrictions; ensuring and encouraging governmental and non-governmental agencies involved in social and economic development programmes; establishing teen-age and youth counseling centres in reproductive health; facilitating research programme development in reproductive health; developing IEC programmes specially designed to promote male involvement in family planning; and diversifying methods of contraception with particular attention to increasing the availability of male oriented methods (FDRE, 1993).

Health Policy

The objective of the Health Policy is democratization and decentralization of health service system; development of preventive and promotive components of health care; development of an equitable and acceptable standard of health service system that will reach all segments of the population within the limits of resources; promotion and strengthening of inter-sectoral activities; promotion of attitudes and practices conducive to the strengthening of national self-reliance in health development by mobilizing and maximally utilizing internal and external resources; assurance of accessibility of health care for all segments of the population; close cooperation with neighboring countries, and regional and international organizations to share information and strengthen collaboration in all activities that contribute to health development

including the control of factors detrimental to health; development of appropriate capacity building based on assessed needs; provision of health care for the population on a scheme of payment according to ability with special assistance mechanisms for those who cannot afford to pay; and promotion of the participation of the private sector and non-governmental organizations in health care (FDRE, 1993).

Strategies employed to achieve the objective of health policy are democratization of the system; decentralization of decision-making, health care organization, capacity building, planning, implementation and monitoring; intersectoral collaboration; provision of health education; provision of promotive and preventive activities; human resource development; assurance of availability of drugs, supplies and equipment; provision of appropriate attention to traditional medicine; giving emphasis to health systems research; promotion of family health services; establishment of referral system; development of diagnostic and supportive services for health care; organization of health management information system; revision of health legislations; systematization and rationalization of health service organization; strengthening of administration and management of the health system for better effectiveness and efficiency; and financing of the health services through public, private and international sources (FDRE, 1993).

Ethiopian Water Resources Management Policy

The overall goal of Water Resources Policy is to enhance and promote all national efforts towards the efficient, equitable and optimum utilization of the available water resources of Ethiopia for significant socio-economic development on sustainable basis. The policy has three sub-policies: water supply and sanitation policy, irrigation policy, and hydropower policy (FDRE, 2000).

The Water Supply and Sanitation Policy objectives are providing, as much as conditions permit, sustainable and sufficient water supply services to all peoples of Ethiopia; satisfying water supply requirements for livestock, industries and other users as much as conditions permit; carrying out operation and maintenance of all water supply and sanitation services in a sustainable and efficient manner; promoting

sustainable conservation and utilization of the water resources through protection of water sources, efficiency in the use of water as well as control of wastage and pollution; creating sustainable capacity building in terms of enabling environment including institutions, human resource development, legislation and regulatory framework for water supply and sanitation; and enhancing the well being and productivity of the people by creating conducive environment for the promotion of appropriate sanitation services (FDRE, 2000).

The Irrigation Policy objectives are development and enhancement of small scale irrigated agriculture and grazing lands for food self-sufficiency at the household level; development and enhancement of small, medium and large-scale irrigated agriculture for food security and food self-sufficiency at national level including export earnings and local agro-industrial demands; promotion of irrigation study, planning and implementation on economically viable, socially equitable, technically efficient, and environmentally sound basis as well as development of sustainable, productive and affordable irrigation farms; and promotion of water use efficiency, control of wastage, protection of irrigation structures and appropriate drainage systems. Besides, they include assurance that small, medium and large-scale irrigation potential projects are studied and designed to a stage ready for immediate implementation by private enterprises and/or the government at any time (FDRE, 2000).

The Hydropower Policy objectives, similar to those of the irrigation policy, also include ensuring that hydropower projects are studied and made ready for immediate implementation; ascertaining that a short, medium and long-term hydropower generation programme is worked out well ahead of time; ensuring that hydropower development projects are studied, designed, constructed, operated and utilized on economically viable basis to an acceptable technical, environmental and safety standards; making sure that the negative environmental impacts of hydropower are mitigated to the possible extent and that the positive environmental impacts are exploited as much as possible; strengthening local human power capacity for hydropower development, project study, design construction and operation; promoting that hydropower development on trans-regional rivers is effected on the basis of mutual understanding and co-operation amongst Federal and Regional parties

concerned; and encouraging involvement of the private sector in the development of hydropower (FDRE, 2000).

Education and Training Policy

The general objective of Education and Training Policy is developing the physical and mental potential and the problem-solving capacity of individuals by expanding education in general and providing basic education for all in particular; bringing up citizens who can take care of and utilize resources wisely, who are trained in various skills, by raising the private and social benefits of education; cultivating citizens who respect human rights, stand for the well-being of people, as well as for equality, justice and peace, endowed with democratic culture and discipline; bringing up citizen who differentiate harmful practices from useful ones, who seek and stand for truth, appreciate aesthetics and show positive attitude towards the development and dissemination of science and technology in society; and cultivating the cognitive, creative, productive and appreciative potential of citizens by appropriately relating education to environment and societal needs (FDRE, 1994).

Strategies employed to attain education and training policy objectives are change of curriculum and preparation of education materials accordingly; establishment of appropriate educational structure; development of appropriate educational measurement and examination techniques; engagement in teachers' training and overall professional development; use of local/mother tongue, national and international languages; integration of education, training, research and development; supporting of education with inputs; change of educational organization and management; and financing of education (FDRE, 1994).

To conclude, this is how government has addressed the issue of pastoralists in Ethiopia through different development policies/strategies until now. Thus, what will be the future of pastoralism in Ethiopia is assessed in the following section.

2.3. The Future of Pastoralism in Ethiopia

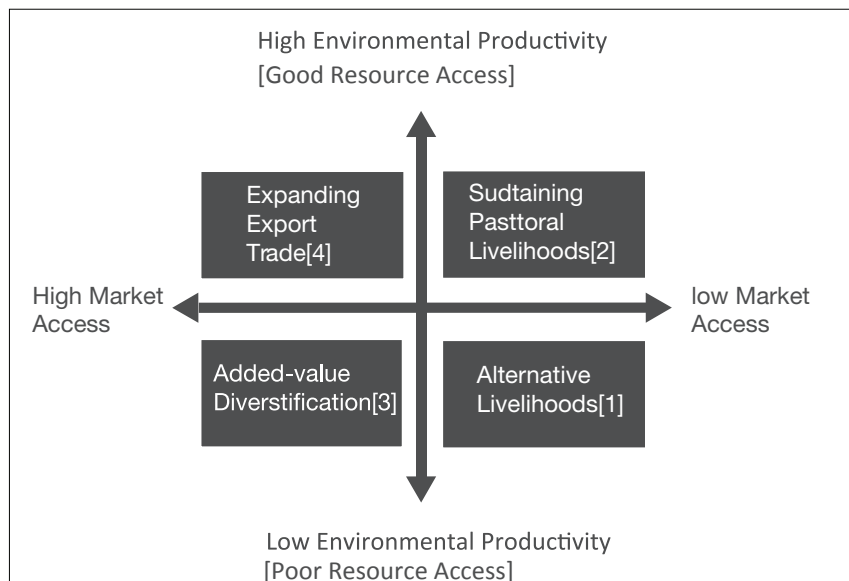
Pastoralists in Ethiopia, like in other African countries, have continuously suffered from a long history of political, economic, and socio-cultural

marginalization. Their problems have been exacerbated by the recurrent and complex natural calamities such as drought, flood, disease etc. The major problems in pastoral areas include lack of appropriate livestock marketing, education, public health, veterinary services, water both for human and for livestock, and rural finance. For instance, the education coverage for the Afar, the Somali, and the SNNP were 10%, 9%, and 12% respectively. Similarly, road and communication are common infrastructure development challenges in the pastoral regions. Population pressure and recurrent drought coupled with lack/shortage of social and economic services have exceeded the traditional mechanisms to cope with such harsh climatic conditions resulting in depletion of pastoralist assets (especially the livestock), food insecurity, and conflict (PFE, 2002).

Pastoralism is still marginalized at policy level. Thus, pastoral policy issues need attention. Accordingly, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia proposed pastoral development policy recommendations notably recognition of pastoralism as a way of life and pastoral livestock production as a production system; recognition and support of the pastoral traditional systems; promotion and assurance of the representation and participation of pastoralists in decision-making processes (political, economic, socio-cultural) that affect their lives and livelihoods; development of pastoral land use systems including tenure security and management practices in harmony with the indigenous communal land use systems; encouragement and support for participation of private sectors and NGOs in pastoral development; preparation of pastoral development extension packages; consideration of livestock as collateral to access for credits; development of community-based disaster management systems and economic and social services; promotion and strengthening of access to livestock marketing; and development of people demoted out of the pastoral system (PFE, 2002).

On the other hand, combining understanding about the natural environment, markets and governance scenarios suggests a range of choices for pastoralists and government in order to sustain and promote economic, social and political integration. Based on rigorous research and real experience, these imaginary futures set for 20 years from 2006 (in 2025), illustrate the dynamics of the pastoral economy and show its potential for adaptation to changing circumstances (UN OCHA-PCI, 2007).

Figure 1: Four Future Scenarios for Pastoralism in Ethiopia



Source: UN OCHA-PCI, 2007

1. Where resources are scarce and livestock markets are inaccessible, some pastoralists would need to find alternative livelihoods, shifting away from pastoralism towards complementary activities such as tourism or financial services.
2. Under circumstances where the natural environment is productive and population pressure is low, where pastoralists have access to good pasture and are active only in national and local markets, many would wish to maintain a livelihood based primarily on the rearing and sale of livestock, sustaining pastoral livelihoods.
3. In conditions where pastoralists are under natural resource pressure, but receive strong demand from national and international markets for pastoral products, members of the pastoralist communities would more likely expand into milk

processing, meat processing and improving the quality of export skins and hides as a strategy for adding value to diversification.

4. If Ethiopian pastoralists and traders gain increasing access to international markets and if natural resources are abundant, they may move quickly to scale up the quality of production to take advantage of high prices for animals and animal products abroad in a scenario of expanding export trade (UN OCHA-PCI, 2007).

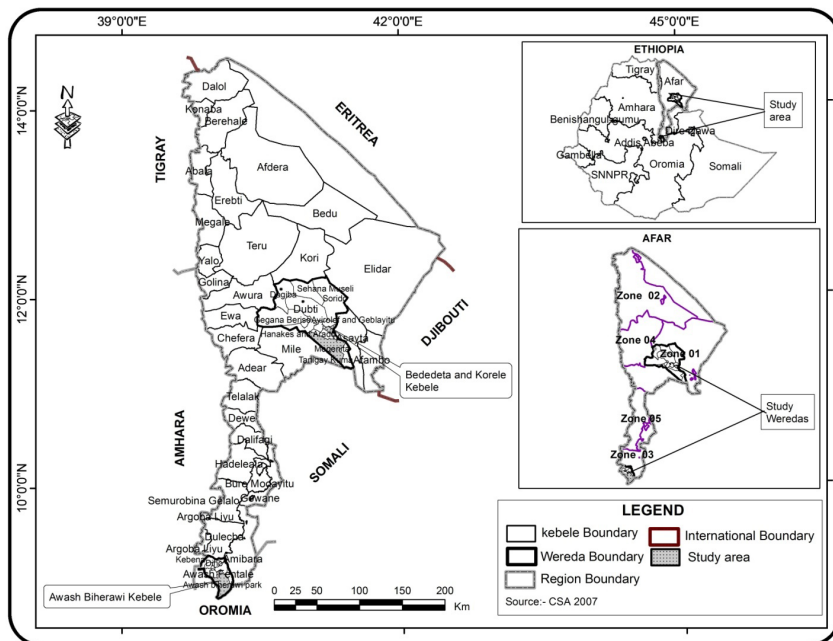
Thus, on the one hand, there is such a scenario. On the other hand, there is government's effort to improve the livelihood of pastoralists by employing various development strategies/policies. Having such a situation, what are the challenges and opportunities of those development strategies/policies in the process of improving the livelihoods of the Afar pastoralists?

3. Study Area Description and Research Methodology

3.1. Study Area Description

Afar is one of the nine regional states of Ethiopia. It is subdivided into five zones comprising 32 districts. Purposively, Dubti and Awash Fentale districts were selected to examine the impact of government development strategies on the Afar pastoralists. Dubti district is bordered by Kori district on the north, Elidar, Assayita and Afambo districts on the east, Ethiopia Somali Region on the south, and Aura, Ewa, Chifra and Mile districts on the west. Awash Fentale district is bordered by Dulecha district on the north, Amibara district on the east, Oromia Region on the south, and Amhara Region on the west.

Figure 2: Map of the Study Sites



Source: Endalew Addis, 2014

3.2. Research Design

A combination of research methods was applied to overcome various weaknesses inherent in different methods (Dawson, 2009). Accordingly, observations, in-depth and key informant interviews, focus group discussions and documentary analysis were used to collect the required data/information for this study.

3.3. Method of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data were gathered. The primary data sources were resourceful individuals such as government officials of different sectors, community workers, community elders, households, and study sites. On the other hand, the secondary data sources were various relevant documents.

Sampling: The study districts and *kebeles* were selected purposively as there are government interventions/projects, specifically Tendaho Sugar Factory and Awash National Park, in those areas. Moreover, key informants and in-depth interview participants were selected purposively. Accordingly, key informants from different sectors in Dubti district of Zone 1 and Awash Fentale district of Zone 3, and one male and one female resourceful household from Bededeta and Korele, and Awash Biherawi Park *kebeles* were interviewed.

Key Informant Interviews: These were employed to get the perception of households and community elders. In-depth key informant interviews are effective methods of collecting information when investigators are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants to phenomena or events (Berg, 2009). Moreover, interview is a flexible and adaptable way of finding things out by offering the possibility of modifying, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives. Non-verbal cues in interviews may also give messages which help in understanding the verbal response, possibly changing or even, in extreme cases, reversing its meaning (Robson, 1993). Accordingly, key informant interviews were applied to get detailed information from appropriate persons and pastoralists themselves.

Focus Group Discussions: They are extremely dynamic, and interactions among and between group members stimulate discussions in which one group member reacts to comments made by another resulting in a “synergistic group effect”. The resulting synergy allows one participant to draw from another or to brainstorm collectively with other members of the group on which a far larger number of ideas, issues, topics, and even solutions to a problem can be generated through group discussion than through individual conversations (Berg, 2009). Accordingly, focus group discussions were applied to get information from different sectors, and pastoralists themselves which would not have been explored by other methods.

Secondary data on various issues were collected from secondary sources. To this end, research conducted in the area, government legal and policy documents and government reports were reviewed.

3.4. Methods of Data Analysis

The data obtained from observations, in-depth and key informant interviews, and focus group discussions were analyzed using qualitative data analysis techniques such as thematic analysis and content analysis where the researcher moves backward and forward between transcripts, memos, notes and the research literature (Dawson, 2009). On the other hand, data from secondary sources were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The researcher has obtained informed consents of key informants, participants in focus group discussions, and organizations with secondary data, *inter-alia*. Anonymity and confidentiality of data were ensured. Moreover, all had the right to refuse to participate.

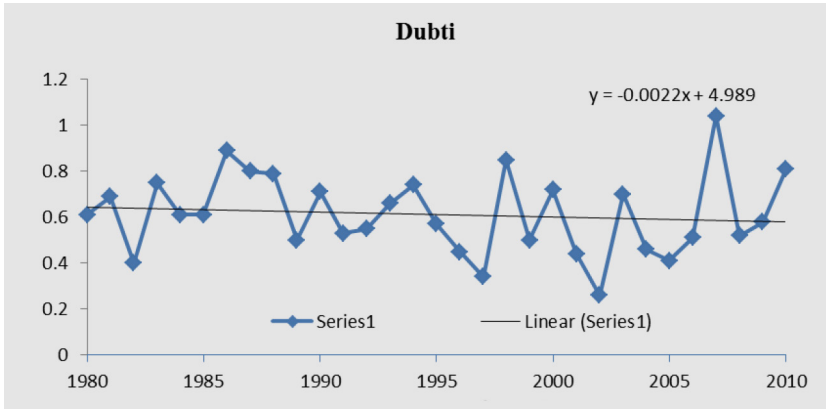
4. Findings and Discussions

This section has examined the environmental and institutional contexts of the study sites, and the opportunities and challenges of government development policies and strategies in relation to the Afar pastoralists.

4.1. Environmental Contexts of the Study Sites

Many indicators can be used for examining climate variability and change. However, rainfall and temperature are the most frequently used indicators; and this study has employed both. Consequently, records from Dubti station made by the Ethiopian National Meteorological Agency (NMA) from 1980-2010 were used as source of data. The data were analyzed to see the trends.

Figure 3: Trend in Annual Average Rainfall of Dubti Station from 1980-2010

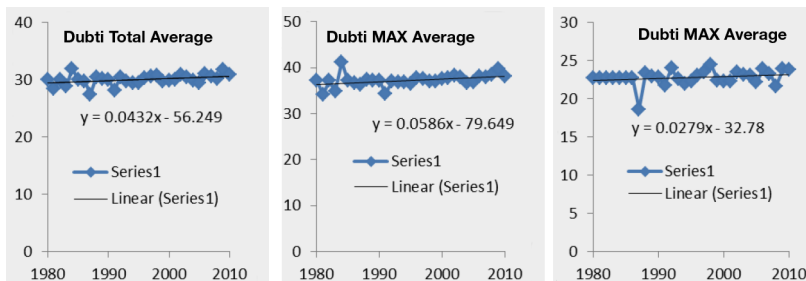


Source: Endalew Addis, 2014

As indicated in Figure 3, rainfall has decreased by 0.07mm in Dubti station in 30 years. More specifically, there was very minimum rainfall in 2002 in Dubti station. Consequently, there was severe drought in this period that had led to livelihood insecurity (World Bank 2010); and studies have also indicated that the frequency of drought has increased from every 5-10 years to 1-2 years (Riche et al 2009). Understandably, as the frequency of drought increases, the possibility of the local people to fall into livelihood insecurity increases. For instance, a 10% decrease in seasonal rainfall from the long-term average generally translates into a 4.4% decrease in the country's food production (von Braun 1991 cited in Woldeamlak 2009). Key informants and participants in focus group discussions also pointed out that rainfall decrease and variability create problems of availability of water and pasture, the two most important inputs for their livestock production.

The other important indicator for climate change is temperature. The trend of temperature in the study site is presented in Figure 4 below. Inputs for the figure were recordings from Dubti Station made by the Ethiopian National Meteorological Agency.

Figure 4: Annual Minimum, Maximum and Total Average Temperature of Dubti Station from 1980-2010



Source: NMA, 2012

As stated in Figure 4 above, total average temperature has increased by 1.3°C in Dubti station in the last 30 years. More specifically, there was very high temperature in 1984. Key informants and participants in focus group discussion have also pointed out that there was a serious drought in that period.

4.2. Institutional Contexts of the Study Sites

Findings show that there are two situations about institutional contexts of the Afar pastoralist areas. On the one hand, there are institutions like Pastoral Development Office, Trade and Transport Office, Rural Road Construction Office, educational institutions, health institutions, and clean water supply office but they are not functioning well. On the other hand, there is no institution working on environmental protection, land use and land administration, and credit giving. Both situations are challenges to the implementation of government development policies/strategies.

4.3. Implementation Opportunities of Government Development Strategies on the Afar Pastoralists

Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP)

The Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan, in addition to targeting livestock resources development in the agricultural sector in

general, provides different opportunities notably in giving attention to livestock, pasture and water in the pastoral areas. Key informants and focus group discussants mentioned that the implementation of the Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan in pastoral areas has created different opportunities in the initiation of pastoralists to participate in the development process through voluntary settlement and practicing irrigation.

Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE)

The Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy initiative has different opportunities. It gives special attention to improving crop and livestock production practices for higher food security and increasing farmers' income while reducing emissions. Participants in the interview and focus group discussions remarked that the implementation of the Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy initiative in pastoral areas opens up opportunities such as expansion of veterinary stations to provide veterinary services for pastoralists' livestock. Moreover, they reported that there are some beginnings by the pastoralists themselves that focus on quality rather than quantity of the livestock. More specifically, a pastoralist from Awash Fentale district said, "I used to raise more of cattle but currently I have shifted to goats and camels as they are more resilient to drought."

Rural Development-related Policies and Strategies

Areas of emphasis of Rural Development Policy and Strategies are giving attention to preparing area-compatible development packages by combining efforts towards diversification and specialization, development efforts in drought-prone regions, and development in pastoral areas. Key informants and focus group discussants pointed out that implementation of Rural Development Policy and Strategies in pastoral areas particularly has the opportunity of availability of ample land resource from among the four factors of production [capital, labor, land and entrepreneurship or management].

Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Policy provides different opportunities as it is totally committed to pastoralism and aims to improve pastoral

livelihoods and asset bases, basic social services, and institutional setups. Interviewees and participants in FGD mentioned that the implementation of the policy offers different opportunities such as enabling different stakeholders to formulate pastoral and agro pastoral programmes and projects and implement them using pastoralist-context strategies to attain objectives of the policy. They further said that through the implementation of appropriate pastoral and agro-pastoral programmes and projects, the livelihood of the pastoralist will improve, and if the lives of pastoralists improve, Ethiopia will improve as pastoralists make nearly one-fourth of the total population and occupy 60% of the total land mass.

Food Security Strategy offers different opportunities as it gives particular attention to pastoral areas in all of its components. It mainly aims at designing useful measures that help regions with less reliable rainfall and pastoral areas; establishing targeted schemes like safety net programme for very poor and vulnerable groups; and strengthening emergency capabilities for monitoring, surveillance, early warning, and food and relief distribution in kind and cash. Participants in the study pointed out that the implementation of Food Security Strategy in pastoral areas can be complemented by informal social protection mechanisms such as Hatota to assist the very poor and vulnerable groups of people.

Disaster Risk Reduction Management Policy provides different opportunities by giving particular attention to the development of different preparedness modalities and the involvement of the community in the planning, programming, implementation and evaluation of all relief projects. Key informants and participants in focus group discussion mentioned that the implementation of this policy in the pastoral areas enjoys different opportunities such as the existence of indigenous knowledge to handle disasters.

Social Protection Policy offers different opportunities as it gives emphasis to the most crucial challenges of pastoralists such as social assistance (safety nets), coverage and quality of basic services including social welfare services for people in especially difficult circumstances. Key informants and focus group discussants pointed out that the

implementation of the policy focuses on creating different opportunities by assisting the very poor and vulnerable groups of people, and improving the coverage and quality of basic services.

Market and Finance-related Proclamations

The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange Proclamation, which totally focuses on crop market, has created initiation especially by paving way for market livestock and livestock products in a modern market. It is in line with this fact that a key informant from Awash Fentale district said, *“The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange Proclamation is striving to benefit crop producers through modern market, and it will be good for us if we get such modern market for our main asset, livestock.”*

The Micro-financing Business Proclamation offers different opportunities by giving remarkable attention to extending loans to groups and individuals without collateral, or group or individual guarantors as appropriate and at the discretion of the institution. Key informants and focus group discussants mentioned that implementation of the proclamation in pastoral areas creates opportunities such as availing credit access to pastoralists so as to diversify their livelihood strategies by employing different income generating activities.

Social Policies

Population Policy has different opportunities particularly in terms of expanding clinical and community-based contraceptive distribution services with particular attention to increasing the availability of male-oriented methods. Participants in the study also commented that the policy is becoming practical in pastoral areas as the awareness and willingness of the people to use contraceptives has increased from time to time.

Health Policy provides opportunities through capacity building, planning, implementing, and monitoring health-related activities. It also facilitates health education; promotive and preventive activities; human resource development; availability of drugs, supplies and equipment; and family health services. Interviewees and focus group discussants said

that the implementation of health policy helped in expansion of health institutions and qualification at various levels of health professionals drawn from the pastoralists themselves. They further remarked that health service has improved to some extent because health professionals with pastoralist background know the culture of the community.

Water Resources Management Policy provides opportunities by focusing on water supply and sanitation to ensure rural drinking water for human-beings and livestock; irrigation and hydropower development to enhance efficient and sustainable development of the water resources and meet the national energy demands; and catering for external markets to earn foreign exchange. Participants in the study mentioned that the implementation of the policy enabled the use of both surface and ground water by employing different technologies.

Education and Training Policy focuses on teacher training and overall professional development; use of mother tongue/local language; integration of education, training, research and development; and support of education with various inputs. Respondents said that implementation of the policy created awareness raising resulting in pastoralists sending their children to school and later to institutions of higher learning. They themselves also attended adult education.

4.4. Implementation Challenges of Government Development Strategies among the Afar Pastoralists

Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP)

Among the Afar pastoralists, the Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan is confronted with challenges such as difficulty in changing work habits and reluctance in implementation of the resettlement programme. Participants in the study pointed out that the implementation of GTP is facing challenges in the area. For instance, maintaining agriculture [including both crop production and livestock production] as a major source of economic growth is one of the GTP's stagey. However, less attention is given to livestock production particularly in the pastoral areas. In relation to this, a pastoralist from Dubti district commented the following.

Rather than forcing us to change our livelihood strategy into farming, particularly through the resettlement program, the government should help us to improve the production and productivity of our livestock through mechanisms such as allowing mobility and provision of comprehensive veterinary services. In so doing, he further argued, it will be possible to earn the whole income gained from several plots of uncertain agricultural production from one camel as a camel currently is worth about 25 thousand Birr.

Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy (CRGE)

The Ethiopian Climate-Resilient Green Economy is facing challenges such as reduction in GHG emissions without improving the quality of livestock in pastoral areas, and increase in the frequency and intensity of drought over time (Endalew and Samuel, 2013). Participants in the study also confirmed the same. For instance, while the strategy has the initiatives of improving crop and livestock production practices for higher food security and farmer income while reducing emissions; large-scale promotion of advanced rural cooking technologies; improving efficiency in the livestock value chain; and Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD), none of these initiatives has been materialized

Rural Development-related Policies and Strategies

The Rural Development Policy and Strategies is facing different challenges in its focus areas of strengthening the agricultural labour force; improving farming skills and knowledge and dissemination of appropriate technology; ensuring the health of farmers; improving rural finance through commercial banks and the rural financial systems, rural banks, and cooperatives; expanding rural infrastructure through expansion of educational and health services; expanding rural road and transport services; improving drinking water supply; and expanding other rural infrastructural services mainly telecommunications and electricity services; and strengthening non-agricultural rural development activities like education, health, trade, marketing, and finance; and strengthening rural-urban linkages. Key informants and focus group discussants also mentioned challenges related to improving

farming skills and knowledge and ensuring dissemination of appropriate technologies. They further hinted that the participation of pastoralists in adult education is very minimal due to several reasons.

The Pastoral and agro-pastoral Policy is confronted with challenges in relation to total commitment to pastoral areas particularly to improving pastoral livelihoods and asset bases, basic social services, and institutional setups. Participants in the study said that the implementation of the policy is confronted by challenges such as lack of awareness among the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities, and problems of integration of traditional and modern institutions to attain the policy objectives. They further added that it requires voluntary settlement so as to change the pastoralists from their mobile way of life to sedentarization. However, they argued that the possibility of mobility should not be totally prohibited as people can settle in agriculturally suitable areas and also move their livestock to the non-agricultural areas appropriate for grazing.

Food Security Strategy has challenges that make targeted programmes like safety net programme for very poor and vulnerable groups, nutrition and health interventions for those at high risk, emergency capabilities through early warning, and food and relief distribution in kind and cash very difficult. Moreover, key informants and focus group discussants pointed out that there are various challenges in implementing some components of food security strategy due to lack of clearly stated criteria for selecting beneficiaries and corrupt practices such as nepotism.

Challenges to Disaster Risk Management Policy include insufficient support for building resilience to future crises, marring of some relief efforts by nepotism and misuse of resources, excessive reliance of disaster response structure on external resources, lack of mechanisms for multi-year or sustainable resource allocation, consideration of disaster management as responsibility of one particular institution, weak and unreliable disaster management information flows both vertically and horizontally, depletion of productive assets to become totally dependent on cycles of relief as relief targets the destitute, errors in exclusion and inclusion of beneficiaries, and inadequacy in preparedness for non-food emergencies. Furthermore, institutions of disaster management

had shortage of skilled manpower and were characterized by frequent turnover of qualified staff and inadequate physical and financial resources and other capacities. Participants in the study also mentioned that the implementation of such limited disaster risk management practice is confronted by other challenges resulting from the emergence of new problems mainly climate change.

Implementation of Social Protection Policy has hindrances of which the major ones are related to social assistance (safety nets), social insurance, health insurance, livelihood and employment schemes (skills development and support to entrepreneurship and household enterprise development); and coverage and quality of basic services such as social welfare for people in especially difficult circumstances. The policy identifies four focus areas: social safety net, livelihood and employment schemes, social insurance, and access to basic services. Challenges in implementing some components of Social Protection policy such as social insurance, according to participants in the study, include the fact that the Ethiopian government has not yet implemented weather index insurance. This is particularly important these days where drought and drought-induced livestock diseases take the lives of many livestock almost every year.

Market and Finance-related Proclamations

The Ethiopian Commodity Exchange proclamation focusing mainly on crop market is not applicable to the pastoral areas. In cognizance of this, the government, in 2014, proclaimed Live Animals Marketing Proclamation (FDRE, 2014) to address market problems of livestock and livestock products especially in the pastoral areas.

Micro-financing Business Proclamation is facing challenges in extending credit to rural and urban pastoralists. Key informants and focus group discussants said that challenges in implementing the policy include unwillingness of the pastoralists to take credit because of various reasons, and the unavailability of credit providing institutions.

Social Policies

Challenges in implementing Population Policy strategies are related to expansion of clinical and community-based contraceptive services in the pastoral areas. Participants in the study mentioned that problems associated with use of family planning contraceptives are some of the hindrances to the implementation of the policy in pastoral areas. They further said that Health Extension Workers go to the pastoralists and it is a good start to reach the unreached. However, a key informant from the Awash Fentale District commented:

The service provided by Health Extension Workers has some problems. For instance, he continued, some of the Health Extension Workers provide contraceptives without taking vital signs and this causes health complications such as hypertension. As a result, some pastoralists are developing a negative attitude towards contraceptives. They think all contraceptives cause hypertension and other severe health problems.

The implementation of some of the strategies of Health Policy such as capacity building including planning, implementation, and monitoring; provision of health education; provision of promotive and preventive activities; development of human resource; and assuring availability of drugs, supplies and equipment is confronted by some challenges. Commenting that the expansion of health institutions is the most important step for availing health services to the pastoralists, participants in the study said that the implementation of the policy is, however, difficult because of shortage of qualified health personnel and lack of medical equipment and instruments particularly in the newly constructed health institutions. Thus, the pastoralists are not receiving the health services intended by the government.

Water Resources Management Policy is facing challenges in providing rural drinking water for human-beings and livestock, developing irrigation and hydropower to enhance efficient and sustainable development of the water resources to meet the national energy demands, and catering for external markets to earn foreign exchange. Key informants and focus group discussants pointed out that the implementation of the policy is confronted by challenges of accessing

clean water supply for human beings. They said that shortage of surface and ground water in the pastoral areas has been created by the establishment and expansion of mega projects. This was substantiated by previous studies that reported mega projects such as expansion of Metehara Sugar Plantation and Awash National Park created shortage of water, and lack of finance and skills created problems in utilization of irrigation scheme among the Karrayu pastoralists (Endalew and Samuel, 2013).

In implementing some of its strategies such as change of curriculum and preparation of corresponding education materials; teachers' training and overall professional development; use of local/mother tongue, national and international languages; integration of education, training, research and development; support of education with appropriate inputs; change of educational organization and management; and financing of education, the Education and Training Policy also has challenges. Participants pointed out that the implementation of teacher training and overall professional development, and enrollment of children in the various educational institutions has various constraints.

5. Conclusions and Policy Implications

5.1. Conclusions

The findings have shown that the implementation of development strategies/policies have both challenges and opportunities. Some of the opportunities are initiation of pastoralists to participate in the development process through voluntary settlement and practicing irrigation; expansion of veterinary stations and services; availability of ample land resource; formulation of strategies related to pastoral and agro-pastoral contexts; and existence of informal social protection mechanisms to assist the very poor and vulnerable groups of people. Moreover, Live Animal Marketing Proclamation is formulated to address problems related to marketing livestock and livestock products and the government is striving to avail credit access to pastoralists so as to diversify their livelihood strategies by employing different income generating activities. Furthermore, there is willingness on the part of the pastoralists to use family planning contraceptives, training

of various-level health professionals from the pastoralists themselves, and awareness of pastoralists to send their children to various levels of educational institutions, and the pastoralists themselves attending adult education.

On the other hand, there are some challenges such as difficulty in changing work habits; resistance to the resettlement programme; little attention given to livestock production; lack of awareness about improved rural cooking technologies; lack of rural finance; lack/shortage of rural infrastructure such as educational and health services, rural road and transport services, drinking water supply, marketing and telecommunications and electricity services; lack of awareness of the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities; lack of clearly stated criteria for selecting beneficiaries for social protection; emergence of new problems such as climate change with an increasing frequency and intensity of drought over time; and non-existence of credit services to pastoralists due to unwillingness of the pastoralists themselves because of various reasons and the unavailability of credit providing institutions. Moreover, there still is a challenge in the provision of family planning services; shortage of qualified health personnel and lack of medical equipment and instruments; lack of surface and ground water; and shortage of teachers and lack of continuous professional development due to various constraints.

5.2. Policy Implications

The conclusion has shown that there are challenges and opportunities in the implementation of various development strategies/policies in the pastoral areas. Hence, it is recommended that different stakeholders should work jointly to minimize the challenges and maximize opportunities particularly by formulating an appropriate and full-fledged pastoral policy, and implementing it accordingly.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Opportunities and Challenges of Government Implementation Strategies in Pastoral Areas: Shinile District, Somali Region, Ethiopia

Yohannes G/michael

Abstract

The study attempts to analyze the sustainability of government development interventions in Shinile pastoral area with better understanding of the livelihood dynamics and rural and urban interfaces. Discussions were made with different stakeholders from the pastoral community, line offices and NGOs. These have been complemented with household survey conducted in different areas of the pastoralists, agro-pastoral and peri-urban areas with wealth rank classifications. The finding indicates that livestock is the basis of livelihood in the rural and peri-urban areas and that its importance is further triggered by savings in the form of livestock, remittance, access to credit and livestock and livestock products, and demand at domestic and international markets. Moreover, the strategy of splitting the family of pastoralists at different locations has served to diversify the livelihoods and create strong rural and urban bondages. It was also found out that the government policy and practices are by and large skewed towards permanent settlement and expansion of crop farming with transfer of modern technologies. However, this approach has stimulated undesirable

outcomes such as risk of vulnerability of farming under arid and semi-arid agro-ecology, conflict in different land uses, rural urban migration, dropouts from pastoralism, high dependence on charcoal making and on safety net supports that triggers the vicious circle of poverty. The study concluded that holistic and integrated approach is the bases of sustainable development. Hence, the empowerment of pastoralists in decision making, reorientation of policy and practices of mobility, revitalization of indigenous knowledge and customary institutions with synergy of modern interventions have been suggested as the foundation to sustainability.

Key words: Pastoralism, livelihoods and sustainability

Background

African pastoralist population is estimated at a quarter of the total population (298 million people). It covers 43% of the total landmass and contributes up to 44% to the GDP of African countries. It is thus a fundamental way of life and production (AU, 2010). Similarly the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist population of Ethiopia is estimated to be close to 15 million. The geographical coverage encompasses seven regional states with more than 61% of the total area of the country (World Bank, 2014; PFE and DF, 2010). In spite of the historic economic, political and social marginalization of the pastoralists in the past regimes and their current entrapment in the vicious circle of poverty, they have significantly contributed to the national economy of Ethiopia. Livestock export, development of big irrigation schemes, tourism, generation of hydro-electric power, and settlement areas for small farming households from the highlands are some to be mentioned (Yohannes, 2003; Yohannes, 2009; Yohannes and Mebratu, 2009).

Pastoralism is characterized by shortage of rainfall and variability in space and time. To adapt to this harsh agro-climate, pastoralists practice diversity of livestock with grazers and browsers having mobility at different thresholds. The fundamental strategies for nomadic pastoralism are mobility, territorial fluidity and reciprocity. Its flexibility and adaptation to the prevailing political landscape and ecological changes attribute to its continuity (Hesse and MacGregor, 2006; Yohannes, 2009). Moreover, compared to modern livestock ranching, nomadic pastoralism is found to be more efficient and effective (Behnke, 1985;

Scoones, 1995). Similarly, the policy framework for pastoralism in Africa by African Union has acknowledged the rationality of pastoralism and the need to empower pastoralists in the development process (AU, 2010). The UN conventions on sustainable development, adaptation to climate change, biodiversity, and minority rights, have also acknowledged the role of indigenous knowledge in adapting to climate change, supporting biodiversity and sustainable development.

Some have predicted that mobile pastoralism, despite many challenges, will continue in the arid and semi-arid areas as no more viable and alternative land use system has been found for these areas. Moreover, the trend in climate change, i.e., the decline in rainfall and increase in temperature makes livestock rearing more viable than crop production. It is also believed that the demand for livestock products will increase with urbanization and modernization and improvement in veterinary services will thus trigger the practice of pastoralism but with different modalities by 2030 (Letali and Lind, 2013; Little, 2013; Fratkin, 2013; Hesse and MacGregor, 2006). Today the pastoralists of Ethiopia are known for their conflicts, drought, and famine and food aid. According to many researchers, the crisis in the pastoral areas is mainly attributed to lack of good governance, knowledge gap about pastoralism, underestimation of the rationality of traditional practices, long-term marginalization of the pastoralists in decision making and policy defects in marketing, land policy, extension, and credit and financial services (Yohannes, 2005; Pavanello, 2009; Lister, 2004; Little *et. al.*, 2010; PCAE, 2006; PFE and DF, 2010; Yohannes, 2009). Moreover, according to Devereux (2006), the fundamental threat to the pastoral system of Ethiopia is the increasing marginalisation of its drought-response mechanisms. Generally, the assumption of solving pastoralist problems with top-down approach is not only marginalisation of the pastoralists in decision making but also underestimation of local competence in solving own problems and thus creating dependency syndrome that paralyses local innovativeness (Yohannes, 2009). Similarly, others have underlined that prolonged drought, overgrazing, land degradation and population pressure in the pastoral areas have attributed to the pastoralist crisis (IIRR, 2004; Mulugeta and Butera 2012; Sandford, 2013).

As pastoralists are heterogeneous, policy interventions need to strategically support the differentiated community with holistic and integrated approaches. In other words, the policy needs to focus on equity of the majority and minority with long-term sustainable development. In Ethiopia, there are already some enabling policy changes by the government including the constitutional right of the pastoralists not to be displaced from their own land, power decentralization to grassroots level, subsidizing of the pastoral economy, formation and reformation of pastoral institutions (Yohannes, 2009). Similarly, the government policy of settlement and crop production with irrigation, complemented with social infrastructural development, has benefited the dropouts in intensifying their production and diversification of their livelihoods. Moreover, with settlement and urbanization, the demand for livestock products has increased benefiting mobile pastoralists as destocking and restocking strategy. Investment in education is also assumed to be the foundation to the diversity of livelihoods in the pastoral areas (Abdullahi 2013, Catley, *et. al.*, 2013; Catley and Aklilu, 2013).

There are also some supportive opinions by the government to small scale irrigation schemes. For example, Sanford (2013) indicated that the poverty of pastoralists is attributed to population growth and poor range management. He suggested that irrigation, as an alternative livelihood, is essential to feed the growing population. The critical comment on the government policy is that it is biased in supporting dropouts from pastoralism but cost effective and sustainable in helping successful pastoralists who contribute to the national economy (Little *et. al.*, 2010; Little, 2013). There are also good practices of the Pastoralist Policy in West Africa where about 15 states, through the ECOWAS decision, agreed in Abuja in 1998 on the cross-border mobility of pastoralists (AU, 2010). On the other hand, some reviews on the pastoral policy indicate contradiction between the constitution and laws, gaps between laws and enforcements and between complementing mobile pastoralism and replacing it.

For example, the 1994 Constitution and the Federal Rural Land Administration and Utilization Proclamation No.89/1997, guarantee pastoralist right to grazing land and rule out displacement. However, in contradiction to this, the former proclamation governing private

investment encouraged investment in the pastoral communal land and claimed that the government is the owner of the land. Proclamation 456/2005 stipulated that the government can change communal land to private. The policy of decentralization of power to the grassroots, on the other hand, is assumed to empower the community to address their needs and priorities. However, in practice this is no better than the decentralization of the financial and government structures as it is also a case in many of the agrarian polices (Catley and Alula, 2010; Lister, 2004; Flintan, 2010; Little *et. al.*, 2010; IIRR, 2004; PCAE, 2006; PFE and DF, 2010; UNOCHA-PCI, 2007; Yohannes, 2009; Yohannes, 2013). Most of the policy gaps in the pastoral areas of Africa are attributed to information gap in pastoralism and the top-down approaches of the policies. With these claims, this study attempts to understand, within the framework of food security and sustainable development, the implications of the policy to the pastoralist community at the grassroots level.

Today, pastoralism is still a top agenda item at the local, national and global levels. The hot spots of conflicts in Africa are mainly the pastoral areas characterized by displacement and proliferation of small arms. Moreover, the global issues of food insecurity, climate change, desertification, refugees, 'terrorism' and governance are more predominant in the pastoral areas than in any other places. Similarly, the exploration of oil and other minerals in such areas is also becoming both an opportunity and a threat. A review of the Ethiopian government's pastoral policies seems to show lots of conflicting ideas. On the one hand, the policies recognize and acknowledge the rationality of the pastoralist system, support local initiatives, and invest on physical infrastructures and social services to facilitate and improve livelihood diversification. On the other hand, the land tenure system, investment policy, and settlement and irrigation schemes seem to be in conflict with the empowerment of the community in decision making. Therefore, this study attempts to understand the impacts of the various policies and their implementation among pastoralists in different areas (pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, peri-urban settlers) and wealth rank groups.

Study Framework and Area

The overall aim of the study is to analyze the sustainability of government development intervention in the pastoralist areas. Methodology-wise,

the study used a combination of methods and approaches including quantitative and qualitative methods, individual household survey, group discussions with key informants and case studies with storytelling and observations of land uses and land cover to gather both primary and secondary data. Shinile District (fig.1) was selected from the Somali Region due a number of factors including prolonged drought, chronic food insecurity, dependence on productive safety net programme, existence of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, implementation of different development interventions by the government, and existence of NGOs and Pastoralist Community Development Project (see also World Bank, 2014).

So, in order to include pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and dropouts currently engaged in different activities, communities in different settlements such as bushes, villages and peri-urban areas were considered as clusters of pilot areas for the study. Each settlement was further classified into wealth rank groups and households representing the groups were interviewed by enumerators using a checklist. Out of the 12 *kebeles* of the district including Shinile Town, three were selected with the help of experts from the agriculture and water offices. These were Harrawa *Kebele* representing the pastoralists, Tome *Kebele* representing the agro-pastoralists, and Shinile Town representing the peri-urban people. A total of 90 sample households was considered from the three pilot areas (Table 1). Moreover, group discussions were made with the *kebele* leaders, elders, women and youth group with a range of three to eight people in each pilot area.

Table 1 Sampled pilot *kebeles* in Shinile District

Wealth Rank	Shinile Town (Peri-urban)	Tome Kebele (Agro-pastoral)	Harrawa Kebele (Pastoral)
Better-off	5	5	5
Medium	10	10	10
Poor female	5	5	5
Poor male	10	10	10
Total	30	30	30

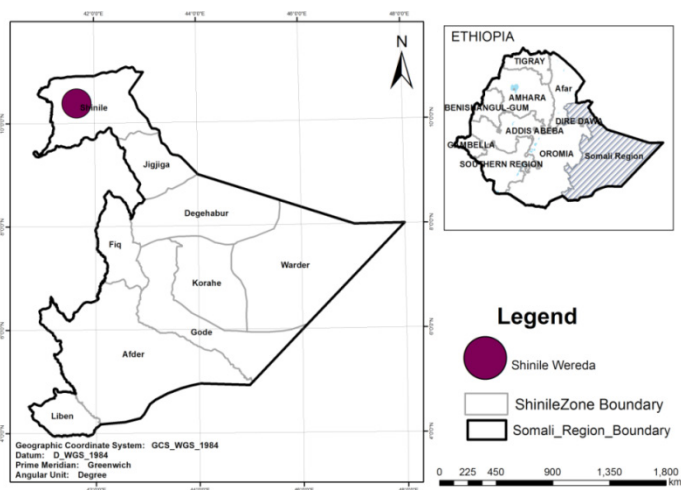


Fig. 1 Location of the study area

According to SC-UK *et. al.*, (2002), Shinile Zone (currently Setti Zone) is one of the nine administrative zones of Somali National Regional State. Lying in the northern most tip of the Region, it borders with Djibouti in the North, Somalia (Somaliland) on the Northeast, Jijiga Zone on the south east, Dire Dawa and Oromia Regions on the south and Afar Region on the west. This geographical location has both an opportunity, as it stimulates marketing, employment opportunities and mobility for the use of pasture and water with reciprocity, and a challenge due to competition over scarce resources for pasture and water. The Shinile District is a semi-arid and arid area with bi-modal rainfall: *Diraa* rainy season (April and May) and *Karan* rainy season (August and September). The dry seasons are *Jilaal* (October to February) and *Hagaa* (June and July). Usually the rain is unreliable and varies in space and time. Annual rainfall is between 500 and 700 mm. Due to prolonged drought in Shinile District, chronic dependence on food aid has become inevitable. In the absence of alternative livelihood options compounded by prolonged drought, the rangeland vegetation has declined mainly due to the expansion of charcoal making.

According to the CSA data of 2007, Shinile District has a total population of 102,574. The female population accounts for 45%. In terms of demography, elderly pastoralists have more than two wives at different locations each with livestock and small businesses. Hence, they have large family size ranging from 15 to 20 persons. However, today with the decline in livestock asset, family size per household is declining while the total population is increasing.

The household survey indicated that, irrespective of location, the better-off family has relatively larger family size (7-9 persons). However, the average family size in the agro-pastoral and pastoral areas is by and large similar (6.4 people per household) with the poor having 5-6 members on average (Table 2). In reality, the demarcation between the pastoralists, the agro-pastoralists and the urban areas is difficult due to the split of the family in the two locations to maximize the opportunities and minimize risks. Nevertheless, the large family size in the town of Shinile is mainly attributed to migration of the people to urban areas attracted by social services, business opportunities and government and NGO supports including safety net programmes.

Table 2 Average family size in the pilot areas

Wealth Status	Shinile	Tome	Harrawa
Better-off	9.4	7.0	8.0
Medium	7.1	6.3	7.2
Poor male	6.5	6.0	6.5
Poor female	5.5	5.0	5.2
Average	7.1	6.1	6.7

The household survey showed that about 77% of the households in the town of Shinile are split between urban and rural areas irrespective of wealth ranks (Fig. 2). Similarly in the agro-pastoral community of Tome *Kebele*, 75% of the households is divided between rural and urban areas while in Harrawa *Kebele* about 67% of the households has a similar distribution. Those economically poor and medium split their families for charcoal making in remote areas and keeping small shoats.

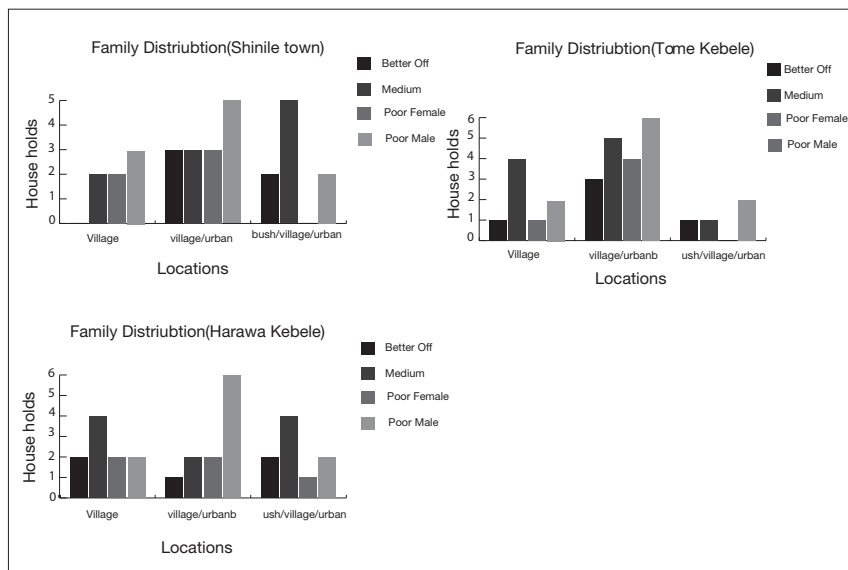


Fig. 2 Household family distribution in different locations

Generally, some remarks can be made about the split of pastoralist families into rural and urban areas. First, government and NGO development interventions in the urban areas, i.e., provision of social services such as health, education, water, access to credit, job opportunities, diversity of livelihood, and safety net programmes attracted many pastoralists to the urban centres. In other words, the pastoralists are taking an advantage of the opportunities in urban centres without losing the rural connection. Second, the livestock sector remains the backbone of the livelihoods of the pastoralist community irrespective of their geographical locations and wealth ranks. It was also observed that in Shinile Town, many of the small tea shops, restaurants, and self-help groups deal with livestock and livestock products. The market demand for livestock products in the urban areas is still very high. Third, it indicates a strong relationship and synergy between the rural and the urban areas in economic, ecological and social fabrics. This also helps to maintain the traditional social safety nets of helping each other as religious and cultural values.

Therefore, development planning in the rural and urban areas in the arid and semi-arid pastoralist system needs to consider a holistic and integrated approach to maximize the synergy and sustainability. Similarly, the policy orientation should base on community initiatives centered around livestock and empowerment of the community in decision making. An elderly man from Shinile Town, in relation to such an interaction says,

I am about 86 years old, with seven children. My wife and some of the children live in the town of Shinile running a small business. Some of the children go to school. The elderly son is married and lives in the village keeping the jointly owned livestock with one of his brothers. Another one is in Djibouti supporting the family with remittance. When the grandchildren are ready for school, some will come to Shinile for education while others will stay looking after livestock to assure the survival of the extended family.

Livelihood Situations of Pastoral Communities in Shinile District

In the urban areas, livestock and trade are usually the fundamental sources of livelihoods (Fig. 3). However, for the medium and the poor, fuel wood and charcoal making complement the small livestock size and opportunity crop farming. Few of the better-offs and the medium income families complement their livelihood with irrigation from the Baraaq Kebele. They have developed a small scale irrigation scheme with the support of PCDDP and a number of pastoralists and non-pastoralists are generating income from vegetables. This implies that irrigation schemes at any location in the pastoral area do not only benefit the local community but also the clan members as a whole.

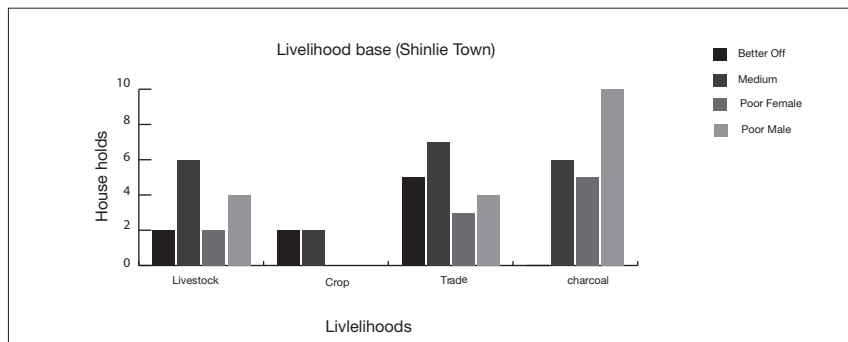


Fig. 3 Livelihood bases in urban areas

Many women in the rural and urban areas are involved in chat business; unfortunately most of the trade is conducted on credit basis. Several of the customers take longer time to pay back what they owe while others migrate to other places without settling the credit. In the absence of other options, the business is just a subsistence livelihood. However, my future aspiration is to become a business woman dealing with other commodities. (A woman from Shinlie Town)

In the agro-pastoral areas, livestock, crop and trade are complementary activities across the wealth rank groups (Fig. 4). Income from charcoal making is also the main means of subsistence for the medium and poor families. In the Tome Kebele, an agro-pastoralist area, rain fed crop farming is characterized by frequent failure and seed is subsidized by the government and NGOs. Usually, crops are harvested for fodder than for use as grain and the community is highly dependent on safety net programme.

The terminology, *agro-pastoralism*, is a very vague and complex expression which has different meanings to different actors. To the government decision makers, experts and development agents, agro-pastoralism is the practice of crop farming and animal rearing as a component of livelihood diversification and food security. It is assumed as a process of sedentarization and modernization. They equate mobility of pastoralists with movement for pasture and water only and believe

that it is solved with boreholes and that crop production is a source of fodder. They underestimate the multiple functions of mobility made to access the biodiversity in the wider unused arid and semi-arid areas, support the mobility nature of livestock like goats and camel, avoid the spread of diseases, and support conservation of resources with minimizing overgrazing. Many NGOs working in Shinile have also similar perceptions and support crop farming and water development. Unfortunately most of the crop production endeavours are characterized by failure than success and many of the agro-pastoralists support their economy with charcoal making and safety net programmes.

For the pastoralists, *agro-pastoralism* has multiple implications: for the dropouts it is a rescue mechanism to enclose private land to harvest fuel wood, charcoal and some opportunistic farming to produce grass, maize or sorghum as fodder for sale. Historically farming is considered as an inferior economic engagement for the poor. Some pastoralists consider *agro-pastoralism* as a password to win the heart of the government and NGOs to access food aid and subsidized agricultural inputs and revolving funds. For others, enclosure of private land as an agro-pastoral activity is keeping a reserve of pasture for irregular drought or renting the land for grazing. Many pastoralists enclosed private lands as a means of protection of pastoral land from occupation by private investors and state development interventions. Still for others, land is an asset. With the increasing of settlements and urbanization, the value of land is expected to go high. It is also a foundation for the strategy of splitting family to occupy different locations with different opportunities. On the other hand, private enclosures are becoming source of conflict as they result in diminishing communal rangelands. Therefore, *agro-pastoralism* as a terminology is very complex and dynamic, and how it is used for appropriate intervention in the framework of pastoralism should be properly understood.

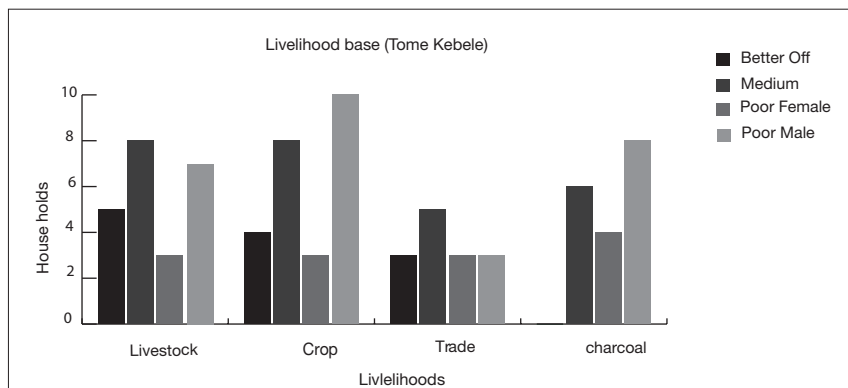


Fig. 4 Livelihood bases in agro-pastoral areas

In pastoral areas, the fundamental livelihood base is livestock complemented by some trade and charcoal making (Fig. 5).

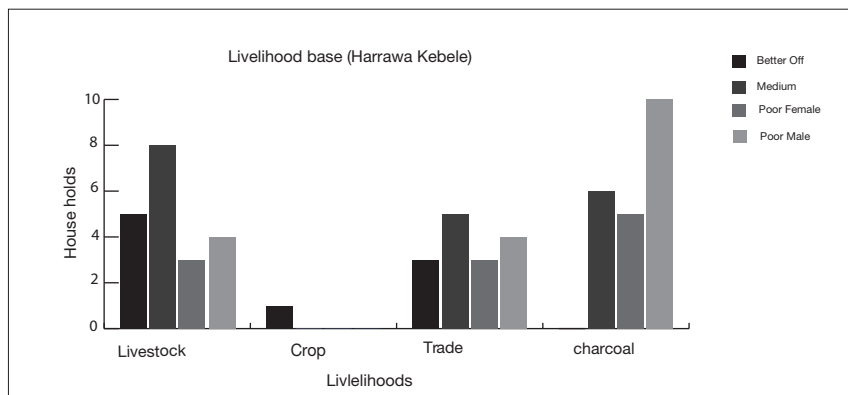


Fig. 5 Livelihood bases in pastoral areas

I am 40 and a mother of seven. I have some shoats and a farming plot. My husband supports the family with fuel wood and charcoal and we participate in the safety net programme. My future aspiration is to remain rearing livestock, doing small businesses and educating my children for a better life. (A woman from Tome Kebele)

Information on livestock ownership at household level was not reliable compared with what was observed at the water points and it seems to have been influenced mainly by dependency on safety net programme. Over 50% of the households in different locations and with different wealth rank said their livestock size is decreasing from time to time (Fig. 6) mainly due to prevalence of irregular drought, shortage of pasture, spread of livestock diseases and sale to cover different household expenses. The increasing trend accounting for 12% is mainly because of restocking of shoats. Some of the dropouts are restocking their livestock using remittance from relatives, income from small business investments, earnings from fattening, meat sale, and credit from micro-finance and revolving funds.

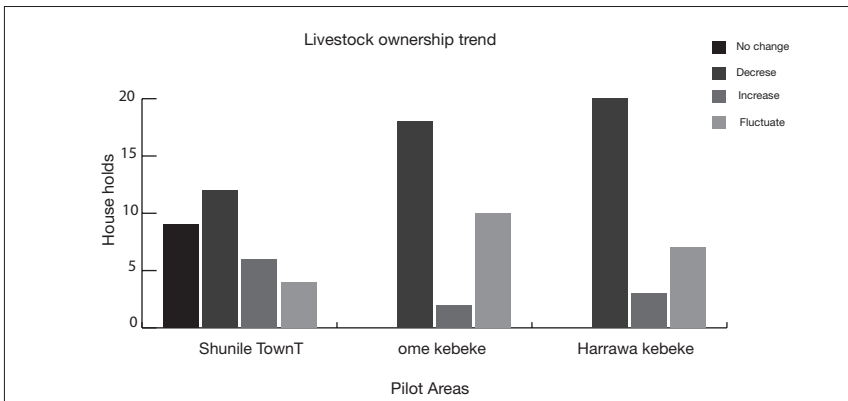


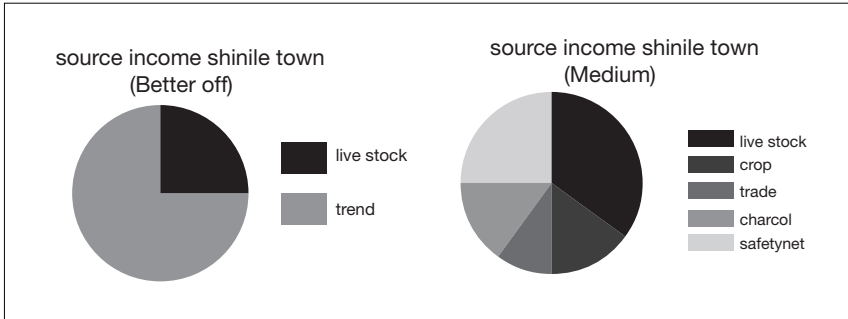
Fig. 6 Trend of livestock ownership at household level

Charcoal making: The prolonged drought and loss of livestock compounded with shortage of alternative livelihoods stimulated several of the poor and medium income families to be engaged in charcoal making as a source of income. Insufficient and unreliable supply of government safety net programme, high demand of charcoal in urban areas, interest of the male elders, adults and youth to expand *khat* farm, and absence of any functional rules to control charcoal making aggravate dependence on charcoal the major source of which is indigenous trees that took many years to grow. The use of prosopis trees is limited as the tree is very thin and has less demand since it quickly changes into ashes while burning.

Charcoal makers in the area estimate that *prosopis juliaflora* accounts for 10-20% of charcoal production. Pack animals now transport charcoal to urban centres and no rent is paid according to the social safety net among the community. No doubt, with the existing speed and scale of charcoal making at the expense of rangeland deforestation and land degradation, the pastoralists will remain in the vicious circle of poverty.

I am 33 years of age and have five children in the town of Shinile. My father died when I was young. Today, I have no livestock and support my family with income from the sale of wood and charcoal in the town of Shinile. Every day, I make an average of 15 Ethiopian Birr. Producing charcoal takes up to four days and I use mainly indigenous trees like acacia and some prosopis juliaflora. My children are too young to assist me. The income I generate is too small to feed them and cover other expenses. I live in Shinile and every month I pay 100 Ethiopian Birr for house rent. (Omer Farah from Shinile town)

Source of income and savings: Both livestock and trade are sources of income across the wealth groups. For the better-offs, the source of income is retail of consumable goods from big shops and earnings from restaurants. Some of them also keep livestock in the rural areas with split family or relatives to support their income (Fig. 7). It was also learnt from group discussions that some of the better-offs generate income by renting houses while others get income from sales of vegetables from irrigation in other localities. One of the agriculture experts said that many better-offs are beneficiaries of irrigation schemes and targeting only the poor is difficult because of the strong clan and sub-clan connections. Similarly, for the medium-income and the poor, livestock and trade are sources of income at a small scale. Few of the medium-income families have some enclosures for cropping around the town. However, charcoal making and safety net support are major sources of income for the medium-income and poor groups. Livestock and charcoal making as sources of income are contradictory and they accelerate land degradation and desertification. Chronic dependence on food aid also retards experimentation and innovativeness of the pastoral community to solve own problems.



Source income Shinile town
(Poor)

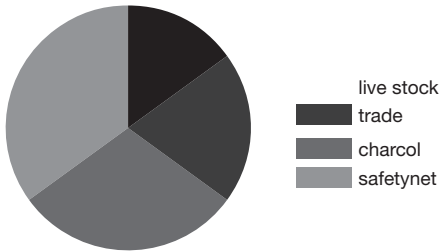


Fig. 7 Source of income across different wealth ranks in Shinile Town

In the agro-pastoral areas, diversity of income is relatively higher as livestock, crop, trade and safety net are crosscutting activities across the wealth rank. However, as already indicated in the livelihoods, crop production is more often characterized by crop failure and becomes a source of fodder than grain production. Similarly, high dependence on charcoal (Fig. 8) is a risk to the livestock sector and to the fragile arid land ecology.

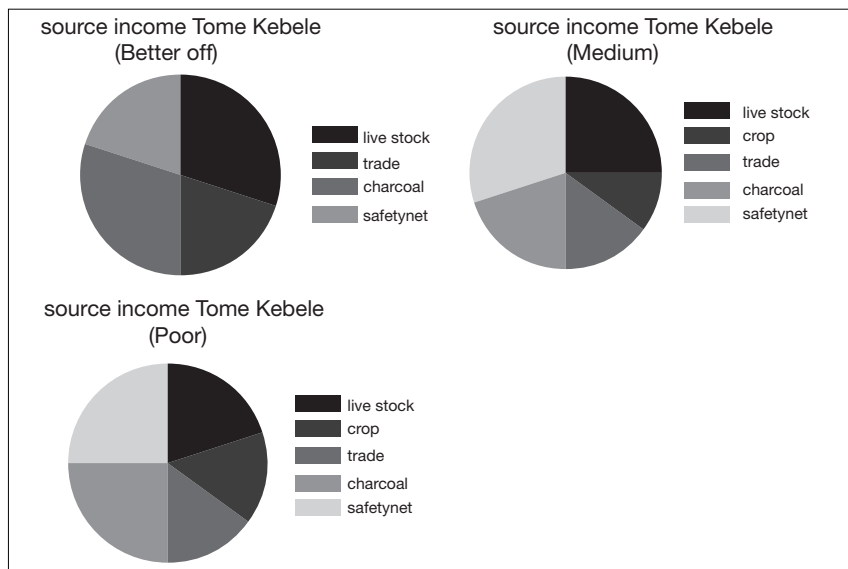


Fig.8 Source of income across different wealth ranks in Tome Kebele

There are similarities in source of income between the agro-pastoralists and pastoralists except for the crops unpopular in the pastoralist areas (Fig. 9). However, today due to the construction by the government of about 40 boreholes in Harrawa area, already 2000ha has been allocated to irrigation and it is expected that a number of pastoralists will be engaged in crop production.

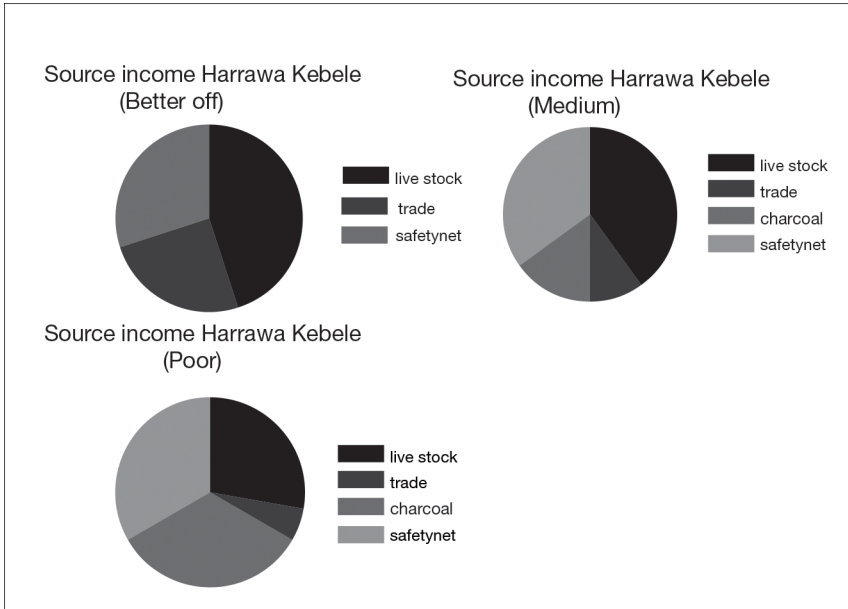


Fig. 9 Source of income across different wealth ranks in Harrawa Kebele

Expenditures are by and large similar across wealth ranks and locations. The main expenditures are on food, animal health and education for their children. Generally, with prolonged drought and diminishing livestock asset compounded with limited PSNP, support is attributed to the subsistence economy in the area. However, some pastoralists sold some of their livestock to establish small businesses while others invested their savings to restock small animals. The investment of savings by women from the different income groups is by and large on livestock. Some keep their livestock in the rural areas with their split family or relatives, or keep them around the town as part of urban agriculture. Keeping savings in the bank is not attractive as they do not, due to religious reasons, collect interest from the bank. The different wealth ranks also invest some of their savings on small businesses and educating their children. Few of them invest on irrigated farming (vegetables) outside their locality (Fig. 10).

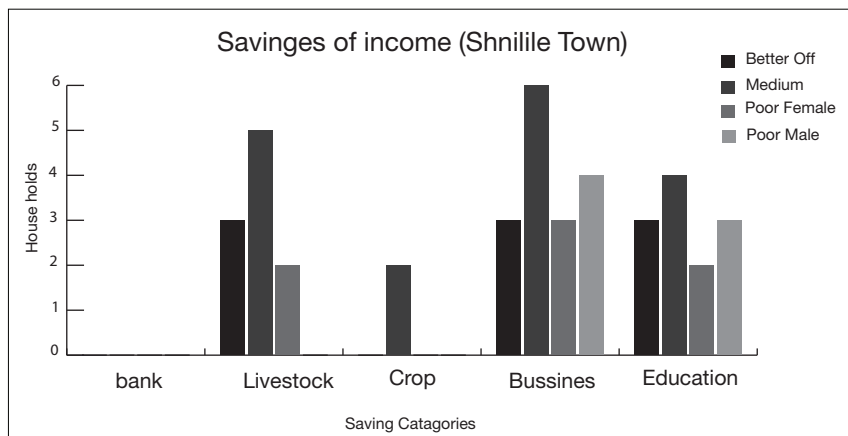


Fig. 10 Investment of savings in the urban area

In the agro-pastoralist areas, the main investment of savings is also on livestock. Investment in business and opportunistic farming is mainly seen as a source of fodder. Educating children is also becoming an increasing trend so as to diversify and transform the economy (Fig. 11).

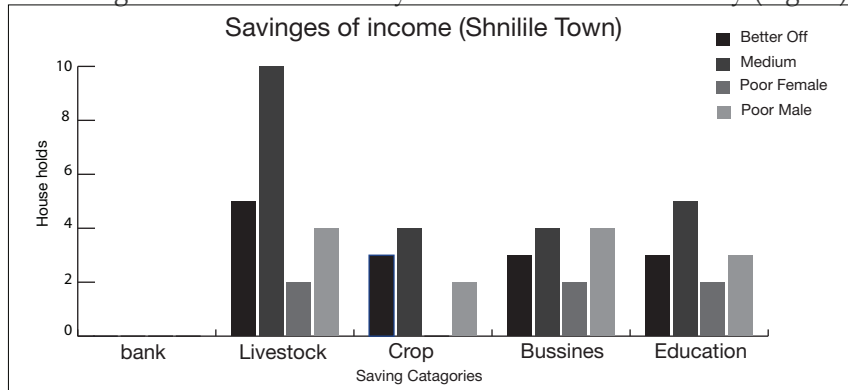


Fig. 11 Investment of savings in agro-pastoral area

Under pastorlism too, investment on livestock is very dominant, although there are growing trends in the areas of business and education. However, with the government's introduction of small scale-irrigation using boreholes, the source of income and areas of investment might

change in the long run (Fig. 12).

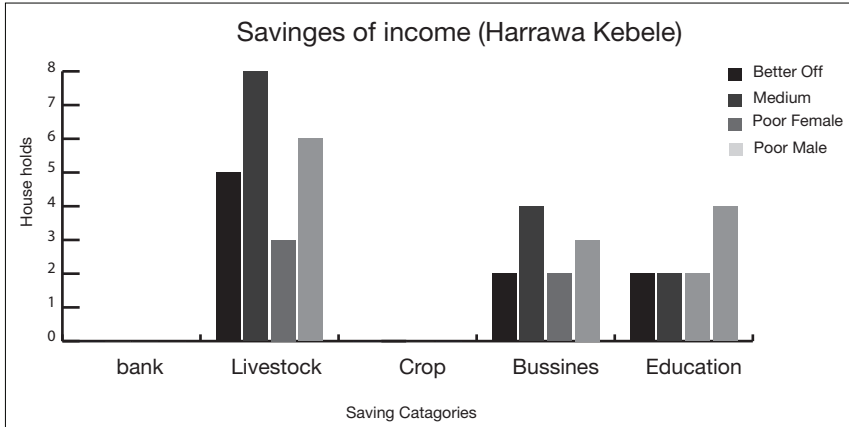


Fig. 12 Investment of savings in pastoral areas

In Somali culture, the social connection among clans, sub-clans and relatives is very strong and they support one another. Accordingly, pastoralists in the pilot areas of the Shinile District received remittance from relatives in different parts of the world. This support helped in diversifying their livelihood, restocking livestock, and moving to urban areas to do business and send children to school. Moreover, some diasporas send their money to be saved in the form of livestock, mainly camel, to assist the clan and sub-clan with camel milk during prolonged drought. According to the household survey, up to 57% of the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists are beneficiaries of remittance irrespective of the amount of wealth they have. This helps to overcome shortage of food during prolonged drought and restock their livestock. Up to 70% of residents in the urban areas benefit from remittance (Fig. 13). This implies that remittance plays a fundamental role in the process of urbanization and modernization.

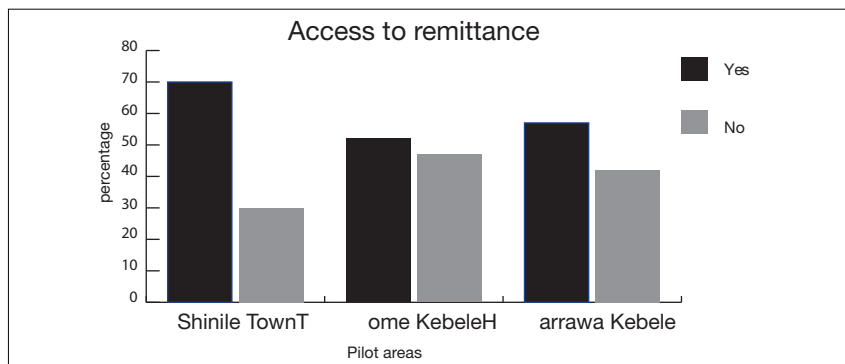


Fig. 13 Access to remittance at household level

Development Interventions in Shinile District: Provision of Social Services and Governance Policy Environment

There are some positive and negative outcomes of government policy and practice on pastoralism. Some of the positives outcomes include the face to face meeting on Pastoralists' Day of pastoralists with higher officials who make decisions on their concern, improvement in physical infrastructures and social services, development of marketing centres, and establishment of micro-finance, and self-help and cooperatives at the grassroots level. The negative outcomes, as identified in the district-level discussions held with pastoralists and line officers, are:

- lack of pastoralist participation in policy formulations and implementations
- long-term sedentarization of pastoralists and underestimation of multiple functions of mobility (ecological, economic and social)
- consideration of farming and sedentarization as modern and pastoralism as backward
- mismatch between policy strategies and implementation

- consideration of government acts as the only vanguard in development process and undermining of community's competence in solving own problems
- lack of information on the rationality and complexity of pastorlism
- unclear land policy on pastoral areas
- underestimation of the practical role indigenous knowledge in the development process
- poor attention given to the economic and environmental sustainability of arid and semi-arid areas

Moreover, pastoralist policies and practices have some conflicts. For example, Article (40) (5) of the Federal Constitution states that "Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands." Fundamentally, this can be practiced with the involvement of pastoralists in decision making and reorganization of customary rules and regulations of land management and utilization. However, pastoralist policy in the Constitution gives less attention to the empowerment and revitalization of customary institutions.

However, the African Union has already established a policy framework for pastorlism in Africa with the fundamental principle of recognizing the viability of pastorlism as a way of life and production system. Moreover, it recognizes and supports the deep-rooted knowledge and experiences of pastoralists in the framework of mobility, territorial fluidity and reciprocity. It also underlines that the empowerment of pastoralists in decision making is a foundation to assuring food security and sustainable resource management in the arid and semi-arid areas of Africa (AU, 2010, see also annex 3). In other words, Ethiopia has a lot to learn from the rationality of AU pastoralist policy framework.

Provisions of social services

Government development interventions in terms of social services are expressed in crop-farming, safety net, water development, education,

health, and micro-finance. In the agro-pastoralist area of Tome Kebele, many of the pastoralists have private land for crop farming. The farm size per household varies from less than half a hectare to more than a hectare. Some of the agro-pastoralists use oxen for ploughing while others hire tractors at the rate of Birr 350 per hour. The seeding date and rate of maize and sorghum also vary from person to person. Usually the agro-pastoralists use drought-resistant local seed and better biomass. They broadcast the seed and later exercise thinning depending on the pattern of rainfall and moisture stress and feed their livestock. However, the erratic nature of rainfall and prolonged drought has usually resulted in crop failure and frequent seeding. The government agricultural extension system introduces agronomic measures such as improved seed with drought resistance, line seeding and early seeding. Moreover, demonstration sites are used for practicing crop farming and agro-pastoralists are subsidized with seed and agricultural tools.

*In our locality, due to unreliability of rainfall, we seed up to three times and usually harvest for fodder than for grain. Moreover, ploughing with tractor costs Birr 350 per hour. Further, there is labour invested on frequent clearing of *prosopis juliaflora* from the cropland. (An agro-pastoralist from Tome Kebele)*

*Farming in our locality has many problems. First, the rain is not reliable and in the past years we did not harvest any crop except some straw for fodder. Second, the crop is easily attacked by wild life and needs to be guarded day and night. Third, it is affected by disease and is colonized by *Garantwaa (prosopis juliaflora)* from time to time. (An agro-pastoralist from Tome Kebele)*

Some work should also be done on the livestock sector particularly on the introduction of improved fodder with exotic grasses such as elephant grass and phalaris at demonstration level. Attempts to introduce improved livestock breed with artificial insemination is also at a piloting level and with limited success, according agricultural experts. With the safety net programme, some enclosures and clearing of *prosopis juliaflora* have taken place but with very limited success as it is highly localized and done haphazardly. Generally, the extension service is a direct copy of the highland package. This problem is compounded with shortage of

budget to support the remote areas. The annual budget at a district level including salary is about Birr 24 million and is highly subsidized by the regional and federal governments. Moreover, modern extension system gives less attention to the deep-rooted pastoral practices on livestock and rangeland management and ethno-veterinary.

In the pastoral area of Harrawa *Kebele*, a total area of 2000 ha has been prepared for small scale irrigation. Forty boreholes have already been dug at the interval of 10 kms. to support the irrigation scheme. About 2000 households have been registered voluntarily and were assigned one hectare each where 50% of the plot was to be used for cereal production, 25% for vegetables and the remaining 25% for fodder and fruit production. Some pastoralists have received training in tractor operation, and the irrigation scheme will be operational very soon. It is assumed it will be a big opportunity for the pastoralists as alternative source of livelihood. However, there might be some challenges as it has already started attracting clan members from different areas and occupations. Infestation by *prosopis juliaflora* is also becoming a serious problem and it needs frequent clearance. There is also a question of how the irrigation scheme can be sustainable under cross-border mobility and reciprocity. Still some lessons can be extracted from the experiences of irrigation schemes in the pastoral areas. A case study on the irrigation schemes in the Afar area has shown that pastoralism per unit area is more profitable than cotton and sugarcane farming. This is without considering the environmental damages such as salinisation, malaria infestation and abandonment of cultivated land possibly caused by irrigation (Behnke and Kerven, 2013).

The fundamental principles of the PSNP assure food security with the protection asset depletion at household level and create assets at communal level with mobilization of labour and grain incentives. In the context of the study area and based on the feedback from the community, elders, women, *kebele* leaders and line office workers, the following major features have been reflected.

- Community leaders have underlined that without the PSNP the magnitude of destitution, the destruction of natural resources, and the extent of conflicts would have been very serious.
- The grain support was insufficient to address the chronically poor and this was worsened by different wealth rank groups, especially the better-offs, having access to the grain support.
- Some of the women indicated that the grain support was for the husbands to cover their *khat* expenses.
- The PSNP is to assist settlers; hence pastoralists were forced to settle as *kebele* members to have access to the grain. This has accelerated settlements and concentrations of population with high dependence on food aid and less attention to the livestock sector.
- Irrespective of the PSNP, many of the target groups were engaged in charcoal making and *khat* chewing.
- The PSNP activities included clearance of *prosopis juliaflora*, rehabilitation of water points, construction of feeder roads, and conservation of soil and water through enclosures of communal land. The activities have been classified as poor in quality and producing no impact. The grain was considered as food for work.
- Some of the NGOs and line office workers indicated that any introduction of new technology is not possible without giving some grain or cash as payment. For example, one of the NGOs introduced an improved charcoal making technology using *prosopis juliaflora* and yet the pastoralists were not interested in utilizing it unless they were regularly given some grain or paid some cash. This implies that they abuse the grain as an incentive to introduce even inappropriate technologies including rain-fed cropping.

We have two fundamental enemies: prosopis juliaflora which destroys our biodiversity, pasture and water sources; and food aid which does

not bring about any change in the life of the pastoralists. It accelerates dependency syndrome and loss of identity as a pastoralist. (An elderly pastoralist from Harrawa)

Generally, it is time to revisit the PSNP and assess its desired and undesired outcomes in the pastoral system. Evaluation should be made of the strategic use of PSNP in the framework of holistic and integrated approach, fitting to the mobility of livestock, revitalizing indigenous practices and customary institutions in the sustainable resource management, and involving the community, including women, in the decision making.

In the 12 *kebeles* of the Shinile District, including the Shinile Town, different sources of water have been constructed by the PCDP project, NGOs and the government. According to the Water and Infrastructure Development Office, the population size of the *kebele* and the spatial distribution of the sub-*kebeles* have been considered in the allocation of different water sources such as boreholes, hand-dug wells and *birkas* in each *kebele*.

It is assumed that a borehole serves a population of 3,500 people; a hand-dug well serves a population 270 people; and a common *birka* serves a population of 70 people for three to four months. Altogether, as shown in Table 3, a total of 11 boreholes, 23 hand-dug wells and 15 common *birkas* are at service of human and livestock watering across the district. At least four of the boreholes use solar system and the community collects some money for running cost and maintenance. Generally, the water points have significantly contributed to accessing clean water and regulating water price. However, the construction of the water points has some limitations. First, it did not consider the spatial distribution of the rangeland and dry and wet season cross-border mobility on reciprocity of different clans and sub-clans beyond the local boundary. Hence, too many pastoralists are attracted to the water points damaging the rangeland around the water points and causing the spread of diseases. Second, due to the frequent damage of the water pumps (appropriateness of technology), *kebeles* with non-functional water points are forced to concentrate on specific water points resulting in water depletion and overgrazing.

Table 3 Water source distribution in Shinile Woreda

No	Kebele	Borehole			Hand-dug well			Birkas		
		Func.	Unfun	Total	Func..	Unfun.	Total	Func.	Unfun.	Total
1	Baraaq	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2
2	Dinley	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
3	Gaad	1	0	1	2	1	3	5	1	6
4	Harawa	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Hare	0	0	0	3	1	4	4	0	4
6	Kalabaydh	1	0	1	4	1	5	1	0	1
7	Mermersa	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
8	Meto	1	0	1	5	1	6	0	0	0
9	Milo	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
10	Shinile	2	0	2	3	1	4	1	0	1
11	Tome	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	2
12	Xadhkaley	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	0	3
	Total	12	1	13	28	5	27	18	2	20

Source: Shinile Woreda Water and Infrastructure Development Office, August, 2014

In terms of education, there are three high schools and 28 elementary schools (grades 1-8) across the district while mobile adult basic education is also practiced in the nomadic areas. By and large, the schools are evenly distributed in the *kebeles* and the average dropout rate is estimated at 15%. Generally, the enrollment of pastoralist children is very encouraging irrespective of urban and rural locations. The household survey showed that there is no family that does not send school-age children to school. Households sending all their children to school account for 37% while those sending half account for 60% (Fig. 14). The rate of enrollment per household is influenced by factors such as number, age, and sex of children; access to livestock in number and kind, main source of livelihood of the household, and access to remittance. In fact, the pastoral community has already observed in their locality that those educated are becoming leaders and civil servants with better life and income, and supporting their family with remittance.

Usually pastoralists do not send all their children to school. They keep those who are responsible and reliable to engage in different activities that ensure survival of the household. The eldest son or daughter might also be kept for marriage or to travel to Djibouti or other places to generate income for the family. After joining school, the children can

drop out any time for several reasons. During prolonged drought, they move with the family. They are also required to quit school and assist in case a family member gets married, is ill or pregnant, or delivers a child. Dropping out is also common if parents divorce. In general, with increase in age the probability for children to withdraw from school is high.

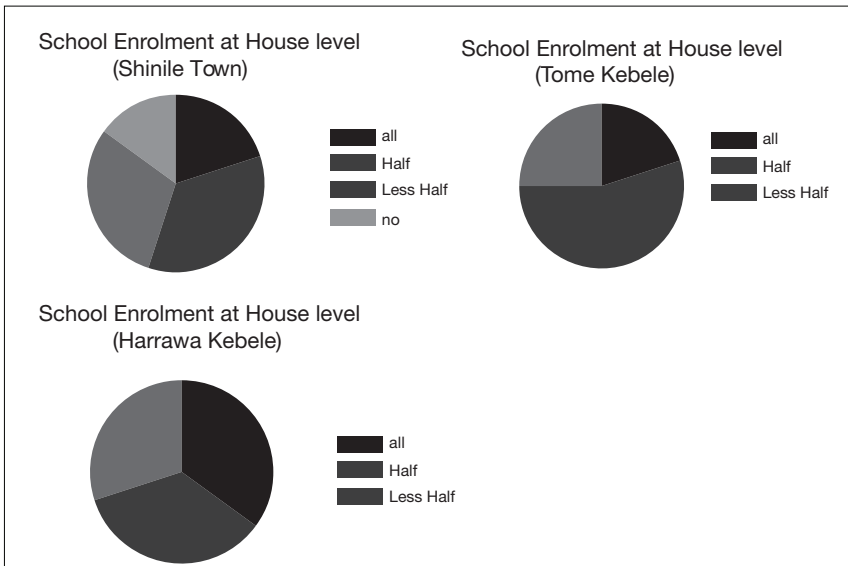


Fig.14 School enrolment in the pilot areas

When we come to health services, the district has 17 health posts distributed in different *kebeles* and sub-*kebeles*. Health extension workers introduce 16 packages that focus on disease prevention, nutrition, hygiene and sanitation, and family planning. There are also 16 animal health posts at *kebele* and sub-*kebele* levels and they monitor disease outbreaks and vaccination of livestock. The health posts are complemented with 17 Community Animal Health Workers (CAHW). Drugs are subsidized by the government and NGOs and this has discouraged private veterinary services.

In general, with the government strategy of ultimate sedentarization of

the pastoral community, social services including school, health services and water supply are in favour of permanent settlement. However, supporting mobile pastoralists with mobile social services has multiple economic, social and ecological benefits. The mobility of livestock with grazers and browsers making optimal use of the natural niches of vegetation in space and time, and range management using traditional rules and regulations contribute to developing resilience to drought, assuring food security and minimizing dropouts, and strengthening the traditional social support mechanisms and sustainable use of resources.

The PCDP project and NGOs have played a fundamental role in the introduction of revolving fund that helped to establish self-help groups and cooperatives so as to diversify their livelihood with the principles of saving and credit. The Somali Micro-finance Institute (SMFI) has been functional in Shinile Town since 2009. Currently there are 42 cooperatives (31 rural and 11 urban) with membership of 1613 people who benefited from SMFI. About 70% of the beneficiaries are women and they are engaged in different activities such as livestock fattening; selling dairy products, meat, and poultry; and running petty trade and horticulture (purchasing from Dire Dawa and selling the Shinile Town). This is very encouraging and needs government intervention. A typical example of commendable effort is that of Zehra Yonus from Tome *Kebele*. She has three children and two of them are attending school. She used to bring charcoal to the city of Dire Dawa on her two donkeys and sell it. After getting credit from the micro-finance, she established a small shop and has now quit charcoal making. She rents the donkeys to transport water and her aspiration is to expand the business and educate her children.

Governance: In pastoral areas, customary institutions represented by elders play a fundamental role in resolving conflicts, regulating social safety nets, and managing common resources in the framework of mobility, territorial fluidity and reciprocity. Usually knowledge, experience, generosity and accountability dominate the features of the elders. However, today with the government polices and development interventions, there are increasing modifications on the organizational structure of the pastoralists. The Regional Government of Somali, under the national federal system, is classified into different zones, districts and *kebeles*, the last being the lowest administrative unit. In each district,

different line offices with inter-disciplinary experts that implement government policies of modernization are established. At *kebele* level, development agents (DAs) are assigned by the government to introduce modern technologies on agronomy, livestock, natural resource management, and human and livestock health services. The district and *kebele* administration, as government representatives, guide, facilitate and monitor the development process. In other words, decision makers in the livelihood of the pastoralists include customary institutions, government line offices, development agents, district and *kebele* administration, and NGOs. Moreover, as a component of food security strategy, productive safety net, crop, fruit seeds, and agricultural tools are used as incentives to introduce modern technologies.

Members of the community were asked as to who is involved in decision making about their livelihood. Responses showed that different organizations are involved in urban and rural areas. In urban areas, government institutions and *kebeles* have fundamental roles while customary institutions are involved more in social safety nets, and household and community disputes over land issues (see Fig.15). Similarly, in the agro-pastoral areas, the government and *kebeles* are the major decision makers while customary institutions tend to be more active in conflict resolutions. NGOs usually function in filling the gaps that government interventions could not cover. In pastoral areas, the role of customary institutions is very dominant. However, with the expansion of settlement programmes and government development interventions, the influence of the government and *kebeles* is getting stronger. The current development of irrigation schemes with 40 boreholes in Harrawa *kebele* is guided by the government and *kebele* officials.

Since January 1999, Ethiopian Pastoralists' Day is celebrated in different pastoral areas of the country with the presence of higher level decision-makers including the Prime Minister. The pastoral communities express their needs and priorities in face to face discussions and come to resolutions. It is assumed that there is an increasing success in the development of physical infrastructures and social services in the pastoral areas. However, none of the frequent questions and discussions on the different pastoral days has influenced the government policy of voluntary sedentarization and crop farming within the framework

of mobility. This problem has been compounded with the absence of pastoralist activists to monitor and defend the pastoralist rights.

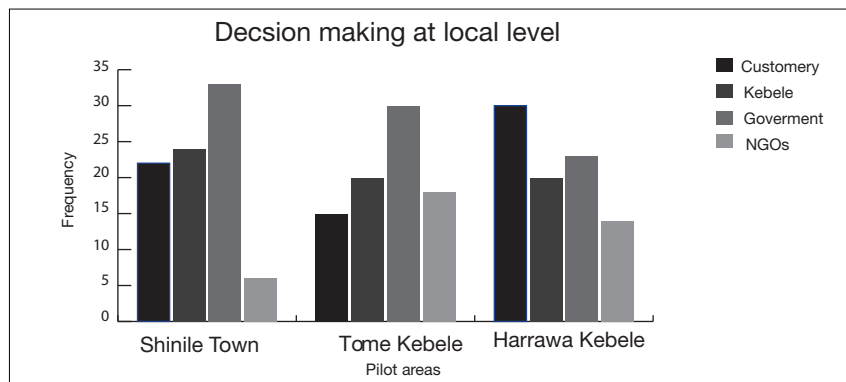


Fig. 15 Decision making at local level in the pilot areas

Accountability-wise, government institutions are considered accountable in urban areas while in the rural areas, accountability is skewed towards customary institution (Fig.16). This implies that the involvement of different institution is fundamental in any dialogue that upholds the interest and priorities of the pastoral community.

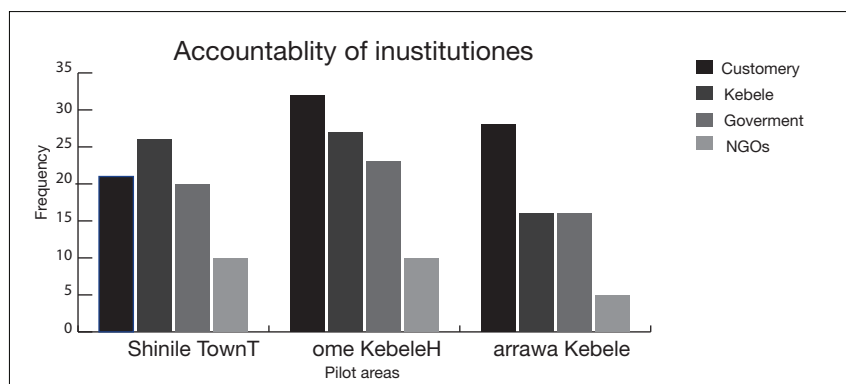


Fig.16 Accountability of grassroots institutions

Conclusion

Livestock is the basis of livelihoods in the nomadic, ago-pastoral and peri-urban areas. The savings in the form of livestock, access to remittance and credit, high domestic and international market demand for livestock and livestock products, and split of the family in different locations attribute to the crosscutting role of livestock. However, restriction of mobility and deforestation of rangelands brought the livestock sector to risk. Development strategies and practices, by and large, indicate that there are enabling government policies that support the pastoral community. However, there are gaps in interventions that resulted in undesirable outcomes such as increased vulnerability to risks, land degradation and food insecurity. Moreover, the shift away from mobility of livestock to sedentarization, from communal land ownership managed by customary institutions to individual ownership aimed at maximizing profits and possibly leading to conflicts, deforestation and dropouts from pastoralism are undesirable consequences. There is also a shift of replacing the deep-rooted indigenous knowledge and local innovation with modern technologies that could have a number of risks and may result in high dependency syndrome and vicious circle of poverty.

Pastoralism is a very complex and diverse system with high sensitivity and dynamics demanding better understanding. To evaluate the system, it needs to be seen against indicators of sustainability including ecological soundness, economic viability and social acceptability. Hence a system with diversity of livestock, mobility with territorial fluidity and reciprocity, customary institutions with deep-rooted resource management, conflicts resolutions and strong social safety nets are point of departure for food security and sustainable resource management. Therefore, as underlined in the AU policy framework for pastoralism, the empowerment of the pastoral community in decision making, supporting mobility, revitalizing of the customary institution with gender sensitivity, planning beyond local boundaries and introducing pastoralist tailored social financial and market facilities are the foundation for sustainable development.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Government Development Strategies in the Borana Pastoral Lowland of Southern Ethiopia: Lessons Learned

Boru Shana Gufu

Abstract

This study examines current government development strategies and implementation among the Borana Oromo of southern Ethiopia. The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were gathered through focus group discussion, key informant interview, observation and case studies. Findings of the study showed that the Ethiopian government has not up until now developed an official development policy to be used in the pastoral context but is rather trying to blend pastoral and agrarian policies in a single pot. The recurrent policies are sectoral in nature and follow top-down planning approach with an attempt to transform pastoralism into sedentary way of life in short, medium and long-term basis. There is, indeed, a wide gap between the policy prescriptions and actual implementation at front line. Among the Borana pastoralists, the ongoing strategies to ensure the policy tenets are agricultural promotion in dryland areas, productive safety net programme, watershed development scheme, capacity building programme by promoting good governance at local levels, villagization projects, and the cooperative and state ranch. These development strategies de-linked themselves from the target population during planning and implementation and left

the pastoralists custodians of decisions made by constituencies in the state apparatus. Consequently, these strategies are marked by incompatibility and counter productivity as they result in negative socio-economic and ecological changes because they forcibly evicted the pastoral communities from their livelihood. Serious degradation of rangeland due to increasing permanent settlement and regime changes are causing declining livestock owned by the pastoralist families. Following the demise and replacement of customary social institutions of mutual support by 'kebele' structure, the huge gap between early warning and early response is instigating faster exit from pastoralism thereby resulting in aid dependence and destitution. Hence, Borana pastoralism cannot be complemented with any sedentary form of government initiative. If the Ethiopian government ever wants to genuinely respond to the livelihood crisis facing Borana pastoralists, it has to stop implementing heuristic strategies which are incompatible with adaptive capacities that pastoralists developed in an extremely unforeseen environment. Failure to do that may result in increasing chronic food insecurity and inflict extreme obstacle to future poverty reduction efforts in the area.

Key words: *Pastoralism, development policies and strategies, Borana*

1.Introduction

Africa constitutes one half of the world's pastoral peoples. About 13 million Africans are making much of their livelihood from pastoralism and another 9 million are pursuing agro-pastoral economy (Jankhe, 1982; Fratkin, 2001). Pastoralism is a way of life for some 20 million people across sub-Saharan Africa (FAC CAADP, 2012). African pastoralists vehemently depend on livestock and its produces for cash income and food whilst livestock production is tracked by mobile lifestyle in accordance with changing grazing system (Baxter, 1991; Scoones, 1995).

Pastoralism is practiced in a sensitive and uncertain environment characterized by highly spatial and temporal rainfall distribution often resulting in long dry periods (Scoones, 1995). In spite of the remarkable resilience they had exhibited, pastoralist societies are encountering the worst threat to their livelihoods now than any time in the past (Fratkin, 1997; Devereux and Scoones, 2007; Davies, 2008; Morton, 2010). This is chiefly due to multifaceted pressures such as inappropriate development

policies and programmes, institutional erosions, and land degradation and consequent pastoralist vulnerability which poses threat to the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods elsewhere in Africa and in Ethiopia in particular (Scoones, 1995; Helland, 2000; Homann et al, 2004).

Among the Borana pastoralists, following unfolding livelihood vulnerability, the question of sustainability and ways of mitigating such a setback is yet to be resolved. Numerous studies such as Oba, 1998; Helland, 2000; Boku, 2008; and Boru, 2012 have been conducted in relation to the misfit between government policies and pastoral life and recommended the significance of crafting pro-poor pastoralist-sensitive policies at multiple levels. The studies underscored the disequilibrium in ecology and the feasibility of traditional opportunistic management system as panacea to ensure sustainable pastoralism and livelihood security. Another line of contention also emphasizes the viability of customary institutions as a form of governance suited to mobile life style grounded in pastoral adaptation. Of course, while such studies had played remarkable role in influencing the built ideologies about pastoral production in the mainstream government policy and public discourse, such efforts had little influence on specifically examining the prevailing government development strategies at play in the traditional pastoral system. My own study (Boru, 2012) on the resilience of Borana pastoral system also grossly focused on the overall development intervention (government and NGOs) and its effect on the pastoralist community in question and had resumed little picture on the specific issues of government development strategies and its implication for tackling overriding crisis facing the pastoral households. Attempts to selectively analyze government development intervention strategies along with pastoralist perceptions and alternatives are issues demanding systematic empirical information through reconciling dynamic knowledge systems. It is quite desirable to critically scrutinize government intervention strategies from the very planning approach to its local practical impact. Especially, the gap between early warning and early response of government strategies has won little attention from researches. This means the comparative analysis of traditional pastoral coping/adaptive strategies and government development policy and programmes via utilizing policy-community model is found to be a significant missing link in the Borana pastoral system. This is, indeed, what taunted this study to take place.

In this milieu, this study primarily emphasizes documenting and analyzing government policy and development strategies in the Borana pastoral lowland. The study also centres on delivering empirical lessons on the government development strategies and its implementation and pastoralist response to government development strategies. It also documents strategic policy implications for sustainable pastoral production and sustainable management of key livelihood assets such as rangeland.

2. Objectives of the Study

General Objective

The overall aim of the research is to document and analyze government policy and development strategies in the Borana pastoral lowland of southern Ethiopia.

Specific objectives

More specifically, this study has been designed to:

- investigate government development strategies and implementations in the pastoral areas
- analyze pastoralist responses to government development strategies
- document policy and strategic implications in the framework of food security and sustainable resource management

3. Research Methodology

This study was conducted in four pastoral systems of Yaballo and Dirre districts of Boran Zone. As the very nature of this study necessitates the tendency to oscillate between two knowledge systems, the community perception and policy tenets and implementations, heavy reliance has been made on utilizing qualitative approach in the course of conducting this study. In other words, this kind of approach is crucial in order to tune into the current reflexive approach in the qualitative research (Creswell, 2009; Prowse, 2010). In this regard, local people's subjective evaluation

of the government policy and implementation strategies was critical as households, the local elders (*jaarsa*), counsellors (*hayyuu*), village heads (*abba olla*), grazing counsellors (*jaarsa dheedaa*) etc. generated critical data on the pertinent research questions. Of course, the use of participatory model was realized through flexible and interactive social process. The study used both primary and secondary data sources. First hand data were collected through focus group discussion (FGD), key informant interview, observation and case studies.

3.1. Sampling Method

This study used non probability sampling technique in which the pastoral districts of Yabello and Dirre were purposively selected. The logic behind selecting these two systems was that they have been experiencing the dynamics of government policy and intervention. In addition, these two areas were considered as the main grazing systems that make the core of Borana pastoralism. On the other hand, pastoral clusters and households in each district were randomly selected through lottery method. The case selection for focus group discussion, key informant interview, household case study and selections of events for observation at each pastoral unit was based on purposive sampling putting the level of data saturation as optimum threshold. Eight FGD's were conducted at four pastoral associations (PA) and five key informant interviews were held at each pastoral system. Observation of development schemes and narrative case studies were put to use. Gathered data were analyzed thematically as multiple cases were blended and categorized in order to address the basic research question.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The General Policy Context and Development Strategies: A Brief Overview

The history of Ethiopian development policy and intervention in the pastoral areas largely neglected the plight of pastoral societies and de-facto marginalized them in the overall socio-economic and political mainstream. It is due to this great misfit that the highland-oriented policies of the successive Ethiopian governments showed backlash since the Imperial regime's River Basin Development Plan which put

agricultural intensification as panacea to ensure national food security within five years (Hogg, 1997; Oba, 1998). Right from the 1960's to the end of 2000, a series of development projects such as the Pilot Projects implemented by the joint effort of the Ethiopian government and USAID, the Livestock Development Projects funded by the African Development Bank and World Bank – notably the sub-projects under Third Livestock Development Projects (NERDU, JIRDU and SORDU) were implemented under the rubric of national economic development slogan. Strikingly, none of these projects produced successful results but paradoxically posed far reaching ramifications to the pastoral lands and livelihoods. This was primarily due to the fact that: one, these projects were designed based on highland models and sectoral in nature; two, they did not involve the pastoral societies in decision making process and they pursued top-down intervention approach; three, policy makers have wrong perception about pastoral societies and their economic production system; four, the policies laid huge emphasis on livestock development rather than on the livelihoods of the pastoral communities in question.

Following the demise of military government in 1991, the Transitional Government Charter brought a new schema to the socio-economic and political life of the Ethiopian society which rooted its edifice of decentralized system of governance at regionally disaggregated ethnic groups. It was in 1995 that the Ethiopian government for the first time issued a constitution which provides pastoralists with some consideration. Of course, two articles issued in the constitution are worth mentioning despite constraints. Article 40 reads:

Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1995).

Another article, Article 41 reads:

Pastoralists have the right to receive fair prices for their products that would lead to improvement in their conditions of life which should be the objective that guides the state in the formulation of economic, social and development policies (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1995).

In order to make plausible argument on this state of affairs, let us look at succinct review of major development policy documents of the incumbent Ethiopian government in the pastoral context. The National Development Strategy under the Second Five-year Development Plan of 2000-2005 subsumes major development strategies and policy actions which include: Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS); Capacity Building Strategy (CBS); and Strategy of Democratization (SD). Under these tenets, the plan emphasized that pastoral societies were often mistreated in the national development processes and added that present strategies would henceforth enhance the livelihoods of pastoral communities mainly through extending agricultural production in the pastoral areas. It was further suggested that the enhancement would happen through permanent settlement of pastoralists, conservation of natural resources, water development and livestock extension programmes, introduction of new varieties of grasses and vegetables, and development of markets for dairy products.

Another crucial national policy document which needs focus is the national Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). In Ethiopia PRSP was initiated in August 2001. Prior to that, of course, the government had already had a series of national development strategy documents. These include: the Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI), the Third Five-year Development Plan, and the National Food Security Strategy. Indeed, PRSP was introduced as a programme integrating all these. In principle, the interim Poverty Reduction Programme was deemed to be implemented in a transparent and participatory fashion where various stakeholders have their say during planning and implementation. The first generation of PRSP was initiated with the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) produced in 2002. The fundamental mission of SDPRP for the pastoral concern was permanent settlement of pastoral societies via selective and voluntary settlement. Reviews of this document display that in spite of putting much emphasis on supporting villagization and permanent settlement of pastoralists through sedentary agriculture, there were some other fundamental strategies envisaged in order to enhance the income basis and food security among pastoral communities. The first one was the backstopping effort to build market centres and thereby integrate livestock production into national economic development process. The

second was to put considerable focus on supporting and improving livestock productivity via sustainable development of fodder and pasture through irrigation channels. The third was to take up environmental rehabilitation programmes and development of veterinary services. Noticeably, there were some promises of strategies in the document which tended to optimize the mobile lifestyle of pastoralists in terms of facilitating mobile social services such as health and education for the pastoral groups who are yet pursuing mobile livelihood style despite the foreseen sedentarization. This implies that the government of Ethiopia would concurrently support both settled and mobile pastoralists. The plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) represents the second generation of the PRSP process. In fact, the development policies and strategies pursued during SDPRP were the basis for the Five-year Development Plan in PASDEP.

Another important government document sought for review was Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS) initiated in 2002. Despite little consideration of pastoral concern through bifurcate strategies of short term, medium term and long term, just like the SDPRP and PASDEP, the document in its overall skeleton, resonates much focus on crop cultivation. In this regard, the short and medium term development strategies tend to place support for sustainable pastorlism by strengthening community management of the rangelands. Nonetheless, the long term strategies of RDPS again turn to navigate towards sedentarization of pastoralists through irrigated agriculture. This long term strategy embraces two strategic approaches: 1) Extensive and basic training on settled farming system to be given to the pastoralists; and 2) Undertaking the settlement activity step by step. Finally, the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of 2010/11-2014/15 was the most recent national strategic document. In the currently culminating strategic actions of GTP, the stipulations with regard to pastoralists are replica of the previous national documents and promotion of agriculture and encouraging of voluntary settlement are sought to improve the livelihoods of the pastoral communities in question.

4.2. Government Development Strategies in the Borana Pastoral System: A Curse or Blessings?

In this section, analysis of current government development strategies

among the Borana pastoralists has been made. The primary information contained in this part heavily relies on empirical field data obtained in the selected pastoral systems of Yaballo and Dirre districts of Borana Zone.

4.3. The Promotion of Rain-fed Agriculture

Ignited by the above policy prescriptions, the government of Ethiopia since the Imperial regime has been implementing agricultural development projects in the agro-ecologically varied Borana rangelands. Among the Borana, according to male elders⁴⁹ in the FGD, unlike other pastoral areas of Ethiopia, there are no possibilities of irrigated agriculture. In spite of this, the proliferation of cultivated agricultural land is becoming a rule than an option. As captured in interviews with local level officials, promotion of agriculture is among the fundamental government strategies to be used to reduce risks among the pastoral communities. In this light, the land put to crop production has been increasing since the last four decades. In fact, the extent to which pastoral households are practicing farming is at variance with facts among different pastoral associations (PA's) of Yaballo and Dirre districts. Regarding the promotion of agricultural production as a viable strategy by government, a PA level government official⁵⁰ in Harweyyu stated the following:

In Harweyyu farming is a relatively recent practice compared to other PA's in Yaballo district. These days as dependence on livestock is becoming less reliable, based on the plan from federal and regional governments, we are insisting that our community further take up and intensify crop production rather than hanging on to dwindling herds. The support from the government and the recurrent drought hurting the livestock more than any time in the past has now taught our community the value of farming as an alternative livelihood strategy. I think, one thing that has to be underlined is the rudimentary farming skills and tactics of the households; they need training.

⁴⁹ FGD with male elders at Dida Hara, held on August 10, 2014; at Dubuluq held on July 7, 2014 and at Harweyyu, held on July 27, 2014

⁵⁰ Garbi Adi, interviewed at Didibisa (Harweyyu PA) on July 27, 2014

The prime objective of promoting agriculture in the pastoral system as the above interview indicated is to make pastoral communities settle permanently via dependence on rain-fed agriculture and thereby improve their income and reduce drought induced vulnerabilities.

In Dirre district, pastoral households in Dubuluq and Harallo have the tendency to practice agriculture more than the communities in Yaballo district. Communities in these two PA's have had long time experience of government-driven agricultural experience. In Dubuluq, following the drought of Gada Boru Madha (1999 and 2000), communities are urged by state strategies to commence farming by settling around prominent urban fringes. As the FGD in Harallo depicted, communities in the area have practiced farming for long – starting from the time when the Ethiopian government facilitated resettlement following the tragic war between Ethiopia and Somalia (Ogaden war). This is a community that fell victim to the war and lost its livelihood strategies to farming after resettlement in the peri-urban system. It is obvious that the agricultural practice in Dirre District has, year after year, annexed plots that were previously used as grazing lands. According to Borana Zone annual report of agricultural development (2014), only in the dryland districts, over 100,373 hectares of land has been prepared for agricultural extension programme. The strategic intervention tools were 1) provision of higher yielding crop varieties, 2) preparation of land for possible irrigation during expected rainy seasons, 3) expansion of agricultural technologies, 4) supply and distribution of fertilizers such as dap and urea. In this backdrop, irrigation was planned in three phases in anticipation of availability of short (*hagayya*) and long (*ganna*) rainy seasons. The report indicated that the intended agricultural activities are dismal due to failure of short and long rains and thus the outcome was far less than anticipated.

On the other hand, despite the envisaged agricultural projects, the Borana household livelihood scenarios depict that there are remarkable discrepancies among households in their motivation for crop cultivation which is indeed becoming more apparent since the last ten years. This

means participation in farming portrays two counter-acting scenarios. One, agriculture is a livelihood diversifying mechanism for the poor pastoral groups residing in peri-urban areas as seen in the case of Harallo and Dubuluq of Dirre District. Two, for the relatively wealthy households in terms of herd owning, agriculture is a threat to livestock rearing as it results in fragmentation of rangeland. There is severe competition between livestock production and crop production. This, in turn, means, the more households take on agricultural land, the more shrinkage in household livestock holding status. For example, in Dida Hara system, which was a prestigious area in terms of livestock wealth and ecological resources, as household livelihood practice switched to farming following government strategy, there came comparable decline in livestock wealth. In my own research (Boru, 2012), calculations of livestock owning for 26 households at the end of *Gada Boru* shows there were about 2,779 head of livestock including cattle, goats, sheep, camel, poultry and equines. The same calculation during the end of *Gada Liban Jaldessa* (2008) shows a massive decline to 1368 herds. Later, during the *Gada* period of Guyo Goba (2012), livestock owned by sample households in this PA was reduced to 843. This shows that within a period of eight years, between 2000 and 2008, more than half of the livestock was reduced. Moreover, between 2009 and 2012 over 525 herds were reduced. In contrast, 9% of the households practice livestock farming as intermittent activities. This figure is, of course, significant. Boku (2008) also reported that 5% of the households are practicing farms in the Dida Hara pastoral system. Key informant interview⁵¹ results indicated that the drive for undertaking farming among the Borana pastoralists is greatly linked to government support for faming.

4.4. The Villagization Project: The Settlement Arrangement Programme

In the Borana pastoral system, among the most notable schemes embarked on by the government of Ethiopia is the resettling of pastoral communities under the rubric of policy and development strategies sought for short, medium and long term objective of improving the income and livelihoods of the pastoral communities. Of course, what is clearly stated in the Rural Development Policy and Strategy of 2002 signifies this:

⁵¹ Godana Jarso, Guyo Tuto interviewed at Harallo, Dirre district, on July 22, 2014

The primary beneficiary of settlement is the pastoral population. Since settlement is expected to speed up the socio-economic growth of the country, settling herders is indeed a national programme and the entire Ethiopian people will benefit from it. Undoubtedly, the day the last group of the pastoral population is successfully settled will be considered a milestone in the economic history of Ethiopia. The pastoral population and local governments are the principal implementers and owners of the settlement program. It goes without saying that, since settlement of herders is a national program, the Federal Government and the non-pastoral population of the entire country will and should have roles (P.58).

As key informant in Dida Hara described, the settlement programme of the government is a recent phenomenon. Unlike the villagization project introduced during the Derg regime, which focuses on certain segment of population in food insecure areas, the current settlement arrangement project – *Quftuma Sirreessuu* is a project the government is applying in all corners of the Borana land. The stipulated strategy has three fundamental objectives. First, to encourage voluntary settlement and provide socio-economic services to settled and semi-settled pastoral groups at ease and thereby ensuring pastoralist inclusion in government development planning; second, to ensure permanent settlement of Borana pastoralists in the long run so as to enable them lead their livelihoods based on farming; and third, to reduce the ecological and livelihood impact resulting from seasonal mobility and inappropriate settlement among the pastoral communities. The core tenet of the strategy in the third objective implies pastoralist borderless grazing model and mass migration during the period of drought and other stochastic events leading to joint vulnerability for both host and migrated communities. The typical testimony that local government officials in both Dirre and Yaballo cite is what they describe as drought provoked mass migration of pastoral communities from Dirre to Yaballo pastoral systems during the drought of 2011 that severely affected human and natural elements. The benefit intended by the villagization project was again to install sedentary schools, health centres and other state institutions which will help pastoralists to get access to basic amenities rendered by the government. On top of this, the project core values try to indicate pulling pastoralists from ‘backward’ style of living in the bush to ‘modern’ style

of living which will pave viable avenues for pastoralist development. This is also congruent with the Ethiopian Rural Development Policy (2002) which strongly insists on the progressive settlement of pastoral people as something that must be done, whether it takes long or not, paying any political commitment to convince the people.

In this backdrop, the field observation of new settlements reveals that in the Dida Hara system channelling along the main road from Yaballo to Arero, the new settlements stretch from Dambala Bora to Damabala Abba Chana and from Dikale to Nagelle Gugurdo. These are now the portrayal of big villages as the formerly scattered settlements along the varied ecological resources are denounced by this scheme. In the case of Harweyyu PA, this settlement programme is yet to be functional as the community pursues a relatively pure pastoral livelihood style. In this regard, I want to resume my interview with a PA-level government official during my own study of 2012. He⁵² stated:

The government has been thinking over the issues of continuing vulnerability among the Borana pastoralists. We work based on plans from the Federal government. More importantly, we are planning to work on encouraging pastoralists to sell their animals, and controlling settlement patterns by incorporating scattered settlements into kebele structure. This will ease the service delivery process and land degradation at once. One major problem is our people who do not have adequate awareness and still tend to hang on to their animals. They do not know the way out of poverty. Thus, we are fighting with this backwardness by raising consciousness to make pastoralists send their children to school.

Building on the above view, a PA-level official⁵³ in Dida Hara system pointed out:

Though the settlement programme is successful in our area, the work has been extremely challenging and a painstaking enterprise. This is because we have been facing strong resistance from our community as they lack awareness on the benefits of the intended scheme. Our people

⁵² Jirama Guyo – PA-level government official at Harweyyu PA, interviewed on July 28, 2014

⁵³ Jarso Roba - PA-level government official at Harweyyu PA, interviewed on July 26, 2014

wrongly understand the villagization process and link it to something else. This, in fact, emanated from the difficulty in changing their traditional lifestyle of scattered settlement.

The above quotes indicate that if pastoralists do not settle permanently and embrace new administrative structure set by government, it is impossible to deliver basic socio-economic services for pastoralist families.

4.5. The Watershed Development Scheme: Misooma Sululaa

The other strategy that is underway in all study sites is watershed development project, the newly created approach to environmental rehabilitation, embarked on by government at national level as stipulated in RDS and GTP. Passing this initiative down to sub-national, *woreda* and *kebele* levels, the government of Ethiopia has been implementing this project all over the country. Pastoral communities in Borana were also introduced to this scheme in 2012. In 2014 over 292 watershed development activities covering 150,921.40 hectares of land were already identified (Borana Zone progress report on watershed development works, 2014). Facilitated by local level government officials, this project was dubbed 'do or die' mobilizing the labour of pastoral communities in all PA's as stipulated in the rules of terracing land and fencing it as prohibited land for rejuvenation. Part of the project was also planting trees along terraced land. In all study areas, land enclosed for this purpose was considerably enormous and local government officials were bestowed the responsibility to manage. Observation of the watershed development schemes in all study sites at Dirre and Yaballo revealed that there are no significant disparities in institutional structures designed to run the stipulated project and nature of project activities and the desired outcome. This means though pastoral communities in respective systems portray differences in competing needs which require prior actions or responses, all of them are deemed to implement the project in a similar fashion while the prerogatives of supervising and making desired decision at *kebele* level is entrusted to local government officials. Nested in national priority for ecological rehabilitation and redevelopment, the fundamental objective of the project is ensuring the

sustainable management of natural resources which has unfortunately been 'misused' due to competing herds across various borderless grazing units created by pastoralists. This scheme is integrated with irrigated agriculture as the envisaged rejuvenated land will be used by community for irrigated farming activities.

4.6. The Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP)

The Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP)/Development Food Aid Program (DEFAP)/ is one of the principal components of the Ethiopian government's food security program, which is an essential feature of food security intervention strategy for chronically food insecure areas of the country. The program focuses especially on rural areas where extreme poverty is widespread. Among the Borana pastoralists, Productive Safety Net Program started in 2005 with the main objective of filling food gaps and building community assets for chronically food insecure community and preventing asset depletion at the household level (Borana Zone Pastoral Development Office PSNP Annual Plan, 2014/15). The PSNP in Borana is directly responsible to the Oromia Agricultural Bureau. The program involves households affected by deep-rooted food insecurity. Program beneficiaries who are able bodied participate in public works while those who are incapable to involve in such works are eligible for direct support. The program provides food/cash to chronically food insecure households selected by the community task force, *kebele* and *woreda* task force. In 2013, the program expanded its operation to 11 *woredas* with a total beneficiary of 124,185 from its commencement in 2005. PSNP, in 2014, was still operational in 11 *woredas* and 148 *kebeles* with 109,194 beneficiaries participating in public work and 14,981 getting direct support. The beneficiaries make 11% of the total population of the zone. The strategic objective of the program was to improve household resilience to shocks through five intermediate measures: timely provision of food, reduction in depletion of productive assets, improvement in natural resource assets and their management, improvement in social service and community assets, and capacity building (Borana Zone Pastoral Development Office, PSNP Annual Achievement Report, 2014). According to the annual report, in the specific study areas of Yabello and Dirre districts, there respectively are a total of 22,775 and 7,912 households that relies on PSNP. The document

stated that out of 124,185 food-insecure households, 108,125 people were engaged in productive safety net work and 16,060 received direct food/cash support. The program largely relies on transfer grant and contingency budget in order to ensure the desired objective of tackling food security crisis. The PSNP only supports households with predictable needs, those that are chronically food-insecure. However, depending on emerging needs, new strategic approaches to food-insecurity are put in place. The program was for transitory needs – transitory food-insecurity – which describes temporary needs that arise from a specific and temporary shock. The response to transitory food-insecurity mainly relies on contingency budget and risk financing mechanism.

4.7. The Cooperatives and State Ranches: The Commoditization of Pastoral Land

Another government-induced project in the area is continuous expropriations of grazing land for the fattening of oxen and immature cattle in pursuit of government policy strategy to integrate pastoral economy with national cash economy through increased take off of livestock wealth. In contrary to the general assumption that ranches have officially been abandoned in Borana rangeland, interviews with key informants⁵⁴ revealed that only in the particular study sites, two prominent ranches were under operation. These were the *Dambala Wachu* Cooperative Ranch and the *Harboro* State Ranch. Almost six years ago, a study made by Elias (2008) identified five ranches functioning in Boarana rangeland assuming 33,000 hectares of pasture land. Of these, the two mentioned above are still functional. Of all the ranches, the *Dambala Wachu* Ranch is only accessible to rich pastoralists who can pay money to obtain grazing rights. It is a ranch owned by a group with members only mode of grazing style used for animal fattening. The members do not exceed 160 to 170 in number. An informant said the ranch has better grazing potential than the neighbouring traditional communal grazing land managed by pastoralists. It dissects the main grazing areas from Dirre district and Yaballo district covering over 15, 000 hectares of pasture land. It subsumes the prestigious grazing areas of Dubuluq, Dambal Dhibayyu, and Harweyyu pastoral grazing

⁵⁴ Sara Harbora, Liban Arero, Garbicha Tulu, (Dida Hara PA- Har-Hawattu, Har-Hawattu and Damabla Abba Chana respectively, August 11, 2014)

systems. The Harboro Ranch stretches out about 5,550 hectares and is owned by the government. It has the objective of preserving the Borana zebu breeds and increasing the off-take of immature cattle or heifers in order to facilitate national breeding scheme. In the former cooperative ranch, interview with ranch administration showed that the ranch was a property of all Borana which can be harnessed intermittently with vast grazing pasture as long as they pay. Commenting on the cooperative or group ranch, a *gada* council⁵⁵ mentioned:

It is only misleading to assume the Dambala Wachu Ranch as community ranch - raanchii gumii. It is certainly an enterprise owned by livestock traders, a commoditized land for those who have the ability to pay in return for temporary grazing right even at times of great risk of losing animals to drought.

4.8. Promotion of Good Governance at Micro Level

Another strategic policy action taken by state in the Borana pastoral system is building 'right' governance structure at micro levels. This political landscape emerged following the defeat of the Derg in 1991. It resulted in the transformation of the state structure (James, et al, 2002) and new land use policy by the incumbent government of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). This new policy had two objectives. Firstly, it aimed at maintaining the process of sedentarization, and secondly, it was upholding privatization of the grazing lands which was actually implemented through private investments in Borana for the first time. In addition to these internal processes, the EPRDF government introduced political decentralization using ethnicity as the basis for political reorganization of the country (Turton, 2006). In the particular case of Borana pastoral community, promotion of good governance means the replacement of traditional pastoral social structure by state apparatus called *kebele*. In the respective study sites, all previous grazing units have already been renamed as *kebele* designating appointed government officials accordingly. Of course, this strategy establishes a safer environment for other congruent

⁵⁵ Boru Jirno (hayu), interviewed at Didibisa (Harweyyu PA) on July 29, 2014

schemes which focus on sedentarization of pastoral groups. Interviews with concerned government officials revealed that the endeavour to amalgamate Borana pastoralists into the Ethiopian state system has come over the last four successive Ethiopian regimes, but it is only under the current government that the state system located itself boldly above the customary local structures. This means the formerly scattered encampments which were settled in accordance with varied nature of pasture and water resources are being assembled into rigid administrative units called *kebele*. This, in turn, means all prerogatives of resource governance which was under the rubric of customary management system are now vested in state entities.

4.9. Pastoral Community Responses to Government Development Strategies: The Eccentric and Dismay

The prevailing perspectives on the success and failure of government development strategies in Borana are embedded in two contradictory views. The views from officials represented at various levels of government structure praising the ongoing government efforts are helping pastoral communities ensure sustainable livelihood in dryland. Paradoxically, interviews and FGD with local community in the stipulated study site revealed the trajectory of failures and incompatibilities of state development strategies. Indeed, in this section much of empirical analysis dwells on the later perspective of ongoing government development strategies. This leads to the question of how the pastoral community in question perceived the impact of the proliferating government schemes.

One major discontent that representatives of the pastoral community underscore in relation to the government policy and strategy is the general policy orientation and planning and implementation models. When the national projects pass down through regional governments and then to *woreda* and local levels, government officials are actively involved and consulted in the approval of decisions assumed to benefit the pastoral community they claim to represent. It is presumed that local people are also consulted through their representatives. The fundamental concern in this regard is that the local people are either wrongly convinced or forced to take on government strategies at the expense of severe livelihood impact that the envisaged schemes would inflict. The

false promises with regard to sedentarization projects are that pastoral communities will be the primary beneficiaries of permanent settlement as they obtain the fruit of economic growth and development in the form of obtaining educational, health, water and other basic services and infrastructure provided by sedentary state structure. However, local people are found to be the primary victims instead of being the primary beneficiaries of the settlement arrangement scheme. Their perceptions reveal that they have been forcibly disregarded by the state. I found it safe to convey across a statement by an elder,⁵⁶ *Abba Olla*, from Dubuluq, Dire district:

Whenever the government wants to design a plan for something, they finish everything ahead and then come to us, nobody would ever consult the elders. The 'miiloo' are not consulted, the 'gada' are not consulted, 'the lichoo' are not consulted, 'the hayyuu' are not consulted. The only people that the government consults are those in the government structure who have inner conviction to implement the plans. They are influenced to line up with the government interest than with the interest of the community. This is a rule we are now governed by. What the government is doing and what we want the government do for us are at odd. Thus, in combination with the changing ecological conditions, this circumstance is hurting both the human and the ecological elements in the process.

A remarkable scheme to serve the sedentarization project is the promotion of 'good governance' at micro levels which envisaged eliminating the traditional *dheeda* council which was decisive for the sustainable management and governance of the utilization of rangeland resources and instead installing *kebele* structure. FGD with community elders revealed that the Borana pastoralists have never had a governance system which suits their livelihood style up until now since they were incorporated into sedentary state structure of the Ethiopian governments. Thus, the weakening of customary rules, norms and values of resource management has resulted in declining asset base and increasing vulnerability context. Strengthening this point of view, a Borana *hayyu*⁵⁷ said:

⁵⁶ Wako Karayyu- 60 years old elder at Qarsa Qeremsa interviewed on August 8, 2014

⁵⁷ Sora Kanu –a hayyu interviewed at Dambala Abba Chana interviewed on August 12, 2014

Namii seera jiru irratti akka jiru fakkaata. Yoo aadaan seera Booranaa hin jirre, Booraninuu hin jiraatu. – People resemble what they should resemble based on the existing rules and norms which govern the system; if Borana rules and norms are compromised by any means, then the Borana life will be compromised.

Another concern is linked to agricultural encroachment. When asked about the scheme, elders are even unwilling to discuss because this is a matter they have given up resisting as everything regarding agricultural expansion is now out of their control. A hayyuu⁵⁸ expressed his grief as follows:

I am amazed as to why the government is ever obsessed with supporting agriculture where there are no farmers. In some areas of Ethiopia this might be possible as they have possibility for using rivers for growing crops. In our case, crop production is a venture that produces nothing but a profound drain on the rangeland and livestock. In Borana, crop production has been tried to see if it could be an alternative source of obtaining food. However, since the last three gada periods, agriculture has proven futile as sporadic farming in Dirre and Yaballo ended up in crop failure. Why is it that our government does not learn from its mistakes? Had farming been a solution to our problem, the Dirre district, particularly the Haralo PA, would have been more resilient than other pastoral communities in Borana. We have repeatedly voiced our interest for long but nobody has ever wanted to listen. We want the government to stop doing the impossible and find ways to support us to harness food from livestock production.

In this back drop, agricultural schemes which were considered as livelihood diversifying option by researchers and government is now found to be a risk than livelihood alternative in Borana land. Despite this misfit, people are still misleadingly taking on farming as risk reduction strategy as they are wrongly persuaded by deceptive state policies and strategies. In Borana, farming and livestock production can no longer exist as synchronized production systems as their relation is mostly on the basis of competitive exclusion.

⁵⁸ Ilmole Gura-a hayyu at Harallo interviewed on August 23, 2014

With regard to the settlement arrangement scheme, local people's reaction entails a trajectory of misfortune brought by the government. Among the Borana, pastoral communities have settled in a scattered manner in order to harness ecologically varied and patchy rangeland resources in accordance with customary local orders entrusted to oversee their sustainability. A key informant affirmed that the Borana never settle around *gada* assemblies and there are relevant strict rules set to avoid degradation of resources. In contrast, the government settlement arrangement is indeed the breach of this norm and customary socio-political orders in place thereby accelerating rangeland degradation at best. Key informants, to some extent, admit the importance of such initiatives in channelling the grazing units and controlling inappropriate settlements, if they accord responsibilities of managing the grazing systems to the grazing council (*Jaarsa dheeda*). Failure of doing that has now resulted in confusion of resource management either by customary rules or rules envisaged by the government which is leading to further exacerbations of rangeland degradation and increased vulnerability context. This means the task of controlling inappropriate settlement and grazing pattern which ought to be led by grazing councils is now given to the local-level state officials who have little knowledge of how to handle it.

Similarly, the ongoing watershed scheme is also critically affecting the rangeland, as indicated by elders in the FGD. The watershed development scheme imposed by the government since 2012 triggered bitter discontent on the part of the pastoralists due to its serious impact on pasture land. An interview with one "abba olla" in Harweyyu, as reported in Boru (2012), goes as:

Nu rakkoo sulula hin qabnu. Wannu nu balleessutti jiru, qoraattii lafa qabatte tana. –literally translated as, we do not have watershed development problems. What is rather devastating us is the proliferation of noxious bushes swallowing the grazing land.

On the same note, a member of the *gada* council – a *hayyu* in Dida Hara argued as follows:

We feel cheated and belittled seeing our land scrambled to development

called –‘sulula misoomsuu’ – watershed development. In truest sense, this is not development, but humiliation of our pasture land which is already diminishing. Watershed development does not concern us where farming is not suitable. Instead, why doesn’t the government devise a mechanism to reduce bush encroachment? All grazing land put to this scheme are highly restricted and fenced by horrible rules. If by chance a single cattle goes inside, we will be fined from 500–800 Birr. But while our cattle turn into ghost because of shortage of pasture, nobody even cares about it. This is a long standing custom of recurrent government norms since our incorporation into the Ethiopian state systems.

In this light, the pastoral development strategies of the current government fail to learn from what took place during the last four decades. Policies and development interventions disregard ramifications of their projects on human and physical elements in the pastoral production systems.

In the same vein, the persistent functioning of ranches which assumes the largest portion of rangeland area is a government-supported scheme run at the expense of the plight of pastoralists. Though the issues concerning the impact of ranch on the rangeland has been well addressed by previous researchers such as (Oba, 1998; Boku, 2000; Desta *et. al.*, 2004; Elias, 2008), the ongoing functioning of *Dambala Wachu* and *Harboro* ranches portrays the politico-economic situation where pastoral land is given to certain interest groups and even put to the state use. Pastoralist reaction to *Dambala Wachu* ranch development typifies two fundamental effects 1) The ranch was initially established deliberately via selecting prestigious grazing areas of existing pastoral system; 2) It was wrongly represented as a community ranch, but it is owned by group of self-initiated wealthy people, perhaps livestock traders. The local community may have access to graze their cattle during *doing-dry* season as they pay from 1000-2000 Birr per five cattle. The money collected from the pastoralists has to go to the pocket of cooperative members. In this light, the area annexed by the ranch is the commoditized land where only rich people can graze their cattle. In more strict sense, there are no such things as community ranch and it is indeed privatized land. In other words, the socio-economic and ecological ramifications brought about by ranch is that: 1) Social and economic inequalities are escalating. 2) Privatizing and merchandizing on traditional pasture is taking place. 3) Pastoral people with their birth

right are alienated from their main grazing pasture. As reported in the FGDs at Dirre and Yaballo, the area covered by these two ranch schemes can be a potential drought escaping spot for both pastoral production systems. While the Borana pastoralists who have suffered drought episodes over the last 7 years are forced to look for cross mobility, the ranch is quite comfortably supporting the herds of private investors and wild animals.

The pastoralist reaction to the Productive Safety Net Program is at variance with what is told by government officials. FGDs at Dida Hara, Harweyyu, Dubuluq and Harallo report that the Productive Safety Net Program is serving a nominal role for the Borana. In contrary to the official report from the Pastoral Development Bureau, there is an overriding paradox when it comes to its local implementation. Elders criticize the PSNP for four fundamental reasons. First, it renders support to households based on predictable yardstick given the profound uncertainty besetting pastoralist life. Second, the deemed food/cash support is solicited by local interest groups - misused by PA-level officials. Third, its sporadic nature - it often comes after food insecurity turned into chronic food dependence and asset base is dismantled. Fourth, the customary welfare institutions such as *buusaa gonofaa* are superseded by state structure and thus relatively better off families are being recruited for food support at the expense of destitute families due to poor consultation with customary self-help organization. Given these circumstances, the intended outcome of the scheme failed to positively affect the community while distracting the redistributive traditional early response created by the pastoralist families. The program further exacerbated vulnerability as it reinforces pastoralist dependence on 'productive work' instead of devising mechanisms to support sustainable access to food through restocking tactics developed by the pastoralist system. Consequently, as key informants commented, this program is hastening the livelihood exit from pastoralism as a system of mutual help is being discouraged by state systems such as *garee* and *got*. The worst case scenario, according to community elders, is once a pastoralist makes exit from pastoralism, it is almost impossible to get back to it.

4.10. Policy and Strategic Implications for Food Security and Sustainable Rangeland Managements

The Borana pastoralists are facing cruel vulnerability to food and livelihood crisis now more than any time in the past. As has been reckoned from pastoralists' responses about their reactions towards the ongoing development strategies, the bottleneck to ensuring sustainable livelihood among the Borana can be viewed in two broad scenarios: first, the very design of broader policy guidelines in the pastoral context and the prevailing misfit situations; and second, the negative livelihood impacts witnessed as a result of its implementation at bottom lines.

Empirical findings indicated that the central challenge to the Borana pastoralists is the recurrent inappropriate policy and strategies crafted at national levels. The sectoral nature and the highland bias of the Ethiopian government development policy and practice have neither provided consistent solution to the pastoralist problems nor tried to understand the peculiarities of the pastoral production system in the area. The traditional top-down planning and implementation approaches are already proven obsolete. The weird trends of copying best practice from the highland agricultural system and trying to fit it into the pastoral system are awkward. Policies and the way they are crafted determine multiple states of affairs of the people they are initially meant for. If the Ethiopian government ever wants to show some sympathetic gesture to the pastoralist concern, it has to stop its hasty efforts and re-visit whether or not the subsequent documents and policy strategies could be applicable to the pastoral context. It is apparent that policies should be designed in close partnership with local community. As it has been pointed out by HPG (2009), where policies are designed without the informed participation of the target groups, and without taking into account their unique realities, their impact is usually negative. When this happens, the cost of implementing the wrong project and its wider livelihood ramifications are enormous. The current Ethiopian government has set in place a decentralized governance system which can be considered as opportunity to boost grassroots initiatives and consultation process. In this regard, the government has to make the best use of the designated structure to genuinely involve the pastoralists in decision making process. As it has been stated, the Ethiopian government had bold stipulations in

its constitution that recognize the pastoralist land right even though its realization is, in fact, minimal as observed among the Borana. The worst scenario in this context is the provisions of Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation which overtly contradict the constitutional provision by undermining the communal use of rangeland. It is clear from these contradictions that the government has to take lessons and build institutional capacity at multiple levels in order to obtain authentic information on which later policy practices ought to be guided by. Lack of knowledge of the uniqueness of pastoral production should be addressed through continuous research, dialogue and bargaining with the traditional pastoral institutions. The learning process must be in place where the Borana pastoralists manoeuvre the process of decision making on how to craft pro-poor context specific policies.

The other critical scenario is the implications of government development strategies among the Borana as seen from the stand point of its impact on local people's livelihoods. Empirical evidences indicated that the relentless efforts being undertaken by the Ethiopian government in transforming Borana pastoralists into sedentary settlers has bitter implications for food security and livelihood vulnerability. The sedentarization projects which involve promotion of rain-fed agriculture, villagization, watershed development and the alterations of traditional *dheeda* system into *kebele* had resulted in profound livelihood drain. The rain-fed agriculture, as an economic basis for settling pastoralists, did not provide herders with reduced risk of food insecurity. The government wrongly assumes that agriculture will complement pastoralism while in reality these production systems display stiff competition instead. There is a need to design strategic action to support livelihood intensification and diversification through livestock production than altering the production system envisaged by the pastoralists. Numerous findings (Coppock 1994; Helland, 2000; Angassa and Oba 2008; Boru, 2012) also affirm that in Borana, farming in the rangelands competes with livestock management in two critical ways: through land fragmentation, it interferes with herd mobility; and it removes the most productive land from the grazing herds. This means rain-fed agriculture is mostly practiced by pastoral households whose herd size is significantly reduced as opposed to the wealthy families with good herd holding status. For Borana pastoralists, livestock production transcends both the dry and wet seasons while crop production staggers only with some good rainy

seasons, not even all rainy seasons. Thus, government's favouritism for expansion of farming is putting a mounting pressure on pastoralism which is founded on thresholds of rangeland and its products. The current watershed development initiative and settlement arrangement programmes embarked on by the government typify the failure of the current government to learn from its mistakes. In effect, while livelihood resilience in the Borana pastoral system lies in the vibrant operations of the traditional system, ability to practice it is curtailed at best signaling significant degradation of rangeland. With compromised autonomies of customary institution, movement between dry and wet season is becoming unthinkable. Thus, the tendency to force pastoral permanent settlement is causing drastic livelihood distress. Local elders suggested that if the Borana need to settle in permanent villages created by the government, then there must be alternative livelihood strategies other than pastoralism, perhaps irrigated agriculture. However, this is not the case as there is a zero possibility for practicing farming in such a way.

Confinement in inferior grazing pasture resulted in declining animal productivity and limited sources of income as herd size decreased. In other words, households have given up mobility and settled around water points and yet made a living out of animal rearing on the traditional dry season pasture. This, in turn, has resulted in exacerbation of degradation around homestead, loss of dry season units, increased pressure during drought and declining social capital. Too many people in the same vicinity means all will be vulnerable to shocks and stress than when they were in scattered settlements. Sole dependence on permanent water point, increased private enclosures, increased inequitable commercialization of pasture under cooperative groups, and control on settlement pattern are major current manifestations of increased sedentarization and alteration in mobility and grazing pattern.

In this backdrop, the counter productivity of government investment in sedentarization project created a continuing delink between pastoralists and their asset base. Sedentary lifestyles mean the disempowerment of customary range management entities which, in turn, result in tenure insecurities and resource poverty among pastoral communities. As Oba (1994) and Little *et. al.*, (2006) indicated, loss of rangeland means loss of livestock which in effect has a cascading effect on household level

of food security redistribution and sharing. The government Productive Safety Net Program is facilitating pastoralists out of pastoralism as it dismissed the pastoralists' mutual support schemes. During periods of stress, social security networks in general are weakened, since both poor and wealthy households have diminished resources for social distribution. In addition, the huge gap between early warning and early response closed the possibility to regain the lost assets due to stochastic events. Consequently, dropout pastoralists and destitute families are increasing. Taking into account the pastoralists' need for mobility and communal harnessing of crucial resources while backstopping the role of customary institutions is an optionless strategy that must be taken by the Ethiopian government.

Conclusion

This study depicted that the government development strategies among the Borana are marked by tremendous experience of failure and misfit. The national development strategies are full of empty promises and driven by highland bias. The sectoral government development policies and strategies created a top-down fashion pursuing one size fits all model. Despite some recognition of pastoral land right at constitutional level, the realities on the ground portray the denial of opportunities for pastoral economy. Surprisingly, Ethiopia has no pastoral development policies, but it is national development policies which are forcing sedentarization of the Borana pastoralists at best.

Among leading government strategies to settle pastoralist is the promotion of rain-fed agriculture. Findings in this study expose that the Borana pastoralists cannot make a sustainable living by adopting agricultural practices along with pastoral production. Even though more pastoralist families are willing to practice farming as their last livelihood resort under current food insecurity crisis, the evidence over the last five years depicts agriculture is a failed project in the Borana land. It is only practiced by households whose herd owning thresholds failed to support their livelihood as a result of fragmentation of rangeland. The dislocated herders were squeezed into a fraction of former grazing land exposed to intense land use competition with multiple user groups. In addition to agricultural encroachment, the alienation of vast tracts of

rangeland due to ranch development in Yaballo and Dirre production system is not overstated.

In the same vein, the settlement arrangement schemes and watershed development projects are the newly envisaged government endorsement of transforming pastoralists into rigid structure suited for the state sentiments. The government strategies in the name of Borana development seem to justify their logic as if pastoralists will be the primary beneficiaries of settlement scheme which deemed to facilitate the easy delivery of socio-economic amenities to pastoral population in question. The recent result of the intervention as it can be observed in all study sites resonated significant repercussion on food security and land use changes. The intended voluntary settlement turned coercive as predatory state compels pastoralist families despite the stipulated provisions in rural development policies and strategies. The sporadic Productive Safety Net Program did not adequately serve the anticipated target of reducing risk while the selective rationing of food grain to families affiliated to local government officials is becoming evident. Instead, the customary social security network has been jeopardized as customary institutions fail to make biding decision at front lines.

The crucial implication here is, as argued by Angasa and Oba (2008), that it is more prudent if government policies and strategies encourage the Borana to use the market to buy the grains they need by using cash from livestock sales and other livelihood opportunities rather than converting the rangelands into farmland and place for other sedentary use. This was, indeed, clearly witnessed in the pastoralists' response to the stipulated government strategies, which depicts government efforts as curse than blessings. In this light, it is plausible to argue that lack of interplay and dynamism between pastoralist institutions and state apparatus created an ambivalent power relation where the state became maker and shaper while the pastoralists were virtually left custodians to choose and use the alternative put forwarded by state entities.

Thus, a more plausible approach should be thought of to engender policy community dynamics where decision is made in a positive bargaining process while putting the issues of pastoral productivity at the top of policy agenda than propagating illusive quick-fix solutions to pastoralist

problems. Policies and strategies in the Borana pastoral lowland have to take into account the potential of the pastoral land for pastoral use and sedentary livelihood before making this kind of heuristic model of socio-economic development. There is a need to underscore the fact that pastoral production is still a viable strategy to be supported as it produces economic and social return superior to any other scheme. Promoting projects which facilitate permanent settlement of pastoralists will pose a dangerous risk which cannot be reversed but may remain obstacle to future poverty reduction programmes in the area. Failure to overcome that may result in inter-generational food insecurities and vulnerabilities among the pastoral families.

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CHAPTER SIX

A Critical Appraisal of Government Development Interventions in Karamoja

Mwangu Alex Ronald

Abstract

This paper investigates the government's development interventions in Karamoja. Karamoja is the dominant pastoral region in Uganda. The Ugandan government has grouped the Karamoja Region among the "hard to reach" areas, a term that depicts low development and low service delivery by the state and other actors in relation to other localities in Uganda. The Karimojong urge that the classification of their region as a "hard to reach" is admittance of guilt by the state for neglecting the region at the expense of developing other areas. This paper urges that acceptance by the government that Karamoja is underdeveloped is indeed an opportunity for devising systematic strategies for leveraging the region's development with other regions. In fact, other regions are manoeuvring to have their areas classified as "hard to reach" in order to attract government special treatment of such areas. Nonetheless, Karamoja, located in eastern Uganda, is the least developed in the country (PENHA, nd). Underdevelopment in Karamoja implies food insecurity, poor road infrastructure, inadequate access to social services like education and health, low levels of literacy and insecurity. Using data collected through focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interview, this paper urges that respective governments have

struggled to develop Karamoja through various development programmes. However, the seasonal movements of the Karamoja deny them opportunities to benefit from a host of programmes in agricultural modernization, education and health. Moreover, fighting respective governments since independence has been a discouraging factor to governments to establish and implement nucleus development programmes as the area has for long been a war zone. Regardless of the shortcomings of the government programmes, Karamoja has been part of the development plan of the government of Uganda.

Key words: Government, Development Interventions, Karamoja, Pastoralists, Uganda

1. Introduction

Karamoja is the dominant pastoral region in Uganda. The Karamoja region, located in North Eastern Uganda, comprises seven districts of Abim, Amudat, Kaboong, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripit and Napak. The region lies on the western edge of the Great Eastern Rift Valley in the northeast corner of Uganda and is flanked by Kenya to the east and the Republic of Southern Sudan to the north. The sub-region covers an area of 28,000 sq.km of semi arid expanse of savannah, rugged mountains, plains, swamps and river valleys with a population of 1.2 million people which is less than 20% of Uganda's population (Sagal and Jean, 2012 p.34; Jean, 2012 p.154). The people of Karamoja (the Karimojong) are engaged in animal rearing. In contrast to the purely pastoralist areas in the region, like the neighbouring Turkana, Karamoja is an agro-pastoralist area (Oketch and Jjuuko, 2010 p.1-2; Akabwai and Ateyo, 2007 p.11). The Karimojong place a big value on cattle which in turn provides a significant amount of livelihood and nutrition. The people of Karamoja still practice a transhumant lifestyle like the entire socio

cultural Karimojong cluster⁵⁹ of the Horn of Africa (Jean, 2012 pg.154). However, in spite of the large numbers, livestock does not benefit the people of Karamoja as much as it should because it has grown to be more for personal aggrandizement than for economic benefit (Oketch and Jjuuko, 2010 p.2).

The Karamoja region is mostly a semi-arid plain with harsh climate and low annual rainfall averaging 500-700 mm. The region experiences a harsh climate with desert winds, hot dry season and one rainy season annually and this has left Karamoja chronically food-insecure and, over the years, vulnerable to successive shocks, including severe drought in 2006, a combination of extended dry spell, late rains and flooding in 2007, and continuous extended dry spell with late arriving rains only in some parts of the region. The pastoral life as well as the scanty water/rain keeps the population nomadic.

The landscape has volcanic mountains including Mt. Kadam, Mt. Moroto and Mt. Napak. The harsh climate that is dry and hot with seasonal rainfall dictates the nomadic agro-pastoralist lifestyle of the inhabitants, i.e., the Nilotic Karimojong. Ethnic groups that make up the Nilotic Karimojong are the Dodoth, Jie, Pokot, Bokora, Matheniko, Pian, Tepeth, Nyakwe, Iik, Ngipore and Ethur. Karamoja has large quantities of precious mineral reserves that are projected to drive the country's vision from a low-income nation to a mid-income nation by 2040. The region has over 50 different economic minerals including gold, silver, copper, iron, gemstone, limestone and marble making it one of the most prospective areas of the country (Hinton *et. al.*, 2011 p.viii). However Karamoja remains the least developed region in the country with majority of the population languishing in absolute poverty (GoU, 2012, PENHA, *nd*).

⁵⁹ The Karamoja cluster covers the cross-border areas of Ethiopia, Kenya, Southern Sudan and Uganda. The cluster is a region affected by seasonal patterns of drought and famine, seasonal movements of armed pastoralists and livestock within and across national borders, a continuing degradation of the environment leading to food insecurity and increasing competition for scarce resources mainly water and pasture. The characteristic feature of the Cluster are marked by underdevelopment when compared to regions within each country, high levels of insecurity and violence leading to lack of investment and dependence on relief supplies from governments and civil society. The pastoral communities that inhabit the region live in poverty and insecurity due to the proliferation of small arms. The poor state of infrastructure in the cluster makes it difficult for governments and civil society to provide social services thus curtailing the capacity of security forces to respond to the violence and cattle rustling that have such a devastating impact on the livelihood of the pastoral communities.

As much as 75.8% of the Karamoja's population live under absolute poverty (GoU, 2012). Poverty in Karamoja means food insecurity, malnutrition, life insecurity, poor social amenities and other social ills and lack of key information on government programmes. Indeed, Green (2012 p. 165) observes that there is no more precarious life than that of the Karimojong. Correspondingly, different interventions, both national and international, have taken place in the Karamoja region all aimed at alleviating the region from the sad state it is in by the respective governments. However, in spite of all these efforts, the region remains the least developed in the country. This study investigates the government development interventions in Karamoja. Specifically, it attempts to answer the question: What interventions has the Uganda government deployed to develop Karamoja? The study begins by presenting the background including the methodology used in the study and then discusses the historical perspective of Karamoja and development including the pre-independent and post-independent periods. The paper then presents the findings of the study, specifically the interventions by government to develop Karamoja, and finally comes the conclusion.

A descriptive cross-sectional survey using a qualitative approach was adopted for this study. Secondary data through document analysis of policy documents, research reports and newspaper reports were used. Primary sources were reached through purposive sampling which selects only useful respondents with rich information. An interview guide was used to attain information from key informants while focus group discussions were conducted with indigenous Karimojong women and men and members of the statutory state organs and CSOs. Forty eight key informants including indigenous Karimojong elders, local leaders, opinion leaders and members of the CSOs were interviewed. A total of 96 participants took part in the eleven focus group discussion for women, men, members of the statutory state organs and CSOs in two districts of Napak and Moroto.

2. Historical Perspective of Karamoja and Its Development

Karamoja in Pre-Independence Uganda: The Karamoja region is identical with underdevelopment, poverty, drought and violence. The low

development trends in Karamoja are traced back to the colonial period when the colonial administrators developed policies for Karamoja that were by all standards inapt and in the end fostered conflict. Literature about colonialists and Karamoja indicate that the attitudes that governed the policies were bad. In effect, the interventions by the colonialists to reverse the underdevelopment of Karamoja were met with resistance and eventually turned out to be disastrous. Indeed, available information leads one to the conclusion that government intervention in general, which starts with colonialism, has had major influence on the direction that the development of Karamoja as a region has followed.

Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894 but the Karamoja region remained unadministered by the British for over a decade. The British partly failed to administer Karamoja because being a semi-arid region, it did not offer the attraction which at the time was to encourage the colonies to produce cash crops like cotton and coffee which were meant to feed the industries. On the other hand, the Karimojong were already armed by the time Europeans scrambled to control the wealth of Africa (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.12). So the region was already a hotspot for violence with a lot of guns already in the hands of the Karimojong (Otim, 2004). The Karimojong had previously bartered ivory and cattle for weapons from gunrunners operating from the sprawling gun market in Maji, southwestern Ethiopia (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.12). An even earlier sources of guns were the Abyssinian (Ethiopian), Greek and Arab traders that traded guns for ivory with the Karimojong. These traders established relations with the Karimojong and were the first major external influence on Karimojong cultures and traditions (Otim, 2004 p.10).

A famous British hunter, "Karamoja Bell," was involved in Ivory trade and it is apparent that it is the competition for the ivory that was another factor that he used to prompt the colonial government to use military force to exclude other traders from the region. The British attempts to disarm the Karimojong met stiff resistance and in some instances the British used systematic scorched earth methods (Barber 1969 cited in Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.12). From 1921 up to Ugandan independence in 1962, the British imposed very strict rules that made it difficult for the Karimojong to raid their neighbors. In effect, Karamoja was put under

military occupation and the region was closed to outsiders (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.12). According to Longoli (2012), the British's view was that Karamoja was deserving a conservation status, that the region would have limited contact with other regions of the country and that permits would be issued to people intending to travel to Karamoja just like accessing a zoo or game park. Indeed a permit had to be obtained from the District Commissioner in Moroto, the regional headquarters, in order to enter the district (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.12). Longoli (2012) further urges that it was this belief that would later see Karamoja's 100% land put under conservation status. This led to the beginning and continued disenfranchisement of pastoralists through policies that do not foster the development of pastoralism as a viable mode of production but instead see it as an irrational production system that is destructive to environment and therefore the need to be eliminated, eventually leading to failure of the various attempts at development in pastoral areas (Otim, 2009 p.19).

Karamoja in Post-Independence Uganda: The main impact of the British military occupation on the pastoralists was territorial restriction and economic isolation. The post-independent Ugandan authorities had some success in restraining the raids, but used brutal methods to confiscate Karimojong livestock and to force them to disarm while their neighbours, the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya, remained heavily armed leaving the Karimojong feeling unprotected and extremely vulnerable (Akabwai and Atenyo, 2007 p.13 - 14). Unarmed, the Karimojong could not protect themselves against the Turkana, who rustled most of their animals. When Idi Amin Dada, Uganda's notorious president of all times came to power in 1971, the Karimojong were decreed to wear Western dresses, instead of wearing livestock hides. The army constantly harassed Karimojong women who continued to wear traditional clothing. The Karimojong were incensed by the government's move which they understood as an attack on their identity and culture of rearing animals. A group of Karimojong who refused to put on modern clothes was separated from those who were clothed and were massacred by Amin's army at Nawoikorot in 1972 and this incident instead of weakening the Karimojong only made them stronger and united against the government that they accused of attempting to kill them and wipe out their tribe. In the end, the collapse of Amin's regime in 1979 was

a seminal event in the region. There was massive looting by (mostly) Matheniko of the military armoury at Moroto, in which thousands of weapons and ammunition were confiscated resulting in large stocks of weapons amassing throughout Karamoja (Carlson, Proctor, Stites and Akabwai, 2012 p.12).

The violence in the Karamoja region dates back to the colonial era, but has evolved from being a predominantly culturally sanctioned survival ritual performed using traditional weapons and spears to one bearing the characteristics of externally driven entrepreneurial and political attributes using automatic weapons (Otim, 2001 p.9). The possession of semi-automatic rifles like the AK 47 has spurred violence in Karamoja and beyond and contributed to cattle rustling, loss of human lives, displacement, destruction of property and natural resources – all leading to general underdevelopment.

Longoli (2012) argues that Karamoja is a clear loser in the five decades of independence of the Republic of Uganda and asserts that it was planned by the colonialist for the region to be marginalized. In 2002, the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF) started a disarmament programme in Karamoja. This indicated renewed interest in security and development in the region. However, the country was later to witness the security situation deteriorate rather than improve. Safeworld (2010, p.v) observes that under the disarmament programme, the Karimojong pastoralists strongly felt that their ethnic groups had been disarmed more than other neighbouring groups. This perceived asymmetrical disarmament made communities feel vulnerable to attacks from other groups, thereby influencing and often exacerbating inter-group conflicts. Besides, there was low public support for existing approaches to disarmament because the Karimojong nursed lustrous experiences of a high level of abuse and human rights violations carried out in the process of military-led disarmament exercise (Safer world 2010, p.v). Indeed the military was also accused of strategically humiliating customary elders who are a symbol of authority in Karamoja (Carlson, *et. al.*, 2012 p.13). The focus of the colonial government was to eliminate mobile pastoralism and for that matter programmes and social services were designed for sedentary people. This focus did not change with the post-independence governments. The national agenda continues to lean heavily towards

sedentarization and the pursuit of an agricultural solution to the 'cattle problem' of the region, with relatively little concern for the ecological realities and associated vulnerabilities of the region (or the past failures in this regard) (Carlson, *et. al.*, 2012 p.13).

From the time Uganda gained her independence, the Karamoja region has been regarded as a special case resulting in the 1964 Karamoja Act which offered the region a special status in as far as administration and development were concerned. This status was short lived, because after a change of government in 1971, it was repealed by the new regime of President Idi Amin Dada. However, in 1987 the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government led by President Yoweri Museveni considered reinstating the special status on Karamoja, (Otim, 2004 p.14). The special status classifies Karamoja as a "Hard to Reach" area, a term used by the government to refer to areas that experience low development and low service delivery by the state and other actors in relation to other localities in Uganda, and therefore are areas of urgent, special and priority development programmes. However, the Karimojong urge that the government's classifying the region as a "Hard to Reach" area is admittance of guilt of neglecting their region at the expense of developing other areas. In contrast, acceptance by the government that Karamoja is underdeveloped is indeed an opportunity for devising systematic strategies for leveraging the region's development with other regions. Resources are directed to Karamoja to ignite as well as expedite development. In fact, other regions are manoeuvring to have their areas classified as "Hard to Reach" in order to attract government's special treatment of such areas.

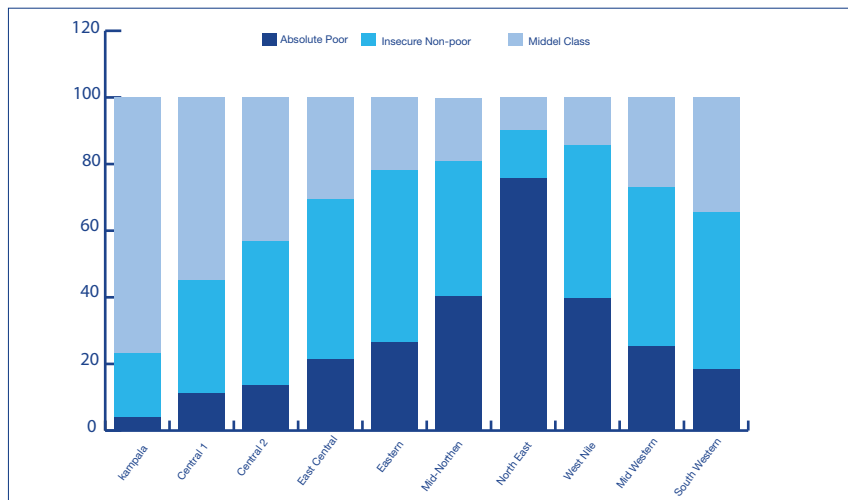


Figure 1: the Sub-National Picture of the absolute poor, insecure non-poor and middle class in 2009/2010.

Source (GoU, 2012)

Government statistics indicate that majority (75.8%) of the people in North east including the Karamoja live under absolute poverty while 14.3% are non-poor but insecure implying that they are heaving at the margins of the poverty line and any slight change (for example in inflation) by far pushes them down below the poverty line. Only 9.9 % of the population in Karamoja is secure and out of risk of poverty.

3. Security Enhancement Program

As discussed earlier, insecurity was a key factor that maintained the Karamoja region less developed. The Karimojong who are traditionally warriors maintained a wave of violence in their region and beyond affecting mainly the neighbouring Teso region and North Western region of Kenya where they extended their acts of cattle rustling. The Karimojong had large stocks of guns and ammunitions that they used to resist enforcement of law and order by the government and the region was literary isolated from the rest of the nation. There was state presence in the region but not state authority. The Karimojong laid ambushes that

were at times fatal against civilians and the military. The attacks on the military led to a wide offensives against the pastoralists in order to pacify the Karamoja region. Initially, offensives against the Karimojong warriors seemed an easy option but in the end became costly and prolonged as the Karimojong warriors surprisingly put up resistance against the well equipped national army – Uganda People’s Defence Forces (UPDF). The army was overstretched by the resistance from the Karimojong warriors. In fact, de Jode (2010, p.76) observes that the government of Uganda had, by 2005, spent an estimated 50% of its budget which amounted to \$100 million per year and represented the single greatest expenditure item in the budget on military interventions to reduce conflicts in the pastoral areas, albeit with little success.

The government’s approach of pacifying Uganda through forceful means after the 1986 coup d’état that ushered in President Museveni in power worked in other regions of the country but failed miserably in Karamoja. In fact, the army had failed to realize that the Karamoja warriors, though not formally trained in modern military warfare, had vast practical experience in war encounters through cattle rustling on top of having knowledge of the terrain. In 2002 the government of Uganda began the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP), a special programme meant to decrease insecurity and stimulate development in the region. Under KIDDP, the approach of disarmament evolved from forceful disarmament of the Karimojong warriors. Instead the Karimojong warriors would voluntarily surrender their guns to the responsible officers and they would not be charged of any offence. Massive sensitization was done by the government. The government also attracted the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) like the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) and elders that were mainly involved in sensitization and mobilization of the masses to surrender their guns and ammunitions to the army.

However, the Karimojong were suspicious that the government would not offer adequate security for them and their herd. Moreover, guns were a source of power and wealth and people felt they were being robbed of their wealth and power. After assuring the Karimojong of cattle security against the Pokot and Turkana of Kenya, and also against attempts by the Itesot of Kenya and Uganda to raid their region and rustle their

cattle, voluntary surrendering of guns began although at a low pace. The government set deadlines which came and passed. Deadlines were extended because during the implementation of KIDDP, the government realized that they were handling a strong component of the Karimojong way of life. Many of the Karimojong had had guns the whole of their lives, guns had become part of Karimojong culture and ordering them to surrender their guns to an army that they had been fighting with on a promise that they would defend them was not going to be easy. Under the disarmament programme, between 30,000 – 40,000 guns and ammunitions were received. Consequently, there came improved security (Robinson and Zappacosta, 2014, p.5) in the region and state authority fully established. However, some pockets of insecurity created by individuals who still held on to their guns remained to exist.

In fact, at a handover at Sidok sub-county in Kabong District, on 11 July, 2014, of five guns by nine Karimojong warriors who had been causing insecurity, the self styled commander of the warriors, Petero Achia, noted that there were over 150 warriors in the jungles who wanted to surrender but feared because they would be mistreated by UPDF (Vision Reporter, July 14, 2014 p.14). Under the local agreements between elders, the army, district security committees and CSOs, the government has shown flexibility by not preferring cases against any Karamojong who voluntarily hands in guns even after the disarmament programme ended. Mass cattle rustling, highway robberies, indiscriminate killings, open gun trafficking that used to be the order of the day in Karamoja no longer existed. However, the UPDF estimates that up to 9,000 illegal guns are still in the hands of the Karimojong warriors being pursued to be disarmed (Office of the Prime Minister [OPM], 2014). To ensure sustainable peace, the ministry of Karamoja facilitates inter-district peace meetings.

4. Poverty Reduction Programmes

Poverty is one of the hallmarks of Karamoja's low development compared to other regions in the country. In this regard, the government of Uganda has initiated several programmes to eradicate poverty in Karamoja. Poverty in Karamoja is actually a way of life to which the local populace is accustomed to the extent that they hardly notice they

are in danger. Poverty in Karamoja means food insecurity, malnutrition, hunger, low education, lack of basic needs, poor road network and poor social amenities. To alleviate the Karimojong from poverty, the government set up initiatives targeting crop growing and animal rearing. Because the Karimojong are traditionally pastoralists, the government introduced and implemented a programme of branding/tagging cattle to counter the practice of cattle theft which was a pivotal source of insecurity. Herds in Karamoja were branded and owners could identify their herds as well as identify the origin of the herd. In financial years 2010/2011 - 2011/2012, 81,000 head of cattle were branded. The contract was extended to 2013/2014 financial year with the government assigning a company LR group the responsibility of branding another 118,000 head of cattle to guarantee security and ownership of the cattle in the region.

The cattle tagging campaign made cattle rustling rather complicated because being found with rustled cattle is criminal yet being found with unlabelled cattle is equally punishable as it inexorably raises questions of origin and ownership of the herds cattle. Although the Karimojong claim that cattle tagging resulted in death of their animals, branding the animals has helped reduce the hitherto violent raids that created tensions and conflicts in the communities and their neighbourhoods. In a bid to modernize animal rearing practices, the government procured and distributed 320 heifers and 180 goats to women and youth groups in Kaabong and Kotido districts in FY 2011/2012 (OPM, 2014). But earnestly, the supplied heifers were just a drop in the ocean. Besides, the beneficiary natives had challenges of raising the animals as they lacked the necessary skills for such breeds; the environmental conditions were also not favourable; and raising heifers was resource intensive. Further, leaving out the men as non-beneficiaries in a culturally dominated community where men controlled the resources implies that modernizing animal rearing in Karamoja is a far cry. Although animal rearing is the main activity of the Karimojong, earnestly, not much has been done to improve it. Instead the state authorities have interested themselves in blaming the Karimojong for living the life of the past by practicing nomadism which they labelled as "outdated". The state authorities' failure to give the Karimojong realistic alternatives in the area of animal rearing is irrational and highlights the government's vulnerability to

offer a comprehensive package capable of addressing the challenges dragging down Karamoja over the decades.

In the area of crop production, Karamoja has been a recipient of multiplicity of programmes because the government is focused on persuading the local populace to abandon pastoralism and instead embrace crop growing. Karamoja which is considered a semi-arid region recording average rainfall of 500 to 700 mm per annum (unreliable rainfall) is prone to food insecurity brought about by prolonged drought. The KIDDP has increased food security and agricultural production by mobilizing the community for increased food production and providing farmers with farm inputs aimed at modernizing agriculture. Another programme, the Karamoja Livelihood Programme (KALIP) worth 15 million Euros and funded by the European Union (EU), is promoting agro-pastoral production and alternative means of livelihoods, strengthening local governments and supporting peace building initiatives.

Various special programmes like the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF), Karamoja Integrated Development Programme (KIDEP), and Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) have strongly supported the Karamoja region to increase crop growing and food production. Major crops grown in the region include millet, sorghum, and cassava. However, Mrs. Janet Museveni, the Minister for Karamoja Affairs and wife of the President of Uganda, cautions the Karimojong against growing “only sorghum which ends up being used in brewing alcohol instead of growing other food stuffs that will ensure good nutrition for the families” (Vision reporter, July, 15, 2014 p.5). Karamoja is gifted with fertile volcanic soils with the potential to sustain almost all crops especially in the wet zones including parts of Western Kaabong, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, and the entirety of Abim district (OPM, 2010 cited in Nakalembe (*nd*)). However, the region continues to rely on food aid supplied by the World Food Programme (WFP) although the scope has recently been scaled down to schools, hospitals and other critical institutions identified by the local authorities as a way of starting up sustainability plan for food production in Karamoja.

The outcome of the various programmes in promoting agricultural production has been positive although slow. Food production has increased though marginally. In fact, hunger continues to affect the

Karamoja region leading to deaths and displacement. For example, in the three months of February, March and April 2014, “at least 20 people died of hunger and over 6,000 were displaced crossing to Teso and Lango regions in search of food” (Ariong, 2014a). Similarly, a survey carried out by the National Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace (NCCPJ), a non-government organisation (NGO), revealed that 44.8% of children in Karamoja live in households that have one meal a day (Ariong, 2014b). Consequently, the long-lived trends of food insecurity continue in the region. The Minister of Karamoja Affairs, Mrs. Janet Museveni, observed that making reasonable strides in food production was frustrated by the able-bodied men not participating in crop growing but instead leaving it to the weak and old women. Besides, some sections of the Karimojong have been reluctant to growing crops such as cassava stems that were supplied. The stems were left to dry in stores while others were uprooted before they were ready (Mwangu, 2014, p.208). In fact, the state authorities seem to undermine the power of culture and tradition that pastoralism is the main stay of the Karimojong. It is all the people know and highly value; and changing the attitudes of the communities cannot happen overnight.

The Minister of Karamoja Affairs, Mrs. Janet Museveni, was candid when she said:

We can no longer afford finger-pointing at other people, when you people (Karimojong) are doing absolutely nothing to feed yourselves, improve your welfare and ensure that services are maintained. Hungry people cannot think about anything else. You can see most children are malnourished because there isn't sufficient food at household level. And if you went out to the field, it is only women and old women, who are producing food. The people with muscle power are elsewhere. The government has provided oxen, ploughs and hoes. You should not be pitied all the time. Since you have enough support from government, stand up and show everybody that you can sustain your family (Janet Museveni, Minister of Karamoja Affairs, as cited in Vision reporter, June, 26, 2014 p.12)

The government procured and supplied tractors to the districts in Karamoja, installed wind mills, solar and gravity flow irrigation systems

to draw water from major dams to boost agricultural production. But the tractor hire scheme which ran from 2009/2010 to 2012/2013, although subsidized, was expensive and unaffordable to the Karimojong. The government in FY 2013/2014 procured and distributed 14,000 hand hoes to the Ik and Tepeth communities in Kaabong and Moroto districts respectively because they never benefited from the tractor hire scheme. However, there has been inadequate provision of extension services to communities due to limited staff and resources at the district and sub-counties highlighting the deficiencies in planning of these projects.

The government initiated social protection programmes to ensure an adequate and acceptable standard of living for the country's most vulnerable and excluded citizens, a means to ensuring dignity and rights of its nationals, which is also enshrined in Uganda's Constitution. The Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) involves direct income support that transfers small amounts of money to individuals or households with a minimum level of income security. Under the SAGE programme, which is at the pilot phase in 15 out of the 112 districts in Uganda, older persons - 65 years old and above - receive about US \$ 8 per month except in Karamoja where the age of eligibility is 60 years and above due to extreme poverty and reduced life expectancy in the region (New Vision, January, 26, 2015). In the same vein, the vulnerable households with low labour capacity owing to age, physical disability and a high dependence on others because they cannot work, receive the Vulnerable Family Grants. The Karamoja region dominates the SAGE operational area with four districts of Amudat, Moroto, Napak and Nakapiripiti benefiting. This initiative has given the elderly, orphans, chronically ill and widows in Karamoja an opportunity to meet their minimum life needs and to achieve their full potential. They are living a more dignified life and are able to access the basic health and education services, have built secure and productive livelihoods and have become more active and productive members of communities.

These direct interventions to reduce poverty in Karamoja have reaped some achievements. For example, a sub-regional analysis of poverty in Northern Uganda indicates that the proportion of people below the poverty line in northern Uganda including Karamoja had reduced from 46.2% in 2009 to 43.7% in 2013. However the poverty levels in the region

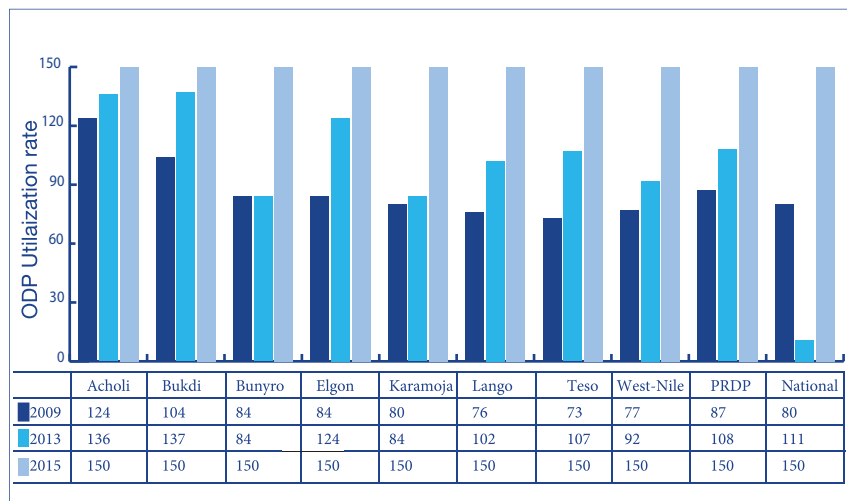
are still high compared to the national average. More still the Karamoja and Teso regions combined remain the most affected nationally even though improvements are seen with the population living under absolute poverty. The rate has decreased from 75.8% in 2009 to 74.2% in 2013 (OPM, 2014).

5. Intervention in Health, Water and Sanitation

The government stepped up the provision of health services in the Karamoja region. Long distance to health facilities barred the communities from seeking professional treatment and instead opted to consult traditional healers and non-qualified health practitioners whose services were readily available in the communities. People died while being pushed on wheelbarrows to health centres as far as 18 kms. away (Vision Reporter, August, 20, 2014 p.11). However, health facilities have been constructed right from the parish level, sub-county, county and district. The Moroto regional referral hospital has been refurbished and undergoing expansion to offer specialized services to the region. Massive sensitization was carried out in the local communities on the importance of immunization and seeking treatment from professional health workers especially in the areas of reproductive health. Consequently, in the Karamoja region, the maternal mortality rate and infant mortality rate have reduced. Under PRDP that targets the whole northern region comprising 55 districts of the eight sub regions of West Nile, Acholi, Bunyoro, Lango, Teso, Karamoja, Elgon and Bukedi, there has been construction of health facilities namely Out-Patients Departments (OPD), maternity wards, staff houses for medical workers and purchase of ambulances. For example, in the Karamoja region, health units increased from 97 in 2007 to 152 in 2010 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBOS], 2012 p.152). These initiatives have directly contributed to increased access to health facilities. Besides, the government conducted comprehensive cancer screening among girls between 13 and 18 years and all women of child bearing age. The programme piloted in Abim district before rolling out to the whole region aims to improve the health of mothers. Another programme, the Elimination of Mother To Child Transmission (EMTCT) of the HIV virus, started in Karamoja and is now accessible at hospitals and health centres IVs based at constituency level. However, drug supplies are inadequate.

Access to health facilities

Figure 2. Out Patient Department (OPD) utilization



Source; OPM, 2014

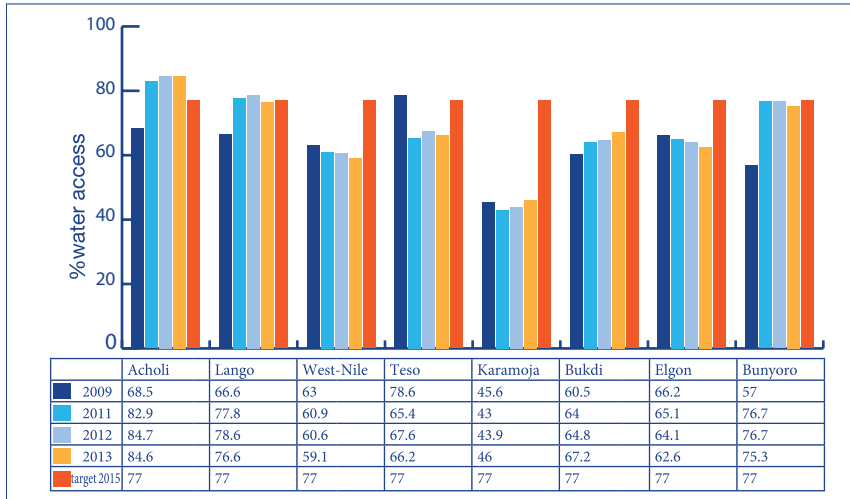
Access to health facilities is measured in terms of OPD utilization. A region with OPD utilization rate below 80% implies that there is difficulty in accessing the facility. There has been significant shift towards the PRDP set target of 150% across all the PRDP regions with Acholi, Bukedi and Elgon close to reaching it. However Karamoja, Bunyoro and West Nile regions are far away from meeting the target and need special consideration.

Regarding water and sanitation, the PRDP has focused on increasing access to safe water and improving sanitation. Karamoja being a dry area, faces perennial water shortage. The Karimojong culture and traditions also maintained the lowest level of sanitation in the country as disposal of human wastes was poor. However, the government, together with CSOs, has constructed boreholes and valley dams to provide water for the people and animals. Cases in point are that the Ministry of Karamoja Affairs in partnership with the Ministry of Water and Environment

constructed 22 valley dams - six in Moroto district and Napak district in FY 2011/2012, 10 in Amudat district and Kotido district in FY 2012/2013, and six in Abim district and Kaabong district in FY 2013/2014 (OPM, 2014). The safe water provision, though not significantly improved in Karamoja but on steady supply, has reduced the tensions in the communities and people are now living more harmoniously. This indeed is promoting peace which is a precursor of development.

Access to safe water

Figure 3 the Percentage of house holds with access to safe water

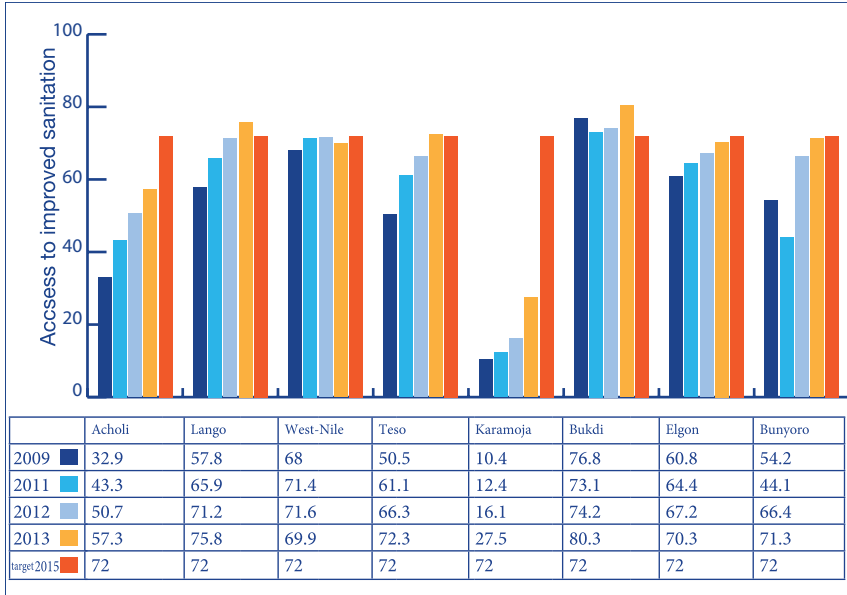


Source (OPM, 2014)

Access to safe water in Karamoja region has increased from 45.6% in 2009 to 46% in 2013. However, additional interventions are required if Karamoja is to meet the 2015 target.

Improved sanitation

Figure 4. percentage of House hold With access to improved sanitation



There is improved sanitation in Karamoja due to massive sensitization and improved access and functionality of water points. However, Karamoja remains highly endemic to Hepatitis E with 583 cases and 20 deaths reported between December 2013 and July 2014. Professor Anthony Mbonye, the Commissioner for Health Services in the Ministry of Health of Uganda, was explicit in describing the sanitation situation in Karamoja;

The main risk factors for the spread of this disease (Hepatitis E) are contaminated water and the social culture practices of drinking unhygienic local brew called Kwete and Malwa made with unboiled water, low latrine coverage, poor hand washing practices, the negative perception that faces spread around homes is a sign of richness, that water from ponds tastes better, that piling faces in latrines brings bad omen (Mbonye, 2014, p. 14).

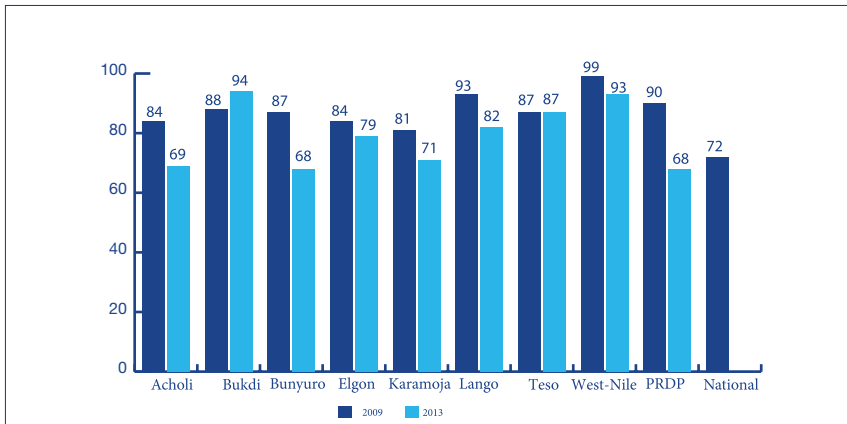
6. Intervention in Education Sector

The government has targeted education sector because it is believed that it can spearhead the transformation needed in the Karamoja region. The region has the lowest literacy rates in the country at 21% compared to the national average of 70% (Langoli, 2014). As a result, disseminating information to the communities remains a challenge. Although the enrollments in schools have increased, a large number of the school-going children remain out of school mainly answering to the cultural and traditional responsibilities of animal rearing. A key informant in Moroto, however, opined that parents are not basically sending their children to school to acquire knowledge but rather to eat lunch which is provided by the World Food Programme (WFP). The wandering nature of the Karimojong looking for pastures for their animals made access to formal education for their children impossible. However, a customized education programme, Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) was developed and implemented through mobile classrooms. Under ABEK, the teachers and facilitators would follow the nomads to any location they had found pastures and conduct lessons from there under tree shades. The essence of ABEK was to give the Karimojong children an opportunity to access formal education just like other children in other parts of the country. The facilitators also sensitize pastoralists on the values of educating children with the aim of changing their attitude. They also emphasize the need to enroll girls in school. However early marriages coordinated by the clans continue depriving the girl children of opportunities to attend school.

While the ABEK programme was being implemented, the government focused on constructing classrooms and staff houses. Even as few students attended school, the classrooms were few that some classes were conducted under tree shades. There was acute shortage of qualified teachers because of the insecurity and unfavourable working condition. Although Karamoja has a Primary Teacher Training College in Moroto district, those qualifying opt to work in other areas of the country that are relatively secure. More so the government had constructed classrooms and staff houses in other areas so, Karamoja, besides its insecurity, was not an attractive working place. To ensure retention of workers in Karamoja and other “Hard to reach” areas, the government introduced

a “hardship allowance” which is a top up on the existing traditional government salary scale nomenclature. This hardship allowance is meant to cover for the unreceptive environment the employees work in. Eventually, public servants working in “hard to reach” areas like Karamoja get a better pay than those working in areas with better living conditions like Kampala, the Capital City. The area now attracts qualified staff; however, challenges of teachers’ absenteeism exist, and with an underfunded education inspectorate, the quality of service delivery in the education sector is low.

Figure 5. Pupils Classroom Ratio in Northern Uganda



Source (OPM, 2014)

On the side of the children, the school environment was unfavourable and retention of the few children who were enrolled in school was a great challenge. As a result of increased construction of classrooms in Karamoja, the pupil-classroom ratio has decreased from 81 pupils per classroom to 71 pupils per classroom and at the same time enrollment has increased in schools. The pupil-classroom ratio in Karamoja is better than the national pupil-classroom ratio that stands at 72 pupils per classroom. However, a number of children are yet to enroll in school as they are seen grazing cattle during class hours. Therefore, there exists a need for construction of more classrooms to reduce this ratio further and cater for the increasing enrollment.

The government, in pursuit of improved education standards through registration, retention and better performance, is constructing four dormitories equipped with beds and solar lighting systems for four “hard to reach” schools namely, Lobangangit, Kacheri, Karita and Lolachat Primary Schools as well as four semi-detached staff houses at Moroto High School to accommodate eight teachers (OPM, 2014). In December 2013, the government launched Karamoja Primary Education programme (KPEP), an 11 million Euro-project funded by Irish Aid to rehabilitate 21 primary schools across Karamoja. The KPEP project was meant to construct and rehabilitate classrooms, dormitories, administration blocks, teachers’ houses, kitchens, latrines and rain water harvesting facilities in three primary schools in each of the seven districts of the Karamoja region. The project also equipped the schools with solar power, beds, chairs, tables, water tanks, equipment, books and instructional materials.

In the same vein, the government introduced a “District Quota System”, a scheme to give all districts a chance for their children to access admission in government universities under government scholarships. Although this scheme is nationwide, it targeted the unprivileged areas like Karamoja that could hardly produce students with the required grades to get university admission under government scholarship. This scheme has enabled children from Karamoja to access higher education even if it raises questions about the quality of such products of higher education.

7. The Justice, Law and Order Sector

The Karamoja region, like in other sectors, has for long had a deficit in the justice, law and order sector (JLOS). The region followed the informal traditional justice system where elders and community members decided on matters as judicial officers, judges, prosecutors, witnesses, and assessors who promoted criminality as their judgments were not backed by defined procedures and, thus, contravened the constitution and other reinforcing laws of the land. The laws of the jungle were used to dispense justice (or injustice?) in Karamoja. Light offenses like chicken theft would receive such grave sentences like thrashing and or even death and the sentences would be executed

immediately through actions of mob justice (stoning to death). The clan and village courts hardly had any room to appeal. However, the government has strengthened the JLOS by reinforcing the civil police that embarked on community policing and sensitizing the masses on the country's laws, the corresponding penalties as well as human rights. Equally, the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (MoJCA) is ensuring that its services are deconcentrated to its clients in Karamoja, constructed a mini JLOS centre in Moroto district to serve the Karamoja region. The MoJCA also targeted to attract and encourage staff in the region by constructing houses for its staff. Although opportunities to access the formal justice system are apparent in Karamoja, the clan courts still hold a lot of power and influence because they expedite hearing of cases reported, have a few modalities and are not ridden with corruption. The delays and procedures of the formal justice system have been unattractive to the communities. The penalties in the clan courts have, however, reduced down to less severe sentences like community service where the convicted people clear bushy community roads, slash compounds around health centres and water sources accompanied by moderate fines that have culture strings and significance like a jerry can of alcoholic drink to the community members for forgiveness and reunion.

The insecurity and poor conditions in Karamoja exposed the region to child trafficking and children fleeing to urban areas expecting to find a better life but consequently turning into street children. The government has on several occasions rounded up the street children in Kampala, the capital city, and confined them to Kampiringisa Rehabilitation Centre in the central region which is congested. The government, in partnership with the Chinese government, is rehabilitating the Koblin resettlement centre in Napak District so that the children salvaged from the streets are rehabilitated within their region. However, resettling the children effectively needs to address the poor condition especially at the household and community levels which other programmes are implementing although with little success. Mrs. Janet Museveni, the Minister of Karamoja, summarized the state of development in the area saying,

In spite of the many players in development operating in Karamoja, the slow substantial progress in water, health services, agricultural productivity and social transformation in the region shows that there is a deficit in coordination at sub-county, district, and national levels".
Mrs. Janet Museveni, Minister of Karamoja Affairs (Vision Reporter, July, 9, 2014 p.6)

A Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) church through its development arm, Karamoja Integrated Development Programme (KIDEP), constructed at Namendera village a health centre to boost health care of communities resettled from the streets of Kampala. The communities previously trekked 18 kms to access health care and people always claimed they were running to Kampala where there are better health services. Through the PRDP and KALIP, the government has strengthened the local governments and consolidated state authority through sensitizing and empowering communities. Besides, in an effort to revitalize the economy in Karamoja, the government has embarked on infrastructural development. Electricity grid was extended to Moroto district in 2012 and the road from Nakapiripit to Moroto is being upgraded from murrum to tarmac. Other murrum roads in the area have been rehabilitated and they are motorable. Besides the Ministry of Karamoja Affairs is running a project to improve houses by constructing them using hydra form technology. A number of houses have been built but taking a slow pace. People are still accustomed to the huts, but the project has started and the houses are good.

Conclusion

Karamoja remains the least developed region in the country. Respective governments have struggled to develop the area through various development programmes. The seasonal movements of the Karamoja deny them opportunities to benefit from a host of programmes like agricultural modernization, education and health. The Karimojong fighting respective governments since independence has been a discouraging factor to governments to establish and implement nucleus development programmes as the area has for long been a war zone. The nature of Karamoja needed systematically designed programmes, but unfortunately most of the programmes were not. The government realized

Karamoja as a region that need special attention and special programmes but there has been complexity of designing targeted interventions for this unique area and implementing unique programmes without national standards for comparison. Many programmes were initiated and many players were involved in the development of Karamoja but there is slow substantial progress in all sectors because there is a deficit in coordination at sub-county, district and national levels. The significant change in Karamoja is the restoration of peace and security. Otherwise, there is a mismatch between government programmes and realities in Karamoja. Conversely, sustainable development is possible in Karamoja if the cultural and ecological realities of the region are taken into account. Therefore, it is recommended that focus should be put on local priorities and place local knowledge at the centre of programming of any initiative. Moreover, a top-bottom approach is fetching less results and thus ineffective. It is, therefore, recommended that a bottom-up approach be adopted with a room for community participation in all stages of development programmes right from designing to implementation and evaluation. Regardless of the shortcomings of the government programmes, Karamoja has been part of the development plan of the government of Uganda.

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2

PART TWO
**CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT,
ENVIRONMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT
INTERVENTIONS**

CHAPTER SEVEN

Sedentarization and Drought Resilience: Government Strategies to Support Pastoralist Livelihoods in Ethiopia

Mohammed Yimer

Abstract

As one of the predominant and specialized livelihood systems persisted for centuries in the Horn of Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular, pastoralism is highly dependent on livestock by definition and involves the mobility of herds to access grazing and water. The paper argues that it has been one of the most resilient livelihood systems because of the ability of pastoralists to adapt to resource scarce, ecologically fragile, and climatically highly variable circumstances. However, significant shifts in natural, socio-economic and institutional conditions have resulted in high levels of vulnerability, and as a result pastoralists particularly in Ethiopia are heavily impacted by drought. The paper needs to uncover the fact that an understanding of the particular constraints and strategies of pastoralists is an important first step in designing appropriate emergency interventions to support their economies in times of crisis. Any disaster planning in pastoral areas must start from an understanding of the main characteristics of pastoral societies. Nationally, long-standing negative perceptions of pastoralism continue to influence decision

makers. For example, despite increased attention to pastoral-related issues and pastoral areas in recent years, Ethiopia often encourages pastoral communities to settle and take up agriculture. Settlement as a government strategy and the responses of pastoralists in different villagization sites are discussed. It is also indicated that the deteriorating condition of rangelands linked to resettlement greatly undermined local livelihoods and land tenure security. As observed from the living standards and the various literatures on the topic of pastoralism, pastoral livelihoods are today highly vulnerable because of the loss of valuable natural resources, increasing restrictions on herd mobility and unsound sedentarization programmes pursued by successive governments. The net effect has been increasing poverty, recurrent food insecurity, and the deterioration of livestock herds both in number and quality. With regard to preparing for disasters and emergencies, to help pastoral people to avoid impending disaster threats, the paper presented feasible disaster preparedness framework which can serve as feedback to various stakeholders who aspire to work on the promotion of pastoralism in Ethiopia and the Horn.

Key words: Pastoralism, Development policies, Settlement and Drought Resilience, Ethiopia

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists constitute 12-15% of the estimated 80 million Ethiopian population in the year 2007 (CSA, 2007). In Ethiopia, the pastoralist community inhabits about 625,000 km² or 60% of the total land mass of the country. Pastoralists obtain about 50-70% of their means of livelihood from livestock and livestock products. Although pastoralist communities inhabit a significant proportion of the country's land mass, the relative contribution of the pastoral sector to the national economy is significantly low (estimated at 8.4% of the Gross Domestic Product). This relatively low contribution of the pastoral community to the national economy is a reflection and outcome of the poor level of development of the sub-sector manifested in the form of low productivity of the livestock production.

Momentum towards a more comprehensive pastoral development process will be founded on many things. The uniqueness of pastoral

systems needs to be better understood by decision makers, including the requirement that pastoralists be opportunistic and mobile. This will enable the pastoralists to be resilient from drought which recently prevailed in every pastoral area in Ethiopia. Therefore, the rights of pastoralists⁶⁰ to critical grazing and water resources need to be better appreciated and protected. Furthermore, for a productive pastoral development to take place, pastoral livestock production needs to be better supported by early warning, animal health, and marketing systems. Equally important is that development decision makers need to embrace a greater human focus. It should be understood that bottom-up processes will help empower the poor and contribute to the eventual transformation of the pastoral community. Sustainable pastoral development requires collaboration at local, national, and international levels. One example of international cooperation in West Africa has been to open borders to pastoralists to restore mobility. A similar system should be implemented among member states of the Greater Horn of Africa so that the pastoral community will make a noticeable difference.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The intensity, frequency and impact of drought in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia and also the number of people in need of food aid have increased since the 1970s (Kindie, 2010). These areas suffer from a drought that occurs every two to three years. As a result, millions of pastoral communities often face severe food shortages⁶¹. Although this is plain truth, drought resilience and adaption mechanisms in Ethiopia are not institutionalized. The common trend in response to very harsh drought hazards in the country is offering emergency food aid. Being aware of the frequency, intensity, and its severe consequence, the government of Ethiopia has taken steps to tackle the problem by villagizing such vulnerable groups along the river banks. Using sedentarization strategy, the government of Ethiopia has settled a considerable number of pastoral groups in four selected villagization sites, namely: Somali, Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz and Afar regions. However, sedentarization by itself is not a viable strategy capable enough to respond to the problems

⁶⁰ Pastoralists are defined as those who obtain more than half their income from livestock and livestock products and who characteristically practice mobility to avoid risk, respond to variable climatic conditions and ensure healthy livestock and rangelands.

⁶¹ <http://www.iied.org/ethiopia-can-it-adapt-climate-change-build-green-economy>

of the pastoral community that is close to 15 million and occupies the dryland ecosystem which accounts for 60% of the total land mass of the country (Markakis, 2004). Therefore, settlement and sedentarization policies have failed to consider the very nature of pastoralism which is assisted by mobility exercised to respond to the frequent droughts. They have also failed to be inclusive as they address only those who have access to water resources. The question here is, what about those who have no access to such a resource? If there were rivers and other water bodies, pastoralists would not need to be told to undertake a large scale sedentarization. Thus, the strategies exacerbate the situation and consequently lead to unsustainable future for pastoralism in Ethiopia. Despite the support from the policy framework for pastoralism in Africa, and much of the scholarly debates on the rationality of the system, the government's pastoral development policies and strategies in Ethiopia insist on the one side of the coin.

1.3. Objectives of the study

General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the challenges, opportunities and implications of government development strategies in the pastoral areas with a particular emphasis on drought resilience and sedentarization strategies.

Specific Objectives

1. To identify success stories which are obtained as a result of settlement policies.
2. To examine the challenges to development policies in pastoral areas.
3. To assess the opportunities and prospects for pastoral development.
4. To explore the responses to the recurrent drought in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia.

1.4. Methodology

1.4.1. Sources of Data

The study is qualitative and descriptive in nature. It employed both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with the pastoral people whereas secondary data were secured through extensive use of scholarly literature on pastoralism in Ethiopia and the Horn and documents from the Ministry of Federal Affairs on the villagization programme.

1.4.2. Methods of Data Analysis

Direct interpretation of interviews with pastoralists who are villagized and analyses of a wide range of documents were done.

2. Pastoralism

2.1. Pastoralism and Its Economic Significance

Pastoralism⁶² makes a very significant contribution to the national income, employment, agricultural production, and food demand of people in the world. Livestock in pastoral regions accounts for an estimated 40% or so of the country's total livestock population⁶³. Moreover cattle from the pastoral areas provide around 20% of the draft animals for the Ethiopian highlands (Coppock 1994). The Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) estimates that in 2008/09 the pastoral livestock population contributed birr 34.8 billion out of the total national livestock value of birr 86.5 billion to the national economy of Ethiopia. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Ethiopia's total livestock population has reached more than 88 million, the largest in Africa, and the livestock sub-sector contributes an estimated 12% to the total GDP and over 45% to the agricultural GDP. In spite of the economic significance of pastoralism in Ethiopia, very little development consideration was given to the pastoral areas and to the pastoralists until the mid-1960s.

⁶² Pastoralism is a production system made up of people, natural resources, livestock and social relations in harsh climatic environments(PFE, 2010)

⁶³ Pantuliano, S. and M. Wekesa (2008). Specifically pastoralists account for 20% of sheep, 25% of goats, 73% of cattle, and 100% of camel population in the country. Source: PFE, 2010

Pastoral production remains the dominant land use in Ethiopia's lowlands lying below an elevation of 1500m and constituting between 54% and 61% of the country's surface area (Coppock, 1994). In the Afar Region, pastoralists make up 90% of the estimated 1.4 million population with the remaining practicing agro-pastoralism. A total of 85% of the 4.4 million people in Somali Region are pastoralists (FDRE, 2007; World Bank, 2008). Pastoralists also represent a significant proportion of the population in Oromia and SNNPR's arid lowlands (World Bank, 2008). Agriculture has to date extended to a relatively small area – about 0.3% of the total land area in the Afar Region and 5.5% in the Somali Region (*ibid.*). However, crop production is becoming more widespread in some areas. For example, in Oromia, where only around 5% of the land is under cultivation (OWWDSE, 2009), the area set aside for crop production in one study area has increased by a factor of 12 - from 1.4% in 1986 to 16.3% in the late 1990s (McCarthy et al, 2001).

Livestock production makes a major contribution to the national economy, generating significant foreign exchange (\$121 million in 2006 - IIED and SOS Sahel, 2010), while pastoral livestock production contributes 30% of gross national product (GNP) and 90% of hard currency generated from live animal exports (Kassahun, *et. al.*, 2008). The direct value of pastoral livestock production has been put at \$1.22 billion per annum, with additional indirect values of almost half a billion from draught power, manure, tourism and rangeland products such as gums and resins (SOS Sahel Ethiopia, 2008). Unofficial earnings may exceed official figures significantly. Scott-Villiers (2006) estimated cross-border livestock sales in Somali region at three to six times the official figures for the whole country.

2.2. The Pastoral Livelihood Strategy

Within the extensive rangelands of these regions, scarce and variable rainfall dictates the presence or absence of pasture on which livestock depend. The rainy season permits pastoralists to disperse over a wide area, while the grazing range contracts in the dry season around permanent water sources such as rivers or groundwater-fed wells. The high degree of mobility during grazing allows dry season grazing areas to recover between seasons and contributes to rangeland health by

stimulating vegetation growth, fertilizing the soil, aiding seed dispersal to maintain pasture diversity and preventing bush encroachment (Hesse and Mac Gregor, 2006). Comparison with areas around permanent settlements reveals higher levels of degradation than in open rangeland where mobile pastoralism is practiced (Fuller, 1999).

The ‘tragedy of the commons’ hypothesis, which proposes that individual herders eventually overgraze and deplete open access pasture by indiscriminately increasing herd size (Hardin, 1968), does not reflect reality in the rangelands. In fact, access is not ‘open’, but is rather regulated through negotiation and reciprocity within a system of communal land tenure. Groups are often associated with specific territories which contain critical natural resources such as grazing land and water resources, but membership and boundaries between these territories, are often ‘fuzzy’ to accommodate mobility in times of scarcity (Mwangi and Dohrn, 2006). The variable location of rainy season and dry season pastures from year to year increases the need for such a flexible system. Reciprocity is expected when the tables are turned (Beyene and Korf, 2008). Traditional institutions allow different clans or groups to be represented in decision-making regarding access to land and water (Gomes, 2006).

2.3. Mobility: an Ecological Necessity

Of all the government policies since the 1970s, settlement of pastoralists and restriction of mobility has had the worst environmental consequences. The policy of ‘sedentarization’ was based on a profound misunderstanding of the logic behind pastoral production, favouring production systems imported from developed countries and inappropriately supported by the theory of the ‘tragedy of the commons’. Movement was restricted by providing stationary settlements, replete with services and resources, especially water, ignoring the wider ecological necessity behind mobility in grazing-dependent ecosystems.

Not surprisingly, the imposition of sedentary life failed miserably and was resisted by herders who needed grass and water for their animals and had to move to find it. Services were not delivered or maintained and pastoralists were accused of being anti-development. Eventually, the

big pastoral livestock projects of the 1970s and early 1980s were halted as donors abandoned the sector, but not before large swathes of drylands were degraded as a result of the experiment. Simultaneously, the small but resource-rich buffer zones that enable pastoralism were expropriated and converted into irrigation schemes for settled agriculture, or fenced off for wildlife and forest reserves. This combination of bad policy and resource loss has profoundly compromised pastoralism and dryland environments and led to violent conflicts in many pastoral areas.

It is now more widely understood that where rainfall is subject to a high degree of spatial variability, mobility is an ecological necessity. Mobile pastoralism provides a highly efficient way of managing the sparse vegetation and relatively low fertility of dryland soils. In essence, pastoralists accept the variability of productive inputs (pasture and rainfall) and adapt their social and herding systems accordingly. As a result, biological diversity is enhanced and ecosystem integrity and resilience is maintained.

2.4. Geographical Distribution of Pastoralists in Ethiopia

Pastoral areas in Ethiopia cover two-thirds of the land mass of the country and support 12-15% of the country's human population and a large number of livestock. These areas which are commonly called rangelands are located in the arid and semi-arid lowland areas in the East, North-east, West, and South of the country. Ethiopian pastoralists represent many different ethnic groups. The most important ones in terms of number of people, livestock, and size of area occupied are the Somali in the east and southeast, the Afar in the northeast, and the Borena in the south. In addition, there are smaller groups such as the Hamar and Geleb, Arbore, and Dassenetch, etc. who live in the extreme southwest of the country. Pastoralists are also found in areas of Tigray, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella. The Somali pastoralists constitute 53% of the pastoral population followed by the Afar 29%, the Borena 10%. The remaining 8% are found in Gambella, Benishangul and Tigray regions. Of the total livestock in the country, it is estimated that the pastoral sector raises 40% of the cattle, 75% of the goats, 25% of the sheep, 20% of the equines, and 100% of the camels (Coppock, 1994).

As livestock production is the mainstay of pastoral systems, improving livestock productivity remained the key issue using rotational grazing. However, several development policies and the subsequent projects were futile and were unable to bear fruit. The reasons behind the failure of such policies and projects designed in line with these policies were the following.

- The prevalence of frequent drought and conflict
- Inappropriate and biased representation
- Lack of knowledge of pastoral behaviour on the part of planners and decision makers.
- The top-down approach used by development facilitators and researchers
- Underestimation of the power of traditional institutions
- Disregard⁶⁴ to indigenous knowledge and poor understanding of the functioning of arid and semi-arid pastoral systems

2.5. Threats and Opportunities for Pastoral Development

Mobile pastoralists the world over are subject to an astonishing number of myths and misconceptions. These misconceptions have led to inadequate, often hostile, development policies and interventions which have resulted in major barriers to sustainable land management that entrenched pastoral poverty. In order to achieve the twin goals of dryland environmental sustainability and pastoral poverty reduction, it is necessary to overcome anti-pastoral prejudice and bring an end to damaging policies and practices.

Although mobile pastoralism is the most viable form of production and land use in most of the world's fragile drylands, it is increasingly under threat from legal, economic, social and political disincentives and

⁶⁴ Disregard of traditional management systems has led pastoralist communities in the area to neglect this practice, and bush encroachment and the consequent reduction of grazing areas for livestock have become increasingly problematic as a result.

barriers to mobility of livestock. State of the art findings on the viability of pastoralism are not communicated effectively to decision makers and alternative policy options still need to be formulated. Key policy gaps include regulation of transhumance, investment in production, mobile (or otherwise appropriate) service delivery, conflict resolution, decentralization and democracy adapted to mobile populations, alternative and complementary income generation opportunities, and “exit strategies” for those pastoralists wishing to leave the system. Pastoralists also need to be enabled to capture the economic benefits of their livelihood, for example through improved marketing of livestock, processing and marketing of non-timber forest products and being able to benefit more responsibly from tourism.

3. The Policy Environment

3.1. Government Policies and Pastoral Development

As with pastoralists elsewhere, pastoralism and pastoralists in Ethiopia have been affected by various policies and development interventions over the past decades. Reforms in many parts of post-colonial Africa were largely based on models of private property rights or declaration of *de facto* state property rights over land resources (Kirk, 1996; Tolossa and Asfaw, 1995). In Ethiopia, the reforms largely followed socialist paths with re-distributive motives, and were associated with three phases of policy changes in the country, corresponding to the periods of the monarchy before 1974, the socialist government or the *Derg* regime that ruled from 1974 to 1991, and the EPRDF government (post-*Derg*) that has ruled from 1991 to the present (Bruce *et. al.*, 1994). Policies of the Ethiopian governments have been antagonistic to pastoralism, pastoralists and their traditional institutions (Desta and Coppock, 2004). In some cases, the aggressive move by governments to replace the traditional institutions and organizations ended up in loss of indigenous knowledge appropriate to manage the fragile arid and semi-arid ecosystem.

3.2. Pastoral Development Policies during the Imperial Era

Land policies of the time favoured the feudal landlords, but paid little attention to the pastoral areas which were largely unaffected by policies. Marginalization of pastoralism was so intense to the extent of forcefully evicting the pastoral communities from their holdings and instead establishing national parks and state farms. The effect of such measures and use of the pastoral lands for non-pastoral investments has devastated pastoral livelihoods (Desta and Coppock, 2004). The victims in this case included, among others, the pastoral communities of Afar, Kereyu, Hammer, and Geleb. The development policy was solely focusing on the natural resources and the livestock, not on improving the pastoral livelihood.

3.3. Pastoral Development Policies during the Derg Regime

Though the two systems were similar in focus, livestock production and productivity, the Derg was serious about the 1975 proclamation which led to the nationalization of rural lands. The proclamation limited pastoralists to usufruct rights and gave the socialist state the authority to further encroach on pastoralist lands and water resources for investments not related to pastoral livelihoods or wellbeing. Best rangelands were demarcated and enclosed for national parks, state forests, and state-controlled ranches outlawing the pastoralists from using them for grazing. Large resettlement schemes were carried out at the expense of nomadic pastoralists. The worst aspect of the policy was the introduction of a quota system in which each pastoral association had to supply a given number of animals at a given time at state fixed prices to the state run livestock enterprises meant to feed the urban consumers and export a portion of the livestock to earn hard currency. Due to the misperception of the system that saw pastoralism as a backward production system, the central objective of the policy was to restructure the traditional pastoralism into a modern system. However, the policy ended with no success of any kind.

3.4. Pastoral Development Policies during the EPRDF

This system made a significant departure from the previous two systems in a number of ways. It is only the EPRDF Constitution that incorporated articles with regard to giving special attention to the development of pastoralism and pastoral areas. The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution provided the pastoralists with the right to free land grazing and not to be displaced from their own land without consent. The constitution also empowered pastoralists to receive fair prices for their products. This would lead to improvement in their conditions of life. With its ultimate objective of considering areas under pastoral production system as areas of special problems which need special measures appropriate to local conditions, the FDRE government established a department in the Ministry of Federal Affairs which coordinates and facilitates development in the pastoral areas and set up Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee in the parliament which oversees pastoral development activities in the country. Furthermore, regional offices in charge of pastoral development have been established in regions where pastoralism is an important production system. Apart from this, the government has attempted to incorporate pastoral development issues into the national development plans for the first time in the history of development of the country.

3.4.1. Strategies to Promote Development in the Pastoral Areas

3.4.1.1. Sedentarization as a Government Strategy

The pastoral community in Ethiopia depends on sedentary agriculture or mixed farming and has the highest rates of poverty. Considerable proportions of pastoralists suffer from chronic food insecurity and consequently rely on food aid for survival at least for some time in a year. More devastatingly, the livelihood of pastoralists in Ethiopia is becoming increasingly fragile and vulnerable due to unpredictable and extreme weather patterns induced by climate change. Recurrent drought and livestock disease have eroded the livelihood base of pastoralists

in Ethiopia and weakened the traditional disaster risk reduction and mitigation mechanisms. Currently, due to the intensity and frequency of natural and man-made hazards and the lack of effective disaster risk assessment and management mechanisms, the livelihoods of the pastoral communities in most parts of the country remain at risk. The devastating effects of the 2010-2011 droughts, for example, were unforgettable. Consequently, some policymakers argue that pastoralist livelihoods are no longer sustainable. They assert that the only way to ensure food security for pastoralists is to move away from their traditional livelihoods towards more traditional and sedentary jobs. However, a number of studies verified that this is not a guarantor of economic security (Coppock, 1994; Nori, 2007; Krätli and Schareika, 2010). Instead; these Studies have shown that mobility and trade are necessary for wealth accumulation and drought management for pastoralists. Mobile pastoralists have been found to be better off than ex-pastoralist sedentary farmers in many parts of the Horn of Africa. However, pastoral communities have poor access to social and economic development infrastructures and basic services. This in turn further perpetuates their vulnerability, deteriorates livelihoods and increases poverty.

3.4.1.2. Sedentarization through Villagization

With the intention of promoting pastoral community, the government has pursued a number of strategies. One of these strategies is the settlement policy which takes villagization at its core strategy. In Ethiopia, some pastoral areas are identified on the basis of proximity to water bodies and the potential ecology of the sites to undertake the villagization programme. These villagization project sites are Somali, Gambella, Afar and Benishangul-Gumuz. As indicated in the table below, a considerable part of the pastoral communities are being villagized and consequently sedentarized.

Table 1. Villagization sites, development centres and total beneficiaries in areas with special attention 2011-2013

No	Region	No. of Zones	No. of Woredas	Woredas undergone villagization	Total Villag. sites	No. of HH as of 2007 CSA	Total beneficiaries in the 3 yrs. villag. plan
1	Benishangul	3	20	18	237	134,169	67,148
2	Gambella	3	13	11	123	61,383	42,391
3	Somali	9	67	18	145	887,829	165,876
4	Afar	5	33	9	59	282,218	36,670
	Total	20	133	56	564	1,365,599	312,085

Source: Ministry of Federal Affairs, 2014

Although sedentarization is one of the options, mere sedentarization could not overcome pastoral vulnerability in the villagization sites. To this end, policies are in place to consolidate and stabilize those who have already settled or semi-settled through improved water supply, pasture and social services. Thus, at the end of the GTP period, efforts were exerted to make the settled and semi-settled pastoral groups beneficiary and adapt their new agro-pastoral system. Generally, only in the Somali region, about 1,046,450 settled population became direct beneficiaries from education, health, water, specialized and improved seeds and commercial fertilizer in the villagized zones (see Table 2 below). On the other hand, those settled pastoralists say that they are not benefited from the aforementioned services, as claimed by the government. They insist that their former pastoral life assisted by mobility was much better than the new sedentarized life.

The following lines summarize what ten former pastoralists of the region had to say:

We were well off people who could even buy a car at one time when we were leading a pastoral life. We could manage our arid areas and keep them sustainable and after all, we were close friends with our arid

ecology and our animals. To tell you the truth, we are asking those from the Ministry of Federal Affairs and PASC members to give us our freedom. We just want to get back to our mobile life and enjoy the life we had in the past golden days. It is only the government and the representatives who were selected and represented by state officials that propagate we are benefitted, and they do not represent us.

Therefore, the government should reconsider the vulnerability of those who are settled and materialize the provision of social services at least until they adapt to the new environment.

Other groups from the Gambella region also said the following.

Who asked the government to settle us? We have never raised such an issue in our life. The villagization strategy is rather a forced one. The case is that there occurred a bad drought and whenever such phenomena took place, the government used to give food aid. Later, in order to introduce its strategy of villagization, the government stopped the aid and we agreed on the villagization programme because that was the only option we had at the time. Now, the highlanders themselves are suffering from lack of food.

Table 2. Access to economic and social services in the Somali villagization centres

No	Zone	Total Centres of Villag. (2011-2014)	Total Villagized (2011-2014)	Institutions Rendering Social Services			Agricultural Institutions and Inputs				Total Beneficiaries 2011-2014 villagization Programme
				Educa- tion	Health	Water	water pumps	Farm tools	Specialized seeds in qu'tl	Fertlizer in qu'tal	
1	Sebele	77	74,528	113	75	154	3,6.13	37,136	2931.3	1313	491,885
2	Afder	55	58,929	81	73	137	2638	28,271	176.1	111	388,931
3	Liban	44	23,870	111	50	202	1441	21,184	0	0	15,7542
4	Sitty	4	1,226	15	4	18	0	2,434	591	1	8,092
	Total	180	58,553	324	202	511	7692	89025	3698	1425	1,046,450

Source: Ministry of Federal Affairs, 2013

The commitment of the Government of Ethiopia to improve the lives of pastoralists is evident in the development strategies specially outlined for pastoralists in the PASDEP and the current GTP. In line with that, the government has taken a number of measures including designing new pastoral-friendly policies and strategies such as institutional reforms and programme initiatives focused on improving pastoral livelihoods, livelihood diversification and managing rangelands. The partnership with the Spanish government and the UN Ethiopia Country Team to implement the Environment JP under the framework of the MDGs Achievement Fund is one manifestation of the commitment of the government and its development partners to improve the livelihoods of pastoralists in a sustainable manner.

3.4.2. Building Resilience through Livelihood Support

Extensive research and evaluations of drought response carried out in the region over the last decade and more have demonstrated that such disastrous consequences can be averted by strengthening and protecting pastoral livelihood systems, and building resilience and capacity to survive the inevitable occurrence of drought. Livelihoods interventions such as livestock-related initiatives (for example, destocking) and water related interventions (including creating and rehabilitating wells and boreholes), contribute both to saving lives and strengthening pastoralists' resilience. By equipping communities with the ability to manage and respond to shocks in the early stages of a crisis, strategic livelihood interventions allow for more timely and appropriate responses to disasters than is possible with typical emergency relief assistance. In addition, early protection and promotion of people's livelihoods significantly reduces the need for massive food aid operations when malnutrition and disease reach acute levels.

3.5. The Institutional Framework for Drought Management in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has invested heavily on improving its system of disaster preparedness. Lautze (2003) observes that there is an 'impressive array' of government institutions, policies and processes designed to identify, respond to and mitigate disasters. The Disaster Prevention

and Preparedness Agency (DPPA) is responsible for overseeing disaster prevention and preparedness, including early warning, as well as managing disaster response. Since the creation of Food Security Coordination Bureau (FSCB) in 2004, however, DPPA has been restricted to responding only to emergencies and to the acute needs of 'the unpredictable food insecurity' (Grunewald *et. al.*, 2006). The FSCB is charged with improving long-term food and livelihood insecurity of chronically insecure beneficiaries through the productive safety nets and other food security programmes. Accordingly, the DPPA has focused on needs assessments to determine both food and non-food responses to emergencies, reducing its focus on prevention and preparedness. This should include mitigation⁶⁵ and adaptation⁶⁶ strategies in almost all pastoral areas as they are prone to frequent drought. One opportunity for this is that, since 2011, the government of Ethiopia has planned a new development initiative known as Climate Resilient Green Economy. Since this ambitious plan incorporates all the highlands and the vast ASALs of Ethiopia, it could be taken as an important development in such a direction.

3.6. Enabling Pastoral Communities to Adapt to Climate Change and Restoring Rangeland Environment

Pastoral communities in Ethiopia have been adapting their livelihoods to changing environmental conditions for centuries. Recurrent droughts have been a major issue throughout history in the Ethiopian lowlands, and strategies to cope with and adapt to these droughts are embedded in communities' traditional social structures and resource management systems. Recent evidence includes increasing temperatures and drought frequency as well as unpredictable rains that fall in shorter but more intense episodes. These trends are projected to continue over the next century. The magnitude and rate of current climate change, combined with additional environmental, social and political issues are making many traditional coping strategies ineffective and/or unsustainable amplifying environmental degradation and food insecurity, and forcing communities to rapidly find new livelihood strategies. Communities participating in this study have a number of ideas on how to prepare for future climate change, demonstrating a strong motivation to move

⁶⁵ "Mitigation" refers to removal of the causes of the problem i.e. drought.

⁶⁶ "Adaptation" refers the ability of communities to respond to problems to minimize loss

out of poverty and take their future into their own hands. Suggested strategies include modifying livestock diversity, composition and numbers; diversifying livelihood activities; producing, collecting and preserving hay; modifying rangeland management practices; modifying farming practices; maintaining, rehabilitating and constructing water infrastructure; expanding education; supporting savings and credit; establishing community groups to promote local engagement in a range of social and economic activities; making local natural resource management more effective, efficient and participatory; reducing conflicts over available resources; planting trees; and raising community awareness on climate change issues including future projections and potential adaptation strategies.

4. Policy Constraints

4.1. Mobility - a Risky Move?

In recent years, it has become more evident to researchers that livestock mobility produces positive environmental externalities such as environmental benefits including biodiversity conservation and stimulated pasture growth. Understanding and promoting these benefits, and thus feeding back positively on the system make good economic sense (Mc Gahey *et. al.*, 2008; Davies *et. al.*, 2010). Herd mobility is not only essential for effective risk management, it also enables pastoralists to harness environmental variability and enhance livestock production (Swallow, 1994; Nori, 2007; Krätli and Schareika, 2010). Mobility can be driven by many factors including seasonal availability of (or requirement for) resources, evasion of seasonal stresses such as livestock disease, access to services such as markets and avoidance of conflict.

The persistence of the pastoralist livelihood strategy in much of the arid lowlands attests to its rationality and flexibility, but mobility is essential. Devereux (2006) finds that where mobility is unhindered, pastoral households are economically better and more food-secure than their settled counterparts, and that many pastoral settlements in Ethiopia were partially or entirely abandoned in the droughts of 2004 and 2006. Little *et. al.*, (2008) reached a similar conclusion showing that households are less likely to lose their livestock assets and become food insecure if they

remain mobile. Despite this, tragedy of the commons thinking greatly influenced approaches in the early years of development in Ethiopia's lowlands, and continues to do so.

Pastoral communities make well-planned and targeted movements between wet and dry season grazing areas. Mobility is a strategy suitable to the fragile land on which pastoralists live allowing communities to best use limited pasture and other resources. It allows pastoralists to balance and conserve rangelands through careful management. In Ethiopia, pastoralists' prime reason for moving is to search for better grazing, water and saltlicks (the different minerals which are an essential ingredient for animal health) and to avoid disease. In Afar, Somali and South Omo regions, movement is further dictated by the seasonal flooding of the Awash, Wabi-Shabelle, Genalle and Omo rivers, which threatens lives and livelihoods.

Mobility allows efficient, supervised and sustainable use of fragile natural resources. Rains are not predictable and are unevenly distributed across pastoralist rangelands. Therefore, mobility allows pastoralists to react to these events carefully and manage the rangelands efficiently. Furthermore, mobility is useful for exchanging information, social interaction, animal husbandry and disease avoidance. It serves to maintain good relations among different pastoral groups. Pastoralism is like a farm with four legs that can walk, search and reach important pastoral resources like pasture, water and minerals. Thus, mobility is an indispensable element of pastoralist livelihood.

4.2. African Policy Framework for Pastoralism and Mobility

The African policy framework for pastoralism observes the importance of strategic mobility as one of the rational mechanisms to dryland resource management in Africa. The framework is explicit in its support to pastoral strategic mobility. It recognizes that mobility is the basis for efficient use and protection of rangelands, and, that mobility is a key to appropriate adaptation to climatic and other trends. The principle is reflected in the practical strategies of the framework, such as securing access to rangelands for pastoralists through supportive land tenure

policies and legislation, and further development of regional policies to enable regional movements and livestock trade.

4.3. Capacity Related Issues

Drought response in Ethiopia faces a number of capacity constraints. First, many government officials, both at central and regional levels and in the *woredas*, are still unfamiliar with the concept of protecting livelihood assets. Food aid is still seen as a natural response to drought. There appears to be a greater understanding of the centrality of livelihood action at *woreda* level, where representatives of local pastoralist communities are present in the local bureau. However, these officials often lack the technical skills to conduct proper livelihood assessments. Many offices lack staff, have poor communication facilities and high staff turnover. In some *woredas* the staff are said to be recruited on the basis of clan quotas and sometimes include illiterate people. The remainders are often non-pastoralists. The overall level of skills is generally poor, especially in remote areas.

4.4. Does the Move Score Significant Achievements?

Despite the aforementioned noticeable differences from the past two regimes, the vulnerability of pastoralist communities to climatic shocks in the current regime is continued. This by far is the result of population growth and increasing intensity of drought coupled with many years of inappropriate policies. Appropriate and timely livelihoods-based drought responses will not prevent further structural weakening of the pastoralist livelihoods system. Drought responses take place in a context where access to animal health care is limited or non-existent; water services are scarce; markets do not fully function; access to land is often restricted and conflict is common. Drought resilience can only be enhanced through long-term development interventions. This means that drought preparedness can only be effective if it is underpinned by policies to strengthen the overall resilience of pastoralists' livelihoods systems.

Some kind of prejudice against mobile livestock keeping is reflected in the official government policy. The PASDEP calls for 'necessary measures to

be put in place to encourage pastoralists to settle voluntarily' and many in the government think that it would be in the interest of the pastoralists to settle and become engaged in rain-fed farming (PCDP, 2005). The 'settlement discourse' is dominant in MoFA documents despite lack of evidence that settlement would help strengthen livelihoods or reduce vulnerability (Catley, 2007). There is a danger that the PSNP's heavy focus on infrastructural development in pastoral areas may serve to advance the settlement policy.

Settlement and a progressive involvement in agriculture can, however, be an option for pastoralists who have lost their livestock and need to look for alternative livelihood including in urban areas but it should not be considered for successful pastoralists. The many unsuccessful attempts to settle pastoralists in East Africa and the Horn do not need repeating. Land tenure and land use policies are charged issues in Ethiopia, as in other contexts. Traditional titles to communal grazing land are not officially recognized, and the best land is being progressively taken over for agricultural production. The shrinkage of the resource base for pastoralists has undermined their coping strategies, starting from mobility, and has fuelled ethnic conflict in Afar and Somali regions. There is a need for policies which safeguard pastoralists' entitlement to land, as well as recognizing pastoralism as a legitimate way of life that needs support to become more productive and resilient to external shocks. Other policy constraints that need attention are taxation on livestock exports (which is not lifted at times of drought) and disincentives for the private sector to operate in areas where international organizations distribute livestock drugs free of charge through emergency interventions. Restrictive livestock marketing policies also affect the viability of pastoral economies. Such restrictions include the lack of government support of the well-established informal cross-border trade between southern Ethiopia and Kenya, as well as between Somali Region and Somaliland, Punt land and Somalia, which prevents pastoralists from making full use of existing, vibrant markets (Devereux, 2006). Much of the formal trade is channelled through 'official' exporters, who typically source cattle for export from highland areas rather than pastoral regions. Many in the government, particularly in MoARD, have been watching with interest the work of the PLI and feel that it should be supported and replicated, and accompanied by fundamental work at the policy level.

For this dialogue to be effective, it must be underpinned and supported by donors.

5. The Way Forward and Lessons Learned

In most of the pastoral areas of Ethiopia, pastoralist livelihoods have come under increasing strain as a result of external shocks, both natural and man-made. In order for their livelihoods systems to become more resilient to crises, pastoralists need to be able to move to access critical natural resources, and need access to markets and stable terms of trade. Pastoralists who have lost their livestock and dropped out of pastoralism need viable options to make a sustainable transition to alternative livelihoods. The problems pastoralists face are structural ones. Protecting, building and rebuilding the livelihood assets of pastoralists requires an integrated approach to risk management that goes beyond cash or food transfers to address the underlying causes of pastoral livelihood vulnerability (Behnke *et. al.*, 2007). However, to make the disaster management system effective, it must be implemented within the broader structural development framework.

Table 3. Framework for disaster preparedness in Ethiopia

<p>1. Vulnerability Assessment</p> <p>Starting point for planning, linked to longer-term mitigation and development interventions as well as disaster preparedness.</p>	<p>2. Planning</p> <p>Disaster preparedness plans agreed, which are achievable and for which commitment and resources are assured.</p>	<p>3. Institutional framework</p> <p>Well co-ordinated disaster preparedness and response system at all levels, with commitment from relevant stakeholders. Roles and responsibilities clearly defined.</p>
<p>4. Information systems</p> <p>Efficient and reliable systems for gathering and sharing information (e.g. forecasts and warnings, information on relevant capacities, role allocation and resources) between stakeholders.</p>	<p>5. Resource base</p> <p>Goods (e.g. stockpiles of food, emergency shelter and other materials), services (e.g. search and rescue, medical, engineering, nutrition specialists) and disaster relief funding (e.g. for items not easily stockpiled or not anticipated) available and Accessible.</p>	<p>6. Warning systems</p> <p>Robust communications systems (technologies, infrastructure, people) capable of transmitting</p> <p>Warnings effectively to people at risk.</p>
<p>7. Response mechanisms</p> <p>Established and familiar to disaster response agencies and disaster victims (may include: evacuation procedures and shelters, search and rescue teams, needs assessment teams, activation of emergency lifeline</p> <p>Facilities, reception centres and shelters for displaced people).</p>	<p>8. Education and training</p> <p>Training courses, workshops and extension programmes for at-risk</p> <p>Groups and disaster responders. Knowledge of risk and appropriate response shared through public information and</p> <p>Education systems.</p>	<p>9. Rehearsals</p> <p>Evacuation and response procedures practiced,</p> <p>Evaluated and improved.</p>

Source: R. Kent, *Disaster Preparedness* (New York/Geneva: UNDP/DHA Disaster Training Programme, 1994), http://undmtp.org/english/disaster_preparedness/disaster_preparedness.pdf.

5.1. Suggested Framework for Disaster Preparedness in Ethiopia and the Horn

The framework's nine general categories should not be seen as a fixed sequence. In most cases, activities in different categories will be carried out at the same time. Nevertheless, there is a logical sequence of sorts: planning must be preceded by understanding of vulnerability and should lead to the establishment of an institutional framework; the framework is a foundation for setting up information and warning systems, assembling resources, putting resource mechanisms in place and testing them, and providing public education and training. In reality, one never starts with no elements of the disaster preparedness system in place, so the task is to make improvements in all areas. In this case, the responses for the frequent drought disaster in every pastoral area need to include the following points. This will play its part in terms of institutionalizing the efforts of drought resilience in Ethiopia.

6. Policy Implications and Recommendations

6.1. Policy Implications

There are a number of contemporary challenges to pastoral development in Ethiopia, drought being the most disastrous one. Therefore, mechanisms should be put in place to enable the pastoral community to mitigate and, if not, adapt to such a hazard. By far, one of the strategies that pastoralists used to respond to drought disaster in their long history is mobility. It is evident from the mouths of some pastoralist individuals that mobility is one of the strategies for pastoralists that enable them to recover from shocks of several kinds. However, the policy environment in Ethiopia with regard to pastoral mobility is restrictive providing priority to settlement and sedentary agriculture. This has been practiced in different selected regional states through villagization. However, the question here is, is it possible to settle all pastoralists for the government? Do we have such plenty of rivers that can handle pastoral communities close to fifteen million? And, if so, what is the future of pastoralism in Ethiopia? Alternatively, if Ethiopia provides a room for livestock mobility, pastoralists will be likely to resist the drought at least in accessing water and pasture. Therefore, if cross-border movement of pastoralists

could be relaxed, formidably, pastoralists will have more access to grazing resources, markets, and opportunities for knowledge and skill transfer from one to the other. However, development interventions – development of road networks and market centres in recent decades – have increased the interaction of pastoralists and neighbouring agro-pastoral ethnic groups. This interaction has, to a considerable extent, enabled pastoralists of remote areas to be resilient from recurrent drought shocks. As one of the opportunities leading to resilience from drought shocks, infrastructural development should be given top priority attention in the pastoral areas. This will enable strengthening pastoralists' access to markets and livestock trade through better linkages between pastoralists and traders facilitated by road construction; providing improved veterinary services (including issuing vaccination certificates which are essential for international livestock trade); lobbying to ease taxation on livestock marketing during droughts; and changing policies which make it difficult for the private sector to operate in pastoralist areas. The other strategy gap that puts pastoral livelihood at risk is the uninstitutionalization of drought response in Ethiopia. As repeatedly discussed in various parts of the paper, the responses to the alarmingly expanding and frequently occurring drought, particularly in the pastoral areas of the country, is providing emergency food. But the intensity, frequency and impact of drought in such areas require measures beyond such simple, uncoordinated and untimely response on the part of the government. To do that, frameworks should be in place in the near future.

6.2. Policy Recommendations

To counteract the adverse climate and poverty trends in pastoral areas, Ethiopia requires urgent changes in its rural and pastoral development priorities. The government, operating at the national and subnational levels, should aim to address the underlying drivers of climate-related vulnerability which put the pastoral livelihood at risk. This requires implementing poverty reduction and development policies that protect pastoral livelihoods and entitlements; provide access to vital infrastructure, resources and services in pastoral areas; enhance security of pastoralist land holdings; restore and protect the environment in rangelands; and create more efficient markets and help control population growth, particularly through women's education and empowerment. More specifically, the Government of Ethiopia should:

- reevaluate the place of pastoralism in Ethiopia's sustainable development, protecting pastoral land from encroachment and conversion to unsustainable land use. To be successful, customary and formal authority must find a basis for collaboration. The government should work to resolve internal boundary issues and engage with traditional social institutions in conflict prevention and resolution. In addition, policies should clarify land tenure systems that allow vital pastoral mobility, especially in the face of increasing drought frequency.
- protect and enhance pastoral livelihoods by developing and implementing appropriately designed economic, social and relief policies and strategies. Livestock marketing support and diversification activities including adding value to livestock products such as milk, ghee, hides and horn could contribute to increased pastoral incomes. The government should also support the improvement of social safety nets, while at the same time ensuring the availability and efficient distribution of emergency food aid and cash support.
- improve coordination, communication and information sharing between different government agencies from national to local levels, especially regarding weather, climate and food security information. Information pathways should be enhanced so that local communities can access seasonal weather forecasts and early warnings for climate hazards as early as possible and in their own languages. Local governments should be promptly informed of poor rain conditions and food insecurity issues. In addition, government awareness of climate change impacts projections, and of the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) should be enhanced at all levels (from the national to the local level) to allow government officials to better deal with current climate risks and prepare for projected climate change.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Policies and Practices of Consultation with Pastoralist Communities in Ethiopia: The Case of Omo-Kuraz Sugar Development Project

Yidneckachew Ayele

Abstract

The duty to consult with indigenous peoples establishes an obligation on the state to negotiate, reconcile and find a way to surmount the impact of development programmes. By taking this legal norm, this research has inquired consultation process in Omo Kuraz Sugar Development Project, thereby examining policies and practices of consultation, negotiated benefits, lessons and limitations. The project has abrogated communal land title and traditional land administration; restricted access to the river, biodiversity, wild food and environmental interaction; marginalized pastoralists from their spiritual, cultural, social and economic tie with their traditional lands; and transformed pastoralists into a sedentary livelihood. These factors, initially, called for voluntary submission and negotiated benefits. To this effect, the project has employed public consultation with mass participation at various-levels through Steering Committees organized to facilitate and conduct public dialogue, follow up and monitor the project

activity, and plead with the local community over the development ventures. The project made use of the basic social services, infrastructures, employment opportunities and social development schemes as negotiated benefits to win local support. Positively, the consultation process established efforts in mass mobilization, soliciting local support and creating social services. However, the process narrowly viewed consultation as participation; it undermined the role of pastoralist communities in agenda setting and control, and failed to exploit the advantages of bottom-up approaches. Above all, the project failed to understand the multi-dimensional reality of the pastoralist communities by forging the concept of terra nullius over the pastoralist territories, by redefining and transforming pastoralists into agro-pastoralists that settled in a given environment, and by breaking and deteriorating the traditional governance structure and thereby strengthening the formal state structures.

Key Words: *duty to consult, pastoralism, negotiated benefits, sugar development*

1. Introduction

Over the last 20 years, Ethiopia has undertaken a comprehensive economic reform and prioritized developmental policy through agricultural development strategy. The strategy has a plan 'to accelerate agricultural commercialization and agro-industrial development, which is expected to influence agri-business'.⁶⁷ By stressing the leading role of agriculture, the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) marks the shift to a higher growth path of agricultural diversification and commercialization.⁶⁸ The plan prioritizes sugar and sugar related industry as one of the strategic directions used to transform the production of sugar from 17,712 tons [in 2009] to 42,516 tons [in 2015].⁶⁹ The then Director General of Sugar Corporation, Abay Tsehaye, affirmed that the government aims to become self-sufficient in sugar by the end of 2013, increase production to 2.3 million tons by 2015, and export the surplus [1.25 million tons]

⁶⁷ See FDRE, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2010:34

⁶⁸ See MoFED (2010), Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) 2010/11-2014/15, Volume 1: Main text, Addis Ababa, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

⁶⁹ Ibid

to the international market.⁷⁰ To this effect, a Sugar Corporation was established by the Council of Ministers Regulation No.192/2010 and commenced building 10 new sugar factories.⁷¹ The Omo-Kuraz Sugar Development Project (hereafter referred as OKSDP) is among the five sugar factories and covers three Zones: South Omo, Bench Maji and Kefa Zones of SNNPR. The Project took off in May 2011 on some selected areas of the Selamago District of South Omo, and the first bloc started adjacent to the bank of the Omo River.⁷²

This was a choice for socio-economic transformation of the country and that of the pastoralist communities. Nonetheless, following land acquisition and commencement of the project, anger, tensions and violent oppositions followed.⁷³ Dispossession of grazing lands, threat to the identity and livelihood of the pastoralist communities, restrictions on access to biodiversity, extinction of valuable resources such as climate-resilient crops, medicinal plants and wild foods were some of the controversial issues that cropped up over the Omo-Kuraz project. In fact, a choice of this kind would call for proper consultation on negotiated benefits of the state and the pastoralist communities. A proper consultation is about 'developing relationships and finding ways of living together'⁷⁴ by reducing the harm to pastoralist communities such as the loss of grazing land, change in environment, livelihood and way of life; and the potential threat to identity. The success of the project thus demanded consultation of the indigenous communities through informed and appropriate decisions, creating and improving working relations with all those affected, and encouraging new business and policy developments.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ See Davison, William. 2011. Ethiopia Builds 10 Sugar Plants. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-09-13/ethiopia-builds-10-new-sugar-plants-as-it-aims-to-become-leading-exporter.html> (Accessed on January 28, 2014).

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² See Sugar Corporation. 3 June 2013. Newsletter. V.1. <http://www.slideshare.net/fullscreen/meresaf/ethiopian-sugar-corporation-newsletter-june-2013-vol-1/1> (Accessed on February 2014) and See Sugar Corporation Newsletter, 2013, See Addis Fortune Newspaper, 26 June 2011

⁷³ See Oakland Institute. 2011. Land Deal Brief: Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa. <http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/land-deals-africa-publications> (Accessed on 6 February 2014).

⁷⁴ See Newman, D. (2009). *The Duty to consult: New Relationships with Aboriginal Peoples*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.

⁷⁵ Ibid

This research investigates policies and practices of consultation with pastoralist communities in development venture based on OKSDP and looks into best practices and limitations of policies. Thus, it addresses the legal basis and theoretical foundation of duty to consult, triggering factors for consultation, consultation process and negotiated benefits, and experiences, lessons and limitations of policies and practices of consultation with pastoralist groups by taking OKSDP. Finally, it winds up with conclusions and recommendations.

2. Research Methodology and Description of the Study Area

Based on the nature of the issue and the research questions, this study employed qualitative research design that involved document analysis, interview and personal observation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with project management teams, relevant Sugar Corporation officials, Steering Committee members at regional, zonal, woreda and kebele levels, pastoralist communities including elders, women, youth, and resettled communities in Selamogo District of South Omo. They were selected based on purposive sampling that considered relevance and proximity to the issue and its effects. In addition, the researcher reviewed and analyzed available documents such as policies, legal documents, reports and plans. Further, secondary data were employed. The data gathered were analyzed and triangulated to increase validity of the research findings.

The project was implemented on the Lower Omo Valley that encompasses the territories of Selamago and Nyangatom *Woredas* of South Omo Zone. The study area of the research is thus South Omo Zone in general and the Selamago *Woreda* in particular. The zone is inhabited by 16 small groups that speak languages belonging to the Nilo-Saharan, Omotic and Cushitic families.⁷⁶ According to the 2007 population census, the total population of the zone is 577,673 while that of the Selamago *Woreda* is 28,888.⁷⁷ The *woreda* houses the Mursi and Bodi ethnic groups in the Omo lowlands to the south, Dime in the north-eastern highlands, and Bacha

⁷⁶ See David Turton, Introducing Mursi: <http://www.mursi.org/introducing-the-mursi/making-a-living#sthash.krPaxWOI.dpuf> (accessed September 23rd 2014).

⁷⁷ CSA 2007 Report

and Konso that are now settled agriculturalists following the resettlement programme of the government.⁷⁸ The area is wooded grassland,⁷⁹ which is overwhelmingly held and used communally.⁸⁰ There is a long tradition of pasture land administration and ownership. However, the patterns of settlement are random and unpredictable.⁸¹ Pastoralism is a livelihood to which the Bodi and the Mursi have an overwhelming cultural commitment.⁸² In addition, flood retreat cultivation is also a dominant practice along the Omo River bank.⁸³ The Dimme group are relatively acquainted with agriculture and they are agro-pastoralists. Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists access their traditional land and river for pasture, water their animals, produce maize and sorghum on flood retreat cultivation and collect forest honey.

3. The Duty to Consult: Theoretical and Legal Basis

The idea of “duty to consult” emerged in multi-cultural societies such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In Australia, over the past two hundred years of European settlement, institutional discrimination against the indigenous peoples of Australia had taken place in many forms including governmental policies that undermined indigenous customs, language, education, and social structures and land rights.⁸⁴ As a result of the doctrine of ‘*terra nullius*,’⁸⁵ indigenous possession of land was denied in favour of settlers’ claims to the property.⁸⁶ Yet in the landmark 1992 case of *Mabo versus State of Queensland*, the doctrine of *terra nullius* was ruled void and indigenous real property rights

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ See David Turton, ‘Pastoral Livelihoods in Danger: Cattle Disease, Drought and Wildlife Conservation in Mursiland, Southwestern Ethiopia’. Oxfam Research Papers No. 12, Oxfam (UK and Ireland), 1995.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ See David Turton, ‘Mursi Response to Drought: Some Lessons for Relief and Rehabilitation’. African Affairs 84, 1985, pp. 331-46

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ See Thomas and Anthony (2003). The crown's duty to consult Aboriginal People. British Columbia.

⁸⁵ See Ann McGrath (ed. 1995). Introduction to *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*.

⁸⁶ See Freeman, Gretchen (1998) Erosion of the Indigenous Right to Negotiate in Australia: Proposed Amendments to the Native Title Act. Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal Association, March 1998.

were finally recognized.⁸⁷ The Native Title Act of 1993 (NTA) codified the reforms of Mabo and natives were recognized to have the right to negotiate for future acts that involve exploration and extraction of minerals, petroleum and gas in their concern.⁸⁸ In New Zealand, through Waitangi Treaty between the Crown and indigenous people, the Maori have engaged with governmental policies since 1840.⁸⁹ The Ministry of Justice envisages two fundamental principles to consult with indigenous Maori people in any development policy that may affect their interest.⁹⁰ Mainly, it seeks for Maori opinion on the undertaking proposal, and if the group interest will be adversely affected, it demands for the alteration of the original proposal.

In Canada, Section 35 of the 1982 Constitutional Act states that “existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed”.⁹¹ Based on this constitutional protection, the Supreme Court of Canada has established a legal doctrine against Crown; the Crown’s obligation to consult aboriginal groups when the “Crown has knowledge, real or constructive, of the potential existence of the aboriginal right or title and contemplates conducts that might adversely affect it”.⁹²

These countries employ consultation as an important part of good governance, sound policy development and decision-making process. Through consultation, the states seek to strengthen relationships and partnerships with indigenous societies and thereby achieve an informed decision making and address new business and policy developments. In essence, consultation is intended to overcome adverse effects of a development initiative over indigenous societies and to look after mutual gains. Others distinguish duty to consult as a free prior informed consent that “involves processes in which communities decide whether or not to

⁸⁷ See *Mabo v. State of Queensland* (1992)

⁸⁸ See *Supra* note no.12

⁸⁹ See NZ Ministry of the Environment. “Consultation with M ori on Climate Change: Hui Report.” Climate Change Publications. <http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/climate/index.html> (accessed on 2 July 2014).

⁹⁰ See NZ Ministry of Justice (1997). Guide For Consultation with Maori: Executive Summary <http://www.justice.govt.nz/publications/publications-archived/1997/>. (Accessed on 2 July 2014).

⁹¹ See The Canadian Constitution Act of 1982, Section 35.

⁹² See Chief Justice Beverly McLachlin, Supreme Court of Canada, *Haida Nation v. British Columbia*, 2014; and see the following cases *Haida Nation v. British Columbia*, *Taku River Tlingit First Nation vs. British Columbia*, *Miskisew Cree First Nation v. Canada* etc

allow projects affecting their land or resources to go ahead, and on what terms".⁹³ It is an essential part of the indigenous peoples' effort to affirm their right to self-determination with regard to threats inflicted by large-scale development projects. They should have the right to be consulted on their land, territories and waters, and violation of their customary rights. Generally, consultation is the state obligation to negotiate, reconcile and find a way to surmount the impact of development programme on the indigenous people.

The duty to consult is now positioned in international legal regime. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples requires that 'states shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources'.⁹⁴ Consequently, states are obliged to provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and to take appropriate measures to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact. Likewise, the Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and Benefit Sharing requires prior informed consent of indigenous and local communities for access to traditional knowledge and genetic resources held by them, and support for the development of community.⁹⁵

Domestically, the careful reading of the constitutional principles on consultation and self-administration compels the Federal and Regional governments to consult with indigenous groups over any undertaking that affects their livelihood. One of the fundamental principles of the FDRE Constitution is the participation of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia in exercising sovereign power.⁹⁶ Similarly, the SNNPR Constitution confirms the sovereignty and participation of

⁹³ See Krystyna, S., Angela, M., Et al (2012). Community Protocols and Free, Prior Informed Consent – Overview and Lessons Learnt. In IIED (Ed.). Biodiversity and culture: Exploring Community Protocols, Rights and Consent (p. 25-42). Park Communications Ltd, London. Pp.26

⁹⁴ See United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People- 61/295 (2007), Article 32 (2).

⁹⁵ See The Nagoya Protocol Access to Genetic Resources and Benefit-Sharing (2010), Article 6(2).

⁹⁶ Article 8 of the FDRE Constitution (1995).

nations, nationalities and peoples of the region.⁹⁷ Chiefly, the FDRE Constitution clearly specifies the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to participate in national development and, in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting them.⁹⁸ The Revised SNNPR Constitution replicates this under the same provision. As part of consultation process, the constitution guarantees negotiated benefits for all who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of state development programmes. It assesses negotiated benefits in terms of proportionate monetary refund or any alternative means of compensation, because it affirms that the basic aim of development activities is to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs.⁹⁹

Second, self-administration, one of the pillars of the FDRE Constitution, illuminates the crux of duty to consult. This right includes the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture, to preserve its history and identity; and to a full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, within two layers of government [Federal and Regional Governments], their views and consent shall be defined. Most importantly, at regional level, the Revised SNNPR Constitution encapsulates the right to self-administration in the context of ‘federation within federation’, which is organized in zones, special *woredas*, *woredas* and *kebeles*.¹⁰¹ The zone, special *woreda*, *woreda* and *kebele* each has its own councils and administrative councils. Therefore, this constitutional arrangement of self-administration demands the deliberation of regional, zonal, *woreda* and *kebele* councils over the projects that affect their localities so as to negotiate over the interest of their electorate.

⁹⁷ Article 8 of the Revised SNNPR Constitution (2002)

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, Article 43 (2).

⁹⁹ Cumulative reading of Article 43(4) and 44(2) of the FDRE constitution (1995).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, Article 39 (2-3).

¹⁰¹ Art. 45 (1) of the Revised Constitution of SNNPR

4. Policies Relevant to Pastoralist Communities in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, economic reforms and policies provide rooms for the pastoralist communities by asserting their challenges, possible way out and strategies to cope up. Rural Development Policy and Strategy underlines that water scarcity, degradation of natural resources, food insecurity and poverty are pervasive and deep.¹⁰² Similarly, Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program acknowledges that ecological constraints, poor infrastructure, weak institutional support and absence of clear vision and strategy for pastoral developments are the major challenges for pastoralists.¹⁰³ Even if the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) divulges that pastoral areas are rich in cultural and traditional heritage, flora and fauna diversities, valuable minerals and other resources, they are characterized by unpredictable and unstable climatic conditions, ecological fragility, frequent conflict and drought, food insecurity, and lack of adequate social services and institutions.¹⁰⁴

In addressing these challenges, policies have spelt out short and long-term strategies. In the short-term strategies, policies intend to mainstream the interest of pastoralists' in development programmes, reduce vulnerability of pastoralists, increase livestock productivity, prioritize livestock market, develop water and environmental protection, and address their social and economic problems through the provision of basic infrastructures and social services.¹⁰⁵ In the long term, policies have focused on the realization of stable pastoral and agro-pastoral community through the facilitation of gradual and voluntary transition towards permanent settlement especially along the perennial river banks, where irrigation is the key to pursue sedentary life with diversified and

¹⁰² MoFED (2003) Rural Development Policy and Strategy, Addis Ababa: Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

¹⁰³ MoFED (2002) Ethiopia: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program, July 2002. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

¹⁰⁴ MoFED (2006). A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (2005/06-2009/10) Volume I: Main Text, Addis Ababa.

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Federal Affairs (2008). Draft Policy Statement for Sustainable Development of Pastoral and Agro Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa

sustainable income.¹⁰⁶ The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) marks the shift to a higher growth path of agricultural diversification and commercialization through livestock productivity, water and natural resources management, pasture development, and voluntary settlement programmes.¹⁰⁷

All these policies affirm voluntary settlement and participation of pastoralists in development programmes. Settlement programmes are limited within a region and the choice of the site for a settlement has been dictated by the availability of surface and/or underground water. For a successful settlement programme, policies underline water development and irrigation as an absolute necessity. However, these policies failed to elucidate voluntary settlement, and the extent and intensity of participation of pastoralist societies in development endeavours.

5. Triggering Factors for Consultation of South Omo Pastoralist Groups on OKSDP

There are several compelling factors that generate the need for consultation with South Omo pastoralist groups on OKSDP. Some of the factors that call for voluntary submission and cooperation of the pastoralist community are discussed hereunder.

5.1. The Acquisition of Land

OKSDP has possessed large sugarcane plantation field. The project acquired 175 thousand hectares of land for sugarcane plantation and sugarcane crushing factories along the left and right banks of the Omo River, which encompass Selamago and Nyangatom districts of South Omo, Surma and Meinitshasha Districts of Bench-Maji and Diecha District of Kefa Zone. Currently, the project has commenced in Selamago District of South Omo inhabited by Bodi, Mursi, Bacha and Dimme ethnic groups.

Some allege that acquisition of such a huge land has brought about

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ See Supra note no.2

displacement of the pastoralist people living in the areas.¹⁰⁸ Conversely, the project contends that no one has been displaced because the area was abandoned due to its valley character and flies; and pastoralists settled on the hill side over five kilometres away from the river.¹⁰⁹ Pastoralists access the land and river for watering their animals, producing maize and sorghum on flood retreat cultivation and to collect forest honey.¹¹⁰ The villagization programme has, however, been carried out in collaboration with the regional government. Even then, among the pastoralists in South Omo, land is overwhelmingly held in common and is classified as ‘public’ and is not equivalent to the communal land rights of peasant cultivators.¹¹¹ For example, among the Mursi, access to pasture land and water points in the area is controlled and used commonly.¹¹²

The legal framework for rural land administration related to acquisition, transfer, redistribution and removal of a holding right is defined in the FDRE Constitution and Proclamation No. 456/2005. These documents state that the right to ownership of rural and urban land as well as of all natural resources is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia. Rural land will be given free of charge and for an indefinite period to peasants, pastoralists and semi-pastoralists who are or wish to be engaged in agriculture.¹¹³

These formal laws neither understand the multi-dimensional reality of the pastoralist situation and the traditional governance structures, nor appreciate the traditional pastoral institutions. Bodi and Mursi elders in Selamago District claim the deep traditional pasture land administration and ownership saying, “*Even if no one has inhabited the area, it belongs to us.*”¹¹⁴ In a conference on pastoralism, a Mursi young man commented:

¹⁰⁸ See Supra Note No. 4 and 7

¹⁰⁹ See Sugar Corporation. 3 June 2013. News Letter. V.1, Interview with Sugar Corporation official, Addis Ababa, 22 September 2014 and Interview with the OKSDP official, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014

¹¹⁰ Interview with Sugar Corporation official, Addis Ababa, 22 September 2014

¹¹¹ See David Turton (1995), Pastoral Livelihoods in Danger: Cattle Disease, Drought, and Wildlife Conservation in Mursi land, South-Western Ethiopia. Oxfam Research Paper no. 12

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ See Proc. No. 456/2005, Art.5 Sub-Art. 1.a), [See FDRE, Proc. No. 456/2005, Art. 7; SNNPRS, Proc. No. 110/2007 Art. 7.1; and ANRS, Proc. No. 133/2006 Art. 5.3.

¹¹⁴ Interview with a Member of Mursi Ethnic group, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014, and Interview with an elder from Bodi, Selamago Woreda, 27 August 2014

If they [the government] want to make a decision about our land there has to be community participation in the process. We [Mursi People] do not need money or possessions; the only thing we care about is land. With good land you can raise cattle, grow sorghum and gather leaves. We [Mursi People] get everything we need from the land.”¹¹⁵

The acquisition of land has abrogated the traditional communal land title and administration, access to the river, grazing land and the forest, which has the potential to affect the livelihood of the indigenous people of the district.

5.2. Threat to Biocultural Heritage and Livelihood

Pastoral Communities have helped to create and enhance rich biocultural heritages,¹¹⁶ for example, by domesticating and improving thousands of native crops and livestock breeds, and developing related knowledge and practices passed on from one generation to the next.¹¹⁷ Culture and biodiversity are inter-dependent. Cultural values are attached to bio-resources, ecosystems, ancestral landscapes; the utilization of diverse biological resources helps to sustain traditional knowledge and cultural values.¹¹⁸ However, the shift from pastoralism to sedentary farming with limited space and environmental interaction, and the expansion of commercial agriculture are potential threats that restrict access to biodiversity and cause extinction of valuable resources such as climate-resilient crops, medicinal plants and wild foods.¹¹⁹ Owing to OKSDP, villagization of the pastoralist communities has taken place but it displaced them from their lands, territories and resources; and it detached them from their spiritual, cultural, social and economic relationship with their traditional lands.

¹¹⁵ See Peter Moszynski (July 2006). 'A Home or A Game Park,' In Alastair Scott-Villiers (ed.). Peace, Trade and Unity: Reporting from the Horn of Africa Regional Pastoralist Gathering Qarsaa Dembi Yabello, Ethiopia. The UN Pastoralist Communication Initiative. P. 5

¹¹⁶ Biocultural heritage is a complex system of interdependent parts centered on the relationship between indigenous peoples and their natural environment. Its components include biological resources, from the genetic to the landscape level; and long standing traditions, practices and knowledge for adaptation to environmental change and sustainable use of biodiversity. See <http://biocultural.iedd.org/about-biocultural-heritage> (accessed on 2nd August 2014).

¹¹⁷ See Krystyna, S., Angela, M., Et al (2012). Community Protocols and Free, Prior Informed Consent – Overview and Lessons Learnt. In IIED (ed.). Biodiversity and culture: Exploring Community Protocols, Rights and Consent (p. 25-42). Park Communications Ltd, London.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ See UN Economic and Social Council (April 2010), Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Report on the ninth session. Supplement No. 23

5.3. Threat from Economic Migrants

The project has attracted and will continue to do so a number of economic migrants to be employed at different levels of the project. Unavoidably, the economic migrants will make changes to the demographic picture of the zones and the districts. Despite the controversy and absence of clear study on the number of employees and its related families, rough estimation shows that the project will attract more than 400,000 people and will create a number of towns in the region.¹²⁰ The number will increase with the augmentation of families, dependents, and service providers like hotels, banks, administrative agencies, markets and the like.¹²¹ The project as well as other service sectors will not totally absorb the local population due to compelling factors such as limited skilled man power, poor perception to employment scheme, small number of population of the zone and limited number of economically inactive population.¹²² Therefore, zones and districts will be populated by different economic migrants. This in turn will bring a threat to the indigenous ethnic groups - 'numerically minorities in their ancestral homeland'¹²³. Proper consultation and negotiated benefits to absorb these challenges is a prima facie evidence even to take in hand the forthcoming challenges.

6. Consultation Process and Negotiated Benefits over OKSDP

6.1. Consultation Process in OKSDP

Generally, the Sugar Corporation is empowered to negotiate and possess lands required for sugar development activities in accordance with the law.¹²⁴ To this effect, the corporation has structured Public Mobilization Sector of administration so as to facilitate public participation and consultation process in sugar development endeavours. A similar

¹²⁰ Interview with the OKSDP official, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014

¹²¹ *ibid*

¹²² See Tewolde and Fana (2014). Socio-Political Conflict Implications of Sugar Development in Selamago Woreda, Ethiopia. In Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (Ed.), *A Delicate Balance: Land Use, Minority Rights and Social Stability in the Horn of Africa* (p. 66-91). Addis Ababa, AAU-IPSS.

¹²³ *Ibid* pp. 128

¹²⁴ See Art. 5 and 7 of Sugar Corporation Establishment Regulation 192/2010, Federal Negarit Gazeta, year 17th, No. 5, Addis Ababa: 2nd December 2010.

organizational structure was also set at project level. These administrative units have the principal duty to ensure consultation with communities that are affected or will be affected by the sugar development activities. In OKSDP, this sector has employed institutional arrangement, public dialogue and community conversation format. These formats are designed to foster consensus, inclusiveness, and fight 'anti-development agents'¹²⁵ thereby promoting peace, stability and security in the project command areas.

Under this project, Steering Committees at regional, zonal, *woreda* and *kebele* levels are organized 'with a mission of supervising and rendering continuous support before any unprecedented problem gets out of control.'¹²⁶ At regional level, the SNNPR Vice-President is the Chairman of the Committee composed of different regional stakeholders. A similar arrangement is there at the zonal, *woreda* and *kebele* levels and each committee is chaired by the Chief of the respective administrative unit. The committees are organized to facilitate and conduct public dialogue, follow up and monitor the project activity, and plead with the local community over the development ventures. Reports by the Public Mobilization Sector make clear that a lot of public dialogues were organized and conducted since January 2011. In 2011/2012 budget year, the Regional, Zonal and *Woreda* Steering Committees were able to organize more than six public forums in association with the project and Sugar Corporation; and more than five thousand participants took part.¹²⁷ Similarly, in 2012/2013 budget year, the Zonal and *Woreda* Committees conducted public dialogue with public officials, urban dwellers of Jinka town and pastoralist communities of Selamago *Woreda*.¹²⁸ More than five thousand five hundred participants took part in the forum.¹²⁹ In the last budget year of 2013/2014, the Zonal and *Woreda* Committees conducted public consultations with elites, students, ethnic group leaders and individuals from Bodi and Mursi ethnic groups, and Jinka

¹²⁵ This term has been used by a number of informants (public officials) to refer to activists over the impacts of sugar plantation in the area.

¹²⁶ See <http://www.etsugar.gov.et/en/news/item/21-the-move-towards-bringing-the-sugar-sector-to-be-a-backbone-of-the-national-development-endeavor.html>. (Accessed on September 9, 2014).

¹²⁷ See Sugar Corporation, Public Mobilization Sector (June 2012), 2011/2012 Budget Year Public Mobilization Sector Report, Addis Ababa

¹²⁸ See Sugar Corporation, Public Mobilization Sector (July 2013), 2012/2013 Budget Year Public Mobilization Sector Report, Addis Ababa

¹²⁹ Ibid

Students' Parliament members with the support of the project and Sugar Corporations.¹³⁰ In these forums about two thousand participants took part.¹³¹

The principal goal of these forums is to build consensus among communities, local officials and elites on the development scheme and assess existing challenges. The major goal was to create public awareness on the significance of the sugar development activities to the Growth and Transformation Plan of the country and the importance of OKSDP in socio-economic affairs of the pastoralist communities of South Omo. The agenda for the forums were set by the facilitators, and participants were not active in agenda setting.¹³² In fact, persuading the pastoralists to cooperate in the development activities, villagization programmes, distribution of farmlands, socio-economic infrastructural developments, experience sharing, visiting OKSDP and the like were core components of the forums and approaches of the consultation process.

The forums take on different sections of the society including elders, ethnic leaders, youth, urban dwellers, students, elites, and zone, *woreda* and *kebele* officials of South Omo Zone. Participants were called by *kebele*, *woreda* or zone administrations depending on their role and proximity to the project command area. The dialogue forums were not structured and participants were not to represent any group or the pastoralists' concern.¹³³ They were rather reflecting mere personal concerns about the project and its prospects in their livelihood and traditional home individually. Consequently, the process was a nominal participation of pastoralists where the forums failed to afford negotiation over the impact of the project on the pastoralists.

6.2. Negotiated Benefits

The state and the project consider the Omo Valley and the pastoralists

¹³⁰ See Sugar Corporation, Public Mobilization Sector (July 2014), 2013/2014 Budget Year Public Mobilization Sector Report, Addis Ababa

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Interview, South Omo Zone Council Member, Jinka, 22 August 2014, Interview with Selamago Woreda Official, Hana, 25 August 2014 and Interview with a Member of Mursi Ethnic group, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014

¹³³ Interview with the Regional Steering Committee Member, Hawassa, 16 September 2014

as marginalized and deprived of any development undertakings.¹³⁴ This outlook is held due to the absence of basic social services and infrastructures and the prevalence of harmful traditional practices and natural disasters. At this juncture, OKSDP is employed not only as a way of transforming sugar production and national economy, but also a means to foster equitable distribution of resources to the pastoralist community. Therefore, though they were not the actual outcomes of negotiations, the project creates basic social services, infrastructures, employment opportunities and social development schemes as negotiated benefits so as to penetrate the society and to transform the pastoralist communities into a more settled way of life.

As of the commencement of the project, a number of basic social services and infrastructures such as schools, health centres, veterinary centres, flour mills, potable water, electricity, roads, pastoralist training centres, police offices, *kebele* offices, residences for teachers, health extension and agricultural development workers have been put in place and some of them are under construction.¹³⁵ These social utilities are providing services in the new villages.¹³⁶ They are the extensions of the villagization programme taking place among the Bodi, Bacha and Mursi pastoralist communities.¹³⁷ Further, the project has introduced irrigation for those who took part in the villagization programme. It has allotted one hectare of land per household and half a hectare may be added as the number of wives increases.¹³⁸ The project has also provided land for irrigation with agricultural materials, seed and trainings.¹³⁹

The project has provided a number of employment opportunities to the pastoralist community. Yet the absence of trained man power and poor perception of the employment scheme have been the principal

¹³⁴ Speech by Meles Zenawi at the 13th Annual Pastoralists' Day celebration, Jinka, South Omo, 25/1/2011 accessed from Mursi, See Sugar Corporation. 3 June 2013. News Letter. V.1 etc...

¹³⁵ See Sugar Corporation, Public Mobilization Sector Report for 2011/2012, 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 budget years

¹³⁶ Personal observations, Interview with Sugar Corporation official, Addis Ababa, 22 September 2014; with South Omo Zone Council Member, Jinka, 22 August 2014; with South Omo Zone Justice and Security Bureau Official, Jinka, 22 August 2014; with Sugar Corporation official, Addis Ababa, 22 September 2014.

¹³⁷ The project claims that there is no resettlement programme because the project did not displace pastoralists, it rather assisted the villagization scheme.

¹³⁸ See Supra note no.72

¹³⁹ Interview with the OKSDP official, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014

challenges. To overcome such challenges, the project has been providing skill oriented trainings for the youth of the pastoralist communities in collaboration with technical colleges and universities.¹⁴⁰ Trainings were provided on brick masonry, carpentry, metal welding, electric installation, painting, plastering, tractor operation and driving. In addition, for some of them who are hired, the project has managed to pay for distance education program.¹⁴¹ Moreover, pastoralists have been organized in Small and Micro Enterprises and have managed to start own businesses.¹⁴² The project has disbursed cash [more than 60 million birr in the last two budget years] to the Regional Government and Pastoralist Development Bureau for villagization programme, social services and infrastructure developments.¹⁴³

Hence, the project has created access to roads, schools, health service, flour mills, potable drinking water, job opportunities and established other social development programs. However, these are not the actual outcome of negotiation process. The public dialogue forums did not incorporate an agenda item on the losses and benefits of the pastoralists due to the project, and negotiation thereon. Somehow, these social benefits were in use to win the heart and mind of the pastoralist communities and to transform their livelihood.

7. Lessons and Limitations on Policies and Practices of Consultation

A lot of lessons can be drawn from the OKSDP consultations conducted in the development endeavour. All the efforts by the Federal and Regional Governments in the consultation process focused on the establishment of the project. Both layers of government worked together to implement the project by mobilizing the local forces through soliciting local support and ensuring the benefit of the people in the development process. In addition, attention has been paid to mass participation in the

¹⁴⁰ Interview with the OKSDP official, Selamago Woreda, 25 August 2014, and with Sugar Corporation official, Addis Ababa, 22 September 2014

¹⁴¹ See Supra note no. 67

¹⁴² See Supra note no.72

¹⁴³ Ibid

consultation process. The establishment of Public Mobilization Sector as one administrative unit in the Sugar Corporation and different Steering Committees at regional, zonal and *woreda* levels shows the attention given to consultation and public participation at large. Over the last three budget years, more than twelve thousand people that included elders, youth, ethnic leaders, women, *kebele*, *woreda* and zone officials, NGOs etc took part in the public dialogue forums. This inclusive approach, if properly managed and exploited, has significant importance to build long-term consensus and social acceptance to the project and social development plan. Above all, the project has given attention to social development issues and ensured the benefit of the people through social services and infrastructural development.

Despite these lessons from the consultation of pastoralist communities, there are limitations on policies and practices related to the OKSDP. First, consultation was merely viewed as public participation in development endeavours. The FDRE constitution recognizes consultation as a right that can be distinguished from participation, since it involves negotiation over some basic rights. It clearly specifies the right of nations, nationalities and peoples '*to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting them*'.¹⁴⁴ As part of consultation, it addresses negotiated benefits for all who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of state development programs. The rationale of development activities i. e., '*to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs*',¹⁴⁵ expounds the intent of the constitution to require more than participation during consultation since meeting of basic needs calls for meeting of minds. That is why consultation requires beyond participation that involves negotiation over the losses and benefits due to a development project.

However, the project and policies amalgamate consultation with participation. The public forums were organized to build harmony among communities, local officials and elites on the development scheme. The agenda intended to create public awareness on the significance of sugar development activities in the national economy, and the importance of OKSDP in socio-economic affairs of the pastoralist communities of South

¹⁴⁴ Article 43 (2) of the FDRE constitution (1995)

¹⁴⁵ Cumulative reading of Article 43(4) and 44(2) of the FDRE Constitution (1995)

Omo. So, the participants had no more roles than listening, learning and sharing outlooks. This gap is rooted in the policies right at the outset since they only use the phrase, “participation of pastoralists”, without articulating the level and intensity of participation with the augmentation of the impact of developmental programs in the pastoralist traditional territories. In fact, the late Prime Minister’s [Meles Zenawi] speech on the 13th Annual Pastoralists’ Day celebration at Jinka Town announced the decision already made on the project and the fate of the pastoralists of South Omo.

OKSDP has focused on mere participation that disregards negotiation on some basic interests of the pastoralist communities. As a result, the process did not permit indigenous communities to put their fears and threats on the table during the dialogue thereby leaving aside negotiated interests. Hence, social benefits such as basic infrastructures, social services, irrigation schemes, villagization and development programmes are not outcomes of negotiated benefits but rather a doorway for the project.

Second, the consultation process was top-down rather than bottom-up which could underscore the impact of the project, proposed options as negotiated benefits, and the need and interests of the pastoralist communities.¹⁴⁶ On the contrary, discussions at the public forums were top-down where the facilitators determined and controlled the agenda, the alternative solutions and the process of the consultation. By considering the Constitutional arrangement, the *Kebele*, *Woreda*, Zonal and Regional Councils of SNNPR were expected to deliberate on and reflect the wishes and desires of the pastoralist communities in their respective Councils, but this did not happen. Rather, the Regional, Zonal, *Woreda* and *Kebele* officials took part in the leadership of the Steering Committees and public forums so as to execute and enforce instructions from the Federal Government and the Corporation. So, negotiations to find middle ground or negotiated benefits were not part and parcel of the process.

Third, the project failed to appreciate the multi-dimensional reality of the pastoralists. Mainly, the project makes use of an abrogated conception

¹⁴⁶ See Supra note no.8

of *terra nullius* over the pastoralists' communal territory. This notion was forged by European settlers against the indigenous peoples of the Australian territory by claiming 'unoccupied land.'¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the OKSDP claims that the acquired land is an idle bare land which has valley character and was abandoned by pastoralists due to flies. However, this fact does not recognize communal land ownership and the non-existence of unoccupied land in the pastoralist traditional territories. Therefore, the project failed to consider communal ownership of land for grazing and that there is no vacant land in the pastoralist communities.

In addition, the project and policies perceive pastoralism as an inappropriate, unproductive way of using land and a primitive livelihood. Due to such an outlook, evidently, the project and policies have the intent to transform the communities from pastoralism to a settled life. To this effect, reports, papers and even policies argue that pastoralism and pastoralist areas are unproductive, idle, and incompatible with social and infrastructural development in a fragile environment, harmful traditional practices, etc. By creating access to various infrastructures and social services for a settled way of life, the project has the intent to create a zero grazing system. This demands an opportunity to redefine and transform pastoralists into agro-pastoralists settled in a given environment. Further, the project works towards breaking down and weakening the traditional governance structure, thereby strengthening the formal structures and their capacity of enforcements. It opens a way for the formal land tenure system by removing the traditional common property regime. The villagization programme and the allotment of land for irrigation per household exemplify the prospect of policies and practices in promoting individualization of land tenure.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

The FDRE Constitution establishes the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting them. This legal norm has been referred to as 'duty to consult.' Duty to consult is a course of action where communities decide whether or not to allow projects affecting their land or resources to go ahead, and on

¹⁴⁷ See Supra note no. 11

what terms. It is a central part of indigenous peoples' effort to establish their right to self-determination in response to large-scale development projects that could be threats to their land, territories and waters, and violation of their customary rights.

OKSDP, which acquired vast land, has abrogated the traditional communal land title and administration, access to the river, grazing land and the forest of Bodi, Mursi, Bacha and Dimme ethnic groups in the Selamago district of South Omo. This commercial farming is a potential threat that restricts access to biodiversity, wild food and environmental interaction and eliminates valuable resources such as climate-resilient crops and medicinal plants. Besides, it evicts them from their land, territories and resources; and marginalizes them from their spiritual, cultural, social and economic relationship with their traditional lands. Further, the project has the intent to transform the socio-economic and cultural reality of pastoralists. These situations call for proper consultation of the pastoralist communities.

For public consultation, Sugar Corporation has structured a Public Mobilization Sector at the Corporation and project level. This sector has the principal duty to ensure consultation with communities that are affected or will be affected by the sugar development activities. In OKSDP, Steering Committees at the regional, zonal, *woreda* and kebele levels were organized to facilitate and conduct public dialogue, follow up and monitor the project activity, and plead with the local community over the development ventures thereby promoting peace, stability and security in sugar development project areas. They were able to conduct several public forums in which more than twelve thousand people took part. The aim was to create public awareness on the importance of the project in the socio-economic affairs of the pastoralists. Though they were not outcomes of negotiations, the project created basic social services, infrastructures, employment opportunities and social development schemes and some more are in the making. The allotment of land for irrigation, the creation of employment opportunities with skill-oriented trainings and scholarships, and the mobilization of groups for Small and Micro Enterprises are some of the social development schemes of the project.

The consultation process has witnessed a number of lessons. Mainly, it involved Federal and Regional government partnership in implementing the project and focus has been made on mass participation, infrastructure and social development programmes to a large extent. However, in relation to consultation, there were a number of limitations of policies and project activities. Chiefly, consultation was viewed as participation; however, consultation demands more than mere participation, it also needs invoking negotiation on benefits and losses. The public forms did not distinguish consultation from participation. Similarly, the OKSDP mainly focused on participation that disregards negotiation on some basic interests of the pastoralist communities. Thus, the process failed to permit indigenous communities to put forward their fears and threats during the dialogue so as to find a way to accommodate both interests.

In addition, the process failed to exploit the advantages of bottom-up approach. It used top-down approaches, where the facilitators controlled the agenda and dominated the forums, and the pastoralist communities did not have the chance to put their fears as part of the dialogue to negotiate on advantages and disadvantages. Moreover, the directions come from the Federal Government and Corporations and the project and the committees were expected to execute. Hence, social benefits secured were not the outcomes of consultation.

Furthermore, the project failed to recognize the multi-dimensional reality of pastoralism by endorsing the concept of *terra nullius* that does not acknowledge communal land ownership and the absence of unoccupied land in the traditionally pastoralist territories. The project and policies perceive pastoralism as an inappropriate, unproductive way of using land and primitive livelihood. They thus plan to redefine and transform pastoralists' livelihood by breaking down and weakening the traditional governance structure and replacing it with the formal one. Introducing settled life and allotting land for irrigation per a household shows the prospect of the policies and practices in promoting individualization of land tenure.

Generally, consultation should not be narrowly defined as participation only. It demands negotiation over losses and benefits, voluntary submission, roles in agenda control, option generation and consent

on the project that affects the concerned groups. For both parties, consultation has to achieve negotiated benefits that will reduce anger and resentment on the development ventures. In addition to that, development programmes in pastoralist territories should consider the multi-dimensional reality of pastoralist communities. Pastoralism is a livelihood for pastoralists and transforming their livelihood demands a subtle approach since it demands a careful consideration of the existing reality. Above all redefining and transforming pastoralist livelihood demands proper consultation with pastoralists.



CHAPTER NINE

The Nexus between Villagization, Land Use Changes and Conflict Management in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State

Mesfin G/Michael

Abstract

This study is about the nexus between villagization, land use and conflicts in the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State. It explores the extent to which villagization has contributed to the transformation process of the livelihood of the shifting cultivators in the Regional State taking a case study of Assosa Woreda. The purpose of villagization in the regional state is to bring the shifting cultivators closer to social services and modern technology so that their livelihood can be transformed. Villagization contributes to law and order in using land and environmental resources as it potentially provides opportunity for the local people to implement the regional land use policy and increases land productivity. Findings of the research indicate that the villagization process in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State has created a great potential for citizens to get access to social services including education, health service and clean water. Furthermore, it enabled to reduce conflicts caused by communication gaps between members of different villages which were located far away from each other before the implementation of the villagization programme. It also

made it possible for the Police to provide security service to the communities in all times. However, there are some structural problems that should be addressed in the development intervention process of the Regional Government. First, land productivity in the villages considered for this study was poor. The farmers (former shifting cultivators) still use hand tools to cultivate the land and this has hindered cultivating enough size of farmland. The use of hand tools for ploughing also obstructed use of fertilizer because one of the requirements to use fertilizer is proper cultivation, which involves tilling the internal layer of the soil. Moreover, farmers could not use oxen to cultivate the farmland because the oxen do not survive for more than two years due to livestock disease in that specific environment. Second, deforestation is increasing at an alarming rate in the regional state. This has been mainly caused by lack of rural land use policy and institutional capacity to control and monitor land allocation for commercial farms. Recently, the Regional State has adopted a rural land use policy, but it has low capacity to implement and monitor the implementation process of the policy in the entire region. Some of the communities in the Regional State do not produce enough food crops to support their families. As a result, production of charcoal has become a common practice to supplement their income but this would in turn cause environmental degradation.

Key words: Villagization, Shifting cultivation, Land productivity, Environmental Protection and Conflict Management

1. Introduction

Villagization is an instrument of development strategy designed to transform the livelihood of the shifting cultivators and pastoral people in the lowland areas of Ethiopia (GTP, 2010). This study is an in-depth investigation of the villagization process in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State. It focuses on the implementation process and explores the challenges and opportunities of the programme. It considers Asossa Woreda as case study and uses qualitative data for analysis. The report is organized into eight sections. The first section is the introduction. The second section briefly introduces the regional state. The third section describes the specific study area and the methodological approach used for the study. The fourth section provides a brief conceptual definition of shifting cultivation and the extent to which shifting cultivation can support a villagization programme. The fifth, sixth and seventh sections discuss the findings of the study in relation to the implementation

process of villagization, results on land productivity and environmental protection, and conflict management practices respectively. The eighth section briefly summarizes the main findings.

2. The Study Area and Framework

The Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State is located along the margins of the Blue Nile and comprises regions that were previously administered as part of Wellaga and Gojjam provinces, in the western and northern parts of the river. In the north west, the state borders the Regional State of Amhara; in the east, Oromia; in the south, Gambella; and in the south west, Sudan. The Regional State occupies an area of 50,380 square kilometres, and is divided into two sub-regions separated by the Blue Nile: to the north – is Metekel zone and Pawe *Woreda* (occupying over 26,560 km²) and to the south is Assosa and Kamashi zones, and the Mao-Komo Special *Woreda* (occupying 23,820 km²) (BIPP, 2005). Administratively, Benishangul-Gumuz comprises three zones, 19 *woreda* councils (including one special *woreda*) and 474 *kebele* councils (ibid).

The Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State has a total population of 670,847 with an average annual growth rate of 3% (CSA, 2007), which is the second highest in the country after Gambella Regional State's 4.1%. Just over 86% of the population of the region lives in rural areas with the rest living in urban areas. Benishangul-Gumuz hosts different ethnic groups, categorized as indigenous and non-indigenous, according to the Regional State's Constitution (Article 2). The definitions for indigenous and non-indigenous are not clearly given in the Constitution but the former are implicitly understood as people who have lived in the region prior to the arrival of the highlanders in the early 20th century. The indigenous ethnic groups are the Nilo-Saharan families including Berta, Gumuz, Mao and Komo, and Shinasha (an Omotic family) (Wedekind and Alga, 2002). The non-indigenous groups include Amhara, Oromo, Agaw, Tigray and others.

The indigenous ethnic groups predominantly live in their own territories. For example, the Berta ethnic group lives in Assosa Zone and the Gumuz live in the Metekel and Kamashi Zones. The Mao and Komo live in the Mao-Komo Special *Woreda*. The non-indigenous ethnic groups live

either with the indigenous groups or in separate *woreda* administrations. For instance, the Oromo live both in the Asossa and the Kamashi Zones alongside the indigenous groups. The Amhara mainly live in the Asossa Zone and the Pawe *Woreda*. The Agaw-Awi predominantly live in the Metekel Zone (BIPP, 2005).

The study was conducted in Asossa *Woreda* where the Berta and other non-indigenous people live together. The Berta ethnic group speak their own language which is unintelligible to other indigenous and non-indigenous people in the *woreda* and in the region. The culture of the Berta people is highly influenced by Islam. This is because they were administered by Sheikhs, Islamized by their relationships with the Sudanese Arabs. However, despite the spread of Islam, traditional spiritual faith and customs remain important aspects of the spiritual life of the Berta people (Vaughan, 2006).

There were several reasons to conduct the study in Asossa *Woreda*. First, the *woreda* is inhabited by the largest indigenous group, Berta, which is also a target group for the villagization programme in the Regional State. Therefore, a focus on the *woreda* not only enables the researcher to explore the challenges and opportunities of villagization in the *woreda*, but also helps him to see its impact in Asossa Zone where the villagization programme has been implemented in a similar manner. Second, Asossa *Woreda* is part of the Regional State where the villagization programme has been successfully completed before the end of GTP1; therefore, a focus on the *woreda* helps the researcher to document the implementation process and the outcomes of the villagization. Third, a focus on that *woreda* enables the researcher to get access to the regional offices and others as the *woreda* covers the surroundings of the capital of the Regional State. Finally, the *woreda* is logistically accessible during the rainy season as compared to other *woredas* in the region.

Participants in the study were six *kebeles* of Abramo, Afamegele, Ura, Agusha, Buldigelu-Gmbeshiri and Yembacism selected from 24 *kebeles* inhabited by the Berta. Further, new villages established as part of the villagization programme were also incorporated. The selection of the *kebeles* was purposive. The time of establishment of the villages and their performance evaluation conducted by the regional authorities

were taken as criteria for inclusion. Accordingly, two *kebeles* from the villages established in each of the 2010/2011, 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 fiscal years were selected. Such kind of selection helped the researcher to see whether the villagization program has brought about changes in the livelihood of the farmers. The six *kebeles* included two weak, two medium and two best performing ones according to the evaluation made by the *woreda* and regional authorities.

The researcher utilized a qualitative research approach. This approach was useful to conduct an in-depth study and understand perceptions and attitudes of members of the Berta ethnic group who were moved to new villages under the villagization program. Accordingly, primary data were drawn from more than 126 participants including farmers, elders, women, development agents, health officers, and regional and *woreda* government representatives¹⁴⁸. Selection was flexible and included both purposive and random. Development agents, elders and health officers in the case *kebeles* were all contacted if they were few or manageable in number, or only those available were taken into account excluding those who were not in the study area during the field visit. Most of the farmers who participated in the study were also contacted randomly either in their work places or at home without any prior arrangement. Prior arrangement was also made with two *kebeles* having new villages far away from the centre of the *kebele*. Secondary sources were collected from reports and other publications in the Regional and *Woreda* Administrative Offices, police stations, and non-governmental organizations. Several data collection tools including desktop study, in-depth interview and focus group discussion were utilized. A translator who speaks Amharic and the local language facilitated communication between the researcher and the participants who do not speak Amharic.

3. Background Framework for Villagization and Shifting Cultivation

Villagization is a movement of people living sporadically to new nucleated settlement areas in order to provide them with social services and improve their livelihood (Berisso, 2002, Daie, 2012). Villagization involves change of previous settlement, but usually the new settlements

148 Refer the details of the participants in appendix two

are selected within the same environment and the farming places are not far away from the new settlement areas. Moreover, the people who move to new villages do not encounter new habitats with new cultures as the purpose of villagization is to bring the scattered villages and people closer to each other (Berisso, 2002).

Shifting cultivators are farmers whose livelihood depends on land cultivation and crop production. The main difference between shifting cultivators and other farmers is that the former do not cultivate the same land permanently. They use shifting cultivation to maintain fertility of the land. Hand tools are common in cultivating the land. According to FAO, the essential characteristic of shifting cultivation is that 'a forest is cleared, usually rather incompletely, the debris is burnt, and the land is cultivated for a few years - usually less than five - and then allowed to revert to forest or other secondary vegetation before being cleared and used again' (FAO, 1984:2). Villagization for shifting cultivators is not change of occupation and life style. They live in villages, but the villages may be changed depending on the duration of the land fallowing of the former farmlands and the distance of the new farmlands to the villages (FAO, 1984). Therefore, when shifting cultivators are required to move to new nucleated villages through villagization programmes, they have a potential to adopt the new technologies made available to them. The success of villagization is determined by several factors including the way the villagization programme is organized, the extent to which governments can provide basic social services, the extent to which the villagization programme disrupts or reinforces the livelihood and the occupation of the target group and political motivations of the government.

The organization of the villagization programme is one of the factors that contributes to the success or failure of the programme. Generally speaking, if the programme is led in a way that enables the target group to participate in the process including whether they would like to move to new villages and in selection of sites, there is a high probability for the newly established villages to sustain given other contributing factors are also satisfied. However, if the programme follows a top-down approach, there will be a tendency to implement the programme without enough study about the socio-economic situation of the area and without giving

due consideration to the will of the target group as happened during the villagization and resettlement programmes of the military regime (Pankhurst, 2004; Berisso, 2002; Rahmeto, 1988). The organizers of the villagization programme during the military regime were successful in organizing and coordinating committees but failed to conduct socio-economic environmental studies of the sites. This contributed to the failure of the programme in different places and the dismantling of the villages after the downfall of the military regime (*ibid*).

Provision of social services such as water and health facilities is also another relevant factor that determines the sustainability of the new villages. If government could not provide enough social services, the people would either be forced to abandon the villages or their livelihood will be disrupted by infectious diseases and other social problems. One of the problems of the villagization programme during the military regime (1975-1991) was lack of provision of enough water and health facilities around the new villages (Berisso, 2002). The villagization in Tanzania has also been widely criticized for adverse consequences of the process in the livelihood of the people (Ibhawoh and Dibia, 2003)¹⁴⁹.

Another factor which contributes to the success or failure of villagization is the extent to which the villagization programme disrupts the occupation of the target group. For example, if the programme focuses on changing the occupation of the target group, it could encounter a strong resistance which may lead to failure of the programme. During the military regime, the villagization programme in Guji Oromo encountered a strong resistance because it disrupted the occupation of the people including their focus on livestock production and their dependence on livestock products (Berisso, 2002).

The political motivation of regimes may also undermine the sustainability of villagization. The military regime in Ethiopia was widely criticized for its political objectives of controlling the farmers' products and for influences of insurgencies. The regime forced the farmers to move to new villages without their consent (Berisso, 2002). The villagization in Tanzania was not any different from this (*Ibhawoh and Dibia, 2003*).

¹⁴⁹ The Tanzanian government, led by Julius Nyerere, conducted a villagization programme as part of the rural development programme in the 1980s.

Finally, the real impact of villagization programme on the livelihood of the target group can be assessed in the long run. For example, the villagization programme in Tanzania was severely criticized for its adverse effects on the livelihood of the people when it was implemented during the 1970s. However, recent national household surveys indicate that the developmental villages created by the programme are better than others in high school completion rate, community participation and greater availability of public goods (Osafa-Kwaako, 2011). The indigenous people in Benishangul-Gumuz are considered as shifting cultivators. They practice land fallowing and use hand tools to cultivate the land. They live in scattered villages following their land cultivation practice (Abbute, 2002).

Villagization is sometimes used interchangeably or confused with the resettlement programs that were implemented by the military regime during the 1980s and by the current regime in the 1990s in Ethiopia. Villagization as massive programme started during the military regime primarily in the highland areas aimed at collecting scattered households into selected nucleated villages to improve the access of the people to social, economic and administrative services. It was implemented ambitiously and included more than 13 million people by the end of 1989 (Messay and Bekure, 2011). Nevertheless, it is argued that the aim of the villagization programme was to control the movement of the people and their products using state and party structures. As a result, when the military regime was overthrown in 1991, many of the villages that were artificially created were dismantled and the villagers returned to their previous settlement areas (Berisso, 2002).

The military regime implemented a resettlement program during the 1980s that moved more than 600,000 people from the northern and southern parts of Ethiopia to new environment and settlement areas of Wellega and Gojjam provinces which included Metekel and Asossa zones in the current Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State (Pankhurst, 2004). Resettlement was primarily implemented involuntarily. As a result, it was followed by deaths, separation of families and other consequences on the settlers. Moreover, the military regime considered the settlement areas of the shifting cultivators in Benishangul-Gumuz as 'no man areas' and dislocated the local people to prepare the resettlement areas for the

new villagers. For example, more than 18,000 Gumuz were dislocated when the resettlement villages were prepared in Pawe areas in the then South-West Gojjam and now Metekel in Benishangul-Gumuz (Abbute, 2002; Rahmato, 1988, 1989).

4. The Implementation of Villagization Programme in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State

From the start of the villagization programme in 2010/11 to the end of 2013/2014 Ethiopian fiscal year, about 40,596 households were moved to 221 villages. This has been considered as nearly 92% success story by the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State¹⁵⁰. The success of the villagization programme was measured by the regional government in terms of volunteerism – whether people were willing to move to new villages, provision of basic social services, and whether the productivity of the farmers increased in the subsequent years of the implementation of the programme¹⁵¹. To achieve the above objectives, the programme included the following activities¹⁵²:

- Community consultations
- Selection of sites
- Construction of houses
- Provision of basic social services, and
- Provision of farmlands

5. Community consultations

The villagization programme has been led by a National Board of Directors composed of senior government officials. The Board of Directors monitors the implementation process four times a year through field visits and reports. At regional level, a regional steering committee

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Deputy Head of Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, August ,2014

¹⁵¹ *ibid*

¹⁵² Regional guidelines for villagization programme in the regional state

which includes leaders of the main sectoral bureaus and led by the regional president coordinates the implementation of the programme. The steering committee is organized in a similar manner at zone and *woreda* levels as in the regional state. At *kebele* level, the programme is led by a villagization committee composed of 9-12 members including three elders, young men and women, and development extension workers¹⁵³. The Ministry of Federal Affairs (MFA) also leads the programme by preparing guidelines and providing orientation to all levels of the regional leadership including zone and *woreda* steering committees.

Authorities of the Regional State mentioned that getting consent of the target households was one of the priorities of the consultation forums¹⁵⁴. For this purpose, the *woreda* steering committee, in collaboration with the *kebele* committee, was responsible to organize the consultation forums with the local people (Human Rights Commission, 2013). In the consultation forums the main focus was explaining to the target group about the disadvantages of living in scattered places and benefits of the villagization to get development opportunities. Moreover, in the deliberations, particular emphasis was given to the extent to which the villagization programme can enhance farmers' access to social services and infrastructural networks¹⁵⁵. This means no one forced the households who did not want to move to the new villages. For example, in Kurmuk *Woreda*, out of 45 households considered for the villagization programme in 2010/2011, only 15 were convinced to move, whereas the rest (30) moved in the following year (in 2011/2012) after they saw some positive experiences from the first movers. There are some households in Kamashi Zone (Debe Arengama, and Debe-Tagaguracha *kebeles*) who do not want to move to the new villages¹⁵⁶.

Informants who participated in the study said that the villagization programme brought together people who lived in the most scattered villages to nucleated settlements. Consequently, the social services provided in the villages located closer to each other helped the local administrations to convince others to move to the new villages. For

¹⁵³ Regional guidelines for villagization

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Deputy Head of Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, August, 2014

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Deputy Head of Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau and members of *kebele* administrations in Asossa *Woreda*, August , 2014

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

example, farmers from Afamegele Kebele said, “We wanted to move to the new villages to get easy access to education for our children and health facilities though we knew we would commute long distances to cultivate our farm lands”¹⁵⁷. They also said that there was no person who wanted to return to the former villages because no one wants to miss the social services in the new villages¹⁵⁸. This indicates the extent to which lack of access to social services in the former villages was instrumental to move people to the new villages.

However, there was some indirect pressure by members of local administrations driven by the desire to implement the programme and this resulted in unexpected number of people forced to move to the new villages (Daie, 2012). As a result, at the beginning of the implementation period (2010/2011) 18,000 households were moved to new villages. This was significantly higher than what was planned - 16,000 for that year. Participants in the study said,

*The programme came as a government plan with promising ideas. We thought there was a bright future in the new villages, but we are not quite sure of what the consequence could be. In fact, we did not demolish our former houses and we did not move our properties completely*¹⁵⁹.

Moreover, in some places a long distance between the villages and the farmlands contributed to people’s resistance. In Afamegele Kebele, the new villages are almost 1½ to 2½ hours walk from the farmlands¹⁶⁰. In addition, some people do not want to lose their former farmlands for economic reasons. For example, in Kamashi Zone some Gumuz farmers lease their land to highlanders to get additional income¹⁶¹. Such kind of benefits made people resistant to the villagization programme because for some people the benefits of the land leasing outweigh the benefits from the villagization program.

¹⁵⁷ Focus group discussion with farmer participants in Afamegele Kebele, August 2014

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Focus group discussion with Deputy Head and other authorities of the Rural Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August ,2014

The consultation processes have also created unfulfilled promises. Government authorities promised a lot regardless of the capacity of the Regional State to deliver. For example, in Buldigelu-Gmbeshiri *Kebele*, a promise was made to construct a health post which has not been implemented yet. As a result, people commute to another *kebele* to get health services¹⁶². From Agusha *Kebele*, people commute about two to three hours to Asossa Town to get health service because the *Kebele* health post does not have drugs to provide medical services for the local people¹⁶³. In Afamegele *Kebele*, a health post was constructed when the people moved to the new village in 2011/2012, but a nurse has not been deployed yet¹⁶⁴. There are similar complaints related to lack of social services like road and electric city supply in all *kebeles* though these were promised during the community consultations. Such problems not only create community level grievance, but also undermine local initiatives and participation of the people to address community problems.

The above community consultation process indicates that villagization programme cannot be implemented in a form of campaign if the purpose is to transform the livelihood of the people. A villagization programme that depends on campaign does not provide opportunity to the target people to learn from their experience and prepare themselves to mitigate the negative consequences of the programme. Moreover, a villagization programme which depends on campaign can result in waste of resources as happened in Ura *Kebele* where villagers decided to leave the new village because they believed the new farmlands allotted to them were not fertile to be cultivated for food crops¹⁶⁵.

6. Site Selection and Construction of Houses

Another important aspect of the villagization process was site selection. Initially, a new site was proposed by a technical committee organized under the *woreda* steering committee. The technical committee proposed three alternative sites and presented them to members of the target group. The main criteria for selecting the sites were availability of water

¹⁶² Focus group discussion with local people from Buldigelu-Gmbeshiri Kebele, August 2014.

¹⁶³ Focus group discussion with local people from Agusha Kebele, August 2014.

¹⁶⁴ Focus group discussion with local people from Afamegele Kebele, August 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Focus group discussion with farmers from Ura Kebele, August, 2014

and suitability of the site for food crops cultivation. Once the best site was selected by the local people, final decision was made by the regional technical committee¹⁶⁶.

Most of the farmers, who were consulted for this study, seem to have been satisfied with the number and quality of houses constructed. In total 33*30 m² land plot was allocated to every household for house construction and garden plot. Houses were constructed using local resources and the labour of the recipient villagers before households from the scattered villages were moved to the new sites. The house constructed for each household considers the size of the families and their clan relationships. Villagers can still maintain their family ties and social relations in the new villages. Houses for the families were constructed closer to each other and this has enabled the villagers to easily exchange information. This was vital for social and economic engagements of the villagers.¹⁶⁷

Lack of water points was one of the challenges in the site selection. Such a problem was primarily observed in Dibate *Woreda* of Metekel Zone and also in Kamashi Zone. This was because the local administrations tended to bring the sites close to the existing road networks¹⁶⁸ but this was later corrected by the zone and regional levels of the steering committees. However, there are still some sites which do not have enough water resources. Respondents from Ura *Kebele* said that all water pumps in the new village did not provide water due to lack of enough underground water in the local area¹⁶⁹.

Some commentators also said that the site selection in Kamashi Zone was influenced by inter-regional interests. The local administrations in the zone wanted to use the new villages as buffer zones to curb the expansion of the neighbouring Oromia *Kebeles*¹⁷⁰. Nevertheless, the regional authorities disagreed and said most of the new villages were established towards the hinterland of the *woreda* in searching of suitable

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Deputy Head of Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, August 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Focus group discussions conducted in all kebeles selected for the study, August 2014.

¹⁶⁸ Focus group discussion with authorities of Rural Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August, 2014.

¹⁶⁹ Focus group discussion with members of the kebele development workers, August, 2014.

¹⁷⁰ Participants from international organizations in Asossa Town, August 2014

places for farmlands and water points¹⁷¹ although some sites lack soil fertility. For example, in Afamegele *Kebele*, the garden plots of the villagers have lost fertility because they had already been drained by the military regime settlers who came to Asossa in the 1980s¹⁷². Thus, although site selection involved the local people, the above analysis indicates that it lacked a detailed environmental and feasibility study before implementation of the programme.

Provision of Basic Social Services

The preparation of social services, mainly water wells and health services, was very vital to sustain the new villages. According to the regional authorities, it was planned to drill one water well for 70 to 80 households and four water wells for about 240 households¹⁷³. However, some sites in Kamashi and Metekel Zones were not convenient to dig water wells, so they were disregarded in the process. Participants in the study also confirmed that the provision of potable water was successful in most of the *kebeles* except in Ura *Kebele* where the water pumps stopped working after service of four months. As a result, the people had to fetch water from a river, which requires a walk for about an hour and a half¹⁷⁴.

Access for women to health posts was the main achievement of the villagization programme¹⁷⁵. For example, in Abramo *Kebele* four women randomly selected for this study did not have any access to health services before they came to the new village. They delivered all their children through traditional means¹⁷⁶. However, one of the participants who was in her eighth month of pregnancy then had regular checkups in the nearby health post where she was expecting to deliver. Other young women who participated in the study from other *kebeles* had also started similar practice.

¹⁷¹ Interview with Deputy Head of the Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, August, 2014.

¹⁷² Focus group discussions with participants from Ura *Kebele* and Afamegele *Kebele*, August 2014.

¹⁷³ Interview with Deputy Head of the Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, August, 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Focus group discussion with development workers in Ura *Kebele*, August 2014.

¹⁷⁵ This is a common impression of all the participants selected from the *kebele*.

¹⁷⁶ A point made by one of the participants in the focus group discussions organized in Abramo *Kebele*, August 2014

Access to education for children was also another achievement of the villagization programme. Prior to the programme, children from the scattered villages did not get access to education because they were required to walk for more than an hour to get to schools every day. Moreover, parents chose not to send their children to school because of the risk of walking in the forest between the scattered villages. Now all parents can send their children to school because most of the new villages are located within a walking distance of about 15 minutes from schools. In addition, *kebele* administration can monitor whether all parents send their children to school because most of the villages are easily accessible to the *kebele* administration. A primary school director of Yambacism *Kebele* said that enrollment has increased by more than 95% because of registration of children from the new villages¹⁷⁷. This indicates that almost no child was enrolled from the scattered villages prior to the implementation of the villagization programme. Participants who abandoned their houses in the village of Ura *Kebele* said that they still want to keep the houses because they want to use them as accommodation for their children who go to school¹⁷⁸.

However, the government institutions lack financial, technical and governance capacity to provide other services such as electric supply and road access. This problem has two dimensions. First, as discussed elsewhere, the promise made by the local authorities was beyond the reach of the Regional State. Overambitiously, this resulted in establishing several villages with no access to road and electricity. For example, almost all the *kebeles* in this study were not accessible by vehicles during the rainy season. With the exception of few villages, the Abramo *Kebele* did not have access to electricity. Second, the social services were not sustainable. In some *kebeles*, water from the water wells and electric power supply did not seem to be sustainable. For example, in Ura *Kebele*, it had been months since power was cut off. The main problem in this regard was not only the interruption of services but also the bureaucracy in the institutions which provide the services. They were almost inaccessible by the local administration and the people at the grassroots level.

¹⁷⁷ A point made by a primary school director in a focus group discussion organized in Yambacism *Kebele*, August, 2014

¹⁷⁸ This point was made in a focus group discussion by the farmers who abandoned their houses in the new village.

7. Villagization, Land Use and Land Productivity in the Regional State

The Regional State has recently adopted a new land use policy which demarcates areas that can be protected for forests and provided for commercial farms and mining. The policy entitles each farmer to 3 to 10 hectares of farmland and 1000 m² for construction of houses and gardening depending on the availability of farmland in each locality. This has been applied to all villages established through the villagization programme.

Villagization potentially provides several advantages for effective land utilization¹⁷⁹. The current Rural Land Use Policy entitles farmers to full land use rights. This creates a better security for farmers and encourages them to maintain land fertility and grow fruit trees such as Mango which enables them to get additional income during off-farming seasons. Villagization inspires farmers to increase their land productivity because it creates a favourable condition for farmers to interact with development agents stationed at the *kebeles*. This provides incentives to farmers to use modern technology and develop their farming skills which, in turn, enable them to increase their productivity.

However, there are several structural factors that hinder exploiting the benefits of villagization. The first, is use of hand tools. Most of the farmers randomly selected for the study have three or more hectares of farmland each on average. However, almost none of them cultivated all the land during the last three consecutive harvest years. This is because they use hand tools and could not cover all farmland. When asked why they do not use oxen, they said they would have liked but oxen did not survive for more than two years due to livestock disease in the region¹⁸⁰. One of the participants in Ura *Kebele* said that he lost 48 oxen since 1991 because of the livestock disease. Others also said they lost 2 oxen per household in the last four years.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with several regional authorities including the Deputy Head of Regional Food Security and Villagization Bureau, Deputy Head of the Rural Development Bureau, Deputy Head of Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau and Economic Advisor to the Regional President, August 2014.

¹⁸⁰ A point made by a farmer from Ura Kebele, August 2014

Second, the farmers did not use modern technology including fertilizer and improved seeds to increase crop productivity. According to the development agents in Abramo *Kebele*, among 260 households in the *Kebele* only one farmer used improved seeds and fertilizer in the 2011/2012 harvest year. This number increased to five in 2012/13 and 26 in the 2013/2014 harvest years. Overall, in 2013/2014 harvest year, land productivity for maize was between 8-12 quintals per half a hectare among households who used fertilizer and improved seeds and ploughed using oxen. This was less than the national average product of maize (16 quintals per half a hectare) for the same year (CSA, 2014). For the rest, it varies between three and six quintals per half a hectare of farmland. The farmers were also asked if they used improved seeds and fertilizer in the last harvest years. Among 31 participants from Abramo *Kebele*, only one used fertilizer in the 2013/14 harvest year. He cultivated half a hectare and harvested four quintals of maize and two quintals of sorghum. He also collected half a quintal of *teff* and *boloqqe* from his garden plot. Nevertheless, the product was not enough to feed his 10 family members. He sold firewood in Asossa Town to generate additional income¹⁸¹.

According to the development agents in Agusha *Kebele*, among the 263 households only 30 used fertilizer and improved seeds in the 2013/2014 harvest year. The average maize productivity among such households was around 12 quintals per half a hectare. The rest of the households in the *Kebele* did not use fertilizer and improved seeds for several reasons. One reason, as already discussed, was that almost all the farmers used hand tools. According to the development agents in the *Kebele*, hand tools can only cultivate the upper layer of the land and if fertilizer is used in such instances, either the crops will dry or yield very little. Moreover, most of the participants noted that the price of fertilizer was beyond what they could afford. In fact, there were 87 households who could not pay back their loans from the microfinance in the *kebele* and additional loan is not allowed unless arrears from the previous years are settled¹⁸².

Third, with the exception of Yambacism *Kebele*, farmlands were far away

¹⁸¹ Focus group discussions organized in Abramo Kebele, August 2014

¹⁸² The issue of arrears was raised at the focus group discussion with farmers organized in the Office of the Agusha Kebele Administration, August , 2014

from residential areas in all the villages visited for this study. Many farmers had to commute for over an hour to work on their farmland. This reduced the size of the land that could be cultivated by family labour. Moreover, crops were exposed to wild animals because family members who could protect them lived far away from the farmlands. For example, a farmer from Abramo *Kebele* with six family members said, 'I have three hectares of farmland but I managed to cultivate only half a hectare and harvested only 2 quintals of sorghum in 2013/2014. I did not want to cultivate more than half a hectare because wild animals would eat the crops as my family members do not live around the farmland'. He sold bamboo in Assosa Town to buy additional food crops for his family. Villagers from Afamegele *Kebele* also had to commute from one and a half hours to two and a half hours to go to and come back from the farmlands¹⁸³.

Fourth, the acidic nature of the soil contributed to low crop productivity. This was not common for all the *kebeles*, but it discouraged farmers when it came to cultivating garden plots in some areas. For example, farmers in Afamegele *Kebele* complained that the problem had contributed to small production of garden crops. According to the extension agents of the *Kebele*, if the soil is acidic, it becomes difficult for farmers to use fertilizer because the crops dry before they grow up. Using compost may be suitable for acidic type of soil, but the preparation process is labour intensive. Each farmer cannot produce enough compost that can cover the farmland. Farmers from Ura *Kebele* who participated in the research said, 'We do not cultivate garden plots because the soil is acidic and does not yield anything. We could produce a lot on our former farmland because the soil was fertile and could yield 20 quintals per hectare without any fertilizer and improved seeds'¹⁸⁴. This led to the villagers' abandoning of the new settlement and going back to their former villages, as discussed earlier.

Fifth, communication gap between development workers and the local people was another factor that contributed to the low productivity of the indigenous people. Most of the development workers in the *kebeles*

¹⁸³ The issue of distance of residential areas from farmlands was raised at the focus group discussion with farmers organized in all *kebeles* selected for the study with the exception of one

¹⁸⁴ This point was made by a farmer in a focus group discussion organized in Ura *Kebele*, August 2014

visited for this study were either Oromo or Amhara and did not speak the native language of the local people. Moreover, the local people, except some individuals, did not speak the Oromo language or Amharic and this created communication barrier to conduct trainings for the development agents and introduce modern technology to the local people¹⁸⁵.

Finally, the regional state had weak institutional capacity to implement the new land use policy in the entire region¹⁸⁶. People still owned a lot of hectares of farmland and leased them to farmers who came from the highland for additional economic benefit. This was common in Metekel and Kamashi Zones and contributed to environmental degradation.

In sum, villagization has a potential to increase productivity of farmers by enabling them get better access to development workers and use modern technology. However, the above structural factors have to be addressed to realize the benefits of villagization in the long run.

8. Villagization, Environmental Protection and Conflict Management

Broadly speaking, villagization can contribute to environmental protection in the Regional State in the future. As discussed elsewhere, the indigenous people are shifting cultivators. They cut trees to prepare a new farmland and leave the other fallowing. However, villagization makes the practice of shifting cultivation unnecessary by enabling farmers to use permanent farmlands and improve their productivity using fertilizer and improved seeds. The counter-argument in this regard is that shifting cultivation is relevant to maintain the environment because when the farmers leave the land fallow for around four years, the trees grow and the environment retains its previous status¹⁸⁷. However, in the contemporary socio-economic situation, there are several factors including adoption of market mechanisms of the indigenous people, population growth, and migration of framers from the neighbouring regional states which contribute to behavioural change of the local

¹⁸⁵ This is my personal observation from the discussions I had with members of the development agents and the local people.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with the Deputy Head of Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August, 2014

¹⁸⁷ There are such types of debates by researchers who conducted several studies including Abbutte, (2002) and others in the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State.

people. These developments discourage the indigenous people and they do not exercise shifting cultivation as they did 30 or 40 years ago. Therefore, nowadays a Gumuz or a Berta farmer may prefer to lease the farmland to highlanders to get better economic benefits instead of using a fallowing system to maintain the environment and fertility of the farmland. Therefore, villagization not only provides better social services to the indigenous people but also creates an enabling environment to use land resources effectively which, in turn, sustains the environment better in the long run. Moreover, some households replaced the trees that were cut to establish the new villages during the villagization programme. For example, 2,455,136 mango trees were planted in the new villages only in 2014/2015, according to the Deputy Head of the Food Security and Villagization Bureau.

Nevertheless, there are three fundamental factors that still undermine the environmental protection of the Regional State. First, most of the people in the villages considered for the study do not produce enough food crops for their food security for the reasons that have been discussed in the previous sections. Most farmers in all *kebeles* sell charcoal to get additional income sources¹⁸⁸. This has contributed to deforestation in Berta *Kebeles* of Asossa *Woreda*; second, although bamboo is an indigenous plant in Assosa zone, it is disappearing for reasons of lack of replacement when cut for some purpose and lack of scientific management of life cycle of the plant¹⁸⁹. A bamboo tree is useful to construct houses and has national and international market demands. Farmers included in this study said that the *woreda* was covered with bamboo trees when settlers came in the 1980s. Since then the bamboo forest has disappeared because the military regime cleared a lot of it to prepare farmland for the settlers. Moreover, bamboo tree has its own life cycle. Any external intervention can result in total disappearance of the plant. Additionally, instead of retaining the indigenous plant, the local people and particularly the settlers in the region have started planting eucalyptus tree which is non-indigenous to the locality. Eucalyptus tree came to the zone with settlers from the highland areas and it is becoming

¹⁸⁸ More than 50 % of the farmers who participated in the study confirmed that they sell charcoal to get additional income for feeding their families.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with environmental extension worker in Abramo Kebele, August, 2014.

the main forest tree around the Assosa *Woreda*¹⁹⁰. Some settlers have already allocated farmlands to cultivate eucalyptus. The indigenous people also believe that eucalyptus has more market value than bamboo. Such a belief not only threatens the indigenous vegetation of the regional state but also undermines the comparative advantage of the country in terms of revenues it can generate from bamboo products in the national and international markets.

The third factor is related to the expansion of commercial farms in the Regional State. Investment on commercial farms has attracted many international and national investors. Following this the Regional Government in 2008 reported the existence of 1.2 million hectares of land that can be cultivated under the management of the Federal Government.¹⁹¹ The areas allocated for commercial farms include *woredas* in all zones such as Wenbera, Guba and Dangur *Woredas* from Metekel Zone; Sedal *Woreda* from Kamashi Zone; Assosa, Menge, Kurmuk and Homsha *Woredas* from Asossa Zone; and Mao Komo special *Woreda*¹⁹². However, in practice only 300,000 hectares was transferred to the Federal Government land bank because the number of hectares reported in 2008 did not consider the nature of shifting land cultivation and places allocated for mining purposes¹⁹³.

National and international investors have started commercial farms in the Regional State. For example, 50,000 hectares in Metekel Zone was given to an Indian bio-fuel company by the Federal Government but this was later reduced to 18,000 hectares for the rest was needed for the national park to be established in the zone. The company has cultivated only 4000 hectares yet¹⁹⁴. Other investors have also communicated with the Rural Land Use Administration and Environmental Protection Bureau to secure land for commercial farming. However, the problem in this regard is that some investors clear forests beyond the territory demarcated for them. They do not properly monitor their labourers who come from the highland areas to work on the farmland. As a result, the workers clear the

¹⁹⁰ Onsite observation during the study visit, August, 2014.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Deputy Head of the Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August, 2014

¹⁹² *ibid*

¹⁹³ *ibid*

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Deputy Head of the Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August, 2014

forest around the commercial farmland and cultivate it to get additional income. The Regional State is also weak in enforcing the Rural Land Use Policy that has been adopted recently. Yet, land is given to investors by lobbying individual government leaders. Moreover, investors who come through the Federal Investment Agency consider themselves as related only to the Agency. This creates additional problems to monitor the impact of commercial farms on the environment of the Regional State.¹⁹⁵

Villagization has several advantages in terms of conflict management. When settlers moved to new villages, they were not required to create new social structures. They came with all their social relationships and institutions of traditional conflict management¹⁹⁶. According to the farmers who took part in the study, villagization has reduced communication gaps and misunderstandings between members of the villages. It has also enabled elders to work closely with each other and resolve conflicts before they get worse. Police members also said that villagization has enabled them to reach all villages at all times¹⁹⁷. According to the Deputy Head of the Regional Security and Administration Bureau, homicides have significantly reduced in the Gumuz communities of Metekel and Kamashi Zones due to easy access for the security forces to the villages.

Conclusion

In conclusion, villagization in Benishnagul-Gumuz can contribute to social transformation because it brings people closer to social services and use of modern technology which, in turn, enhances their agricultural productivity. It also contributes to the enforcement of law and order with regard to land and environmental resources because people who live in the nucleated villages are required to use land resources on the basis of the Land Use Policy of the Regional State. It also reduces communication gap and conflicts between members of different villages in the long run as it enables them to live closer to each other.

However, several structural and institutional problems undermine the realization of the benefits of villagization. First, social services including

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Deputy Head of the Land Use and Environmental Protection Bureau, August, 2014

¹⁹⁶ Focus group discussions with elders in Abramo Kebele, August, 2014

¹⁹⁷ Police members who participated in the study from different kebeles, August 2014

water supply and health services are not sustainably provided in all *kebeles*. There are also unfulfilled promises such as access to roads and electric power supply. Lack of sustainability of social services not only undermines people's trust on the government and on the institutions which provide the services, but also creates group grievance against the government. The Regional Government has to be able to sustain at least the social services that have been put in place during the implementation of the villagization programme. It has to prioritize the promises and start fulfilling them in a planned manner.

Second, land productivity of the farmers is poor. People use hand tools to cultivate the land but this has hindered the farmers from cultivating enough of the farmland and increase productivity. Farmers find it difficult to use oxen to plough the farmland because they do not survive for more than two years. Moreover, some farmlands are far away from the residential areas. This has resulted in cultivation of small size of farmland and little productivity due to inability to use family labour and exposure of farms to wild animals. The acidic nature of soil in some farmlands also reduces productivity. Farmers do not have access to modern technology but instead use hand tools to cultivate the land. The price of fertilizer is also beyond what most of them can afford. Moreover, there is communication gap between development workers and the local people because of language barrier. All these negatively affect productivity. In general, food security around the indigenous people seems to require a serious attention.

Third, deforestation is increasing at an alarming rate in the Regional State. This is mainly due to weak institutional capacity to monitor and control the consequences associated with the expansion of commercial farms. Lack of enough income sources among the indigenous people of the Regional State is also a contributing factor. For example, farmers in *Asossa Woreda* are engaged in the production of charcoal for additional income and this causes environmental degradation. Therefore, providing incentives to farmers to retain the indigenous bamboo plant will be useful to protect the environment.

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10

CHAPTER TEN

Large-Scale Agriculture Developments, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Conflicts in the Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Jacob Waiswa Buganga

Abstract

The credit crunch between 2007 and middle of 2009 prompted a rethink of pastoralism in favour of intensive national agricultural development enterprise. This paper explored the traditional knowledge systems of pastoral communities in Ethiopia, justifications for large-scale agricultural investment, its implications, and policy considerations. Pastoralists were by-passed by development because of their incompatibility to modern-day development proposals. Transforming pastoral communities into large-scale agricultural entrepreneurs comes with a lot of resistance to relentlessly protect original community values engraved in the spiritual, cultural, mental, social, economic, and political aspects that enabled resilience against harsh climatic conditions. This was possible with the right human tools, with a clear understanding of pastoralists' unique traditions and the knowledge associated to it such that the identities of endangered societies were protected and conflict associated to de-identification and de-nationalization was prevented so that, while solving challenges of famine, low incomes, and poor standards of living, traditional aspects are integrated into economic reforms.

The unique and resilient cultures were capable of becoming an economic force and a source of pride, unity, peace, and solidarity. Already tourism turns out to be an alternative driver to the country's economic success and beauty, from the attractions arising from strong cultural traditional arid landscape, featured wild animals, plants, and how all are related. There was limited mindfulness of foreign conspiracies to alienate traditional life-knowledge systems in the name of development, which was always met with confusion, violence and worse, development costs as new security issues to deal with yet unplanned for. The traditional resilience systems, instead, offered a comparative advantage for the people of Ethiopia in such a competitive global village whose technologies and cultures were different and inappropriate to the socio-cultural and spiritual life of the pastoral communities in the Country. The new development strategies should be one that concerns itself with advancement of local solutions to local, regional, and global problems that provided strong bargaining position for the region while any new development frameworks were intensely debated, negotiated and piloted to ensure they did not hurt the traditional resilience systems that were already a base for survival of the pastoralists.

Key words: Pastoralism, indigenous knowledge, conflict, large scale agriculture

1. Introduction

The use of extensive grazing on rangelands for livestock production (pastoralism) was an important economic and cultural way of life for between 100-200 million throughout the world. In sub-Saharan Africa, 16% of the population relied on pastoralism.¹⁹⁸ Effects of climate change on the drylands of the Horn of Africa posed difficult policy challenges. Nomadic pastoralism functioned best and was well adapted in areas of increased climatic variability.¹⁹⁹ The drylands maintained 46% of the global livestock diversity and in the near East 90%. Overall grassland accounted for 40% of the Earth's terrestrial surface.²⁰⁰ Ethiopia's arid and semi-arid pastoral areas compromise approximately 60% of the total land area, mainly peripheral, where no alternative production

¹⁹⁸ See Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 'Pastoralism, Nature Conservation and Development: A Good Practice Guide' Montreal, 2010:iv.

¹⁹⁹ Humanitarian Policy Group, 'Pastoralism and Climate Change -Enabling Adaptive Capacity,' A Synthesis Paper Overseas Development Institute, United Kingdom, April, 2009:1.

²⁰⁰ Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2010: 5.

takes place (Homann et al, 2004). The performance of a given sector justified its continuity and policy support. For instance, there were approximately 10 million pastoralists in Ethiopia who make up 14% of the total population. The country was richest in Africa in as far as livestock population is concerned, with a total of about 41 million head of cattle, 25 million head of sheep, 41 million chickens, and 5.7 million donkeys, horses, and mules. Nomadic pastoralism was a lifestyle lived by societies in arid and semi-arid areas, well adopted to cope with unpredictable weather conditions; a way of life they adopted from their fore fathers without justification to adapting to settled farming; and to them, there was nothing like permanent residency or indigenous population (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010). Sophisticated knowledge of the natural world was not confined to science. Societies from all parts of the world possessed rich sets of experience, understanding and explanation. Local and indigenous knowledge thus referred to the understandings, skills and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with the natural surroundings. For the rural and indigenous peoples, local knowledge informed decision-making about fundamental aspects of day to day life.²⁰¹ Conflict theories addressed the way in which people within a unit struggle for power, how they disagree and what actions they take to compete for resources.²⁰² The threats were undefinable within nomadic culture. Nomadic pastoralists lived in the least developed lands of the country, characterized by poverty, high levels of illiteracy, inadequate infrastructure, and poor health services, with least external support (Mussa, 2004). The nomadic lifestyle accelerated conflict among pastoral communities – with wild life and physical environment. The credit crunch between 2007 and middle of 2009²⁰³ prompted a rethink of pastoralism in favour of intensive national agricultural development enterprise. Achieving effective participation of minorities and ending their exclusion requires that we embrace diversity through the promotion and implementation of international human rights standards,²⁰⁴ which catered for the respect for minority

²⁰¹ UNESCO 'Local and Indigenous Knowledge' [<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/priority-areas/links/>] retrieved December 5, 2014.

²⁰² Linda Ray, 'Conflict Theory and the Family' [<http://www.livestrong.com/article/345499-conflict-theory-the-family/>] December 5, 2014.

²⁰³ Ana Maria eh, Mirna Dumi i and Ivo Krznar "Ana Maria eh, Mirna Dumi i and Ivo Krznar" WORKING PAPERS W – 28 Zagreb, January 2011:p.2.

²⁰⁴ UNHR 'Minorities' [<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Minorities/Pages/MinoritiesIndex.aspx>] retrieved December 19, 2014.

groups. This paper examined the contribution of large-scale agricultural developments to the extinction of indigenous knowledge systems and the policy considerations for minimization of conflicts among pastoral communities in Ethiopia.

There was a global effort to building resilience in the Sahel Region.²⁰⁵ Natural resources were shareable but their values and interests differed²⁰⁶ and became potential source of aggravated conflict. Poverty remained one of the most serious social problems, along with decline in the biodiversity. Human development depended on ecosystems and their services while the state of poverty was influenced by strategies for both development and distribution of nature's benefits (Ibis and Vega, Herrmann (eds.), 2010). The commonest model to address it was a 'top-down' approach which involved the imposition of 'modern' ideas to replace 'primitive' ones in the name of large-scale agricultural development. The new developments were intended for environment stress reduction already catered for by the communal nature of pastoral communities. This works to change old traditional, rich cultural heritage for diminished identity and confusion as well as dismantled ecological unity expressed through interconnectivity to survive. The confusion and uncertainty caused internal and external conflicts due to constrained means of accessing production goods, and moral degradation. When such conflicts break out, the deep-rooted systems of conflict-resolution are not applied because the traditional structures where they were embedded get destroyed through alien development initiatives. This called for rigorous people-centered analyses of old and new framework implementations – with evidence so that solutions can be suggested on how best to manage natural resources for sustainable benefit and to advise successive governments.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ See Global Resilience Partnership 'Global Resilience Challenge for Building Resilience to Acute Shocks and Chronic Stresses in the Sahel, Horn of Africa, and South and Southeast Asia' Global Resilience Challenge 2014.

²⁰⁶ Ministry for the Environment 'Introducing the Natural Resources Framework.' [<http://nrs.mfe.govt.nz/content/intro-natural-resources-framework>] retrieved October 26, 2014.

²⁰⁷ See 'Introducing the Natural Resources Framework' [<http://nrs.mfe.govt.nz/content/intro-natural-resources-framework>] retrieved October 26, 2014.

2. Objectives

To examine the contribution of large-scale agricultural developments to the extinction of indigenous knowledge systems and policy considerations for minimization of conflicts among pastoral communities in Ethiopia.

Specific Objectives

- To assess large-scale agricultural developments in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia.
- To explore the impacts of large-scale agricultural developments on the indigenous knowledge and conflict resolution systems of pastoral communities in Ethiopia.
- To suggest policy options for avoiding the extinction of indigenous knowledge and conflict resolution systems of pastoralist communities.

Specific Questions for the Study

- What are the aspects of indigenous knowledge systems associated with pastoral communities in Ethiopia?
- What are the implications of large-scale agricultural developments in Ethiopia?
- What are the policy considerations for minimizing conflicts from large-scale agricultural investments in Ethiopia?

3. Research Design

The production of this paper was based on the experience of Ethiopia because of its prominent large-scale agricultural investments that threatened survival of the pastoralists. The author employed framework analytical model for qualitative research to match frameworks in support of large-scale agricultural development and its effects on pastoral life and frameworks justifying pastoral way of life and its effects on pastoral life, from which policy considerations were deduced and

new framework suggested for minimizing conflict in pastoral zones in Ethiopia. The old framework (pastoral culture) and the new framework (large-scale agricultural development) were outlined to understand the greatest strength of each on which their evolutions were based, and the information gathered and the evaluations for both compared. This paper gained extensively from intense use of secondary data sources, where information consistent with paper objectives and questions were solicited, summarized, analyzed, and interpreted. Different perspectives on the subject matter were reviewed to draw conclusions. Experiences from biases detected in other neighbouring fields were also useful to draw upon conclusions. Even though assumptions were subjective, they could be useful in interpreting research claims and putting them in context.²⁰⁸

3.1. Change Model Analysis

Existing change management models offered deliberate strategy to a well rationalized community and national need. McKinsey 7-S Model created by Waterman, Pascale, and Athos in 1978 offered holistic approach to organization. They suggested the following steps: 1) Shared values, 2) Strategy, 3) Structure, 4) Systems, 5) Style, and 6) Staff and Skills.²⁰⁹ But globalization has exerted pressure on nations at lower levels of development to think and act like developed nations in order to survive. The model applied is a top-down arrangement focused on 'modern' production forms in the name of large-scale agricultural investments, and any policies are focused on this model like any challenges and successes associated with it (implications). The rational knowledge systems (rich cultural heritage) are not catered for in the model. Traditional knowledge was vital for sustainability of natural resources including forests, water and agro-ecosystems across landscape continuum spanning from

²⁰⁸ John P. A. Ioannidis Essay: 'Why Most Published Research Findings Are False August 2005 1.p.0701 Volume 2 | Issue 8 1 e124.

²⁰⁹ Bree Normandin, Three Types of Change Management Models. <http://quickbase.intuit.com/blog/2012/08/28/three-types-of-change-management-models/> retrieved on October 10, 2014.

households through farms, village, commons and wilderness.²¹⁰ Instead, however, there were the external or global culture and technology that inappropriately found their way into the brains and philosophies of Africans. From the Chinese philosophy did moderation and balance in all things such as environmental sustainability, equity, gender parity, inclusiveness and good governance. The concept of sustainability focused on ethical and ecological considerations. Achieving harmony, there had to be integration of all the Earth's assets –physical, environmental, cultural, historical, social or human. It relied on human capabilities of mutual support, solidarity and cooperation.²¹¹

3.2. Think Local, Act Global and Think Global, Act Local Paradigms

Think global, act local was an initiative aimed at creating a 'healthy planet.' It characterized qualitative appreciation of the world at large, focusing on the most gainful bargain; and capture interdependence nature of relationships. There was relentless need to aspire for development that inspires and positively affects the local aspects of living (Gallardo, 2011). The model of analysis below (see figure 1) was modified from Awuah (2008, 2007); Anderson and Narus (2004); and Håkansson and Snehota (1995)'s framework for 'Factors affecting a firm's development of its competitiveness.' They suggested that value creation for customers and other stakeholders, worldwide, should be seen in a wider context where the firm's performance influences and is influenced by other significant actors.²¹²

3.3. Model of Analysis for the Study

In the model of analysis below, the author explained the current situation in Ethiopia as one dependent on global culture which influenced countries policies and local economic behaviours. See figure 1 below.

²¹⁰ Deep Narayan Pandey 'Traditional Knowledge Systems for Biodiversity Conservation' [http://www.infinityfoundation.com/mandala/t_es/t_es_pande_conserve.htm] December 5, 2014.

²¹¹ United Nations Human Settlements Programme. State of World's Cities - Harmonious Cities. Nairobi-Kenya, 2008:10.

²¹² Awuah, 2008, 2007; Anderson and Narus, 2004; Håkansson and Snehota, 1995 cited in Gabriel Awuah 'Acting in a Globalized World: Marketing Perspective' Sweden, 2012:160.

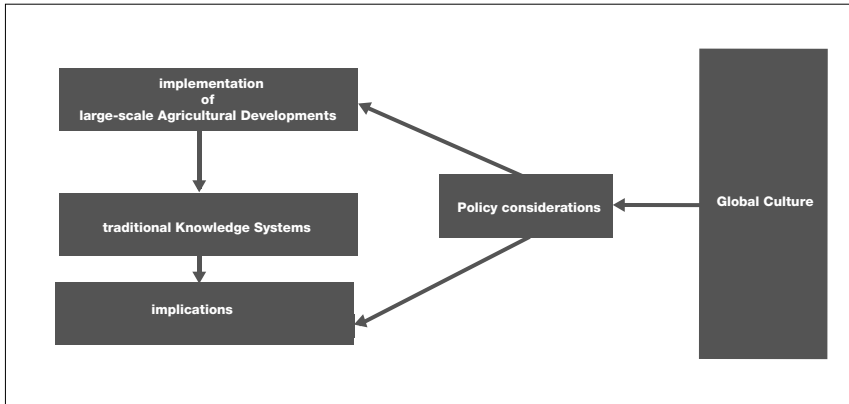


Figure 1 Model of Analysis of the Study

Source: Modification of Awuah, 2008, 2007; Anderson and Narus, 2004; Håkansson and Snehota, 1995's Conceptual Framework.

4. Findings and Discussions

The author examined the contribution of large-scale agricultural developments to the extinction of indigenous knowledge systems and the policy considerations for minimization of conflicts among pastoral communities in Ethiopia. The following questions guided the development of this paper: What were the aspects of indigenous knowledge systems associated with pastoral communities in Ethiopia? What were the implications of large-scale agricultural developments in Ethiopia? What were the policy considerations for minimizing conflicts from large-scale agricultural investments in Ethiopia? The different perspectives on development of large-scale agricultural projects in place of nomadic pastoralism were analyzed. The findings from the experience gained from Ethiopia were hereunder indicated and subsequently discussed.

4.1. Aspects of Indigenous Knowledge Systems Associated with Pastoral Communities in Ethiopia.

Pastoral communities already had greater knowledge of animal health and management. Strong relationship existed between them and

their livestock. In fact, they could identify each other (animals and the pastoralists). Traditional knowledge and practice relevant to the water sector include: location, collection and storage of water; water resources management and irrigation methods; conservation strategies; natural forestry management; biodiversity science including flora and fauna; hunting (fishing and gathering); medicinal plants and medicinal practices; agricultural practices including domestication, breeding and management; agro-forestry; agro-ecology; crop-rotation; pest and soil management.²¹³ But even from among themselves (pastoralists), there were distinct features visible from any single pastoral group. It indicated both their micro and macro identities.

Moving from one grassland area exhausted of cattle food to new rich grasslands was the only way of keeping their cattle alive and assured of pasture such that when they returned to previous grazelands, new edible grass was found, waiting to be foraged on again. It was increasingly a recognized option of adapting to highly varied environment conditions that threatened their livelihoods. The loosely dispersed, highly mobile populations fair better than sedentary populations in highly variable environments (Skinner, 2010). Large-scale agricultural enterprise developments reduced mobility of pastoralists to face nature with new appropriate farming and land-use technologies. Climate in regions known to be pastoral areas was desert type where no food grew, apart from isolated areas commonly known as oasis and seasoned riverine environments that provided seasoned water and grass to pastoral communities and their animals. And when exhausted, they were compelled to move on to other areas to find cattle grass. As means of adaptation, some crop production occurred along banks of rivers such as River Omo, despite its intermittent nature (Hathaway, 2009).

4.2. Implications of Large-scale Agricultural Developments in Ethiopia

The implications were both negative and positive. The negative ones included the following:

²¹³ Limpopo River Awareness Kit, 'Indigenous/ Traditional Knowledge,' [<http://www.limpoporak.com/en/people/people+of+the+basin/cultural+diversity/indigenous+traditional+knowledge.aspx>] December 5, 2014.

4.2.1. Negative Implications

It eroded indigenous knowledge systems so much that in a couple of decades, the rich traditions suffered extinction. Surviving the challenges of a globalised world became a nightmare both in short and long term. Confirmation of the stature citizen has been determined by the modern state, considering some people as wasted through modernization (Havemann, 2005).

4.2.1.1. Disconnected Ecosystem

The ecological co-existence between wild life and humans ceased as new development required ceasing the interaction as communal nature of resources was compromised in favour of strict private ownership. Their identity associated with moving from place to place based on, among other things, the needs of herds was soon gone. Among the notable communal aspects, the nature of families to share food and labour to some degree, and the architectural features that determined the identity of pastoralists were eroded by the so-called modernization. Settlement ceased movements that were ecologically well-adapted to restricted land usage, and criminalization of free movements and communal nature reigned.

4.2.1.2. Inappropriate Technology

Meanwhile, there was limited specialized training in most African countries with problems associated with pastoralist adaptation and change management. It was an inherited practice and pastoralists were very spiritual about it. The technical people deployed resorted to the use of force. The government did not have parallel development programmes for the different sections of the community it was meant to serve, including the wasteful nomadic pastoralists. Nomadic pastoralists emerged as most marginalized group. On their part the pastoralists tended not to care about government role in their lives, so long as their life-blood - the cattle - were with them, providing the food they most needed. Instead, in some areas, government deployed armed forces who applied forceful measures to change pastoralists' attitudes, much of which only threatened regional peace.

4.2.1.3. Threat to Eco-tourism

It was a threat to pastoralists' specific cultures. Pastoral culture was an excellent source of tourism. And so many people around the world, with no idea about nomadic lifestyle found it excellent to meet with pastoralists face to face and adventure around pastoral surroundings. Tourism had a lot of connection to pastoral areas. Such areas tended to be tourist destinations. They were endowed with high wild life numbers, open landscape, and strong traditional cultures (SOS Sahel Ethiopia, 2007). Some of the features tourists were curious about consisted of the coping and resilient nature of pastoralists, dressing style, sources of food, and survival instincts. Development of tourism industry was a direct indicative of increased country revenues, through tourism levies and employment opportunities provided. Unfortunately, ecotourism is endangered through mingling with dominant cultures and adopting them.

4.2.2. Positive Implications

The desperate struggle by the national government and international community to transform the lives of nomadic populations through large-scale agricultural investments created new lease of life for pastoral communities.

4.2.2.1. New Lease of Life for Nomadic Communities

The 'concerns' associated with nomadic communities like 'poverty and backwardness' was followed by rapid emergence of non-government organizations to offer relief assistance and settlement agendas. Particularly food aid, however, that was not a lasting solution to food insecurity. Food-for-work programme was the largest and longest-running programme in the world (Devereux, 2000). The creation of non-government organisations attracted elite sections of pastoralists to work amongst people of their own, and to act as change agents. As part of the structural shift, many pastoralists moved to towns and acquired jobs as security guards and watchmen (SOS Sahel Ethiopia, 2007).

4.2.2.2. Reducing Harmful Cultural Practices Associated with Pastoral Communities

Institution of large-scale agricultural development programmes conducted in the federal system of arrangement maintained distinctness of cultures. Pastoralism rationalized land use and management methods as well as certain harmful actions like female genital mutilation that was believed to control wife infidelity. This was discouraged in the new agricultural development programmes. The elite pastoralists with greater connection to the western culture tended to treat others like their own animals. The arrogant nature and superiority complex mindsets of pastoralists best prepared them for kingly positions among other societies, with a leadership style hardly acceptable. The mode of leadership was best suited for them because of their nomadic nature; they spread across various ethnic groups, because they hardly made right numbers to organize themselves into monarchies. Therefore monarchical tendencies were instituted in the new communities they integrated in. The cultural shocks and the pressure on natural resources provoked conflict. With the emergence of agricultural development among the pastoralists, such evils seem to have given way to raised consciousness - questioning impositions and obligations.

4.2.2.3. Improving Dignity and Wellbeing of Human Populations

It improved the dignity and wellbeing of human and animal populations. Nomadic populations and their animals were fatigued by the long distances travelled leading to dehydration, poor diet, sheepishness (stay awake most of the time to ensure security of their cattle), poor immune systems, and vulnerability to diseases for their entire lifetime. Some ended up dying along the way without external aid, more so when their hard toil got crossed by the long drought and famine seasons. It was also true that the years of coping transformed bodies and abilities into one that can resist tropical diseases. The disease pandemics struck them hardest as they move across plains searching for pasture. The easiest way to catch diseases was through uncoordinated movements of the human and animal population. The same was true for the human and animal population found. While they were immune to some infections that came with them to new locations, it was not the same case with new communities they find -the diseases carried were highly infectious. Now, these seem to have changed for better.

4.2.2.4. Reducing Land Conflicts

The new national agricultural development initiatives alleviated conflicts associated with land ownership and use, especially, those that emphasized farming within one's locality. Nomadic people caused instability in areas they roamed in the form of damage their animals caused on private farmlands. It amounted to trespassing and prosecution in courts of law; and where laws were weak, violence ensued.

4.2.2.5. Public Health Development

Good land economics, sustainable land resource management, public health improvement emerged with new appropriate, well-forecasted agricultural development plans. Pastoralists degraded the environment when grasslands got foraged on until land went bare. When heavy rain fell, it swept off the favourable soils for agriculture and rendered the lands inhabitable by crop farmers, who were most designed for settlement agriculture. The floods, alone were themselves disastrous leading to several destructions of life and property. Floods were sources of health hazards such as cholera, typhoid, malaria, and bilharziasis. The climatic impact was systemic; it affected near and far regions by accelerating the problem of global warming and food insecurity. These were controlled under a common government health policy when settled agriculture reigned.

4.2.2.6. Fighting Food Insecurity

The new agricultural framework reversed extremes of food insecurity that were Africa's greatest challenge – and greatest among pastoral communities leading to starvations and deaths of people and animals. In wider regions, food insecurity was still very bad, with malnutrition, most affected being women and children abandoned by husbands and fathers to pick on quick cash jobs in towns. For example, in Ethiopia, for over four decades, famine and drought dictated governance. The drought and famine that broke out in Shewa, Welo, and Tigray in 1973-74, exposed paralysis and incompetence of Haileselassie's regime, and contributed to its overthrow by military regime known as the Derg; and

in 1991, the Derg was overthrown and replaced by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front led by the late Meles Zenawi (Stark, Terasawa and Ejigu, 2011). Being most costly on household budget, the country was soon held at a ransom, so it resorted to emergency food aid. The dependency syndrome rendered future generation most vulnerable as the international loan-payments get borne on them, characterized by breakdown of the welfare system, which in turn jeopardizes national security, through violent protests.

4.3. Policy Considerations for Minimizing Conflicts from Large-scale Agricultural Investments in Ethiopia

Whereas development was a right, it was never exclusive of culture. The right to development had specific entitlement – the right to participate in, contribute to, and to enjoy economic, social, cultural, and political development.²¹⁴ The policy considerations adopted were favourably community-based, structural, functional, and proactive measures to improve livelihoods of pastoral communities while preserving their rich cultural heritage. The considerations suggested a model that was mindful of the rich cultural heritage (indigenous knowledge systems), equally as much as the intended large-scale investments or their justifications and the adverse effects posed on both the indigenous knowledge systems and the large-scale agricultural developments. The suggested model below reinforces several arguments against 'think global act local' (Also see figure 2 for demonstrations of the suggested model of application). Sanjena (2011) argued, *'Thinking globally and acting locally only works when the place you are in fits easily into a wider global context. Thinking globally and acting locally only works when the place you are in fits easily into a wider global context.'*²¹⁵ McBriThink (2014) wrote, *'By taking the time to research your industry, you will find options available to you like never before. By embracing new ideas and new applications within your field of business, you can add to your current line of products/services like never before.'*²¹⁶ And think local; act local was WaterAid's strongest tool of community engagement with far superior outcomes.

²¹⁴ Navy Pillay in the United Nations, Realising the Right to Development, United Nations Publications, HR/PUB/12/4, Sales No. E.12.XIV.1., New York and Geneva. 2013:iv

²¹⁵ Sanjena Sathian 'Think Locally, Act Globally' [<http://tyglobalist.org/onlinecontent/blogs/think-locally-act-globally/>] retrieved December 18, 2014.

²¹⁶ Chris McBriThink 'globally, act locally' [<http://www.thebarriexaminer.com/2014/02/02/think-globally-act-locally/>] December 18, 2014.

...in many countries the actual service delivery is done by autonomous service providers – generally through community-managed user associations or local NGOs in rural areas and by small to large public utilities in urban areas. Their budgets are influenced by the resources they receive from local governments, sector projects and off-budget projects, as well as their own resources mobilised mainly through capital contributions by members and through user charges (WaterAid, 2008:13).²¹⁷

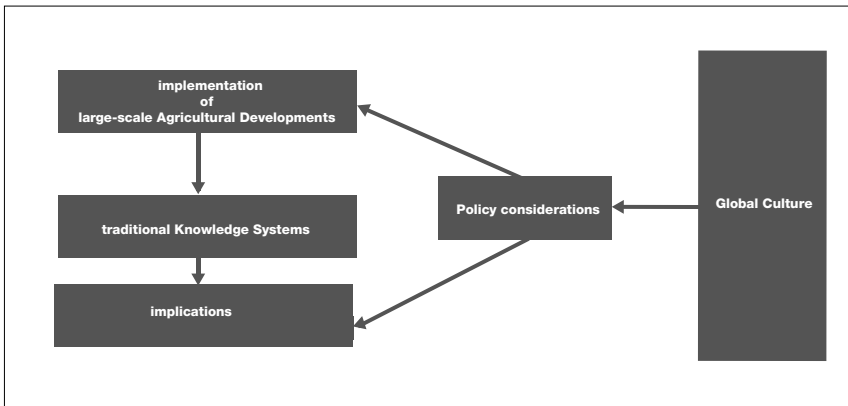


Figure 2. Suggested model for minimizing conflict in pastoral communities

Source: Modification of WaterAid (2008:13) 'Think local, act local.'

4.4. The Model

The model suggested was mindful of the rich cultural heritage (indigenous knowledge systems), by investing heavily in local resources to attain the large-scale agricultural production goals with strong regional and international bargaining position, with a stronger emphasis on promotion of domestic products acceptance abroad. Through that, the justifications for large-scale agricultural production were still met while championing the wealth creation through development of indigenous knowledge systems that formed the economic basis of the region.

²¹⁷ WaterAid Report 'Think local, act local' UK, March 2008:13.

4.4.1. Taming the Natural Environment of Its Dictates

Cultures provided enduring means of dealing with the harsh natural environment while new environment and natural resource frameworks resolved the drastic effects of climate change.

4.4.2. Ancestral Zoning with the Political Federation

The mess caused by nomadic communities in living a life of their grandfathers was soon met by resistance from the settled communities and international community, who directly or indirectly suffered from adverse effects of global warming. Rather, industrialization took the biggest blame for global warming in recent times. The operational strategies of settling nomadic communities to prevent land conflict and foster peaceful co-existence across communities were those applied to managing resistances, ancestral or cultural zoning within political federations.

4.4.3. Common Sustainable National Economic Goals

Any change, even if positive was resisted. Having pastoral communities share national development plans and responsibilities while ensuring diversity of cultures ensured gradual participation and integration of all, including pastoral communities in national development plans and responsibilities outside their traditions.

4.4.4. Education Based on Promotion of Diverse National Values

For centuries, education was used to change attitudes of people, neutralized conservative cultures, and accelerated 'development' of the nations. It devised ways on how to best develop existing yet diverse cultural and original natural endowments (for example, plants and animals) to best serve neighbourhoods and far communities for the general local and global community good. Being a long term strategy, initially, mobile schools reached nomadic communities. The curriculum was adapted to ways that enhanced local cultures that best serve respective nations to enable it compete favourably on the global scene – based on the wealth of diverse cultures. Education, relearning of

traditional practices and learning new technologies, was supplemented by consistent information dissemination, with the support of the media. The media was a very helpful tool at harmonizing relationships among pastoralists – between pastoralists and non pastoralists, and between pastoralists and wild animals, as well as with natural reserves or environment. Media programme producers ensured local languages were used – a package of media productions packages were also vital, involving drama, video productions, and listen-in talk shows.

4.4.5. Multi-disciplinary and Community-based Approaches

Psychologists, sociologists, lawyers, law enforcement officials, public relations officers, among others were main consultants and programme administrators in those endeavours and were strong recruitment and selection of multidisciplinary team of interventions management. Experts and facilitators were best picked from pastoral communities themselves –including local peer trainers considered after being vigorously inducted. The project was best when projected to 12 year plan followed by rigorous evaluations to determine subsequent interventions and schedules. Effective legal and governance instruments guided the process with as less risks as possible. The success stories were impressed upon other areas struggling with change and maladjustment. The recommended view and thinking was one based on local input and instituting regulations on influences from the global scene, which in turn enhanced development of national values –including ethics, utilization of resources and benefit from exchanges on the global market.

4.4.6. Piloting and Demonstration Centres

The concept of participation was of fundamental importance in the context of international human rights instruments. The need for participation was a consistent theme in declarations, resolutions, recommendations, and plans of action of a number of United Nations Conferences.²¹⁸ Whereas development was a right, it was never exclusive of culture. The right to development had specific entitlement –the right

²¹⁸ The approach adopted by these conferences is analyzed in document E/6056/Add.1, section IV.P, entitled "Participation in the development based on the Charter of the United Nations and the process", paras. 62-64.

to participate in, contribute to, and to enjoy economic, social, cultural, and political development.²¹⁹ The capacity of intervening teams and actions were conventionally subjected to monitoring and evaluation to ensure desired outcomes –with respect to local needs. Offering rewards to excelling pastoral communities reinforced improved cultural and economic lifestyle to survive the hard times. It was, for example, a great learning experience when the Ethiopian Mursi pastoralists visited their Kenyan counterparts to learn from the shifts (Muchemi, 2009). Infrastructure development was a rational basis for change in line with the new responses to existing challenges. Some stimuli-responses were strong and had a good job of accounting for behavioural outcomes. The stimuli selected have to be task-relevant (Pösse, 2006).

4.4.7. Appropriate Farming and Environment Technologies

The right to development is achieved by, among other things, the formulation of national and international development policies, effective international cooperation, reforms at national and international levels, removal of obstacles to development including human rights violations, racism, colonialism, occupation and colonialism, and promotion of peace and disarmament and redirections of saving to development.²²⁰ Initiatives had to be appropriate. Since the pastoralists' need was fundamentally pasture for animals, rotational paddocks, construction of valley dams, and installation of water storage systems to best manage famine and drought concerns were structural requirement that had to be in place before conducting occupation and livelihood shift. While provision of information was essentially used to empower nomadic communities with improved way of living based on available resources, practical rewards could be added to promote best practices, involving free distribution of farm tools. Integration of crop production was expanding with support of government agriculture extension agents. Traditional grazing lands were being used to grow cereal, thereby reducing previously available land for pastoral activity (Mussa, 2004).

²¹⁹ Navy Pillay in the United Nations, *Realizing the Right to Development*, United Nations Publications, HR/PUB/12/4, Sales No. E.12.XIV.1., New York and Geneva. 2013:iv

²²⁰ Navy Pillay. 2013:iv

The greatest mistake always made by organizations was emphasising knowledge development and management and ignoring real action development, through erection of appropriate infrastructure (World Health Organisation, 2003:13, 14) noted that:

Legislative or regulatory action can be taken by government, requiring compliance by all or designated classes of persons. Alternatively, adaptive action may be encouraged on a voluntary basis, via advocacy, education or economic incentives. The former type of action would normally be taken at a supranational, national or community level; the latter would range from supranational to individual levels. Adaptation strategies will be either reactive, in response to climate impacts, or anticipatory, in order to reduce vulnerability.

4.4.8. Dealing with Corruption during Interventions

Corruption was a well known vice able to deter development. It was a duty of supervision teams to exhibit zero tolerance to it. While the civil society monitored performance of government projects, themselves, had to be checked for policy abuse as well to ensure real impact so that those who did not prove themselves worthwhile got thrown out in the region. Most trustworthy Non Government Organisations (NGOs) were particularly those formed by pastoralists or concerned communities themselves. For example, to address the concerns of pastoralists in Ethiopian, pastoralists formed Pastoralists Forum Ethiopia. It worked with pastoralists and partners to advance the rights of pastoral communities, sharing experiences, and to ensure that pastoralists were included in the national agenda (PFE, IIRR and DF, 2010). However, accountability and transparency in the running of pastoralist's associations had to be demanded by active civil society constituted by pastoralists themselves in partnerships with political leadership and regional bodies in order to reduce marginalization and conflict associated with it.

Conclusion

Pastoralism was a big development sector in economies affected by hard climatic conditions – able to meet traditional and modern economic challenges – through provision of livelihood and foreign exchange from tourism potential. Economic empowerment, through large-scale

agricultural investments broke ground for pastoralists' participation in decision making and economic development. Any change was resistible by nature as nature too demanded it. While indigenous knowledge was valuable asset, through tourism and employment as guides and security guards, extremes of it – with disastrous effects to the environment ought to be carefully reformed without eroding its originality and best elements. Because of high population growth in pastoral lands, land use and reforms necessitated population and migrations control in favour of limited land use and management. Adaptation to new environment needs was thus wanting. The tendency to adapt in order to survive was a natural course that did not require use of force and violence. It was a gradual process which required respect and understanding, and most importantly, negotiating with equal bargaining positions as bases. There was no suitable reference for indigenous groups as each community had its originality of some kind. But for the sake of peace, the status of old-comers had to be respected by the new-comers and the 'modernists.'

There was thus a big possibility that change from rigid nomadic lifestyle to settlement livestock farming take place and adopt new livelihood-enhancement technologies that have been designed from local needs, and based on available resources, whose usefulness is expanded through a community-based approach that keeps in mind the welfare of other sections of the communities. Some seemingly odd cultures, because of their self-destructive discriminative nature to practitioners, without rationale can be considered for trashing upon local consultation, involving all stakeholders (local) led by elders. These included violence against women, denial of women from eating certain foods, child sacrifice, and female genital mutilation, among others. And investment should be one that concerned itself with advancement of local solutions to solving local, regional, and global problems.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Government Strategies as Contributing Factors to Resource Conflicts Among Pastoralists and Farmers in the Tana River County, Kenya

Fathima Azmiya Badurdeen and Ndenyele Wilson Omalenge

Abstract

Government development strategies aimed at food security for the region and nation can exacerbate poverty and resource conflicts disrupting the prevailing co-existence of different communities in specific localities. This entails outcomes of development strategies with potential to exacerbate conflicts resulting from resource scarcity among communities such as pastoralists and farmers, or push marginalized pastoral communities into further poverty. This has been the case in the Tana River County in Kenya, wherein government development strategies aimed at agricultural development in the county has resulted in periodic tensions and disruptions in their indigenous practices of community resource management resulting in resource conflicts between the Pokomo farmers and Orma pastoralists. The central objective of the study was to explore the relationship between government development strategies and pastoralism in Tana River District. The study was based on secondary literature and qualitative

exercise consisting of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and interviews in the Hola and Garsen constituencies in the Tana River District. Government development strategies aimed at boosting agriculture such as Bura, Hola, Tana Delta irrigation schemes and agricultural projects (some known as white elephant projects) have not been effective in the region due to poor maintenance, corruption and lack of participation by the local communities. Other government-private initiatives such as Bedford Bio-fuels Inc, Tiomin Kenya Ltd, Tarda Athi River Development Authority and Mumias Sugar Company have exacerbated the context of conflicts between communities in the region due to land conflicts. The main issue associated with this context is the land conflicts resulting from land grabbing prevalent in the area. Tensions between farmer-pastoral communities are increasing due to the scarcity of land and water ending up in many pastoralists changing their livelihoods into farming. Pastoral communities are pushed further into reserved zones resulting in further conflicts associated with wildlife. While the pastoralist way of life is changing into farming, the increasing competition between traditional farmers and new farmers are also prevalent in accumulating land. These changes directly affect the prevailing traditional community based resource management practices as well. The complexities associated with land issues in the coast region, where many are squatters and the region has been historically marginalized by the successive governments, further complicate the context.

Keywords: *Tana River, conflicts, pastoralists, development strategies*

1. Introduction

Pastoralism is 'an economic and social system well adapted to dryland conditions and characterized by a complex set of practices and knowledge that has permitted the maintenance of a sustainable equilibrium among pastures, livestock and people' (IFAD, 2009:1). Pastoral communities often live in dry, remote areas with mobility being a key feature of their livelihood. The pastoralists have been able to manage their own environments in a sustainable way amidst the fact they thrive in stressful environments (Koocheki and Gliessman, 2005). While the contributions of pastoralists to the economy remain uncontested, they often remain marginalized in government policy decision-making processes. For instance the flare-up of inter-tribal violence in the Tana River County in 2000-01 was related to the activities of the Land Adjudication Commission which began in 2000 to favour a liberal land policy based

on individual ownership. Temper observes that this policy created a sharp split between the Pokomo and the Orma/Wardei. The Orma/Wardei accused the Government of fuelling ethnic conflict by imposing without adequate consultation a liberal land tenure system on an area where land was communally owned. (Temper 2000: 7)

In Kenya, like many other countries, development strategies promoted by the government can have major impacts on resource conflicts among pastoralists and other communities. This has been the case in the Tana River County in Kenya, wherein clashes between the Pokomo farmers and the Orma pastoralists result in periodic tensions and disruptions in their livelihood strategies. Government development strategies aimed at boosting agriculture such as Bura, Hola and Tana Delta irrigation schemes have not been effective due to lack of maintenance of the schemes. Other government-private initiatives aimed at development of the District such as Bedford Bio-fuels Inc, Tiomin Kenya Limited, Tana and Athi Rivers Development Authority (TARDA) and Mumias Sugar Company have exacerbated the context of conflicts between communities in the region due to land conflicts. The main issue addressed in this context is the land conflicts as a result of land grabbing prevalent in the area. While tensions between communities are increasing due to the scarcity of land and water, the strategies resulted in many pastoralists changing their livelihoods into farming. While this is so, the increasing competition between traditional farmers and new farmers is also prevalent in accumulating land. These changes directly affect the prevailing traditional community-based resource management practices as well. The land issue in the coast region, where many are squatters and the area is historically marginalized, further complicates the situation.

The central research objective of the study was to explore the relationship between government development strategies and resource conflicts between pastoralists and farmers in the Tana River County. In an attempt to address the central objective, the following variables were explored: (i) Government development strategies in the Tana River County, (ii) Government development strategies and resource conflicts in Tana River County, and (iii) The role of government development strategies and their impact on pastoralists. The study is based on secondary literature and a qualitative exercise which consists of FGDs and interviews in the Hola and Garsen sub-counties in the Tana River County.

This article is organized in four sections as follows. Section One presents the introduction, the theoretical framework and the research design of the study. Section Two includes the background to the study on resource conflicts in the Tana River County and the existing government interventions in the County. Section Three discusses the prognosis for the existing resource conflicts and a critique of the existing government interventions in the Tana River County. Section Four concludes the article by arguing that government development strategies are contributing to the resource conflicts in the Tana River County.

2. Theoretical Framework

Conflict is often used as a synonym for violence, and thus bears negative connotations. Conflicts can be defined as the clashing of interests (positional differences) over national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, and organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and achieve their goals (Conflict Barometer 2008:1).

This paper also utilizes the various aspects of Theories of Group Contention by Rule (1998). To Rule (1998), violence entails destruction of property or people in the form of rebellion, riot or war. Theories of Group Contention come from Marx and Pareto, Charles Tilly and modern resource mobilization thinkers. The theories argue that collective violence occurs, in this view, where the representatives of interest groups within populations struggle for advantage with one another. For Rule, whether defensive or offensive, civil violence action is not for the weak and helpless; like all collective action, it requires both organization and other resources (Rule, 1998:250).

For modern resource thinkers, violence comes as mobilized groups react to threats to their political position or to opportunities to improve these positions. However, the theory ignores the fact that individuals do play direct or indirect roles in civil violence. The Theories of group contention assert that collective action by civil violence is purposeful and oriented to furthering the interests of the groups represented in the action.

Tonah (2006) observes that constant enmity over scarce resources is the main cause of conflict between economic actors. Systems such

as pastoralism or farming have their own boundaries which separate them from the larger system in their respective environments (Ofuoku and Isife, 2009). This boundary represents the limits of space in the larger system (Akpaki 2002 as cited in Ofuoku and Isife, 2009). With the increasing pressure for land, both communities - the farmers and pastoralists - compete with each other for farmlands or pastures, water, trees and use of rangelands.

There are clear differences in conflicts between the pastoral and farming communities. These can be conflicts of interests or disagreements that turn into violent conflicts resulting in destructions of property and killings of persons and livestock (Tonah, 2006). These pastoralist-farmer differences are not only visible as resource conflicts but also as ethnic conflicts as both of the communities have differing customs, traditions, values and distinct livelihood systems that characterize ethnic conflicts (Tonah, 2006). This group feeling gives the feeling of belongingness that is vital in the protection of their economic interests, protection of values and their culture.

These conflicts have been exacerbated due to increased sedentarization of the pastoral communities. The sedentarization could be because of varied reasons such as state-enforced measures, response to changing environment contexts or individual economic opportunities (Okoti *et al.*, 2004: 83). All these arguments elucidate how the resource conflicts among pastoralists and farmers occur and influence the social order in Tana River County of Kenya.

Usually criticisms levelled against government policies of developing pastoralism are that policies lack sufficient knowledge on pastoralism or do not consider the economic contribution of pastoralism. This argument is well highlighted in the Humanitarian Policy Group Synthesis Paper (2009) as:

The inappropriate policy environment is a result of two critical and interrelated factors – a knowledge gap and a power imbalance. Unable to sufficiently articulate the rationale of their livelihood and to organize themselves to influence policy, pastoralists have been absent from national, regional and international policy processes. The result has

been inappropriate policies which undermine pastoralism. Driven by their misperceptions of pastoralism and their disapproval of a way of life that is not their own, policy-makers have persisted in inappropriate policies and interventions. Many do not understand and appreciate the rationale of pastoralism – why pastoralists do what they do – or their significant contribution to national economies. As a result, they see critical aspects of pastoralism, such as mobility and reliance on indigenous knowledge, as backward and inconsistent with the imperatives of a modern state and economy.

State-enforced measures do contribute to the context of sedentarization. This includes land tenure systems through nationalization or privatization policies or states favouring urban and fixed rural populations through food policies and agricultural policies designed to address the needs of urban and village consumers. In Kenya such government policies have resulted in challenges in the pastoralist's livelihood systems restricting their mobility resulting in vulnerability and an increase in resource conflicts with other communities. The state land policies have resulted in sedentarization of pastoral communities or changes in livelihood such as pastoralists becoming farmers or agro-pastoralists. This has also exacerbated resource conflicts between the pastoral and farmer communities having ramifications in the ethnic conflict of the region. This understanding of the causes and effects of conflict between pastoralist and farmer communities is an important prerequisite for the realization of the goals of agricultural development policies in the region.

3. Research Framework and Methods

The impact of government strategies or government-private initiatives among pastoralists has been a difficult area to analyze due to its far reaching effects. While there are many such development strategies focused on pastoralists in Kenya, the focus of this study was to look at the case study of agricultural policies/projects in Tana River County that impacts on the pastoralists and exacerbates resource conflicts of the pastoral-farmer context of the district.

The research was carried out in the Tana River County for several reasons. First, the County comprises farmers and pastoralists and

experiences recurring incidents of resource conflicts. Second, the County has been earmarked under the Kenya Vision 2030 as an agricultural development scheme on agriculture with few concerns for pastoralists. Third, government projects or government-private initiatives have resulted in land grabbing in the district which has, in fact, affected both the communities.

Field interviews were conducted in Mnazini, Pumuwani, Maweni, Bonji, and Bondeni villages in Hola South; Buhoni, Ovo, Ghalamoni, Laini, and Makere villages in Hola North; and Kibuyu, Laza, Ngombeni, Chiwani, Zubaki and Malindi ya ngwena villages in Central Hola. These villages are occupied by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists including Orma, Wardei, Somalis and Pokomo. This study focused only on the Orma, Somalis and Wardei communities who are the largest pastoralists, although there are other communities that have migrated to Tana River Region.

The data and information for this study were gathered through mixed approaches that included a review of existing literature, focus group discussions and interviews with key informants consisting of government officials, NGOs and CBO staff, community leaders, women, youth, and Orma elders who were able to share their insights of the “development projects” taking place in the delta and the alienation from their land in favour of the projects.

Secondary data consulted for this study include various works on rural livelihoods and the encroachment on community land by other interests such as irrigation schemes, agricultural projects, bio-fuel production, mineral extraction, national parks and other uses. The research also reviewed studies on settlement schemes in drylands.

Focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews were conducted with groups such as women, youth, elders, government leaders and religious leaders. Interviewees included some government officials concerned with management of irrigation schemes, NGOs and CBO staff, and local leaders (Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs). The discussions and interviews focused on the situation prevailing in the delta, diagnosis of the situation and the perceptions of the people with regard to the impacts of the land deals on their livelihoods, and possible remedies.

4. Background to the Study: Tana River County

The Tana River County occupies a total area of 38,782 km. sq (which is about 49 per cent of the Coast Province) with an estimated population of 181,000. The County derives its name from the largest river in Kenya, the Tana River, which cuts across the northern and eastern part of the district and drains into the Indian Ocean. It borders with Kitui County on the west, Garissa and Jjara Counties on the east, and Isiolo County on the north. Pastoralism and farming are the main forms of livelihood in the region with a few of the population engaged in fishing. Tana River County is home to two major tribes: the Pokomo, who are farmers, and the Orma, who are pastoralists (Irungu, 2000).

The Pokomos were clusters living along the banks of the Tana River, where they live as farmers raising plantains, sugarcane, rice, and maize. The community consists of mixed people composed of subgroups with Bantu and Oromo roots. There are four main Pokomo sub-groups each with a separate dialect. The Lower Pokomo live from Kipini to Bubesa in the Salama region; the Upper Pokomos live between Matanama and Roka; the Welwans (also known as Malakotes) dwell between Roka and Garissa; and the Munyo Yayas (Northern Pokomos or Korokoros) inhabit areas between Garissa and Mbalambala. The estimated population within the 130,000 ha of the delta is 96,664 while the total number of households is 12,457 giving a mean household size of 8 persons. The communities living in the delta are made up of Pokomo (44%), Orma (44%), and Wardei (8%) while other ethnic groups including the Luo account for the remaining 4% (Government of Kenya, 2009).

5. Development Interventions in the Tana River County

This section deals with resource conflicts in the Tana River County and the role of Government development strategies in the region.

5.1. A Prognosis for Resource Conflicts in the Tana River County

Many studies reveal that certain level of conflict is endemic to many pastoral areas. These conflicts exacerbate mainly due to differing

livelihoods when pastoralists engage in interaction with other communities such as farmers. Like in many other African contexts, the resource conflicts between the farmers (Pokomos) and the pastoralists (Orma) of the Tana River County revolve around resources. Hlema and Zeleza observe that conflicts of today are primarily fought over resources, be they economic or societal. They further argue that religion and other aspects of identity then become markers of belongingness and ethnicity (Hlema and Zeleza 2008:21). Studies show that tensions, competition and conflict around natural resources are prevalent in the Tana River County and there is an increasing competition for fewer resources such as water and land resulting in conflicts.

For us (the pastoralists), cattle, goat and sheep is meat while maize and rice is just pasture. How do you expect our animals to survive without pasture? And we have to take our animals to the river so that they drink water. Both water and grass are given by God... (Interview with Ali Mohammed, a pastoralist at Makere water pumping station, July 2014)

General security issues for pastoralists include (Galaty 1994) *land security* which bears on rights to resources; *political security* which bears on conflict, violence and civil order; *food security* which bears on agrarian productivity and rural markets; and *environmental security* which bears on resource management. Insecurities in all these are evident among the pastoralists in the Tana River County. Natural resource governance is a key in the region with emphasis on traditional resource management mechanisms. Natural resource management brings with it a range of complexities which centres on the claims on water, pasture and other resources (IUCN, 2011). Other studies highlight these complexities within the principles of flexibility and reciprocity (Nori *et. al.*, 2007:4). For example, land is a major resource base for pastoralists yet not an individually fixed asset with specific use and accessibility (Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001:75; Nori *et. al.*, 2005:20). In the Tana River context, the Orma pastoralists wander with their herd of livestock with the intention of grazing by exploring new terrains in harsh environments. Their goal is to secure the security of the animals. This continuous search of land for grazing through explorations of new terrain makes conflicts inevitable with the Pokomo farmers. Usually this results in a series of outbreaks that usually results in mass violence. The encroaching of the Pokoma farmers on the grazing routes further fuels the conflict.

Water and pasture are two significant resources that neither the farmers (Pokomo) nor the pastoralists (Orma) can do without. Farmers experience the challenge of decrease in the water level in the River Tana during dry seasons. During the same seasons, the pastoralists also move with all their belongings close to the Tana River basin in search for water and pasture. There was tension here during the drought period between July and September (Said Ahmed, Chief, Kumbi Location, July 2014).

The search for land use has also been aggravated by changes in weather patterns accompanied by prolonged droughts (an effect of climate change) or population pressures with the need for increased food production. Hence the need of land for grazing has increased ever than before.

Until recently, we have been taking our animals to far places. During the last three years, my friends and I have been feeding our animals inside the Tsavo National Park. Recently the government chased us from the Park. I got tired of fighting over water and pasture. I have lost two of my friends and my two sisters are now staying with my auntie in Nairobi (Omar Abdi, 21 years old)

The results of the conflicts caused by resource constraints between the two communities are as follows: destruction of crops, overgrazing of fallow land, contamination of stream by cattle, harassment of pastoralists by farmer youths, sexual harassment of women by either community, theft of cattle, stray cattle, and disregard of traditional authority (FGD). Other consequences include reduction in output and income, displacement of farmers and pastoralists, and loss of lives and properties:

My husband was working as a herdsman and had just come home at about 7:30 pm. Then someone knocked on the door. I was hesitant to open because there was unrest that went on for over a week in the village. But my husband told me to open and I did. Immediately, an unknown gang of armed men rushed in and demanded to see my husband. I tried to stop them but I was overwhelmed. In the ensuing confusion, my husband managed to escape out the house. Some of them pursued my husband into the darkness, but four of them who remained behind accused me of helping my husband to escape. I was hit on the head by a blunt object

and the next time I knew myself was in a mission hospital (Holla). Later on, I learned that my husband was hacked to death. He had deep cuts in the head, and his legs and hands were broken (Koshi Mohamed, 32 years old, from Laza Village, July 2014)

Traditional mechanisms have been evident in the Tana River region where village elders resolved tensions within the communities or between communities:

Traditionally, we hold local peace meetings called Ibisa led by the elders. It is to deal with conflicts arising between the Pokomo and the Orma especially on access to water points and pastures. We know all the boundaries of our land and we can allow the Orma to access the water. In the event of homicide, offenders are punished in accordance with what the elders decide. (Clement Amuma, 72 years old from Kibuyu Village, August 2014).

Their role is now diminishing with heavily politicized contexts. For instance, elders who had goodwill in the community are now corrupt (FGD). Due to lapses in the traditional mechanisms of dealing with conflicts, there is a need for law enforcement officers whenever conflicts arise. The conflicts are usually politicized and blown out of proportion taking ethnic dimensions. A good example is the case of the 2012-13 ethnic violence where 200 people were killed and many hundreds displaced (Kirchner, 2013:2).

Conflicts have been aggravated with the emergence and introduction of guns and new communication devices which resulted in loss of lives and destruction of properties with heightened insecurity in the region. The way out is that security concerns between the two communities should be based on strengthening the local capacity to manage resources and deal with conflicts (Weiss, 2004:90).

5.2. The Impact of Government Development Strategies on Resource Conflicts

Government policies aimed at developing agriculture evidently at the expense of pastoralist development resulted in changes in the livelihood and lifestyles of the pastoralists and aggravated conflicts in the region.

This is clearly seen from the existing and proposed projects in the region: Tana and Athi Rivers Development Authority (TARDA), MAT International, Mumias Sugar Company Limited, G4 Industries and the Gulf State of Qatar Agricultural Project. The focus on agricultural development goes in line with the 'Vision 2030', which provides a road map for Kenyan development. Under the Vision 2030, foreign investments have been considered as key to agricultural development. The government intends to attract foreign investments on growing cash crops for both domestic consumption and exports (Vision 2030:15).

This focus on agriculture and other government interventions in the name of development, along with government-private or private projects, resulted in an increased land grabbing in the Tana River County. This has been clearly elaborated in a study by Nunow (2011):

Large tracts of land within the Tana delta and the adjacent districts have been set aside for large industrial scale farming, bio-fuel production and for mining. In addition, settlement schemes have taken up some of the most important dry season pastures within the Tana delta and communities from outside the pastoral areas were settled there to undertake crop farming. The resource tenure implications of all these dynamics are such that individual/private ownership of land is increasingly replacing the communal ownership of land and land-based resources. Increasing alienation of communal lands in the delta will result in the development of private ownership of the land, which was hitherto communal in ownership and use. (Nunow, 2011:15)

The free market model embraced by the Kenyans resulted in land reform policies emphasizing individual freeholder rights over customary tenure systems which encourage investments in farm productivity, and that land markets would emerge that would transfer land to more efficient farmers and provide them with collateral for raising credit. Evidence shows that the economic and social benefits of such programs are questionable and that they may, in fact, cause conflict. As observed by Toulmin and Quan (2000), latent conflict is awakened by the irrevocable nature of land transfers. The conflicts in the Tana River District offer a good example of conflicts between the Pokomo and the Orma which centre on land and grazing rights. The Orma pastoralists accuse the

Pokomo farmers of restricting their access to water points and grazing fields while the Pokomo accuse pastoralists of grazing on their farms and destroying their crops (FGD).

Due to the historical and political marginalization, the pastoralist communities in Tana River County have suffered from long-term lack of state investment in infrastructure and development. For long the development projects in this area have exercised alienation against the pastoralist communities.

The development projects in Tana River delta are based on agriculture. Crops grown at the Bura irrigation include bananas and maize; those at the Hola irrigation are maize, mangoes and cowpeas; and those at the Gamba irrigation include rice and sorghum, all of which are grown under predominant practice of small scale farming. Most of the NGOs and CBOs I am aware of working in these areas are engaged in helping farmers in mango growing, distribution of fertilizers and provision of farmer inputs and good governance. (Onesmus Mbatia, Techno-services office, July 2014).

The Tana River delta has been attracting land deals for development projects for a long time. However, Nunow observes that the immediate impact of land deals on the local communities includes, first, low educational level of the communities living in the Tana delta is an indication that the uptake of ideas about the proposed project might prove to be a challenge to the indigenous people since it has been established that literacy levels dictate the uptake of any innovation of intervention; second, the community is afraid that more children will drop out of school and get into child labour and other vices due to introduction of money economy that would be instituted through plantation farming that would require human labour; third, the Tana delta offers dry season grazing relief to the pastoralist, and this would be difficult to attain since the sugarcane, bio-fuel and mining projects would be purely plantation-based and highly capital-intensive. The traditional ancestral pastures/ grazing land would be taken over by these projects. The grazing lands are a source of cultural heritage to the indigenous people and there is real danger of losing the cultural identity by the community; fourth, low food production complemented by high poverty levels of the population

in the delta could push people to stop producing subsistence crops in favour of cash crops. The resultant effect could be greater dependence on food relief from government and humanitarian agencies should the price of bought food increase to prohibitive levels in the future, and finally, the indigenous communities would lose their rights of access to land and food resources as the new land owners discussed earlier would have exclusive rights to the land in the delta including the areas bordering the river banks (Nunow, 2011: 20-21)

While government development interventions had pros and cons, respondents had mixed responses on these projects:

The scheme has made possible that we have enough food for our family consumption. We produce a lot of mangoes and watermelons, (A mango costs two shillings). We are better off compared to people in Turkana. (Sera Jillo, a woman of 40 from Kipendi Village, July 2014)

The most recent 'white elephant' project was the Tana Delta Irrigation Project (TDIP) of rice scheme (managed under the Tana and Athi Rivers Development Authority). The TDIP shows change in policy from irrigation schemes with 'settlement freeholders to new plans for economically motivated commercial estates'. These estates with the intention of solving landlessness and unemployment in the region failed due to flooding in 1997 (Temper, 2012a: 7).

These have been the result of unsuccessful projects. One such project is the Bura Irrigation scheme. The aim of the project was to settle 5,000 farmers in 23 villages to grow cotton and maize on 6,700 hectares of land. The Bura scheme was an utter failure due to corruption and mismanagement. The project spent an incredible \$55,000 for every settler. Today, the settlers are poorer than before and the area is a wasteland (Temper 2012a:8).

In addition, the land adjudication programme in the district (now county) started without the consultation of the communities. This programme was rejected by the pastoralist Orma ethnic community because they saw the programme as a conspiracy between the Pokomo agricultural communities and the government to deny them access to traditional

grazing areas and water access routes known as 'malkas' (Weiss, 2004:91).

Temper highlights the context of resistance by the pastoralists to development projects by the governments. This is mainly due to the fact that government projects focus on agriculture:

The delta is an important dry season grazing area for the pastoralists and hosts about 60,000 head of cattle during the dry season, while 20,000 head of cattle graze permanently in the area. In general, the pastoralists maintain a higher standard of living than the agriculturalists. They oppose any project which could threaten their livestock and reduce grazing areas. The Pokomo, in contrast, are more sympathetic towards agricultural development projects but are wary due to unfulfilled promises in the past.' (Temper, 2012a:5)

Many pastoralists viewed these projects as an effort to marginalize their lifestyles as they had not participated in the designing of the projects. Pastoralists feel that they are excluded from the development discourse of their region and are afraid of the socio-economic consequences of the projects where they are losing their pastoral production as a result of agricultural/mining project expansion and are forced to search for alternative through changing their livelihoods with subsistence oriented cultivation (IRIN, 2014).

6. Government Strategies: a Critique

The wider Tana River region is an extremely rich area with diverse resources. This has necessitated careful planning of the region by the Kenyan government, which has been well elaborated in the Tana Delta Land Use Plan Framework (2012: 2). However, like many other African governments, the policies towards food security have taken more prominence on agriculture over pastoral production as pastoral production/livelihood is seen as remnant of traditionalism (Nicol and Otulana, 2014:10). This lack of support is evidenced in government statements espoused in the Vision 2030. According to this blue print, the government could phase out pastoralism by converting existing land in the Tana region into irrigated agricultural land. Section 4.2 of Vision 2030 on increasing value in agriculture stipulates that the flagships project on agriculture and livestock sector for 2012 will involve:

First, preparation and passage of consolidated agricultural policy reform; second, development and the implementation of a 3 tiered fertilizer cost reduction; third, improving of the value gained in the production of supply chain through branding Kenya farm products; four, the planning and implementation of 4-5 disease free zones and livestock processing facilities to enable Kenya meat, hides and skins to meet the international marketing standards; five, more domestic process of these products for regional and international markets; six, the creation of public land registries under improved governance framework; seven, development of agricultural Land use Master Plan; and eight, Tana River Basin Agricultural Development Scheme (Vision 2030:13)

This type of government policies and other government development plans that focus on agriculture have pushed pastoralists further into reserved areas (resulting in pastoralists-wildlife conflicts) or poverty within pastoralists due to the lack of land.

Setting aside large tracks of land for agriculture in the Tana region have taken up most of the dry season pastures of the area and some pastoral communities who have taken into crop farming. Attempts by the government to adjudicate land have been resented by the Orma pastoralists as they felt that such processes favoured the farmers. The land tenure mechanisms in the region have increasingly replaced communal land ownership by individual or private ownership.

As highlighted by the Orma pastoralists, they felt that they were excluded from the projects that were taking place in the name of development. The pastoralists are losing their production base and are moving into alternative livelihoods such as crop farming or wage labour in large commercial projects in the region. The recurring scramble for scarce resources such as land and water has resulted in violent conflicts between the Orma pastoralists and the Pokoma farmers. Most of the pastoralists do not own or have right to land hence depend solely on open lands to feed their cattle resulting in intense pressure on land and frequent conflicts. This has been further exacerbated by policies on agriculture which are threats to pastoralists' access to pasture. The encroachment of traditional cattle routes, grazing and water points for livestock are reducing with increased potential for conflict. All these have exacerbated chronic insecurity in the region.

In this context, Rettberg (2010) highlights the increasing vulnerability of pastoral communities in the coping capacities and resilience in the wake of agricultural expansion projects. Hence pointing out the negative cost of modernization and national food security has to be borne by the pastoralists. Destroying the capabilities of the pastoralists is totally opposite to the aim of food self-sufficiency of these communities (Rettberg, 2010:249). Commercial agricultural ventures have made the pastoralists move away from their own territory or sedentarize around new towns created by development projects after losing their livestock. This is well summed up in the following interview statement by Hadley Becha, the Director of the East African Wildlife Society: 'We need development that brings added value to the livestock already existing in the delta, not development that aims in a day to turn the pastoralists or a fisherman into a sugar cane cutter' (Interview, July 2008 as cited in Temper 2012b:14).

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the analysis, the paper highlights that development projects promoted by the government have the potential to bring about development in the region but they should aim at the right kind of strategies that can make a difference for the communities living in the region. Development should be well planned with the participation of all communities of the region to prevent conflicts. Development policies in Kenya should give due consideration to pastoralism in par with agriculture. Evidence shows that projects have focused on agriculture where pastoralists have been forced to embrace agriculture as a livelihood option. Development projects have also curtailed the mobility of pastoral communities resulting in disruptions in their lifestyles and livelihood. Sedentarization has resulted in loss of hope among the pastoralists. This has also contributed to food insecurity in the pastoral communities. Further, the indigenous community-based resource management practices have not been harnessed, as new development projects that are enforced by the government have environmental implications.

There is a need for a clear understanding among development planners on the national policy context of the pastoralists which includes supportive policies by the government towards pastoralism. There is a

need to ensure participation of pastoral people in all stages of project development. There should also be a focus on collecting and analyzing context specific information to gain better contextual understanding on the socio-economic value of pastoralism. Pastoralists also need to be empowered to participate and engage in decision-making processes which are important to tackle marginalization which is a root cause for pastoral poverty.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

The Viability of Pastoral Society in Post-Conflict Settings: Evidence from Somaliland

Nasir M. Ali

Abstract

This study unveils the challenges that face the Somaliland pastoral society and suggests the possible efforts needed to build a viable pastoral community. The central objective of this study was, therefore, to explore the challenges and problems that face the pastoral society in Somaliland. Further, the study attempted to explore some aspects of the state and non-state interventions to address the challenges. To come up with valuable findings, the study addressed a number of questions and analyzed indicators important for the study including access to social services such as education, health, sanitation, clean water, grazing land, among others. The findings of this study are based on both primary and secondary data. For the primary data, key informants from government ministers, academia, and civil society organizations were approached. For the secondary ones, an in-depth desk review of literature containing several data on Somaliland was done. The study intends to influence the policy and decision making circles so as to find lasting solutions to the critical challenges that hamper the livelihoods of the pastoral society.

Key words: *Pastoral society, Post-conflict, Somaliland*

1. Introduction

In the Horn of Africa, around 60% of its landmass is occupied by pastoralists living in a condition of life dramatically changing from bad to worse due to the harsh environment and limited governments' development interventions.²²¹ This is an indication that pastoralists face multiple challenges including population growth, rapid urban settlements in the rural areas, and recurrent droughts caused by the worsening situation of the climate, deforestation and desertification. Conflicts and civil wars have also affected many parts of the region and this has an adverse effect on the national economies of the regional states as well as the livelihoods of many including the pastoralists who remain in a poor state of affairs (Ahmed *et. al.*, 2002; De Leeuw *et. al.*, 2013; Andy *et. al.*, 2013). In the backdrop of such negative attributes in the region, pastoralists contribute significantly to both the state revenue and individual income at household level.

A similar situation prevails in the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa and beyond. The pastoralist societies move from one place to another in search of pasture and water following the changing availability of the natural resources (Richard, 2008; Gufu, 2013). In due course, in the Horn of Africa, for instance, the risks to witness clashes on the contested areas are imminent during drought periods as tensions and violent conflicts over resources escalate (Ahmed *et. al.*, 2002; Boku, 2013; Paul, 2013). The conflicts are caused not only because of scarcity of water and pasture but also due to robbery of livestock, especially camels and cattle, that are considered to be the backbone of the pastoralists' livelihoods. Prior to the emergence of the Somali state in the second half of the twentieth century and afterwards, similar to other pastoral societies both in the region and beyond, cattle and camel raiding and competition over grazing land and water resources were the major causes of the Somali intra-clan conflicts.²²² The conflict over resources was not only among the Somali clans but also with other ethnic groups in the region that are not Somali descendants.

221 A guest speaker from IGAD has raised the issue at the Centre for African and Oriental Studies in May, 2014; Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

222 In the Somali pastoral society, conflict over resources was a common practice both before the emergence of the State of Somalia in the 1960s and afterwards

These conflicts which have adversary impacts on the pastoral societies in the Horn of Africa could be linked to the colonial legacies. The colonial powers carved out political boundaries which separated clans, ethnic groups, or sometimes same families, and scattered them into different political entities, while at the same time abolished the traditional co-existence of the pastoralist societies making them hostile to each other fighting over resource allocation. This undermined the social interdependence and traditional principles among the pastoralists.²²³ What this means is that the colonial intervention has resulted in conflicts among pastoralists competing over resources, on the one hand, and among the states in the region, on the other hand. From this, one can see that the regional governments are not in good terms due to conflicts over borderlands. Pastoralists thus became the primary victims of those enmity and hostility among the countries in the region (John, *et. al.*, 2013). This appears to be the case that the state practices in the region had neither helped to develop the livestock production, nor to improve the life of pastoralists. But, the grabbing and confiscation of the pastoral land for commercial purposes by the regional governments has worsened the already deteriorating situation of the pastoralists.²²⁴

Most importantly, the Somali lifestyle has always depended on natural resources in the form of pure pastoralism, agro-pastoralism or practice of agriculture for subsistence. Somaliland, a *de facto* independent state and the former British Somaliland Protectorate in the Horn of Africa, is a home of about 3.5 million about half (50%) of which pursue pastoralism as a lifestyle (Ahmed *et. al.*, 2002). The livestock sector dominates the economy of Somaliland and remains the sole source of livelihood. According to the Somaliland Ministry of National

223 Somalis were commonly known as a pastoral society moving from one place to another without considering the politically carved and demarcated boundaries. This demarcation brought the emergence of modern states not only in the Somali inhabited regions in the Horn of Africa, but also across the world and came up with the idea of politically defined territories. This has challenged the concepts of the Somali pastoral community who used to move from one place to another without restrictions. This has finally influenced the Somalia state policies and led to thinking of associating the grazing lands outside its mandate into the Somalia state administered territories. Although Somalia has failed to realize this ambition, its policies generated waves of wars with its neighbours.

224 Vast areas of land were deforested by the Genel Energy, an international oil-drilling company in Somaliland for oil exploration purposes. Not only Somaliland but also many parts in the region experience this state-practice.

Planning and Development (2011), livestock contributes to over 65% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and it constitutes the principal export of the country to different markets in the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

Not different from other African pastoralist communities, pastoralists in Somaliland were continuously subjected to a long history of political, economic, and socio-cultural isolation and marginalization. The challenges facing pastoral societies in Somaliland are multi-faceted and disregard any single explanation and logical point of analysis. The structural problems facing pastoralists' have been exacerbated by the recurrent and complex natural disasters and calamities such as drought, flood, and disease, among others.²²⁵ Due to both man-made and natural catastrophes, pastoralism has emerged as the most vulnerable livelihood sector in Somaliland. This appears to be an outcome of a severely damaged environment due to the absence of comprehensive policies and effective governance institutions mandated to preserve it and prevent further exploitation that degrades the environment. Therefore, environmental degradation and its change have also changed the livelihood style of the pastoralists.

In Somaliland, vast areas of land that had once thick forests have changed into semi-desert, as all known wildlife has vanished and the soil has been eroded as well. In a region where rule of law and law enforcement machineries are weak or absent, charcoal production has emerged as the major source of evil that drives environmental degradation and desertification. This indicates that charcoal has not only caused environmental degradation but also generated waves of conflicts to control the already scarce wood resources which made the relations between charcoal producers and local communities complicated. From this, one can see that many conflicts have arisen and casualties recorded because of the competition for wood resources (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006; Hartmann and Sugulle, 2009). The main suggestion to note is that there should be an urgent need to plan and address these factors and other relevant indicators which have an adversary impact on the environment, thus exacerbating the already worsening situation of the pastoral societies.

²²⁵ Discussions with the Somaliland Minister of Environment and Rural Development, Hargeisa, Somaliland

This study, therefore, unveils the challenges that face the Somaliland pastoral society and suggests the possible efforts needed to build a viable pastoral community. To come up with valuable findings, the study raises a number of questions and analyzes a number of indicators important for the study including access to social services such as education, health, sanitation, clean water, grazing land, among others. Primary and secondary sources of data were employed in this study. Primary data were gathered from key informants from government ministers, academia, and civil society organizations while secondary data were collected through in-depth desk review of literatures relevant to the Somaliland environment.

The central objective of this study is, therefore, to explore the challenges and problems that face the pastoral society in Somaliland, on the one hand, and some interventions by the state and non-state actors to address the challenges, on the other. The study attempts to inform policy and decision makers so that they consider looking for lasting solutions to the critical problems that challenge pastoralist livelihoods.

Generally, the study has four interrelated major objectives:

- To examine the major factors that challenge the pastoral sector which is the most crucial component of livelihood in the Somaliland,
- To identify the major gaps and weaknesses that lie in the policies and institutional frameworks,
- To disclose the influence and involvement of indigenous actors in the degradation of the environment of the entire state, and
- To foresee the possibility of better pastoral community in the future.

In order to see an improved life of the pastoralists, adoption of nature-friendly policies that realize a viable and functioning state institutions not only at the centre but also at the peripheries would be important. The four key objectives are the major synergies that will enable excellence in understanding the axis of the pastoral society in Somaliland and the expected outcome as well. Therefore, the study will suggest the necessary policies for this important livelihood, and at the end, if managed professionally, it will contribute to overcoming the challenges and gaps that go against the opportunities of the pastoral societies in Somaliland

and could serve as a leeway for addressing the pastoral problems and creating a better pastoral life in the future.

2. Citizens at Margins: The Pastoralist in Somaliland

Like other pastoral societies in the African continent, the pastoralists in Somaliland have experienced decades of socio-political marginalisation living in an arid or semi-arid environment where the central government provides limited or sometimes no services. Of course, a fundamental principle of social service provision is important to ensure that essential assistance is delivered to all needy and vulnerable people. The marginalisation and isolation from government services is regarded as the major, if not the sole, source of vulnerability of pastoralists to natural disasters which aggravate the already worsening situation. This vulnerability ranges from low and erratic rainfall, recurrent and severe droughts, rapid urbanization in the rural areas, constant violent conflicts over resource allocation, inadequate access to resources such as water and rangelands, decrease in number of flocks and herds due to drought to grazing land dilapidation.

In the rural areas, pervasive poverty remains a constant threat to human security due to the contribution of a number of factors. The pastoral areas have been marginalized by the successive governments from development opportunities through policies and programmes that disregarded pastoralists and their living conditions.²²⁶ This crucial livelihood sector experienced decades of socio-political exclusion and isolation which made social indicators such as literacy, access to education and health situation of the people and also the health of their livestock among the lowest in Somaliland. In fact, marginalisation of pastoralists from state opportunities is not a new phenomenon. It goes back to the creation of modern Somaliland State when the country gained its independence from the British colonialists on 26 June, 1960 and its subsequent merger with the Italian Somaliland in a matter of days in the same year.

²²⁶ Pastoralism in Somaliland remains the largest marginalized livelihood sector on the continent in terms of access to social services such as health and education, among other benefits. This section of the society are regarded as second class citizens.

Indeed, Somalia has a semi-arid to arid environment suitable primarily for nomadic pastoralism. About 60% of its population are pastoralists or agro-pastoralists, 20% are farmers, and 20% are urban dwellers living on other means (Ahmed *et. al.*, 2002; Peter, 2004). Before the collapse of the state of Somalia, the sector used to contribute significantly to the economy and different livestock development centres were established to improve livestock, develop mixed farming, assist nomads to appreciate better methods of livestock raising, and to advise the nomads on better and more profitable livestock raising practices.²²⁷ Nevertheless, livestock development policies and programmes have not proved to be the ultimate solution to the problems confronting 60% of the country's population. While the introduced policies dealt separately with two indispensable crucial elements, the livestock and the pastoralists, they could not practically improve the life of the pastoralists. From this, one may conclude that state practices never helped the sector but deliberately marginalized the pastoralists.

In the contemporary Somaliland, pastoralists have been neglected by the successive governments, development partners, and the public and remained in the waiting room of development. There is no doubt that the pastoralists face scarcity of resources, environmental degradation, ill-conceived government policies and marginalisation from social opportunities such as provision of health, education, sanitation services, and preservation of rangelands. For instance, in the education sector, the children of the nomadic pastoral people of Somaliland have some of the lowest rates of educational participation in the country (Somaliland Ministry of Education, 2005). One may attribute this to the frequent movement of the pastoralists during drought and dry season, which made the pastoral community enrollment rate the lowest compared to those leading other lifestyles in the rural areas, for example, farmers and agro-pastoralist societies. A similar disparity can be observed also in the health sector. Absence of adequate health facilities was considered as a major and a serious gap in the health security of the pastoral people

²²⁷ The Somali Government implemented huge projects in livestock development, for instance, Veterinary Laboratory Services established in Kismayo and Mogadishu at 35 million US Dollars, and Veterinary Field Services at 25 million USD Dollars in Kismayo and Mogadishu. Other establishments included Animal Quarantine Stations at Randile at 5 million USD Dollars, the Institute of Animal Sciences at Benadir at 5 million US Dollars, the Agriculture, Livestock and Range Schools estimated at 10 million USD in Mogadishu, The Trans Juba Livestock estimated at 20 million USD, and the Livestock Marketing estimated at 10 million in Mogadishu.

in Somaliland and this poses health threats to the pastoralists. In the rural areas, there are scarcities of health services such as drugs for emergency cases, professional medical workers, and other necessary facilities to provide services. This forced the society at the peripheries to take members of the society falling ill to the nearest urban centre to seek medical attention.

Charcoal production, extensive land enclosures, rangeland degradation, and deforestation, though remain the major challenges that face the Somaliland pastoral society in general. On the other hand, insecurity and conflicts are antithetical to human development in such a way that under conditions of insecurity development objectives are difficult if not impossible to achieve. Therefore, conflicts over resources as well as political disagreements between the neighbours put challenges to pastoral lifestyle – those moves from one place to another in search of pasture and water. For instance, the political conflicts between Somaliland and Puntland has polarized to the eastern parts of Somaliland and directly impacted the local people including the pastoralists. Conflicts prevailed not only between Somaliland and Puntland but also between the neighbouring districts, mainly on resource control. For example, there is a conflict over El-Bardale grazing and farming land in western Somaliland between the three districts of Baki, Dila and Gabiley. Though the conflict has a political dimension, the prime cause is resource allocation between pastoralists wanting to graze the areas.²²⁸

With these odds operating against pastoralists, there is no major policy change so far adopted by the concerned institutions to address the challenges. The policies and strategies developed in the country, if any, have never addressed the interest of the pastoralists. This could be attributed to a number of reasons which have both economic and political dimensions. For instance, the region has no international legal status which could enable it to attract international investment opportunities; it does not have sound policies and committed leadership; and the institutions suffer weak governance, to name a few.

²²⁸ The conflict over grazing land in Somaliland is not immune from political motives, for example, the conflict over grazing land in Kalshale in eastern Somaliland is a conflict that can be associated with clan interest aggravated by political factors both from Somaliland and Puntland. In a similar manner, the decades-long conflict between Baki, Dila and Gabiley districts over El-Bardale grazing and farming land is also a conflict driven by political factors. Nevertheless, these conflicts put burden on pastoralists struggling for their daily lives.

3. Identifying the Challenges and Gaps in Pastoral Areas of Somaliland

3.1. Drought as an outcome of climate change and environmental degradation

In the post-Cold War era, security threats are not necessarily to have a political dimension, although the ramifications of such threats ultimately need political solutions. But there are non-political threats against security, for instance, environmental problems have not usually been incorporated in definitions of security, yet the political impacts of environmental degradation are increasingly being realized. The same holds true for poverty, disease, and others (Nasir, 2014). With this in mind, environmental security has emerged as a leading and crucial factor of human security in a changing world within a changing environment. One of the most fascinating points to note is that the pastoral societies have different local level responses which cannot be discussed at length in this study. Although pastoralists are resilient to change, their social structures respond differently to crises. Rich pastoralists are much more able to diversify their incomes than poor pastoralists and different ecological conditions create different responses and survival strategies (Salih, 1991). For example, Somali-inhabited areas are to a large extent arid or semi-arid with unreliable rainfall and water resources varying in quantity and quality from one place to another. Drought is the major threat to pastoral security not only in Somaliland but also in many parts of the region. To cope with the risks and shocks caused by the ever changing climatic conditions, the pastoralists adapt various mechanisms to survive. These include movement from one place to another to seek a better condition than their usual places, dependence on charcoal making to increase their income, and other means.²²⁹

One of the emerging threats against pastoral societies is recurrent drought. Fluctuating rainfall and intermittent drought are accepted features of arid and semi-arid areas in general and that of the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa in particular (Ahmed *et. al.*, 2002). Somaliland

²²⁹ In Somaliland, though movement is a common coping and adaptation mechanism, the charcoal production has emerged as a newly adapted way of mitigating the impact of drought on the rural livelihoods, but this has severely damaged the environment

is not different from the other parts of the region and it receives an annual rainfall ranging between 100–300mm. The rainfall is irregular and unevenly distributed both spatially and temporally (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006). From this, one can see that the drought has weakened both humans as well as animals and resulted in the reduction of pasture for the livestock to the extent that pastoralists have to sometimes feed animals the same food as one they eat and this increases rural poverty. In the same vein, recent droughts and erratic rainfall over the past years have led to the erosion of *bur*, a small grass fed to animals in the grazing lands. The seed of the *bur* has died as a result of the rain failure, and the animals may not have any grass to feed in the coming wet seasons. If the rain continues to be erratic for the coming years, the grazing lands may turn into desert.

This appears to be the reason why much of the pastoral population migrates from one place to another to obtain fodder and water for the livestock in the dry season. It is, therefore, assumed that pastoralists do not contribute fully to the national economy when they are on the move (Salih, 1991). In Somaliland, for instance, in the areas where pastoralists have migrated out in search for water or pasture, there were still some family members left behind either for protecting family belongings left in the abandoned houses, or they were either too old to migrate, or too young to walk longer distances.²³⁰ The communities may also face shortage of *transport*, meaning that many do not have camels to take their weaker members on.

One of the critical challenges against the land and has an adversary impact on the environment is the water gullies. Water gullies and other factors are regarded as precursors to environmental degradation and desertification. In reality, gullies created by floods lead to soil erosion. These flood-created gullies are mostly found in many places in rural Somaliland where soil may perhaps be less cohesive.²³¹ Equally important, flood water gullies also put human and animal life in danger. In addition, they destroy farmlands in the rainy season.²³² The factors that harm the environment are not limited to water gullies but are many;

²³⁰ A discussion with a pastoralist in the southern pastoral land of Hargeisa known as Hawd

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²³² When you travel in the countryside across the Somaliland territory, there are countless water gullies which have an adversary impact on the environment and put risks on both human and animal securities particularly during the rainy season.

land enclosures can be seen as one of the most recent factors that posed a serious threat to environmental security as they have a direct effect on livestock and human security.²³³ What this means is that land enclosures have worsened environmental degradation in the rural areas. This is because fencing an area of land requires felling of trees to make the fence and this leads to deforestation (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006). Not only in Somaliland but also in most developing countries, forest cover is declining alarmingly through logging, land clearing, and firewood gathering. In just eight years, for example, India lost 16% of its forest cover and consequently, fuel wood prices in India's 41 largest cities increased by nearly one half exerting a painful toll on that nation's poor (Houston, 2009).

With the fall of the military rule of Somalia and the widening of the political space in many parts of the country in the early 1990s, the pastoral society across the country became the major victim of the state collapse which severely damaged the environment and particularly the grazing land and dilapidated many areas including the state-owned rangelands.²³⁴ Following Somalia's collapse and subsequent separation of Somaliland from the rest, the communal land became vulnerable to land enclosures, on the one hand and the people took control of the state-owned rangelands claiming their traditional ownership of the grazing lands and preserving them as a clan-owned private enclosures, on the other (Peter, 2004). This put burden on those who want to benefit from the resources. The prime source of such an illegal ownership of rural land was mainly the lack of law enforcement machineries at the local levels.

These could be linked to the state fragility in many ways, including weak law enforcement mechanisms particularly at the peripheries and unsound policies at the centre.²³⁵ Since its declaration as an independent state in 1991, Somaliland has had no clear policy and guidelines on

²³³ Land enclosures cause frequent conflicts at family and community levels. As always happens, the owner of the land enclosure injures the animals that get in his fenced land, in return the owner of the injured animal retaliates by doing the same to the perpetrator.

²³⁴ The Minister for Environment and Rural Development of Somaliland, in the discussions I had with him, expressed concerns over the environment and how the state-owned rangelands fell under the control of the private beneficiaries in no time making the future uncertain.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

pastoral management and development with the exception of some training programmes conducted on an ad hoc basis by various projects in the sector. Even if clear policies were in place, however, in reality, there were no means of implementation. In the most recent days, there is a great concern which forces both indigenous non-governmental organisations and the Government of Somaliland to give considerable attention to pastoral problems.

3.2. Absence of Access to Social Services at the Margins

It is worth mentioning that Somaliland has achieved a relatively significant degree of progress in certain social and economic areas including provision of education and health considered the key priorities important for the survival of human beings (Nasir, 2014a). In an unrecognized region, which is a home of about 3.5 million people, the health sector, which is one of the prime livelihood sectors of the society, is inadequately resourced. For instance, according to the 2013 Annual Report of the Somaliland Ministry of Health, there are only 984 health professionals across the country of whom 111 are doctors, 41 are BS nurses, 745 are qualified nurses, 45 are professional midwives, and 42 are lab technicians .

This is a clear indication of how the health sector is lagging behind and this is not favourable for the 3.5 million population of which 50% are pastoralists. This is true when we look at the Ministry's strategic plan of 2013–2016 that puts the coverage of public health services for rural areas and nomadic populations at less than 15% (Somaliland Ministry of Health, 2013). Therefore, the public health care system in the rural areas is inadequately resourced but in reality non-existent to meet people's needs, although Somaliland has made a significant progress in terms of policy and strategy fronts and introduced a draft of the nation's National Health Policy. Nevertheless, this policy has never focused on the pastoral areas altogether.

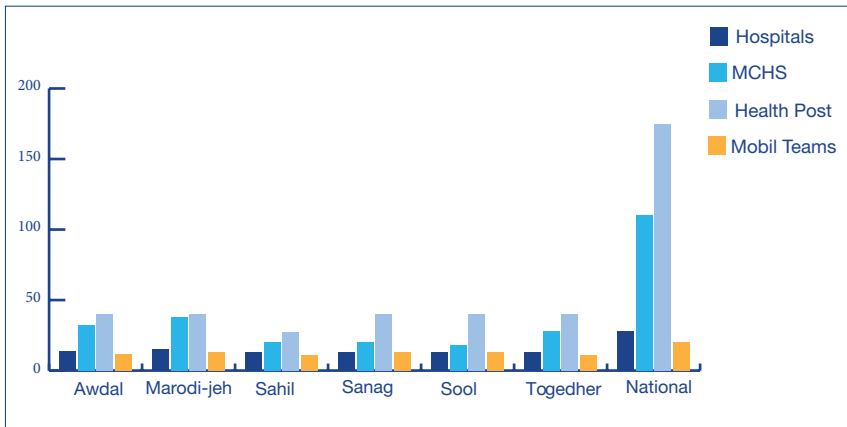


Figure 1: Health service delivery and facilities at national and regional levels

Source: Somaliland Ministry of Health (2013)

Therefore, there is a need to have better health service provision for the pastoral societies who are the backbone of the state's economic sustainability and subsistence of the urban livelihoods. The health service delivery should be ensured by establishing health care facilities, adequate and sustained provision of drugs and medical supplies, and adequate budget allocation to periphery areas as well. Fulfilling these could help pastoral societies to achieve better health conditions. This is possible through appropriate plans and actions coupled with sound policies. There is also a need for closer co-operation with local non-governmental organisations and international organisations that could help in this regard.

A similar situation prevails in the education sector. Public education is regarded as one of the fast growing sectors in Somaliland. In fact, the three levels of education in Somaliland have shown rapid quantitative increases.²³⁶ However, this does not mean that access to education to eradicate illiteracy from the rural areas, particularly from the pastoral areas, has succeeded. This concern should be regarded as an issue that cannot be evaded with the pastoral marginalisation at present. What

²³⁶ Primary, secondary, and university levels are the three major levels of the educational system in Somaliland. This has shown rapid quantitative increase due to the overt peace and stability of the region.

this means is that complex factors that have their own roots such as the movement of the pastoral communities from one place to another in search of pasture and water particularly in the dry areas and during the drought seasons, human population growth, inadequate skilled and professional teachers at the peripheries, low payment of the teachers, and others influence the situation (Somaliland Ministry of Education, 2005).

These factors contributed to the deterioration of enrollment rate of the pastoral community. Lack of commitment on the part of government agencies and incompetence of those responsible for the sector at the local levels has also hampered progress in the sector. To overcome these challenges, the government should have the commitment to improve enrollment rates in the rural communities and should establish primary schools with feeding centres at the local levels to safeguard the country's most crucial and vulnerable livelihood sector, pastoralism.

According to the Somaliland Ministry of Education (2012), there is a quantitative increase in the number of primary schools. According to the report of the Ministry, in 2012, there were 839 primary schools at the national level and 452 of these were in the rural areas. This means that there were more schools in the rural areas than in the urban areas. For instance, in the *Awdal* region of the western Somaliland, 53 primary schools were in the rural areas while 43 were in the urban centres. However, this does not mean that rural areas are better than urban centres; it only means that rural schools are higher in number than urban schools, but the former significantly fall behind in terms of quality and enrollment rate.

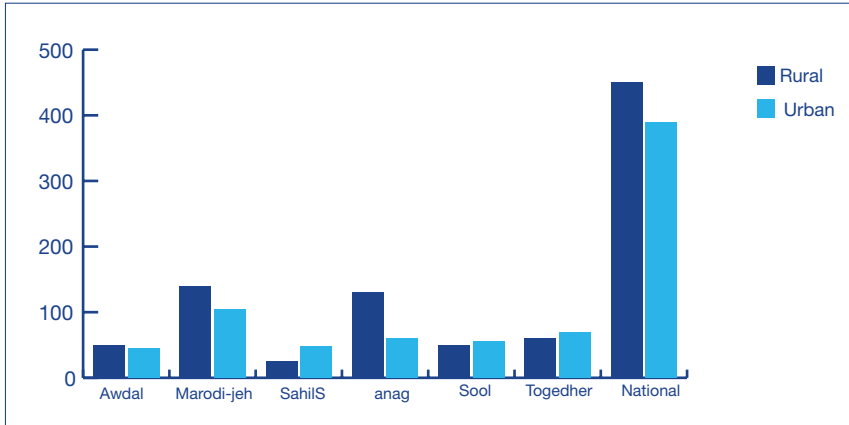


Figure 2: Number of rural and urban primary schools at the regional and national levels

Source: Somaliland Ministry of Education (2012)

Bearing in mind these constraints against the educational system in the rural areas, the Somaliland Ministry of Education (2005) has sketched a number of initiatives to overcome the unpleasant state of affairs of the pastoral communities. These initiatives include: a) adoption of a mixture of forms of educational delivery including fixed and mobile schools, and feeder or satellite schools which feed into well-equipped boarding schools. These modes need a flexible timetable and calendar that fit the needs of the nomads, b) developing special training packages for the coastal and pastoral teachers c) establishing school feeding programmes to ensure high levels of participation in education, and d) strengthening schools and community linkages through community mobilization and empowerment.

3.3. Presence of Weak Institutional Framework and Policies

Reconstituting a framework for progressive and strong political and social service providing institutions after state failure or fragility is one of the most difficult and critical tasks (Nasir, 2014a). In post-conflict situations, the destruction and damage done would affect the administrative structures that led the state to fail

by providing to its citizens the lowest level of social services such as education and health. In a region ravaged by decades of civil war, the re-establishment of public institutions would obviously encounter a number of challenges that need particular quality of committed and experienced leadership (Iqbal, 2010). The major challenges in the case of Somaliland were how to overcome shortage of expertise and technical figures created by the disruption of academic institutions and immigration of skilled human resources.

Though Somaliland has undoubtedly demonstrated progress in a number of fronts, the major problem facing the government is lack of strategies to improve provisions of basic social services to the pastoral communities in the peripheries. The pastoralist can be seen as the major, if not sole, source of livelihoods not only in the rural areas but also in the urban centres of the Somaliland (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006). Thus, the establishment of viable decentralized governance institutions with committed leaders to focus on people at the peripheries remains to be the most fundamental approach to overcome the challenges facing the pastoral societies. This intention of reconstructing the institutional frameworks is encouraging to the pastoral communities in the peripheries who have problems of social, political and resource allocation dimensions. Apparently, the Somaliland has a number of institutions which are active in preserving the environment and the pastoral areas and communities, but the problem is that they do not have a common vision. They have never managed to draft a policy that advocates the rights and interests of the pastoral societies, people with the major livelihood in Somaliland.²³⁷ This left the the pastoral community with the worst development indicators in the region.

Further, sustainable management of natural resources and protection of environment need serious measures and attention on the part of the concerned bodies and other stakeholders. Challenges in the area are due to weak legal and institutional frameworks for environmental monitoring and management, and lack of knowledge of the natural resources and the environment preservation programmes.²³⁸ Therefore, building the capacity of the state and the political institutions in Somaliland to address the needs of the public in the urban and rural areas should remain essential in promoting the effectiveness of the governance dimensions. Although there is development to some degree in some areas, the state and the government have so far failed to address major issues such as

²³⁷ Though there are various institutions responsible for environmental preservation, there is lack of a common vision and mission among those institutions

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

use of the land particularly in the rural areas, and provision of social services both to the people and the livestock (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006). Therefore, the government of Somaliland should effectively address the needs of the pastoral communities by strengthening the central structure of the state so that it has clear vision and concrete policies to penetrate deep into the pastoral societies and exercise efficient governance. This should be able to prevent the growing violence over resource allocation, bestow authority on the pastoral society, facilitate service delivery and organize development activities in the pastoral areas.²³⁹ This means that the problems facing the pastoralists should be addressed through the state's political institutions and should occupy the central place in the priority of governance reform.

4. Fixing the Gaps: A Strategy for Sustainable Pastoral Societies

4.1. Introducing Policies for a Better Pastoral Society

Pastoralists in Somaliland have become among the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups as they live in some of the arid or semi-arid environments in the country. Moving from place to place in search of pasture and water for their livestock is part of their daily life. To improve the socio-economic state the pastoral communities in Somaliland, sound policies with effective implementation that could tackle the needs and grievances of the society at the grassroots are necessary. The economy of Somaliland mainly depends on livestock production which cannot be seen in exclusion from the pastoralist. Nevertheless, the livestock sector has been entangled with challenges that impeded use of its maximum potentials. These challenges include rangeland degradation, livestock disease, limited animal health service delivery systems, shortage of pasture and water, improper land use, and surface water runoff which contributed to the deterioration of pastoralists income and resulted in increased migration to the urban centres with very limited employment opportunities (Somaliland Ministry of Livestock, 2006).

The Government should now work closely with the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists to preserve, improve and maintain the grazing areas

²³⁹ According to my discussions with the Somaliland Minister of Environment, the Government of Somaliland has a plan to control rural land. To ensure this, the President has signed a law that preserves the environment and empowers the institutions responsible for the environment. The presidential decree came into effect during the data collection.

and rangelands controlled by the Somalia Government prior to 1991. It should design strategies to establish functional legal and appropriate policy frameworks to preserve the pastoral grazing lands for breeding the animals thereby improving the livelihoods of their families and generating revenues for the state. In this respect, the Government should pursue rural policy objectives and rely on a vast range of policy tools and institutions to achieve them and overcome the risks and challenges facing the pastoral communities in Somaliland.²⁴⁰

Sound policies adopted by the national institutions in collaboration with local non-governmental organisations and international partners could serve as a milestone in achieving a better pastoral community in the future. In this endeavour, important are the Somaliland Government and the third pillar of the state - the civil society and the public at large. Though not as effective as it was intended to be, the Somaliland Pastoral Forum (SOLPAF) came into being in 2006 with a vision to coordinate collective efforts of the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in Somaliland at the local, national, regional and international levels. But, it has never materialized its objectives at least in amplifying the voice of the pastoralists to the concerned bodies. Therefore, re-institutionalizing the forum so that it could represent the pastoral society at the national level is necessary and remains as crucial task.

4.2. Reconstituting Effective Governance Frameworks at the Margins

The interventions aimed at strengthening the pastoral sector are relevant to reducing poverty and hunger as hundreds of thousands of pastoral and rural households rely heavily on livestock for sustaining their livelihoods. The livestock sector's potential of reducing poverty and enhancing food security has been underexploited as the sector has long been treated as an appendage only to agriculture by both policy-makers and development practitioners in the Horn of Africa (Chiara *et. al.*, 2010). In addition, when on rare occasions adequate attention has been paid to policy and institutional dimensions, livestock sector policies and programmes have been designed by technical staff in livestock departments, NGOs or international organizations with little consultation of other ministries,

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 5.

and limited appreciation of and connection with the 'non-livestock' policies and markets critical for livestock sector development (Ibid).

As common in many parts of Africa, the absence of a strong state authority which can extend social services both to the humans and animals, and the poor policies in governing pastoral communities contribute considerably to the complicated situation in the rural areas in Somaliland. As a point of illustration, land enclosures have adversary effect both on the livestock and the people, despite the fact that some progress has been achieved particularly in awareness-raising. Effective pastoral society management is still hampered by incompetence, unclear legal framework, lack of planning and coordination, and low capacities of the governing bodies. Moreover, state institutions remain weak and are often unable to enforce the law and implement state policies including policies governing pastoral communities. This means that the state and the Government have so far failed to address the major tasks of the rural land administration to re-control grazing lands: to plan the use of the land; to provide social services both to the people and the livestock at the peripheries.²⁴¹

To overcome the problems facing the poor pastoral communities, there are a number of policies and programmes that could be of help. The programmes and policies should focus on appropriate management of pastoral life including land policies and programmes such as state-led land reallocation, market-driven land reform, land titling, regulation of customary land tenure and land co-management. In the livestock front, adopting risk-coping policies and strategies such as livestock insurance, early warning systems, and grazing reserves are necessary (Chiara *et al.*, 2013). Sustaining livestock productivity is another important milestone and it includes matching research grants, levy-funded research, competitive research funds, and participatory livestock research²⁴² sustaining the livelihoods of both the rural and the urban dwellers relies on environment as an important component. Pastoral development policies in relation to environment should include controlled grazing land, co-management of common pastures, and livestock zoning, to name a few.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 5.

²⁴² In Somaliland, there is an IGAD administrated regional school whose mandate is to train animal health professionals at a regional level and also to conduct research. This school has close collaboration with Makerere and Mekelle Universities in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively

4.3. Interventions on the Peripheries

Government interventions that affect the management of livelihoods of the pastoral communities are far to be materialized. In Somaliland, there are at least six Government Ministries active in the area not guided by a common vision. These agencies have policies that could benefit the pastoral communities; however, the successive governments of Somaliland have never maintained control over land management in the rural areas.²⁴³ From this, one can see that some of the objectives such as providing the poor pastoral communities with access to services to overcome challenges facing their lives are difficult to achieve. In the minds of many policy-makers, achieving these goals requires a stronger remedy: nationalization of the rangelands to mitigate conflicts over land ownership in the rural areas and eradication of land enclosures which are extensively spreading over the nation.²⁴⁴ This indicates that Government and stakeholder interventions should affect the livelihoods of the pastoral communities in Somaliland. Nevertheless, these interventions should always be designed to achieve ends that are thought to be socially desirable.

In other words, initiatives to improve the socioeconomic way of life of the pastoral communities in Somaliland poses a great challenge to policy-makers due to limited capacity of the government to implement sound projects that could tackle the needs and grievances of the society at the grassroots, particularly the pastoralists from the marginalized context. Therefore, policies toward pastoralists may play a critical role in facilitating such programmes as establishing mobile veterinary services to the livestock, drilling shallow wells, building earth dams and others which could improve the livelihood of the pastoral society in coping with the dry and drought seasons.²⁴⁵

The pastoralist community in Somaliland is estimated at around 50% of the population and is the backbone of the state's already fragile and

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁴⁴ In Somaliland there is an ongoing debate over the nationalization of the Qool-aday and Aroori plains as state-owned rangelands to be funded by the Somaliland Development Fund, or a donor-funded initiative intended to invest in the Somaliland's development priorities. This project costs around 11 million US Dollars.

²⁴⁵ Discussions with a high profile official at Havoyoco office in Hargeisa, Somaliland.

shrinking economy. Although the role of the state in addressing the challenges that face the pastoral societies is limited or absent in reality, the role of the non-governmental organisations deserves a mention. For instance, the Horn of Africa Voluntary Youth Committee (HAVOYOCO), a local non-governmental organisation, is operating at national level and is dedicated to engaging in both emergency and life-saving missions and development projects. This organisation, in partnership with Oxfam GB, implements cross-border projects aimed at changing the livelihoods of the pastoral societies – those movements from one place to another in search of pasture and water in the dry and drought seasons. According to a senior officer at HAVOYOCO approached by the researcher, the agency was engaged in short-term projects in an attempt to help the people in the dry period. However, after some study, the projects were transformed into long-term life-sustaining ones to make the society more resilient and stable than they are today; for example, the projects cover a wide range of areas such as building water reservoirs or earth dams, and health and teaching centres.

Although the health threats that face both the humans and the livestock are numerous with various dimensions, there is a successful intervention by international organizations and this is a sign of hope. In 2002, under the management of the European Union, the former British-administered Sheikh School in the Sahil highlands was transformed into the Sheikh Technical Veterinary School which was regarded by many as one of the major successes in animal health interventions in the region. This School, run by Terra Nuova, was under the auspices of the European Union. In 2013, the School administration was handed over to the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) while the School is regarded as a regional centre of excellence within the Horn of Africa. Nevertheless, the School collaborates with regional universities such as the Makerere and Mekelle Universities in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively. Graduates from this school contributed a lot to animal health not only in Somaliland but also in the entire region. For instance, those working in Somaliland are stationed at the Ministry of Livestock and Animal Health Guarantees in Berbera working as animal health professionals certified by the regional universities.²⁴⁶

To overcome the major challenges that face pastoral societies, a number of sacrifices are needed from the concerned bodies including

²⁴⁶ Discussions with a senior officer in the Sheikh Technical Veterinary School, Hargeisa, Somaliland

demarcation of dry season grazing reserves and mobility corridors, and legalizing them with appropriate title deeds to protect such areas from being accessed by individuals for personal purposes, to ensure the safe passage of pastoralists, and to return grazing reserves acquired by individuals through dubious means to the rightful owner communities to foster livestock productivity (Salih, 1991; John *et. al.*, 2013). Therefore, the policies should ensure that fodder production is incorporated to compensate pastoralists for the loss of grazing land, and corridors are established to allow watering rights for livestock.

Conclusion

Pastoralists represent 50% of the total population and play an important role in the economy of Somaliland. They contribute about 65% of the GDP, meet almost all the domestic demand for meat and milk, and play a significant role in the state's foreign exchange earnings. This sector, which is a very significant source of livelihood in Somaliland, is not without challenges from both natural and man-made disasters. The challenges include frequent droughts that are the outcome of changing climate, reduction or loss of pasture and water, and decrease in the number of herds and flocks which directly affect the livelihoods of the pastoral society.

The future of the pastoral communities in Somaliland remains only in the hands of those who run the state and are responsible for the citizens at large. Therefore, thinking about policies that could help the people at the peripheries including the pastoralists who are the backbone of the nation's already fragile economy is necessary. Exclusion and isolation of the pastoralists from opportunities could lead this vulnerable group to further discontents that might directly affect the life of all citizens. This can be prevented only if the mandated government institutions take the lead in finding appropriate solutions to ensure that social service provisions are accessible to the people in the entire rural areas. To be honest, Somaliland pastoralists are poor because they experienced prolonged exclusion and marginalisation from opportunities; therefore, people are in need of having a better future.

In short, if this sector which is the prime source of economy both for the Government and for the majority of its population is not incorporated

and included in the state policies and strategies, the country will face a critical socio-economic crisis and submerge into a political mess that would lead to further political and social instability that leaves Somaliland at limbo.

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13

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Transitioning Pastoralism towards a Green Economy: Key Lessons from Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Areas (ASALS)

Caleb M. Wafula

Abstract

The challenges facing ASAL in general and pastoralists in particular have long been recognized among the central principles by policy makers, as evidenced by both local and international key policy regulatory and institutional frameworks. Interestingly, the concept's prominence has not been sufficiently connected to or matched by corresponding depth of scholarly analysis. Much still needs to be learned, adapted, and evaluated as most analyses and commentaries tend to be skewed towards encouraging sedentarization and agro-pastoralism as a means of improving the ASAL livelihood, yet there is clear evidence that pastoralism is a viable form of land use that is well adapted to the unstable environmental conditions of ASALs. Increasingly, development agencies have been slow in translating their commitments into practices and operationalization. This has raised more questions than provided answers about the current policies and programmatic interventions as exemplified by the persistent social, economic

and ecological challenges facing the ASALs, thus necessitating a more in-depth study. With special focus on Kenya's ASAL areas, this paper transcends the "tyranny of sedentarization and agro-pastoralism" and attempts to explore ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy. More specifically, the study seeks to: examine Government ASALs' innovations, both in social economic terms and in connection with the green economy, and with special attention to the incorporation of traditionally marginalized groups, especially women and youth; establish the contributions and different challenges of pastoralism in future societies, especially under a green economy; and examine issues of sustainability and identify the best practices needed to strengthen the government transition of pastoralism towards an inclusive and green economy. Methodologically, the study used mixed methods approach, multiple data collection techniques and thematic content analysis. The study notes that ASALs are an "opportunity and not a liability" and that they possess great economic potential as arenas of wealth and development. Accepting the unique realities that underpin them in terms of ecology, economy, population distribution and social system is the key to unlocking the ASAL development potential. As such, the emergence of a green economy should serve as hope for the government to achieve the multiple benefits of reviving the pastoral sector, mitigating climate change, and enhancing sustainable pastoralism.

Key Words: *Pastoralism; ASALS, Green Economy*

1. Introduction

This chapter explores ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy in the ASAL areas of Kenya, with a view to enhancing policy and offering programming guidance. The challenges facing ASAL in general and pastoralists in particular have long been recognized among the central principles by policy makers, as evidenced by key policy regulatory and institutional frameworks that have been developed within the mandates of the different development agencies including UNEP, IGAD, AU, World Bank and Lobby groups²⁴⁷. Interestingly, the concept's prominence has not been sufficiently connected to or

²⁴⁷The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is implementing a Livestock Policy Initiative to ensure that livestock potential is understood, articulated and strategically built into poverty reduction processes; the African Union Commission (AUC) has a continent-wide policy meant to protect lives, secures pastoralist livelihoods and builds sustainable communities. Some of the lobby groups include the Coalition of European Lobbies on Eastern African Pastoralism (CELEP); Regional Learning and Advocacy Program (REGLAP) on vulnerable dryland communities and ILC/IFAD Learning Initiative with the aim of making rangelands secure.

matched by corresponding depth of scholarly analysis. Much still needs to be learned, adapted, and evaluated as most analyses and commentaries tend to be skewed towards encouraging sedentarization and agro-pastoralism as means of improving the ASAL livelihood. This is often framed in the inaccurate views casting pastoralism as archaic, unproductive and environmentally damaging relics of the past²⁴⁸ which need to be brought into line with “progressive and modern,” agricultural development; yet there is clear evidence from Argentina, Mexico and Israel²⁴⁹ that pastoralism is a viable form of land use that is well adapted to degraded and unproductive ecosystems. All this ignores both the dynamics of dryland ecosystems and how dryland communities have long learnt how to live with and harness this variability to support sustainable and productive economies, societies and ecosystems. Increasingly, development agencies have been slow in translating their commitments into practices and operationalization. This has raised more questions than provided answers about the current policies and programmatic interventions as exemplified by the persistent social, economic and ecological challenges facing the ASALs, thus necessitating a more in-depth study. With special focus on Kenya’s ASAL areas, this paper transcends the “tyranny of sedentarization and agro-pastoralism” and attempts to explore ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy; a largely unexplored or overlooked aspect that seems to have the most decisive implications on sustainable pastoralism. The main thrust of this chapter is to explore ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy. More specifically, the paper sought to:

- a) examine Government ASALs’ innovations, both in socio-economic terms and in connection with the green economy, and with special attention to the incorporation of traditionally marginalized groups, especially women and youth;

²⁴⁸ For Pastoral perception, see Shanahan, M (2013); Media perceptions and portrayals of pastoralists in Kenya, India and China. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).

²⁴⁹ For instance, See WJ Gómez-Ruiz - 2012 Analysis of a goat milk cheese industry in a desert rangeland of Mexico also see Rahim, I., Saleem, M., Rueff, H. and Maselli, D. (2013) Conserving indigenous livestock breeds to benefit mountain smallholders. Arynova, M. (ed.) Evidence for Policy Series, Regional Edition Central Asia. NCCR North-South, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. 4 pp.

- b) establish the contributions and different challenges of pastoralism in future societies, especially under a green economy; and
- c) examine issues of sustainability and identify the best practices needed to strengthen the Government transition of pastoralism towards an inclusive and green economy.

Understanding the contribution of this paper ought to begin by acknowledging the fact that most explanations offered so far largely focus on sedentarization and Agro-pastoralism as the way of improving ASAL communities livelihood, but no scholarship entirely examines the transitioning of pastoralism towards a green economy, which justifies this study. As such this paper has myriad development implications as it seeks to inform and enrich our conceptualization and understanding of the concept of a green economy in a time of financial crisis and climate change, with sustainable pastoralism as a policy instrument to achieving the green economy. Furthermore, by focusing attention on the role of marginalized groups, women and youth, the study contributes to advancing a better understanding of equity as an important component of the emerging green economy. Again, by focusing on the key variables of the study, the paper serves as an added value to the pastoralism scholastic field that is expanding but still in its infancy and needs to be enhanced significantly by not only contributing relevant, new, and constructive discourses but also enhancing public debate and intellectual investigation within the broader green economy framework. More important is that the paper creates a more comprehensive basis to explore fresh options that will spur momentum and provide a new roadmap for sustainable pastoralism in Kenya in general and for ASALs in particular while at the policy level, it is hoped that the paper will provide input to policy makers as well as development partners in their effort to look for amicable solutions to the socio-economic and ecological challenges facing pastoralists in ASAL areas. On the whole, the study enriches rather than reduces the debate on pastoralism by discerning some of the main questions around transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy.

While pastoralism may have negative effects on environment, it is important to stress that this paper explicitly concentrates on the positive effects. As such the paper lenses are honed to ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy. Geopolitically, although the study

scope is limited to ASAL areas of Kenya, being the capital of pastoralism in the country, it still remains relevant to ASALs outside of Kenya. The timeframe examined spans from pre-colonial period to the present day Kenya with emphasis on 2003 onwards. This was the time when the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) took over the reigns of government after defeating long serving Kenya African National Union (KANU) in the 2002 General Elections, signaling a new commitment to addressing the challenges of the ASALs. All this is part of a more detailed empirical research carried out in the context of the 2014 International Conference on “*Government development strategies in the pastoral areas of HOA: Lessons learned,*” hosted by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University. The ultimate objective of the project is to document and analyse government policy and implementation strategies with solid evidence in the pastoral areas of Africa.

It is important at this point to briefly justify the methodology, especially the choices made in the process of developing the paper. This will make some of the arbitrary decisions taken look less so. First, the study was motivated by an attempt to avoid the rigid methodologies, by adopting a flexible mixed methodological approach²⁵⁰ and multiple data collection techniques²⁵¹ (Creswell, 2002; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003) that were found attuned to the demands of the area under investigation. The rationale for mixing is that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient by themselves to capture the trends and details of the situation such as transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy. The qualitative phase draws on 10 key informants within and outside the government base. A careful sampling approach was carried out based on reputation approach and purposive sampling (Cohen *et. al.*, 2007) by reason of their experience, knowledge and reflections on ASAL-pastoral related work. The quantitative phase resembles a two-stage cluster design comparing information drawn from a variety of data sources including a sufficient desk review of published and unpublished reports, book chapters, magazines, newspapers and online articles on pastoral

²⁵⁰ This is a procedure for collecting, analyzing and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study, in order to understand a research problem more comprehensively. The rationale for mixing is that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient by themselves to capture the trends and details of the situation, such as a complex issue transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy, but when used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and allow for more complete analysis.

²⁵¹ The multiple data collection methods gave room for data triangulation in examining the study questions.

policies, programmes and projects implemented in ASALs. Relevant websites of organizations such as ILRI, IUCN and UNEP, among others, were also consulted. All this was used to validate the qualitative data. The indispensable method of observation must not be disregarded as it provided further detailed insights into the objects of study. With this are meant all the observed actions and talks on “transitioning pastoralism to Green economy.”

For purposes of analysis and easy comprehension of issues, this study is divided into parts. Each part deals with a series of relevant themes. The first part offers an introduction to the study based on the problem and motivation that prompted the study. It provides information on the main theme of the study, its objectives, significance and justification for the research problem, scope and delimitation, and methodology. It ends with an overview of the outline of the whole chapter. The second part, deals with theoretical framework and attempts to reconstruct the policy discourse on pastoralism in Kenya. Part 3 highlights the study findings whereas part 4 reflects upon and makes use of the theoretical/conceptual framework on best methods/strategies that can be put in place to transition pastoralism to a green economy and also offers the summation of the study.

2. Theoretical Framework and Policy Discourse on Pastoralism in Kenya

2.1. Theoretical/Conceptual Review and Framework

The concept of green economy can be considered to be synonymous to “sustainable capitalism”.²⁵² The concept dates back to the early ideas around the relationship between sustainable environmental management and economic development. The 1987 Brundtland Commission Report²⁵², *Our Common Future*, which introduced the concept of sustainable development to the world, envisioned “a new era of economic growth based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base.”

²⁵² The Brundtland Commission, named after Norway's former Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, who chaired it, was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The documents approved at the Conference, notably the comprehensive Agenda 21, included ambitious commitments by world leaders to ensure sustainable development in many areas and on all levels of society.

It later became a catchword since 1989 when pioneering environmental economists, Pearce, Markandya and Barbier touched upon this concept for the first time in their *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pearce et al 1989). In 1991, Barrett (1991) and Pearce (1991b) also addressed this topic in *Blueprint 2: Greening the world economy*. However, an updated concept appeared much clearer in Jacobs' interpretation in 1991, which identified the objectives of the green economy as "zero growth" or "sustainable development" (Jacobs 1991).

In recent years, the green economy concept resurfaced and gained prominence in the context of the global financial crisis and climate change (UNFCCC, 2009) aiming to help governments tackle these challenges and move towards a green economy by "reshaping and refocusing policies" and achieve multiple goals (UNEP 2009b; UNEP 2010b). The new complex context unfolds a more practical and broader new dimension of the green economy. This new dimension enables it to achieve multiple goals - "revive the economy, create jobs, protect vulnerable groups, and reduce carbon dependency" (UNEP 2009c; UNEP 2009d), which makes itself distinct from any previous concepts.

With the new dimension, the green economy is perceived as "one in which the vital links between economy, society, and environment are taken into account and in which the transformation of production processes, production and consumption patterns; while contributing to a reduction per unit in reduced waste, pollution, and the use of resources, materials, and energy, waste, and pollution emission will revitalize and diversify economies; create decent employment opportunities; promote sustainable trade; reduce poverty; and improve equity and income distribution" (UNEP 2009a).

In brief, it is characterized by "increasing wealth, decent employment and successfully tackling inequities and persistent poverty, and reduced ecological scarcities and climate risks" (UNEP 2010b). Thus a more comprehensive definition given to the green economy by UNEP is "*an economy that results in improved human well-being and reduced inequalities over the long term, while not exposing future generations to significant environmental risks and ecological scarcities,*" (UNEP 2010b). Consequently, this paper looks at green economy as a solution to the problems of ASALs,

by examining the policies and regulatory and institutional framework needed to transition pastoralism to a green economy.

Public Policy - a generally accepted definition of public policy has been elusive. Some texts define public policy as simply “what government does.” Others say that it is the stated principles which guide the actions of government²⁵³. The term ‘policy’, in the context of this paper, is understood to mean not just the bureaucratic process of reaching consensus on a formal policy position but also the day-to-day interactions and activities which themselves convey policy positions.

Pastoralism: Pastoralism is the most effective production system for the majority of arid and semi-arid areas. Who are Pastoralists? Better still, what constitutes pastoralism? These questions have for long been debated upon, yet continue to plague scholars and planners alike as the whole concept remains ambiguous, identified more by their characteristics than by explicit definition: Some of the commonly used criteria include: Pastoralists are people inhabiting arid and semi-arid areas whose livelihood depends mainly on the keeping of large herds of domestic animals including cattle, camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys in poor conditions, but hardly enough to survive periodic drought and sparse vegetation. Mobility is a key feature qualifying pastoralism. Pastoralists move according to where and when fodder becomes available, and use different highly specialised risk spreading strategies such as herd splitting, herd diversification and herd maximisation to ensure that they spread the risk of livestock loss from droughts, floods, diseases and theft. The term *nomadic* is applied where mobility is high and in irregular patterns; *transhumant* when there are regular back-and-forth movements between relatively fixed locations; and *sedentary* for the resettled. The basis of pastoral organization almost everywhere in the world is the clan, a set of patrilineally related households traced (in theory) to an apical ancestor²⁵⁴.

ASAL: This term refers to those ecosystems characterised by low, erratic, seasonal and variable precipitation, and high inter-annual climatic variability in which pastoralism, agro-pastoralism and rain-fed, or in

²⁵³ See <http://profwork.org/pp/study/define.html>

²⁵⁴ See generally Spear, T., Waller, R (1993) (eds.) *Being Maasai : Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. (Eastern African Studies) for the historical accounts of pastoralists in Kenya.

some areas flood-retreat, agriculture are the dominant land uses and livelihood systems.

2.2. Policy Discourse on Pastoralism in Kenya

The past scholarships have demonstrated various important aspects of the pastoral policy discourse, so this chapter does not intend to rehearse it, however, a perennial problem of most analysis is that it often floats in thin air, with little contextualization in the broader historical, social, economic and political dynamics. In order to build up the core argument of the paper and avoid an over-simplistic view, it is imperative to have a good grasp of the historical development of the policies that have shaped the ASAL pastoral discourse in Kenya. This will in turn guarantee, at the least, a coherent understanding of the policy, regulatory and institutional frameworks that have been developed to address the numerous challenges facing pastoralists in ASALs. This part explores the pastoral policy discourse in a time-space collocation. This implies exploring and locating the interventions in a multidimensional space, both geographically and historically. In this case, the interventions will be reconstructed within the trajectory of colonial and post-colonial times. Having provided a basic introduction, the background to the pastoral policy discourse may now be explored.

2.2.1. Pastoralism under Colonial Period

The colonial stance toward ASAL groups ranged from outright hostility to benign neglect (Odhiambo, 2002). These areas were generally isolated and far removed from the rest of the country. The region was viewed not only as rebellious and hostile but also liability that did not significantly contribute to the Colonial agrarian economy. Over the many decades of its rule and what could be seen as the turning point, the needs of pastoralists and the question of mobility were not taken into account in colonial land policies (Ghai, et al 1970). The colonial power systematically established new institutions and administrative systems that led to the erosion of indigenous land tenure organisations and land rights, with policies that were informed by imperatives of containment that saw much of ASAL areas designated closed districts; movement in and out was strictly regulated (Braaksma, 1994; Hughes 2006).

For instance, the Maasai were restricted from grazing their cattle on former lands converted to national parks and game reserves created by the British, including the Nairobi, Amboseli, Tsavo, Masai Mara, and Samburu National Parks (1948-1964) (Homewood and Rodgers 1991). Instead, they were confined to unproductive reserve lands demarcated on the basis of places occupied during the wet seasons, occasioning the loss of much of the area traditionally used for their subsistence and other traditional activities. The laws that were enacted include the Outlying Districts Ordinance, 1902, the Stock Theft and Produce Ordinance of 1933 and the Special Districts (Administration) Ordinance, 1934, to restrict movement into and out of the ASAL territory. The laws gave the colonial administrators extensive powers of arrest, restraint, detention and seizure of properties of “hostile tribes.”²⁵⁵ Such colonial attitude of treating pastoralists as outlying and not fully part of its nascent state arrangement, while initially giving them some sense of autonomy, progressively created a culture of marginalisation and control. The attitude soon coalesced into state policy that treated pastoralists as outsiders who required ‘hemming in’ and blending with mainstream society.

The pastoralists were prohibited from selling livestock in settler-dominated markets, just as African farmers were prohibited from growing cash crops including tea and coffee (Fratkin E; et al 2003). Special passes were required for movement into and out of these regions. Administrators working in the region had extensive powers of arrest, detention as well as collective punishment over resident communities. As a result, the ASALs were isolated from the rest of the country not just physically but also socially, politically and economically (Odhambo, 2014).

2.2.2. Post Colonial Period

With the deteriorating ecological conditions following extensive droughts that was witnessed in the region in the 1960s and early 70s, the ASAL marginalization worsened with the advent of political independence in 1963. To counter the disaffection of Somalis and their push to secede and join the

²⁵⁵ See more in Hassan, Ahmed Issack. ‘The Legal Impediments to Development in Northern Kenya’ (A paper presented at the Consultative Meeting for Members of Parliament at Naivasha, Kenya, 22-23 August, 2008).

independent Republic of Somalia, the newly independent government of Kenya introduced measures that included declaration of a state of emergency, to strengthen the hand of security forces in fighting off the *shifita* insurgency. This action ostensibly reinforced government's reluctance to open up these areas. The *Shifita* War ended in 1968²⁵⁶, but the state of emergency would end up lasting "for close to 30 years leaving behind a trail of death, destruction violations of human rights, marginalization and underdevelopment" (Branch, 2011; Hornsby, 2012). The area and the people came to be viewed largely in terms of security. Interactions between them and organs of the state were defined in the same terms. Most government resources spent in these areas went into meeting the security challenges (Odhiambo 2014). As a result, the ASALs, particularly those in Northern Kenya missed out almost entirely on the development opportunities of the first three decades of independence.

Post-colonial marginalization of the ASALs was institutionalized in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*, the pre-eminent policy statement by the post-independence government recommended: "Development money should be invested where it yields the largest increase in net output. As such, the policy focused on national economic development strategies towards agriculture, investing resources in the so-called high potential areas, with the expectation that this growth would trickle-down to low potential like ASALs; however, this did not happen (Leys, 1975). Coincidentally, the guiding development philosophy of this period was Garret Hardin's (1968) "tragedy of the commons," (Garrett, 1968)²⁵⁷ which held that traditional pastoral practices of individual owners utilizing communally shared pastures were wasteful and inherently degrading to the environment. Championed by the Western aid and international development agencies, governments were encouraged to curtail pastoral livestock production on communally held lands and promote sedentarization of nomads, private ranching of beef and dairy resources, as private landowners were assumed to better conserve their resources (Fratkin, *et. al.*, 2003).

²⁵⁶ For more on the *shifita* insurgency, see <http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-10/whittaker-article.pdf>

²⁵⁷ The tragedy of the commons develops in this way. Picture a pasture open to all. It is to be expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. As a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain. The rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal and another; and another, but this is the conclusion reached by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system which compels him to increase his herd without limit—in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination towards which all men rush, each pursuing his own interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all (Hardin 1968).

With motivation from *Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965*, and building on the Hardin's thesis²⁵⁸, the first concrete step in coming to terms with poverty alleviation in ASALS was launched in 1979 policy paper entitled "The Arid and Semi-Arid Lands of Kenya; A Framework for Implementation, Programme Planning and Evaluation." The policy was aimed at settling pastoralists in irrigation schemes, group ranches with drought resistant crops, among other alternative land use systems (Markakis, 2004). While the 1979 ASAL policy attempted to address some of the issues, it fell short because ASAL "voices" were lacking and the policy formulators put emphasis on technical issues such as land degradation; irrigation and the need to find solutions to the nomadic pastoralism "menace". The policy had a technical solution to problems that were mainly social and political. Considering that pastoral production demands mobility, the *sine qua non* of dryland cattle keeping, yet the actions of governments curtailed mobility through alienation of land, demarcation of grazing boundaries, and mechanization of bore holes, which encouraged pastoral sedentarization (Brokensha and Little, 1988; Hodgson, 1999). The realization that the failure to make use of the potential of the ASALs was a lost opportunity that undermined national economic development can be traced to *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986* titled *Economic Management for Renewed Growth*. This was happening at the time when the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were being introduced. It urged a more inclusive development approach that would tap the potential of the entire country including the ASALs and made a case for strategies for mainstreaming the region into the national economy. However, it was too generic to have any lasting impression on the situation and little changed in the overall approach to national economic development (Odhiambo, 2014).

Significant changes began to occur in early 1990s, coinciding with the push for so called 'second liberalization' characterized by the need for greater democratization²⁵⁹. With pressure from the Kenya Pastoralists Forum (KPF), a national network of civil society organizations working in pastoral area, the government took unprecedented strides to recognize pastoralism as a viable livelihood within their Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans (PRSP), which were the national overarching development frameworks (Ndege, 1992). Thus, pastoralism was identified as a separate theme in the preparation of the Poverty Reduction

²⁵⁸ The tragedy of the commons (Hardin 1968)

²⁵⁹ For details of the democratization struggle in Kenya; see Murunga, Godwin R. and Nasong'o, Shadrack W. (eds.). (2007) – **Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy**

Strategy Paper and a Pastoral Thematic Group (PTG) established to work on the specific concerns and strategies for addressing poverty among pastoralists aimed at “their economic integration with the rest of the country” (Republic of Kenya, 1999). The Group developed a Pastoral Poverty Reduction Strategy, the key tenets of which were ultimately incorporated into the PRSP, marking the turning point as the first time specific attention was paid to pastoralist concerns in a national development policy (Odhiambo, 2014).

The climax of the policy shift over the ASALs became manifest with the publication of the *Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007* (ERS) by the NARC²⁶⁰ government in June 2003. This was a blueprint paper that was developed to guide the new government’s economic policies. The ERS acknowledged the failure of past governments to confront development challenges of the ASALs and demonstrated a commitment to break with the past by making the ASALs an integral part of the national economy. In a marked departure from the approach of Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, the policy highlighted the potential of the ASALs in livestock production, fishing, mining, tourism development, trade and industry, and identified challenges to be addressed in order for the potential to be realized by establishing appropriate coordination mechanisms for disaster response, improving land tenure, health and education, security and law enforcement, and physical infrastructure (Livingstone, 2005).

In furthering the objectives of the ERS in 2004, the Government launched the Sector Response Approach (SRA) as a response and contribution to the ERS. As the name suggests, the strategy was a sector-based implemented by three ministries with the vision of transforming Kenya’s agriculture into “*a profitable, commercially oriented and internationally competitive economic activity*”. The Mission of the programme was: “*To promote and guide sustainable development of agriculture, livestock, fisheries and agro-based production systems and strengthen related institutions now and in the future*”.

To keep pace with changing realities, the government launched the *Vision 2030*, the country’s long-term development blueprint aimed at creating a cohesive, equitable and just society that will turn Kenya into a “*globally competitive and*

²⁶⁰ NARC stands for -National Alliance Rainbow Coalition, this is the Party that took over power under Mwai Kibaki as President after Moi 24 years under KANU-the Kenya African National Union.

prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030.” Currently, the vision is being implemented in successive five-year Medium-Term Plans; with the first such plan having covered the period 2008 – 2012. Unlike *Sessional Paper No. 10* of 1965, *Vision 2030* articulates a vision of inclusive development that seeks to exploit the different potentials across the country. Its three pillars of economic, social and political governance are of direct relevance to the ASALs. The economic pillar seeks to achieve and sustain an average economic growth rate of 10 per cent per annum.²⁶¹ with special attention to Agriculture stated as: “innovative, commercially oriented and modern farm and livestock sector.” The social pillar²⁶² seeks “to create a just, cohesive and equitable social development in a clean and secure environment”; while the political pillar seeks to build “an issue-based, people-centered, result-oriented and accountable democratic system” in Kenya (GoK, 2007). All these are objectives which, if realized and applied to the ASALs, will address their core livelihood and development challenges.

After the controversial 2007/2008 general elections²⁶³, the Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands was formed under the Grand coalition government. It was mandated to manage the unique challenges facing the ASALs. The Establishment of the Ministry was in and of itself not only a significant shift in the narrative about the ASALs in general and Northern Kenya in particular but also demonstrated acknowledgment at the highest levels of government that there was a fundamental problem in the way in which development of the ASALs had been dealt with by successive governments since independence (Odhiambo, 2014).

²⁶¹ Specifically, the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL), representing 84 per cent of the total land mass of the country, remain largely underexploited. There are 24 million hectares in the ASAL that can be used for livestock production, but only 50 per cent of the carrying capacity of the land is currently being exploited. Additionally, there are 9.2 million hectares in ASAL which have the potential for crop production if irrigated. This irrigable area is equivalent to the total farmland in high and medium potential areas in the country. p. 42

²⁶² The social pillar of Vision 2030 clearly articulates and demonstrates the vision of inclusion that is so integral to the mainstreaming of the ASALs into national development. In order to build “a just and cohesive society that enjoys equitable social development in a clean and healthy environment”, the Vision proposes major interventions to promote social development. These interventions are focused on the very areas in which the ASALs have continued to manifest poor indicators including education, health, water and sanitation, the environment, housing and urbanization, gender; youth, and sports and culture. The Vision makes special provisions for previously marginalized communities, who are identified to be predominantly communities living in the ASALs.

²⁶³ For details on the controversial 2007/2008 general elections, see Independent Review Commission (IREC) on the 2007 elections (Kriegler Commission). Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008; Journal of Eastern African Studies: Election Fever: Kenya’s Crisis, Vol. 2, No. 2 of 2008. See in particular Cheeserman, Nic (2008); Mueller, Susanne, D. (2008); and Throup, David (2008).

The major achievements of the ministry was aligning its mandate with *Vision 2030*, by reviewing the unique conditions to which policy and practice must adapt in order to ensure that the desired accelerated development is realized in Northern Kenya and other arid lands. These include aridity and the challenge this presents to efforts of ensuring sustainable food and nutrition security, diversity in economic activity requiring disaggregated policy responses, and pastoralism as a dominant production system which requires appropriate policy responses to protect and support mobility. It also draws attention to what it terms the “untapped potential” within Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands which will be unlocked as a result of increased and accelerated investment in the region. This potential is in the region’s strategic location, its domestic trade, livestock trade, tourism, natural wealth, urban development as well as the skills and knowledge it has on climate variability which can be drawn upon to avert the severe impacts of climate change. The review resulted in the publication of *Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands*²⁶⁴, which now constitutes an integral part of the five-year Medium Terms Plans for implementation of *Kenya Vision 2030*.

The review of *Vision 2030* built on and reinforced the strategies that the MNKOAL²⁶⁵ articulated in the Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 on *the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands* (the ASAL Policy). The Policy sets out to address three policy challenges of particular relevance to the ASALs. First is the challenge of closing the developmental gap between these regions and the rest of the country, and thereby redressing the region’s historical marginalization. Second is to put in place appropriate mechanisms to support mobile pastoralism as a viable livelihood system. Third is to ensure food security across the ASALs given weather unpredictability that is likely to be aggravated by climate change.

The *Second Medium Term Plan* of *vision 2030* aims for “rapid economic growth on a stable macro-economic environment, modernization of our infrastructure, diversification and commercialization of agriculture, food security, a higher contribution of manufacturing to our GDP, wider access to African and global markets, wider access for Kenyans to better quality education and health care,

²⁶⁴ Available: http://www.disasterriskreduction.net/fileadmin/user_upload/drought/docs/Vision2030%20development%20strategy%20for%20northern%20kenya%20and%20other%20dry%20areas%202011%20.pdf

²⁶⁵ MNKOAL-Short form of Ministry of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

job creation targeting unemployed youth, provision of better housing and provision of improved water sources and sanitation to Kenyan households” (Republic of Kenya, 2013).

Other multi-sectoral initiatives include the Kenya’s Climate Change Action Plan (Republic of Kenya, 2013). The Action Plan, codifying the National Climate Change Response Strategy launched in 2010, seeks to put in place a robust framework to build climate resilient development pathways against increasing rainfall variability and greater frequency of extreme events such as severe droughts and floods while the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) 2010-2020 (Republic of Kenya, 2009) comprises crops, livestock, fisheries, land, water, cooperatives, environment, regional development, forestry, and the development of arid and semi-arid lands. The strategy envisages anchoring development and growth of the sector on increasing productivity, commercialization and competitiveness of agricultural commodities and enterprises; and lastly developing and managing key factors of production.

Perhaps the promulgation of the Constitution on 27th August 2010,²⁶⁶ a Flagship project under the medium term plan (MTP) political pillar, is a significant achievement in the implementation of the political pillar of *Vision 2030*. In fact, all the foregoing development strategies are now firmly grounded in the Constitution of Kenya. The Constitution now mandates that the government puts an end to the poor governance and widespread inequity that characterized the country’s recent history. Its preamble asserts “the aspiration of all Kenyans for a government based on the essential values of human rights, equality, freedom, democracy, social justice and the rule of law”. These aspirations have a particular resonance with pastoralists and agro-pastoralists living in the ASALs, who have historically been denied these values through systematic marginalization by successive governments. Specific provisions of the Constitution addressing the ASAL concerns include:

Article 56 which provides for affirmative action to redress historical marginalization, effectively providing constitutional backing to strategies for addressing the historical marginalization of the ASALs and bringing them to par with the rest of the country. It provides a strong grounding for the ASAL Policy.

²⁶⁶ “The Constitution of Kenya, 2010,” August 27, 2010, http://www.kenyalaw.org/klr/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution_of_Kenya__2010.pdf

Equally relevant are provisions of the Constitution on devolved government. *Article 174* enumerates objects of devolved government that include “to protect and promote the interests and rights of minorities and marginalized communities” and “to ensure equitable sharing of national and local resources throughout Kenya”. “Marginalized communities” are defined by the Constitution to include “pastoral persons and communities, whether they are (i) nomadic; or (ii) a settled community that, because of its relative geographic isolation, has experienced only marginal participation in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole.”

Article 204 of the Constitution creates an Equalization Fund “into which shall be paid one half per cent of all the revenue collected by the national government each year”. The Fund shall run for at least 20 years and be used “only to provide basic services including water, roads, health facilities and electricity to marginalized areas” to bring the quality of those services in those areas to the level generally enjoyed by the rest of the nation. Also relevant are the provisions of chapter 5 of the Constitution on community land. *Article 63* on Community land provides that community land “shall vest in and be held by communities identified on the basis of ethnicity, culture or similar community of interest”. This provides a constitutional foundation for strengthening communal land rights that are critical for the functioning of the pastoral and agro-pastoral systems of the ASALs. The provisions of the Constitution on land reinforce the National Land Policy adopted in 2009.

It is safe to say that The *Vision 2030* Annex and the ASAL Policy constitute the boldest challenge by government since independence to the dominant narrative on the ASALs in Kenya. The two documents confront the dominant paradigm that revolves around agriculture, the “greening” of the ASALs and settlement which has for so long undermined the livelihoods and ecological sustainability of the region. It shifts the discourse on the ASALs away from being seen as ‘problem areas’ that need to be treated separately and instead sees them as part and parcel of the national economy.

3. Development Interventions in ASALs of Kenya

3.1. Overview and Contribution of Pastoralism

This part identifies the principal questions that the previous sections leave unanswered. These are the questions that will dominate this chapter. First, what are the ASALs' innovations, both in socio-economic terms and in connection with the green economy, and with special attention to the incorporation of traditionally marginalized groups, especially women and youth? What are the contributions and different challenges of pastoralism in future societies, especially under a green economy? These questions are critical for exploring ways of transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy.

For a start, we need to answer the question of the geographic location and ethnic composition of the pastoralists in Kenya's ASALs and how they are defined. This will in turn help us understand their interest, motivations, and the conditions that predispose them to pastoralism. ASALs make up more than 83% or 467,200 km² of the country land mass, and Northern Kenya constitutes most of this area (Johnson and Wambile, 2011). The ASAL climatic conditions are in general terms similar to those prevailing in other African drylands. Low and variable precipitation, high evaporation rates, sparse vegetation and shallow soils are the main features that define the landscape. Though this ecological orientation has enormous implications for any agricultural activity, the lands are well suited for extensive livestock production (Barrett, *et. al.*, 2003). A significant proportion of Kenyans reside in the ASALs, home to approximately 4 million pastoralists who constitute more than 10% of Kenya's population and other rangeland users (Kirbride and Grahn, 2008). The human population in ASALs is increasing (Randall, 2008), although becoming less nomadic. The population of North Eastern alone increased six-fold between 1989 and 2009 from 371,000 to 2.3 million (Fitzgibbon, 2012). This situation has been aggravated by the fact that the population pressure on the supporting resources has become so intense that there is constant out migration to the medium potential and marginal or semi-arid areas of Kenya.

The communities occupy most of the border areas of Kenya, with pastoral groups straddling borders with Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania. The largest and most famous groups like the Maasai are found in Kajiado, Narok, Transmara, Laikipia and parts of Baringo areas. They are cousins of the *Samburu* (speaking the same language) who in turn reside in Samburu, Marsabit and Isiolo areas; the Pokot and the Turkana in the West, bordering Uganda and, in the disputed Elmi triangle in the North West, Sudan; the Borana, Somali and other small and so far obscure groups numbering a few thousands such as Gabra, Dassanetch, Orma and Rendille groups are found in the North Eastern part of the Country ²⁶⁷(Umar, 1997).

Over 70% of the country's livestock and 75% of the wildlife are found in the ASALs (Republic of Kenya, 2010; ODI, 2010). There is a wide and growing range of livestock products that are produced within the ASALs of Kenya, with the sector estimated to be worth US\$800 million (AU-IBAR in IIED and SOS Sahel 2010). Despite this, pastoralist areas have the highest incidences of poverty and the least access to basic services of any kind in the country (Kirbride and Grahn, 2008). The highest rates of poverty are observed among those who are no longer directly involved in pastoralism, particularly those without livestock who depend on casual labour or petty trade in towns (NKIF, 2012). The ASALs are characterised by scarce and unreliable rain with annual rainfall ranging between 125 and 500 mm in the arid areas, and between 400 and 1250 mm in the semi-arid areas (Johnson and Wambile, 2011). As such droughts are common and it has been suggested that they have increased in frequency. The prolonged drought of 2008-9 has been attributed, at least in part, to climate change (Campbell *et. al.*, 2009). Interestingly pastoralism serves as the most cost effective way of supporting relatively large population in the ASALs. According to a joint review by IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and the Kenyan National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) (2011) of the importance of livestock to the Kenyan economy²⁶⁸, there is an increase in livestock's contribution to Kenyan agricultural gross domestic product (GDP) - more than two and a half times larger than the official estimate for 2009 census data. The sector boasts considerable untapped opportunities:

²⁶⁷ For full list of Pastoralists and their locations, see the Map in the appendix

²⁶⁸ See IGAD LPI Working Paper No. 03-11

- a) A thriving livestock wealth is kept by pastoralists. ASALs are home to 80% of Kenya's livestock, a resource valued at Ksh 173.4 million (Ericksen, *et. al.*, 2011) thus producing the bulk of livestock products including milk, meat, hides and skin that are either consumed locally or exported to the regional markets of Uganda and Tanzania and also to the Middle East.
- b) As shown above, the country's National parks, game reserves and other protected areas fall predominantly within the ASALs. Save for the security challenges, tourism is the second largest source of foreign exchange after agriculture and contributes close to 10% to the GDP.
- c) This, coupled with direct and indirect employment in the pastoral production system and related activities such as transport services, trade in livestock, slaughter houses, tannery/leather industries, restaurants and butcheries; all together constitutes an integral part of the national economy.
- d) More important to the ASAL communities is the use of livestock as a form of savings and local trade for cash or food (financial capital) and the use of livestock as the basis for other complex social support systems based on loans and gifts of livestock and livestock products (social capital).

3.2. Innovative Approaches in Pastoral Development

The previous section provides the basis for an examination of some of the exciting initiatives that can be broadly classified as Market-based approaches; Governance approaches, Technical approaches or provision of essential basic services that the government, in collaboration with other development agents, is implementing to enable and strengthen the inherent adaptive capacity of pastoralists for enhanced livelihood.

3.2.1. Index-Based Livestock Insurance (IBLI)

The Index-Based Livestock Insurance (IBLI) otherwise called Index-Based Livestock Takaful (IBLT) is a market-based approach developed by the International Livestock Institute (ILRI) together with its technical

partners at Cornell University and University of California, Davis. The Index-Based Livestock Insurance (IBLI) is aimed at designing, developing and implementing market-mediated index-based insurance products to protect livestock keepers, particularly in the drought prone arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), from drought-related asset losses²⁶⁹. Unlike traditional insurance which makes pay-outs based on case-by-case assessments of individual clients' loss realisations, index-based insurance pays policy holders based on an external indicator that triggers payment to all insured clients within a geographically defined space. Accordingly, ILRI, in partnership with the government of Kenya, has covered about 4,000 pastoralists in northern Kenya, since the project launched in 2010.

3.2.2. Credit/Mobile Economy and ICT

The delivery of state services is based on sedentary models which are unable to meet the needs of mobile pastoralists. Access to credit and other financial services is important as it allows pastoralists to autonomously lessen and adapt their dependence on relief by restocking and improving animal husbandry, stimulate investment, diversify income-generating activities, and boost trade and market integration of pastoralists. There are now innovations within the banking sector attempting to address access to financial services in remote areas by mobile populations. A remarkable example is the M-PESA (mobile money) money transfer facility championed by Vodafone and Safaricom in Kenya, which has enabled pastoralists to transfer money for livestock trade without using traditional banking services.

In addition, banks have put in place innovative mechanisms through agency banking to broaden the range of accessible products, including interest free loans tailored to meet the needs of pastoralists. A case in point is the Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB) which is working in partnership with the county governments and has established a Sh1 billion revolving fund for livestock farmers in Arid and Semi-Arid areas

²⁶⁹ Based on satellite data known as Normalised Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) that provides estimated readings of forage availability, the IBLI product being implemented in Kenya pays out when forage scarcity is predicted to cause livestock deaths in an area. As livestock in pastoral production systems depend almost entirely on available forage for nutrition, NDVI serves as a strong indicator of the vegetation available for livestock to consume.

(ASAL). The credit is designed to commercialize livestock industry and enable farmers increase production as well as income.

Closely related to the money economy, pastoral innovation also applies to the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Stakeholders are tapping on the Mobile phones to promote a wider uptake, especially in the components related to market access and trade, and pastoral risk management, thus transforming the lives of pastoral communities by facilitating information sharing on markets, prices, climate conditions, water availability, and conflict-affected areas.

Further, ICT is used in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and mapping to guide public investments and monitor results. For instance, the same organizations have been involved in mapping routes used by Somali pastoralists to reach Daadab refugee camp, by establishing mobile water points, particularly along official tracks to address the dehydration suffered by the refugees and pastoralists.

3.2.3. Value Addition

Improved market value and bargaining power are some of the innovative interventions under the market-based approach interventions that contributed to reshaping the local economy, with relevant implications for improved pastoral livelihood. Through the various government agencies, there has been concerted efforts to optimize the value of existing livestock assets, improve product processing facilities, train pastoralists through field days, and diversify income sources such as forage supply, fattening, food handling, processing and transportation, high quality manufacturing from skins and hides and processing milk into modern, high-quality market products (including cream, yoghurt and cottage cheese), not forgetting substantial investments in livestock marketing as well and basic business skills aimed at building the capacity of milk traders for improved quality.

3.2.4. Physical Infrastructure/Mega Projects

Provisions of well maintained physical infrastructure are some of the strategies meant to enhance the alternative economic corridor in northern Kenya through increased market participation by reducing

the transport costs and connecting pastoralists to more locally accessible livestock sales-points, measures that go long way to maximize prices for the pastoralist. Among the mega infrastructural projects are the Larger Northern Corridor Project, which includes construction of road and rail links, an oil pipeline from the Kenya Coast to South Sudan and Ethiopia, and the Lamu Port. There is also the harnessing of the energy resources under the Lake Turkana Wind Power Project and oil exploration in Turkana.

3.2.5. Special Funds for Job Creation

Employment and decent work are central to reducing poverty, achieving the sustainable development goals and fostering more inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. In contrast, systemic low employment can threaten social cohesion at times leading to higher social and political instability. In this regard, the government and its partners are supporting a range of initiatives designed to place employment and decent work at the centre of national and sub-national growth and sustainable development strategies. This means putting in place efforts geared at promoting full and productive employment for all, with a specific focus on women and young people, and creating an enabling environment in which pastoralist associations or small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) can thrive and focus on the quality of jobs and livelihoods. A case in point is the special funds, specifically the Equalization fund where the poorest counties, as determined by the Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA), get a bigger share of the annual revenue collected, as an affirmative action for counties that have been previously marginalized. The latest allocation stands at Kshs 3.4 billion Equalization Fund for the 2014/15 budget.

In addition, recently the government launched the six billion shillings Uwezo Fund to benefit the youth and women. Seventy five percent of the money will be distributed equally among all the Counties and the remaining 25% will be allocated to constituencies according to the poverty index. In addition to Uwezo Fund, the government has also set aside youth and women fund for enterprises owned by women, youth and persons with disability, where a special provision of 30% of all public procurement goes to enhancing women and youth entrepreneurship activities among other alternative income generating activities. More importantly, the government has set up a new Drought Contingency Fund project, which is provided as part of the Larger Kenya Rural Development Programme that is meant to finance activities agreed on in county drought

contingency plans, thus ensuring earlier action when droughts arise.

3.2.6. Regional Co-operation

Kenya, being a major player in the regional integration initiatives in the East African region, has taken a leading role in facilitating lawful cross-border movement for people living in arid lands that border it. With the increasing cross-border trade in livestock, the member states are harmonising trade and agricultural policies within these regional economic partnerships. Besides the harmonization of agricultural policies between partner countries, regional integration is also important as it would consolidate efforts to respond to crime and arms trade that exacerbate the problem of insecurity in the ASALs. Cattle rustlers take advantage of the lack of security coordination in the borders and often commit crimes in one country and flee to the other. Through regional cooperation, the East Africa community is determined to keep check on and reduce not only the incidence of cross-border cattle rustling but also disease control.

3.2.7. Devolution

The devolution process is a major innovative governance approach that has led to power being decentralized to the county governments and the recognition of greater diversity. Investing in the ASALs is now a constitutional imperative that is not only binding on the government but also providing the institutional foundations for integrating the ASALs into national development. In addition to strengthening the ASAL communities' capacity and ability to represent, advocate and speak on their own behalf, the devolved land-use institutions guarantee land tenure and access rights to key resource areas, even during the dry season.

3.2.8. Peace-Building and Security Measures

Closely related to the above is the peace-building and security measures put in place following the protracted local and international transboundary conflicts that characterises pastoral areas. As such there

has been increasing recognition of traditional institutions in peacebuilding and conflict management by focusing attention on pastoral communities and their institutions as vehicles for promoting sustainable peace and development. In addition, the government through the African Union-AMISOM²⁷⁰ has focused attention on various interventions aimed at checking the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Somalia that has spillover effects on Kenya. All these interventions are bringing resources and opportunities into pastoral areas that, if harnessed, could help to address key challenges to ASAL livelihoods and development.

3.2.9. Basic Services

Examples of government's technically successful and economically productive livestock sector interventions meant to increase the adaptive capacity to climate change by pastoralists include education services, veterinary services, and water dams/boreholes not forgetting livestock branding to stem cattle rustling across and within their ASAL boundaries. In this regard, reforms have been implemented to privatise veterinary services with the aim of extending and enhancing service delivery through trained mobile community-based animal health workers to perform vaccinations, de-worming and drugs, livestock disease surveillance, livestock off-take, slaughter and meat distribution, re-stocking, redistribution, provision of fodder and feed storage facilities, and livestock marketing functions. In terms of water provision, the government has been involved in constructions and rehabilitation of dams, sand dams, spring protection, de-silting existing water pans, provision of roof-catchment plastic tanks and underground masonry tank. Closely related are awareness on hygiene and sanitation and strengthening the management of the water facilities. Provision of education enables pastoralists the freedom to supplement livestock keeping with other livelihood options which may not be affected by extreme drought or flooding. Under the Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALARMP), which was initiated with funding from the World Bank, the government has constructed girls' dormitories and toilets in North Eastern Province in order to provide cleaner and safer learning environments. In addition, entrepreneurial training programmes

²⁷⁰ African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM), a peace keeping mission operated by the AU in Somalia with approval by the UN.

for pastoralist women have also been initiated. Furthermore; women are given key positions in development committees and sub-committees at the community level and are further encouraged to act as role models for female students.

3.2.10. Disease Free Zones

Some county governments have signed an agreement for collaboration in animal health programmes to see their counties achieve a disease-free zone status by 2016. The agreement commits the governors, among others, to form a joint steering team on animal health services, coordinate disease surveillance, share timely livestock disease information, synchronise scheduled inter-county vaccination programmes, strengthen human resource development between and within their counties, specifically veterinary doctors and para-professionals, and strengthen laboratory services for rapid diagnostics and early action. The disease-free zone status will eliminate the need to quarantine animals, enhance livestock health and have a high multiplier effect in promoting the complete production value chain in the sector. This will also promote access to local, national, regional and international markets for livestock and related products from the three counties.

3.2.11. Fodder Production

Across the policy discourse, fodder production and conservation has been identified as a climate-smart appropriate intervention in increasing productivity, drought resilience and socio-economic development. There are several agricultural innovations that are working towards this triple win such as reserve of rich-patch vegetation areas where pastoralists are encouraged to set aside grazing areas to use as a drought coping mechanism for the pastoralists during drought or dry seasons. There is also terracing for soil and water conservation, intercropping nitrogen-fixing trees in maize fields, and replanting forests. Fodder production is also meant to empower pastoralists as business and as a learning point for the rest of the pastoralists in the region. Further, the fodder saves livelihoods and generates income for the pastoralists. Through sustainable fodder production and marketing, the communities benefit from less volatile/fluctuating incomes and reduced livestock mortality during drought as they will have access to affordable hay. Other

development agencies are involved in enhancing the capacity of farmers through pastoral trainings, demonstrations, and hosting of pastoral field days. Beneficiaries are shown the proper methods of hay storage to ensure that it is well preserved for the consumer market. There are ongoing projects for the construction of modern hay stores.

3.2.12. Early Warning Systems

The state and development agencies play an increasingly important role in facilitating what can be called “climate foresight.” This is the ability to utilise climate projections of the most likely climate changes in the planning of pastoral activities and investments related to and affected by climate and advise farmers appropriately. The Kenya Meteorological Department, Department of Remote Sensing and Resources Survey, and Regional Centre for Remote Sensing Surveying and Mapping have been established to provide the necessary early warning information. At the Kenya Meteorology Department, there is a Drought Monitoring Unit which provides an early warning for any impending drought.

3.3. Role of Women and Youths

From the onset, it is important to point out that apart from the special funds and other civil society advocacy-led projects, in most of the development interventions women and youths are not preferentially targeted, though for some approaches such as the Index-Based Livestock Insurance (IBLI), links are made predominantly with women and youth groups targeted for more extension. Interestingly, in the Ministry of Agriculture, there is not only a Gender Mobilization Support Unit concerned with incorporating and enhancing the capacity of women in agricultural production but also a unit that has long been in existence and deals with Rural Youth’s participation in agriculture. It works in coordination with county and sub-county level agricultural extension workers.

Women have been referred to as the “hidden hands” of pastoral production existing on the margins of an already marginal system. Majority of the pastoral communities are highly dominated by men while women’s participation in decision-making is limited or totally

absent. This reflects the paternalistic assumption that since men have formal control over herding decisions and disposal of livestock, women play a subordinate role in livestock production. To buttress the women suffering in pastoral communities, women endure harmful customs such as female genital mutilation (FGM), wife inheritance even with the rampant HIV /AIDS while male inheritance of property remains the norm. All this continues unabated despite vocal voices from the NGOs involved in advocating for the rights of women in the pastoral communities backed by national legislation banning FGM and enforcing equitable inheritance of property. This presumption ignores the mothering and domestic roles that pastoral women play, the indigenous technical knowledge they have accumulated to carry out these tasks, and the informal influence that they exercise over their husbands and sons in making livestock management decisions, thus leading to gender inequalities. As such female headed households succumb more quickly to crises and take longer to recover economically.

Youth is a big issue within the ASAL community. Critical aspects of pastoral strategy such as daily herding and utilisation of dry-season pasture depend on the youth. There is a demographic evidence of an exit of youth from ASAL areas to urban centres and even beyond into the Middle East. The exit of youth presents both challenges and opportunities. On the one hand, young people leaving the pastoralist communities and moving to urban areas is, in itself, not a problem. After moving to the city, many buy themselves livestock as soon as they can afford. Even for those who do not buy livestock, they remain linked to their rural families and support them through remittances to enable them to re-build their livestock assets after hardship. On the other hand, the exit of the youth also presents the problems of marginalisation and impoverishment. They have limited job options due to their low skills base – the jobs they do reflect their pastoral skills base. Many are prone to joining radical gangs such as *al-Shabaab* in Somalia and Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) due to disillusionment (*Shabaab* means youth).

3.4. Challenges Facing Pastoralism in Kenya

So, what are the challenges facing pastoralism in Kenya? Regardless of the diverse initiatives and development interventions that are being

implemented to help pastoralists cope and prosper as shown above, the current picture of pastoralism remains rather grim. The ever-mounting pressures undermine the pastoralist's resilience to climatic shocks and other drivers of change which increase pastoral vulnerability. The pastoral system of production is increasingly failing to provide sustainable livelihoods, with more and more pastoralists finding themselves unable to remain within the pastoral production system (Pastoral dropout) every year, and have to rely on emergency relief food provision for survival. So serious is the situation that pastoralism is widely perceived to be: archaic, environmentally destructive and economically inefficient. Those on the margins of the pastoralist economy are particularly vulnerable; more often than not these are women and youths. Some of the pronounced challenges facing the pastoral sector in Kenya include:

- a) Loss of market as pastoral stocks have emaciated. The livestock are usually sold very cheaply to avoid incurring full loss in case of imminent death. Given that livestock production is the main economic activity, such losses adversely reduce the purchasing power of nearly all households in the region and their ability to access food among other basic needs.
- b) Besides loss of stock, pastoralists have also witnessed outbreak of strange livestock diseases such as Foot and Mouth Disease, Contagious Caprine Plueropneumonia (CCPP), and Peste des petits ruminants (PPR), also known as goat plague.
- c) Trade restrictions due to the prevalence of transboundary diseases and stringent livestock trade standards are among the major constraints to international trade in livestock products. Compounding the problem is excessive regulation of both formal and informal taxation of the livestock trade acts as a major disincentive to trade in livestock products. Currently most livestock products from the region are marketed locally and internationally with little consideration of value addition.
- d) There is also frequent and prolonged drought leading to inadequate fodder and pastures for their livestock and haphazard grazing patterns leading to death of livestock and conflicts over the scarce pastures.

- e) Staying with conflicts other than scarce pastures, ASAL Conflicts continue to witness protraction due to a complex mix of factors including loss of livelihood security, land fragmentation and alienation, proliferation of automatic weapons, disempowerment of traditional institutions and growing sense of disillusionment by an increasingly disenfranchised youth with few social or economic prospects.
- f) Commoditization, sedentarization, and urban migration are also parts of the challenges. Pastoralists have increasingly shifted their economy from subsistence production (producing mainly milk for the household consumption) to commercial production (producing beef and dairy products for sale both at domestic and foreign markets). The sale of livestock is not new to pastoralists. Increased commoditization of the livestock economy has led to a growing polarization of pastoralists into haves and have-nots. All this coupled with Agricultural expansion, environmental conservation and biofuel production exacerbates the challenges facing the pastoralists in the ASALs.
- g) Community elites use the image of degraded drylands to promote large-scale appropriation, fragmentation and conversion of rangelands. Yet the alternatives they favour often cause environmental degradation. Large-scale agricultural irrigation and mechanisation schemes, ranching or export-oriented agribusiness all have a track record of short-lived returns but heavy ecological footprints.
- h) Infrastructure deficiency is also a challenge in the implementation of pastoral programmes. These areas have very underdeveloped road networks making accessing the livestock products selling points very difficult and expensive.
- i) In addition, rising population in the midst of a declining natural resource base has created pressure on land thus posing a great challenge to the sustainability of ASALs. The HIV/AIDS pandemic which was previously insignificant in ASALs is now eroding past gains in social and economic development in these areas.

- j) The Lack of effective coordination of investment activities among the key stakeholders in the pastoral sector has led to duplication of efforts.
- k) Lastly it is important to point out that the above factors only exacerbate the effects of harsh, inappropriate and inconsistent policy regulatory environment on use of water, forest resources, wetlands, wildlife and environmental conservation. Most of the policies are primarily to blame for pastoral vulnerability as they are non-responsive to the uniqueness of the pastoral system and more focused on changing pastoralism in line with “progressive and modern,” agricultural development. This situation constrains pastoralist mobility and access to grazing grounds and water resources during dry-seasons. Consequently, the increased vulnerability of pastoralism to climatic shocks and other drivers of change is in many ways a function of the cumulative effect of the harsh, inconsistent and inappropriate policy regulatory environment.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

Pastoralism and ASALs as a whole continue to face increasingly severe social, economic and ecological challenges; an aspect that understandably evokes strong emotions, and many people view pastoralism as archaic, unproductive and environmentally damaging relics of the past which need to be brought into line with “progressive and modern,” agricultural development. However it is remarkable that this paper provides a cause for optimism and has aptly demonstrated that pastoralism is at best an “opportunity and not a liability,” that possess great under-exploited development potential and serves as arena of wealth creation and development with a keen eye on the vulnerable youth and women. The paper tries to remind and re-emphasize that this potential will only be realized by accepting the unique realities that underpin pastoralism in terms of ecology, economy, population distribution and social systems, that will in turn, pave way for sustainable exploitation of ASAL resources. As such, the emergence and heightened interest in the green

economy should serve as hope for the government and other community stakeholders in Kenya and elsewhere in the world to achieve multiple benefits in ASALs by reviving the pastoral sector, mitigating climate change, and enhancing sustainable pastoralism.

Recommendations

The pastoral policy discourse in the country as shown earlier has laid the foundation for a framework for Sustainable ASAL Development in Kenya. In fact, we cannot belabour the fact that the new Constitution and the latest Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 on the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (the ASAL Policy) presents a very welcome opportunity to enable the realisation of the needs and aspirations of Kenya's pastoralists. What remains problematic, however, is how objectives of a green economy and sustainable development are to be achieved. One of the key challenges worth emphasizing in Kenya, as shown in the previous parts is that although the country is good at policy formulation, good at discussing ideas, good at making recommendations, good at spending resources on printing policy documents, the policy regulatory commitments have failed to turn into practice and meaningful gains for communities living in ASALs in general and pastoralists in particular, given that attention has shifted to sedentarization and agro-pastoralism. A central question is, therefore, what needs to be done in order for the pastoral sector to realize mutual objectives of investing in natural capital, decarbonizing the economy and creating green jobs? Of major concern at this juncture is how policies and proposals can stimulate growth and development in ASAL areas and improve pastoral livelihoods. Below is a range of strategies that, if implemented, will enhance the transition of pastoralism to the green economy.

- a) The importance of appropriate policy and regulatory environment to encourage and facilitate both public and private sector investment in sustainable pastoralism - Specific areas of attention here include the need for policy formulation and implementation and capacity building, policy reforms to create incentives for sustainable pastoralism, a clear and long-term policy framework, and, where appropriate, revising the policy and regulatory framework as the context evolves.

- b) The Importance of a consolidated approach – This operates with critical combination of government, private sector, and civil society concerned with the future of pastoralism, in consultation with pastoralist youth and women to create a virtuous cycle towards a vibrant and self-sufficient pastoral economy, with any one able to kick start the process, but all needed and required to work in synergy. Closely related is that all pastoral services must be efficient, culturally sensitive and above all adapted to mobile households.
- c) The need for a bigger emphasis on regional integration and boosting of subsistence economy of the pastoralists through traditional sustainable land use system - Plans to do this must be drawn up in consultation with pastoralist communities and women, with adequate funding.
- d) The importance of greater efforts to enhance youth and women empowerment - This is achieved through better access to productive resources and main assets (water, land, technology, fuelwood, extension services, markets, and knowledge), promoting their participation in small-scale dairying and strengthening their role in decision-making processes.
- e) The need for fostering and scaling up of best practice sharing - Well-targeted, successful community pilot projects and case studies of their success should be scaled up to ensure rapid replication of these activities across the community.
- f) The importance of structured processes of learning from experience - Pioneering attempts are inevitably imperfect; but if they encounter a supportive and flexible policy environment, they may offer lessons on the conditions needed for the sector to flourish.
- g) The need for more attention and support to enhance capacity building in the areas of early warning - Climate foresight must be integrated into planning for pastoralist development. Better awareness of how to access and use climate projections is required at different levels of planning and implementation.

- h) The need for greater advocacy and effective dissemination of information - Wider dissemination of public information helps people understand and respond to the climate change challenges faced in the ASALs.
- i) The need for benchmarks to measure progress - Monitoring and evaluation protocols including time-bound targets of sustainable pastoralism, benchmarks and indicators of progress should be built into pastoralism and other cross-sectoral development initiatives.
- j) The importance of access of pastoralists and other ASAL inhabitants to markets - Access to markets for carbon finance such as the CDM and Forest Carbon Finance Facility with policies and laws geared towards promoting investment in pastoral areas should be improved.
- k) The need for policy consistent with pastoralists' unique needs - Although there are many instances in policy documents where governments emphasise their commitment to developing ASAL areas, there are often other cross-sectoral policy statements and signals that negate or reduce the effectiveness of efforts to promote sustainable pastoralism.

Future Research

The study also points out a few areas that are still understudied, if not entirely *terra incognita*, even in the vast body of work on ASALs and pastoralism that now has appeared:

- a) The first lacuna concerns cross-country comparative implications for transitioning pastoralism towards a green economy, and
- b) Another neglected issue is the improved methodologies and instrument implementation to measure the contribution and potentiality of pastoralism to ASAL livelihoods.

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Conclusion

It has been proved beyond doubt, by several studies, that pastoralism is a viable form of land use that is well adapted to the resource scarce, ecologically fragile and climatically highly variable arid and semi-arid environments. However, significant shifts in natural, socio-economic and institutional conditions have resulted in high levels of vulnerability of pastoralist livelihoods. Frequent droughts, reduction or loss of pasture and water, decrease in the number of herds and flocks are directly affecting the livelihoods of the pastoral societies that depended on livestock and livestock products to sustain the basic needs of their households for centuries. Governments, compelled by the need for macroeconomic growth as well as the responsibility to improve the livelihoods of the pastoralists, have formulated and implemented policies and strategies for development interventions.

However, it has become a subject of academic as well as policy debate whether such development strategies result in the marginalization or revitalization of pastoralist communities. Government development strategies are by and large top-down, and sectoral failing to exploit the advantages of bottom-up approaches. Long-standing negative perceptions of pastoralism continue to influence decision makers. Pastoralists are perceived to be incompatible to modern day development proposals. The common misunderstanding that pastoralism is not a viable livelihood strategy still prevails. This misunderstanding leads policymakers to push for the sedentarization of pastoral communities. The implementation of government development strategies lacks participation of the local communities. This arises partly from conceptualizing pastoral lands as 'terra nullius' (un-owned land) undermining pastoralist communities in agenda setting and control.

Modernization entails peasantization, sedentarization and proletarianization of the pastoral communities, 'kebelization' of local institutions, the productive safety net program, watershed development schemes, the villagization project, and the development of cooperative and state ranch. This approach has stimulated undesired outcomes such as risk of vulnerability of farming under arid and semi-arid agro-ecology, conflict of different land uses, rural urban migration,

dropouts from pastoralism and high dependency on charcoal making and dependency on safety net supports that trigger the vicious circle of poverty. Government policy and practices are by and large skewed towards permanent settlement and expansion of crop farming with transfer of modern technologies. Transforming pastoral lands into large-scale agricultural schemes comes with a lot of adverse impacts on original community values engraved in the spiritual, cultural, mental, social, economic, and political aspects that enabled resilience against harsh climatic conditions. Competition between traditional farmers and new farmers is also increasing.

Findings have shown that the implementation of development strategies also has some opportunities for the pastoralist communities, such as initiation of pastoralists to participate in the development process through voluntary settlement and practicing irrigation, expansion of veterinary stations and services, family planning services, adult education and schooling for their children, construction of rural roads and provision of transportation services, drinking water supply, telecommunications and electricity services, livestock products market, and credit access to help pastoralists to diversify their livelihood strategies by employing different income generating activities. Shifting cultivators (the farming counterparts of nomadic pastoralists) consider villagization as beneficial as it brings them closer to social services and modern technology so that their livelihood can be transformed. They also believe that villagization has created a favourable condition to reduce conflicts caused by communication gaps between members of different villages which were located far apart. It has created a favourable condition for the police to provide security service to communities at all times.

Some pastoralist communities, dubbed 'hard to reach', have been left out of government development interventions as well as foreign direct investment because of the long standing violence in the areas. Unlike many other pastoralist communities, these areas are desperately waiting for government development interventions to happen to them.

The most critical issue that has to be considered seriously for the success of development interventions in the pastoral areas is that the decades-old debate between pro-settlement and pro-mobility blocs must go

for a middle ground. Two pronged pathways are proposed to attain the middle ground. The first pathway supports mobile pastoralism and envisages a situation in which the level of aridity and fragility of the ecology is not suitable for crop farming due to lack of water. This pathway requires delineating pastoral areas along with a dry season grazing territory and clear land policy that ensures collective tenure security. The second pathway facilitates the succession of pastoralism into agro-pastoral system and non-agricultural activities. It has to be supported and facilitated by promoting market participation, expanding non-farm income activities and increasing livestock productivity, and implementing well designed and voluntary small-scale settlement of pastoralists in selected irrigable areas.

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