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**PASTORAL DROP OUT STUDY IN
SELECTED WEREDAS OF BORANA ZONE
OROMIA REGIONAL STATE**

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**The Study team
October 2008**

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INTRODUCTION

Close to 60% of the land area in Ethiopia is pastoral. Pastoral communities constitute some of the most vulnerable communities in Ethiopia. Pastoral and agro-pastoral societies in the arid and semi-arid parts of Ethiopia are enduring a downward spiral of increasing poverty, food insecurity, and escalating instability. These problems are ultimately caused by factors that limit traditional patterns of resource use. Such factors include human population growth and the degradation and fragmentation of traditional grazing areas. The situation is exacerbated by a lack of economic development, as pastoralists and agro-pastoralists remain heavily dependent on an increasingly unstable base of traditional livestock production for their survival. In recent times it has been observed that livestock die more quickly, more regularly, and in larger numbers in this environment in response to dry or drought years compared to what was experienced in previous generations. The pastoral areas in Ethiopia are one of the most drought vulnerable areas with chronic food deficiencies. Moreover pastoralists in Ethiopia are the most marginalized social groups in the country in terms of access to public services. Education and human health services are very poor. The illiteracy level in the Borana administrative zone for example is 89.7%.

Between 1980 and 2000 the Borana suffered three major droughts in which pastoralists lost 35-67% of their livestock inventory with a monetary value of hundred of millions of USD (Desta & Coppock, 2002, Shibru, 2001). In 2001-02 another drought hit followed by the 2005-06 drought. The 2005-06 drought chief impact has been livestock mortality, though severe impacts on human water supply were mentioned in many communities. Overall livestock losses of 50-75%, higher among cattle than other species, and higher in the more southerly weredas, were reported (Morton, 2006). This had resulted in a downward shift in the distribution of households between those considered, in local terms, wealthy, middling, poor and destitute (Morton 2006).

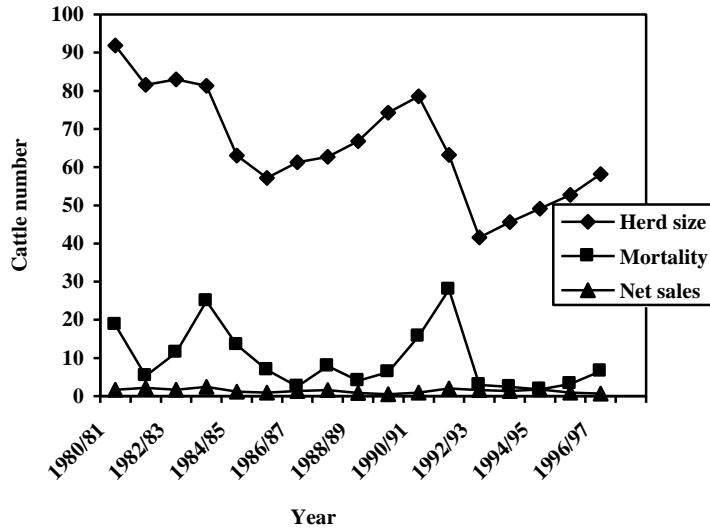


Figure 1: Cattle herd dynamics

Cattle population dynamics for 17 years (1980-97) exhibited a downward trend in cattle holdings per household as well as a “boom-and-bust” cycle (Fig. 1). On average, households reportedly lost 67 head of cattle to drought-related mortality over 17 years, largely due to starvation (Desta, 1999). Death losses were 10 to 15 times greater than net sales, indicating that natural factors—not marketing—regulated the population size. Borana are becoming poorer and poorer over time as cattle holding per capita dwindle. Increasing number of Borana are having smaller number of cattle herd as more and more Borana fall on the downside of the household herd size distribution (Fig 2). Larger proportions of he households were on the upside of the distribution in 1980-84 than in 1986-90, which was better compared to 1992-97.

Without adequate social safety nets or informal means of insurance, people whose animals die and who lose their sources of livelihood are forced to drop out of the pastoral system. This often has detrimental consequences for those who drop out since they are usually ill equipped to succeed in more urban settings. In addition, there can be detrimental effects to smaller towns and villages in pastoral areas. They cannot absorb an influx of unskilled labor, and their immediate environment can suffer as pastoral drop-outs bring their few animals and concentrate around towns, leading to localized range degradation. Addressing poverty in pastoral areas fundamentally revolves around two key elements. First, pastoral production should be improved and supported, not replaced, for the majority of pastoralists with the skills and interests to continue traditional livelihoods. It has proven to be effective and there

are opportunities to make it more so. Further, since it appears to be the economic activity of choice among those who are relatively better off, anything that undermines pastoral production is likely to increase poverty, not reduce it. The second key element is to focus on those residents of pastoral areas who are not actively involved in pastoralism or who are plainly exiting the system, often quite painfully. They should be given support to identify and undertake alternative economic activities that support, complement, or at least do not undermine pastoral production.

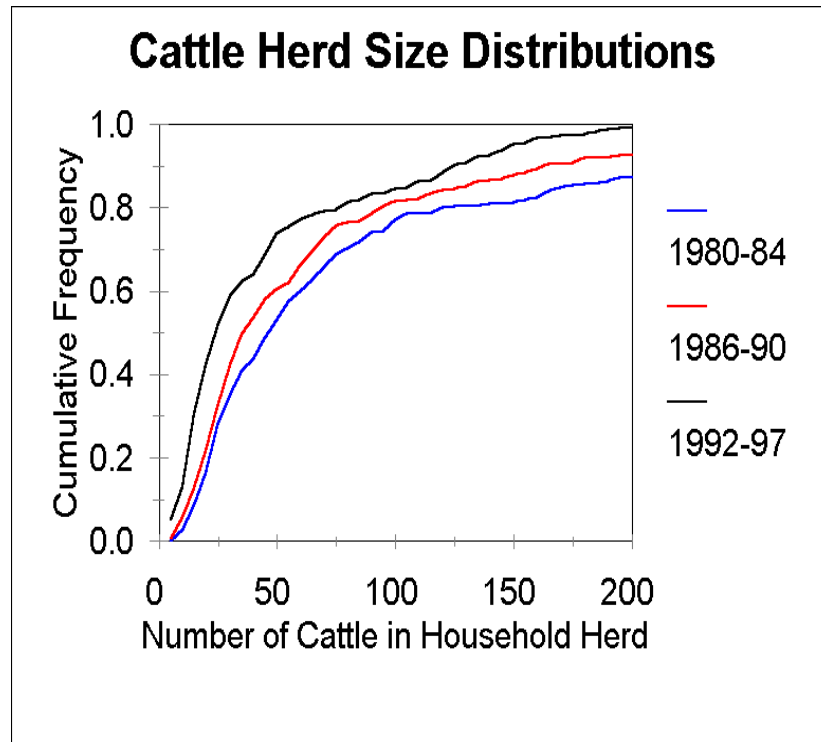


Figure 2: Household herd size-cumulative frequency
(Lybbert, Barrett, Desta, and Coppock 2002)

At present, their livelihood diversification is forced and unremunerative, driven by desperation rather than by emerging opportunities appropriate to this subpopulation in the pastoral areas. This study is aiming at shading some light on the profile of those that leave the system quite painfully.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR THE STUDY

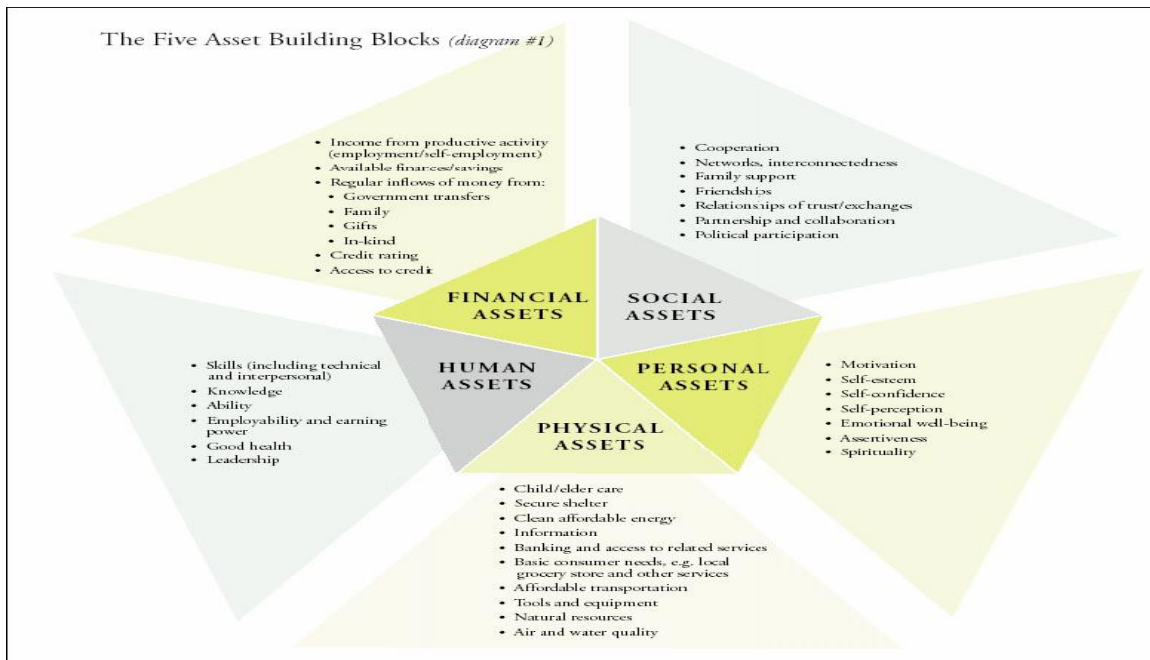
A study in pastoral dropouts is a livelihood study. It is a movement of people from pastoral type of livelihood to another one, which in most cases fated to be an inferior in terms of income generation and social status. These people often engage in a new non-pastoral livelihood strategies as a result of their inability to survive as pastoralist due to loss of their livestock asset. The livelihood movement can encompass physical relocation of the person in which case the individual migrates to a place where he can make a living out of assets he owns or bound to have access and use right. However, pastoral dropouts who are no longer able to make a living from pastoralism and have not managed to find an alternative livelihood could remain within the pastoral area. In either case such movement in livelihood strategies is a sign of downward economic and social mobility.

It is essential to make a quick review of the concepts of sustainable livelihood and migration in order to clearly understand what a pastoral drop out is; the causes that drive pastoralist out of the pastoral **livelihood** system; locations and social groups where they often go and how they adapt to a new environment. The following sections briefly consider some basic ideas from the sustainable livelihood and migration literature to conceptually draw some lessons for the later empirical assessments and conclusions made in the report.

Sustainable Livelihood

Livelihood is defined as the assets, activities, and the access that jointly determine a livelihood strategy of an individual or household. Ability of individuals or households to pursue particular livelihood strategies is dependent upon the assets which they own and can access and use (Scoones 1998). Broadly defined, assets refer to ‘...capital which can be stored, accumulated, exchanged or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits’ (Rakodi 1999). Five types of assets are commonly incorporated in livelihoods analysis namely physical/natural, human, social, financial and personal assets.

Sustainable livelihood approach



Assets are the building blocks of a sustainable livelihood. By building assets, individuals and households develop their capacity to cope with the challenges they encounter and to meet their needs on a sustained basis. The sustainable livelihood framework draws attention to the variety of assets that contribute to making a sustainable livelihood and to ways in which they are interdependent. Livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and be able to maintain its capabilities and assets.

The two main determinants in livelihood strategies and outcomes are the assets that households own, control or can access and the policies, institutions and practices (PIPs) that relate to how households are able to use these assets to pursue their livelihood strategy over time. The interaction between the household's assets and society's policies, institutions, and processes (PIPs) shape both the strategies a household pursues and the outcomes it attains. The combination of assets and PIPs shape livelihood strategies employed in pursuit of livelihood outcomes. These livelihoods strategies might include pastoralism, farming, migrating for work, petty trading, running a restaurant, handcrafting, smithing, watchman, shining shoes, selling beer, working for NGO, etc.

Livestock is the main asset and one of the pillars to pursue pastoral livelihood. People can't survive as pastoralist without livestock. Types of livelihood strategies (or activity or combination of activities) pursued determine the ability of individuals or households to achieve positive outcomes such as improved wellbeing and reduced vulnerability (Moser 1998; Scoones 1998). Pastoralists, to be able to achieve positive livelihood outcome, they are expected to keep, breed and manage their livestock properly, i.e., watering, feeding, moving them from place to place in search of better grazing environment, including migrating with them to a distant area when the need arises. Pastoralist should have the skill and knowledge to take good care of the natural resource base on which the livestock depend on in order to reproduce and provide livelihood to people. However, peoples' livelihoods do not always result in positive outcomes and this is particularly so in the case of the poor who have limited access to various assets and whose livelihood strategies may result in further impoverishment and vulnerability (Rakodi 2002). This is the case for most pastoral dropouts who are driven out of the pastoral livelihood system because of loss of their livestock and engage in environmentally destructive, low income generating, and socially disgraceful livelihood strategies to make a living. It is not always true to say it is the individuals' efforts only that determine livelihood outcomes. Institutional processes, such as market and political processes, at local, regional and national can scales shape livelihood outcomes.

Migration and the sustainable livelihood framework

In the sustainable livelihood framework, migration is often considered as a key element in livelihood strategies adopted by rural households for survival and accumulation motives. People often migrate to improve personal and economic circumstances for themselves and their families. While the reasons for migration are many and varied, a key factor for many is to gain better livelihoods. Frank Ellis (Ellis, 2000) identifies different types of migration strategies adopted by rural households in developing countries. The first is *seasonal* migration, which refers to a condition where households decide to partly allocate their labor to off-farm (or non-pastoral) activities for supplementary earnings during slack seasons in their major occupations. In this case, the migrant household member(s) may leave the rural village in time of low on-farm (or pastoral) labor demand and return, with some extra

earnings, for seasons of peak labor requirements in the regular operations at the original place of residence.

The second related type is *circular* migration. Circulatory movement, in this context, is not necessarily driven by seasonal variability in labor demand. It may be motivated by the household decision to reallocate part of its labor to meet its earning requirements supported by some available livelihood opportunities in the urban economy or other locations. Circular migrants permanently hold their original place of residence but occasionally move out for additional earnings and temporary stay at the place of work.

The third type, which is permanent *migration* from rural to urban areas, refers to a condition where the migrant decides for a long stay at the destination (Ellis, 2000). Permanent migrants decide to leave the village economy for good. Pastoral drop-outs who moved out of their place of origin fall in this category of migrants. Permanent departure from the place of origin is basically motivated by a variety of factors. In the case of pastoral drop-outs, a permanent departure for livelihoods in the urban fringe is perhaps a result of either a deliberate decision by the *chronic poor* to leave the system in search of better opportunities or is because of an unpredicted exit by strained households in response to sudden shocks such as conflict and catastrophic droughts.

The traditional development literature considered rural-urban migration as a natural part of the process of urbanization and modernization closely identified with the transfer of surplus labor from the rural sector, often characterized by a state of disguised unemployment, to the expanding modern sector of the economy. However, in the context of contemporary less developed countries, this has rather entailed more of a negative impact viewed in terms of the observed process of transferring rural poverty to the urban areas.

The traditional migration model stressed the importance of economic factors in determining locational choice decisions. It particularly referred to the rural-urban earning differential as a key determinant of surplus labor out-migration from the traditional rural economy. However, in reality, less developed countries have rather experienced a condition of growing rural-urban migration despite the prevailing state of massive unemployment and poverty in

the urban areas. In a plain language, irrespective of the prevailing urban difficulties and state of unemployment, a potential rural migrant will decide to leave his/her village provided that there is a feeling of getting a job (with a certain probability) in the urban areas in a specified time horizon.

The conventional migration framework considers migrant decisions as an individual affair and that this is purely guided by economic motives. More recent studies underline the importance of group (family) decisions even for individual departures. Moreover, in most cases, migration studies analytically emphasize individual departures (individual drop-outs in our case), though not necessarily of autonomous (purely individually decided) type, because of the commonly recognized case of rural households' decisions to allocate individual family members to different livelihood activities (including migration) to generate income from diversified sources. However, the focus of this study is on those who decide to move out of pastoralism as a family. Here, the process of movement at times might involve individual departures of household heads to move the family later (here referred to as *process departures*). This type of movement is perhaps mainly associated with family out-migration decisions motivated by chronic poverty and hopelessness due to eroded opportunities in the pastoral system. Locational choice decisions that involve a sudden entire family movement (*automatic departures*) to the urban fringe, on the other hand, are perhaps mainly motivated by unpredicted shocks such as conflict and droughts

A distinction is often made between pull and push factors in identifying key elements that influence migration decisions. The pull factors are simply attractions at the point of destination, which include job opportunities and good living conditions. The push factors are poverty and limited livelihood opportunities at the point of origin. These factors may result from trends such as population pressure and general policy neglect of the rural sector. Moreover, shocks such as conflicts, droughts and other natural disasters may push people out of their villages in search of survival options in urban and peri-urban locations. We consider these factors later in the empirical analysis section of this report.

BRIEF BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY WEREDAS

Yabello Wereda

Yabello is one of the Weredas in the Borana zone of the regional state of Oromia. It is located 570 km south of Addis Ababa. It is the second largest Wereda in the zone with a total landmass of 5523 km². There are 20 pastoral associations in the Wereda. Most of these associations were organized during the Derg time. There had been some restructuring done recently on the size and composition of the associations with the aim of increasing their efficiency to provide better services to the residents of the Wereda.

A semi arid environment characterizes the agro ecology of the Wereda. It has a bimodal rainfall pattern in which 65% of the rainfall is received in April-June and the other 35% in September-November. The Wereda is endowed with savanna type vegetation suitable mainly for cattle. Land degradation including soil erosion and bush encroachment is severe in the Wereda.

The human population of the Wereda is 75,350 with a household number of 15,061. A substantial number of the Wereda population about 25% lives in towns out of which 90-95% lives in Yabello town. The large majority of the town dwellers are businessmen and civil servants. The population density is 14 persons /km², which is too high for a semiarid system. The Borana is the major ethnic group that occupies the Wereda. There are pockets of Gabra ethnic groups, which are mainly camel keepers. Pastoralism and agro pastoralism are the dominant forms of livelihood pursued by the rural people. Opportunistic cultivation is mainly practiced around towns and in valley bottoms areas where the soil moisture content stays high for longer time.

Similar to other Weredas in Borana zone, Yabello is a drought prone Wereda. It is very vulnerable to environmental shocks. Since 1991, the Wereda suffered more than three droughts that led to loss of livelihood to many households.

Dire Wereda

Dire is one of the Weredas in the Borana Zone of the Regional State of Oromia. It is located 670 km south of Addis Ababa. It is the largest Wereda in the zone with an area of 12,722 km². There are 31 pastoral associations in the Wereda. Most of these associations were organized during the Derg time. Recently, there had been some restructuring done by the Cooperative Promotion Office of oromia, with technical support by VOCA, on the size and composition of the associations with the aim of increasing their efficiency to provide services to the residents of the Wereda. Some of the PAs in the Wereda border Kenya and people often cross the border to access grazing and other social services.

An arid and semi arid environment characterizes the agro ecology of the Wereda. It has a bimodal rainfall pattern in which the main rainfall is received in April-June and the other in September-November. The Wereda is endowed with savanna type vegetation suitable mainly for cattle. In the more arid part there are highly nutritious browse species to support camels and goats.

The human population of the Wereda is 112,262 (56,351 male and 55,921 female) with a household number of 22,452. Only 2% of the population lives in urban areas. The population density (about 9 persons / km²) is too high for arid and semiarid systems. The Borana is the major ethnic group that occupies the Wereda. There are pockets of Gabra and Somali ethnic groups, which are spread thinly over the most arid part of the Wereda. In most cases people's livelihood is a reflection of the agro ecology in which they live, and the natural and man-made resources available at their disposal. Accordingly, pastoralism and agro pastoralism are the dominant forms of production systems people depend for their livings in the Wereda. Opportunistic cultivation is mainly practiced around towns and in valley bottoms where the soil moisture content stays high for longer time.

Dire is the center of the Borana pastoral production system where most of the *tulla* wells, which are the focal points of the Borana system, are located. The Gumi Gayo assembly, which is the largest gatherings of the Borana held every eight years, is hosted in a place called Gayo in Dire Wereda. Dire Wereda has ritual and production importance to all Borana. Dire

is also one of those Weredas in the Borana zone, which is categorized as drought prone and vulnerable to environmental shocks. Since 1991, it has experienced more than three droughts that led to a huge loss of livestock wealth, which led to destitution of large group of pastoralists.

Moyalle Wereda

Moyale is one of the Weredas in the Oromia regional state. It is located 770 km south of Addis Ababa. The Wereda has an area of 14,810 km² and it is divided into 18 associations 2 of which are located in Moyale town. The Wereda borders Somali Regional state and Kenya. The long border it shares with Kenya provided the inhabitants the opportunity to have an easy access to the grazing and watering resources across the border, and it provided the communities a market where they can sell their products and buy their basic needs. The border areas are centers of conflict, and this has become a source of instability for the region at large.

The agro-ecology of the Wereda is characterized by arid to semi-arid type environment. It has a bimodal rainfall pattern in which the main rainfall, which accounts for 65% of the annual total, is received in April-June and the remaining 35% in October-November. The long dry season runs from December to March. Rainfall is low and erratic. The rangeland is covered with various species of acacia, shrubs and savannah grasses.

The Borana are the major ethnic group that occupies the Wereda. A majority of the inhabitants of the Wereda are pastoralists and agro pastoralists. Some opportunistic cultivation is done by households to supplement their household income and consumption needs. The cultivation is done mainly during the main rain season (April-June) in the valley bottoms and flooded areas.

Moyale is one of the drought prone Weredas in the oromia regional state. The Wereda suffers from impacts of frequent droughts. Insecurity and conflict has been a serious concern and cause of instability for people in the Wereda for the last 3 to 4 decades. Moyale town is the administrative center of the Wereda from where all government machineries are

operating. The trans-African highway cuts through the middle of Moyale town to Kenya. Moyale is an important trade center for imported manufactured goods from Kenya. It is also the major market outlet for cattle from the Borana plateau. The existing roads network in the Wereda is poorly maintained. Access to some associations is impossible. Most of the access roads that connected Moyale town to the different PAs were constructed by SORDU.

The main sources of water for the Wereda are motorized wells, traditional wells, ponds and cisterns. It is only during the peak dry season and drought times that people from some of the PAs migrate outside the Wereda in search of water for people and livestock.

The human health services in the Wereda are not satisfactory. Poorly trained human resources, lack of facilities and vital health equipment to provide efficient services are the major factors that affected effectiveness of the services. Patients in some associations have to walk tens of kms before getting to the nearest health facility. The most prevalent diseases in the rural areas are Malaria, internal parasites. Malnutrition is severe among children.

The nature of the education coverage in the Wereda is poor, and the conditions of these schools are also of serious concern. The buildings require maintenance. The education facilities are poorly managed and education materials are inadequate for the students. Families who could afford to pay for their student education often send their children to Kenya-Moyale. There are no non-formal schools in most of the villages. The veterinary service coverage of the Wereda is not adequate. The communities are forced to walk for more than 40 km to seek livestock health services. There is one bank in Moyale town for the whole Wereda residents. Other than informal financial institutions such as community based savings and credit groups there is no financial institution that are accessible to provide savings and credit and other financial services to the inhabitants in the remote rural parts of the Wereda.

OBJECTIVES

The overall objectives of the study were to:

- *Assess causes that drive pastoralist out of the pastoral **livelihood** system; locations and social groups where they often go and how they adapt to a new environment and how pastoralist and other stakeholders define and perceive them*
- *Identify strategies to maintain the system as viable economic and social system and recommend options for future humanitarian and development program that incorporates dropouts*

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Site (wereda) selection

Prior to launching the study a discussion was made between CARE and the study team to decide on the study sites. Yabello, Dire (Dubluk) and Moyale weredas were selected as they are assumed to be concentration and attraction areas for dropouts.

A Combination of methodologies was used to conduct the study. Key informant interviews (KI), Focus Group Discussions (FGD), Household interview and field observation methods were employed as was found appropriate.

Key Informant Interview

KI interview were conducted with local officials, experts and knowledgeable elders in Yabello, Dire and Moyale weredas. Relevant people from wereda administrations, wereda and zonal pastoral development offices, and community elders in the 3 weredas were contacted for KI. In the discussion with the KI participants attempts were made to understand who the dropouts are and how they differ from destitute pastoralist and how the dropouts perceived by different social groups including pastoralists and others. Though not

quite exhaustive we obtained basic information through the KI on factors that forces people to leave the pastoral system and the preferred locational destination of such people and the kind of social groups they often join plus the most common livelihood strategies they pursue. Some ideas were also captured on the positive and negative impact of dropouts on the environment and the society they left behind and the new social group they join. Finally KI participants were asked to suggest on what needs to be done to help dropouts to pursue sustainable livelihood strategies either in pastoral area or elsewhere. While conducting the KI trips were made to visit areas claimed to have large dropout concentrations. Chollkass, Haro bake, Hidiale in Yabello; Dubluk and surrounding in Dire; and Shewaber, Maleb, and Chamuk in Moyale, were visited for field observation and informal discussion with the dropouts, and others who hosted them.

The outcome and preliminary information gathered through KI and the field observation to areas assumed to be concentration and attraction points for dropouts have guided the decision to select particular PAs for the FGD and household survey. Information gathered through KI revealed and confirmed the assumption on the geographical distribution, attraction points and concentration areas of dropouts.

Focus Group Discussion

PAs historically and currently known as point of attraction and areas of concentration for dropouts as confirmed by the KI were selected to choose participants for the FGD. These areas exhibit unique characteristics such proximity to towns, markets, availability of suitable farmlands, center for food aid distributions, forest area for timber, woodland for fuel wood and charcoal burning, etc., which provide potential of alternative livelihood for people moving out of pastoralism.

We conducted six FGDs (3 in yabello, 2 in Dubluk and 1 in Moyale) for 3 different groups of people. Participants for five of the FGDs were selected systematically from the targeted areas, (2 yabello, 2 Dubluk and 1 moyale).

The established focused groups (FGs) were composed of people who were dropouts, very poor (*qolle*) or poor (*degas*). These are people who have practiced pastoralism at least ones in their lifetime before they were pushed or dropped out of the system for one or other reasons or become very destitute to practice pastoralism as they used to do so and began to pursue new livelihood strategies. Migrants from the highland who settled in these areas for cultivation were excluded from the group.

Two of the FGDs formed using pastoralists from the same area who have hosted or provide support for the stockless and destitute the dropouts.

The 6th FGD which is an extraordinary one was conducted with 4 purposively selected, knowledgeable elders from Didahara (non-dropout area) who can tell about the general characteristics of dropouts, destitute and stockless people who live within the pastoral communities. The focus of the 6th FGD was to learn more on dropouts and to know more about the survival strategies of people who are stockless or very poor but stay within the community and to know if stockless and very poor people and dropouts are becoming too much of a burden than an opportunity for the well to do pastoralists.

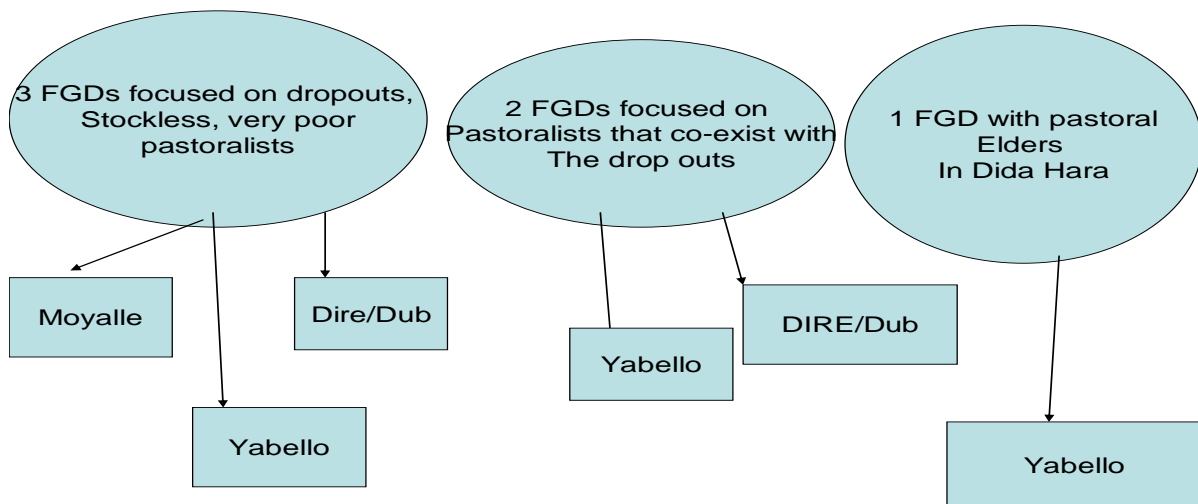
Participants for the FGDs were selected systematically from the target areas. Age and gender representation was ensured, except for the 6th FGD. Migrants from the highland who settled in these areas for cultivation were excluded.

The semi-structured questionnaires for the for the FGDs were divided into four parts: The 1st part of the questions focused on factors and processes that cause pastoralist to dropout or, for people to become Qolle and degas, and the most common livelihood strategies they pursue once ejected from the pastoral system. The transition process and the area these people preferred to go, the social group they join and the way they adapt to it, and the kind of problem they usually face to adapt to a new environment and a new space, new livelihood activity, etc. were examined.

The 2nd part focused on the examination of vulnerability factors that cause susceptibility to the status of being *qolle*, *dega* or dropouts and attempts were made to probe the respondents

if being *qolle*, *dega* or dropout has intergenerational aspect i.e., if a person from a poor family is more likely to be a dropout or become *qolle* or *dega* than one who is from a wealthier family; and also if those who drop out and stay out of the pastoral system are more likely to remain poor. The 3rd part focused on the capability of the traditional safety net and mutual assistance mechanisms to support *Qolle*, *degas* and dropouts and how much they are overburdened by the prevailing growing demand for support. The fourth part of questionnaires focused on what needs to be done to help dropouts and those on way to leave the system, and the way out of this cycle of poverty.

Layout for the FGD



Household Survey

The same PAs except Didahara where the FGDs conducted were used to draw sample for the household survey. Settlements in the selected PAs which are within 35 km radius of Yabello, Moyale, and Dubluk were targeted for the household survey. This more specifically included those old settlements and new centres of attraction that have increasingly captured victims driven out of the system in the 70s, 80s, 90s and 00s due to a variety of factors mainly including droughts and conflicts. Similar to the FGDs, migrants from the highland who settled in the target areas for cultivation were excluded from the sampling frame.

The purpose of the household survey was to capture key household characteristics and other important details or parameters which are not sufficiently embraced by FGD and KI techniques.

Due to absence of a readily available list of all households in the selected PAs, there was a need to make the list the households to construct the sampling frame and to segregate the dropouts from the others. Samples were selected randomly from the constructed dropouts list. Two criteria were set to sample the households for interview. First, respondents must have settled in the selected communities for at least 3 decades so as to include victims of the 1984/85 drought. Moreover the study targeted only those people who had practiced pastoralism ones in their lifetime. This was particularly important due to the existence of other groups, in the selected PAs with an agricultural background from highland parts of the country. Accordingly, 150 households were selected from Yabello, Dubluk and Moyale.

STUDY RESULTS

Summary of Results from Key Informant interviews

The key informant interviews were arranged as part of the initial reconnaissance survey designed to assess the important areas of attractions for pastoral drop-outs in the Borana area with a view to prepare a ground for the planned subsequent focused group discussions and household surveys. These interviews were conducted in Yaballo, Dirre and Moyale Weredas of the Borana administrative zone. They were made to Wereda administrators, government officials and experts in zonal agriculture and rural development and Wereda pastoral commission offices, Kebele administrators (at Dubuluk and Boku Lumboma), knowledgeable Borana elders and selected informants of pastoral drop-outs themselves. The major points of focus in the KI interviews included the concept of pastoral drop-outs, the driving factors, departure decision and major destinations or centres of attractions in the Weredas, pursued livelihood strategies, current status of the traditional support mechanisms and the associated community perceptions about pastoral drop-outs, and suggested recommendations as to how to support those who drop out of pastoralism. The results of

these interviews are summarized below, following key responses to some of the major questions raised.

The concept of drop-out: With regard to the concept of “drop-out”, the expert informants pointed out that it is a jargon that was perhaps borrowed from the formal education system generally referring to a condition where an enrolled regular student discontinue formal schooling (drop out of the system) as a result of a variety of reasons. In the context of pastoralism, the key informants all agree that those community members who permanently decide to leave the pastoral system in search of non-pastoral options in urban, peri-urban and traditional gold mining regions are the ones who should be considered as drop-outs. Sometimes there is a confusion as to whether the very poor (the stockless *Qolle*) who physically remain in pastoral villages are confidently referred as pastoralists.

According to our KIs, pastoral drop-outs are those who completely leave the system. The stockless poor who remain among the pastoral community are not considered as drop-outs because the tradition does not ignore them to stay in a state of complete stocklessness. They are considered as poor pastoralists who expect support from their clans and relatives for restocking as far as they stay among the community and make efforts to regain positions. They have neither lost hope in the system nor rejected by their fellow Boranas in pastoral villages. They have the right to benefit from the traditional welfare system, and those who make efforts can build up their stock on the basis of these various community support mechanisms and reciprocal labor contributions (for example, in terms of herding and animal watering) in the system. For example, our KI Borana elder at Dubuluk argued that there are many pastoral households that were impoverished by the 1999/2000 drought but have later significantly improved their wealth status as compared to those who left the system for encampment at Dubuluk. Therefore, it is inappropriate to refer to the stockless destitute (*Qolle*) that remain among the pastoral community as drop-outs centrally because the community has the obligation to restock them. They are supposed to remain in the system basically to claim for community restocking support for possible wealth accumulation. The Borana generally do not discriminate against the poor because everyone is vulnerable to a sudden event of catastrophic wealth loss and state of stocklessness. The Borana indigenous welfare system, though increasingly crumbling due to increasing pastoralist impoverishment,

has not yet lost its entire cadence to neglect a stockless person who appeals for restocking. It may be important to add a point here that there are poor pastoralists who have a few animals but leave their family behind and try to earn extra income in urban areas with a view to save on livestock, and our key informants generally find it difficult to confidently refer to them as drop-outs.

Main reasons: There are key reasons for dropping out of pastoralism. Drought, conflict and chronic poverty are the main reasons indicated by our KIs. The poor, according to our key informants, have become increasingly vulnerable, and thus with a concomitant growing tendency to opt out of the system due to:

- the increasing livelihood difficulties resulting from recurrent droughts, conflicts, range degradation, declining productivity and accelerating population growth,
- the vulnerability of the poor in times of droughts because of lack of full attention by the better off who in the times of emergency may leave them behind and move out with their livestock in search of forage and water.

Traditionally, according to our KI at Dubluk, the Borana have generally the least inclination to migrate to towns and cities. Those who drop-out are mainly driven by sudden events. Historically, migration to towns and market centers started in the mid 1960s but significant outflows for peri-urban encampments have been observed following the 1970 and 1980s catastrophic droughts. Centers like Dubuluq have particularly attracted a significant number of drop-outs following the 1999/2000 drought.

Departures and centers of attraction: There are two types of departures. These are: sudden departures due to unexpected events such as droughts and conflicts; and departures due to chronic poverty that may gradually force households to drop pastoralism in search of alternative livelihood options by moving to urban and peri-urban areas. Those who leave the system are found to end up in old peri-urban destitute settlement camps established by the government in the past. They also usually migrate to peri-urban encampments or ollas very close to small towns or small village towns (market centers) or larger wereda towns. In Yabello area, according to our informants, those who have been ejected out of the system have either generally ended up in Yaballo town or may have usually joined the pool of peri-

urban destitute in the old Derg settlement camps such as Cholkasa, Surupha, Iddi-Alle and Adegelchet (see Box 1). These settlements have attracted new entrants over time, but a number of the original entrants have also reportedly left the camps for various destinations including towns and rural pastoral villages.

Wereda or zonal towns and peri-urban encampments around them have been centres of attraction for those who decide to opt out of pastoralism. Market centers such Dida Hara, Dubluk have also reportedly attracted an increasing number of drop-outs from pastoral villages. Some of our key informants pointed out that these small centres are more attractive to drop-outs because of easy accommodation and adaptations as compared to the more complex urban areas. Many of the drop-outs in the Dirre Wereda, according to our KIs, tend to migrate more to Dubuluk or Moyale than to Mega. Moyale town is a center of attraction for pastoralist drop-outs and even highland migrants. The drop-outs around Moyale are generally dispersed in different areas in the town and the shabby encampments around it. Drop-outs may normally prefer peri-urban encampments, especially in more complex urban areas, because these could easily shelter the poor who cannot meet the standard requirements of town planning at central locations.

No newly planned Derg type settlement camps have been established in recent years. However, in Yabello Wereda, the study team found many displaced people encamped around Haro Bakke livestock market. These people are displaced victims from the traditional gold mining areas due to the recent Guji-Borana conflict. They are previous drought victims that had left pastoral villages in search of alternative options due to poverty and stocklessness. It appears to represent a case of possible multiple displacement, originally by drought, and then recently by conflict. Informants indicated that these newly displaced victims from mining areas have left for multiple destinations including Yabello and Arero towns, surupha settlement and the new encampment around Bakke Market.

From our brief discussions with some members of the group at Haro Bakke market centre we learned that:

- These people were attracted to their present location because of the possibility of selling fuel wood and charcoal to Yaballo town and the earning potential from different labor services provided on market days. It is also difficult to get construction space, in the organized municipal towns, for the kind of shabby huts they temporarily establish to shelter themselves.
- They had some support from the Red cross but are not in a position to be embraced by government assistance (such the safety net program) perhaps mainly because they do not belong to either urban or rural Kebele administrations.
- They do not even think of going back to their original pastoral villages; their exposure and new skills rather induces them to fight for self-reliance. They reportedly prefer their current survival efforts to becoming a burden on their fellow Boranas in pastoral villages.
- They indicated that people refer to them as “*bukekatota*” (the displaced) though they do not face any kind of discrimination from their fellow Boranas.

Livelihood strategies: Drop-outs pursue different livelihood strategies. These include peri-urban farming (especially in Yabello area), firewood collection and charcoal making, supply of construction wood to towns, local alcohol making, passing contraband items (mainly in Moyale Wereda), petty trading, a variety of casual labor services. There are possible negative impacts of these activities such as the negative environmental implications of charcoal making and dryland farming. Drop-outs, on the other hand, supply cheap labor and trading services to urban areas and rural residents.

Our KI at Dubuluk stressed that those who joined resettlement camps have rarely substantially improved their conditions. The drop-outs who encamped around Dubluk particularly have only a few of them improved their livelihoods. Some have rather been disappointed with their conditions at the market center and preferred to go back to their place of origin. The pastoral community rather welcomes disappointed returnees who decide to go back to the villages. It was also pointed out that people of improved wealth status rarely go back to their original villages because of the general shift in their livelihoods and

life styles. The drop-outs whose original conditions have improved rather stay in market centers but may invest on livestock kept with rural relatives. As often pointed out by our KI elders, a significant improvement in dropping out of pastoralism is the often observed fact of having a chance to send children to school.

Box 1: The Derg settlement camps: the beginning

Dubale was involved in the settlement program of dropouts in the 70s and 80s in Borana. He used to be a political cadre for Arero Awraja. He provided us with the following information.

The dropouts who settled in Chollkassa came from pastoral areas of Yabello and Dire weredas. They moved out of the pastoral system due to drought. They lost all their animals. First they settled close to the centre of Yabello (<3km) town where they could have better chance of getting food aid. The area where they settled and its environ had thick acacia woodland. The dropouts were cutting the acacia tree to sell as fuelwood for the Yabello town dwellers. They almost cleared the area before they were moved to chollkassa. Chollkassa was a valley bottom grassland area with prime vegetation cover used by pastoralists. The dropouts were taken to chollkassa to settle and to start cultivation. The government supported them with seeds and farm tools. Food aid was also provided continuously by the government and humanitarian organizations. They received extension services from the agricultural office on how to cultivate different kinds of crops. The dropouts cleared the land and prepared it for cultivation. In short period of time, the prime grazing land was converted into a cropland. Later on schools were established for the children of the dropouts. Overtime the settlement strengthened and chollkassa became center of attraction for more dropouts from elsewhere. The settlers have also continued cutting trees and supplying the residents in yabello with fuel wood. They have also become sources of unskilled labor for the same residents. Even today Chollkassa is a center for distribution of food aid to several neighbouring PAs.

The dropouts who settled in Hidi Ale and Adegelchet went through similar process like the ones in Chollkassa. Originally the dropouts came from Yabello wereda and settled in hidiale and adgelchet which used to be a very good grazing area for pastoralists. The dropouts cleared the land and prepared it for cultivation. They were supported with food aid until they establish themselves. They were given farm tools, seed and extension services to cultivate. The settlers continued to supply fuelwood and labor to Yabello and Eleweya. Schools were opened to enable the dropouts send their children into school. More land cleared and cultivated and more trees cleared to supply fuelwood to the urban residents. The settlers even involved in logging at the nearby forest area to supply the yabello and eleweya market with construction woods. Similar to Chollkassa hidiale and adgelechet have become center of attraction for more dropouts from elsewhere in Borana.

Suggested external support requirements: The key informants in different Weredas were asked to give their opinion as to what should be done to improve the conditions of pastoral drop-outs. The suggested support interventions (though in some respects could be controversial) include the following:

- Organizing the destitute into groups and supporting them with credit and saving interventions
- Farm land, oxen and seed provisions where appropriate
- Training support and creation of job opportunities

- restocking
- Resettle them back in pastoral villages. One of our KI elders argued that it is inappropriate to support drop-outs who come to settle in towns or market centers because such programs even attract more people who tend to be more dependent rather than fighting poverty on their own.

Summary of Focused Group Discussions

Different Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) involving different groups of people were conducted in the three Weredas. Participants for two of the three FGDs conducted around Yabello Wereda were selected systematically from 7 historically known attraction centers (PAs) where pastoral dropouts concentrate. One of these two FGDs was formed using people who were dropouts themselves. These are people who have practiced pastoralism once in their lifetime and forced out of the system for a variety of reasons and settled elsewhere to pursue new livelihood strategies. Migrants from the highlands who settled in these areas for cultivation were excluded from the group. The second FGD was conducted with pastoralists from the same area who have hosted the dropouts. The third FGD was conducted with knowledgeable pastoral elders who can tell about the general characteristics of dropouts and the main reason why people are driven out of the system unwillingly. With a similar approach different FGDs were organized in Moyale town and villages in the urban fringe that are centers of attractions for pastoral drop-outs from different parts of the Borana rangelands. The different focused group participants of Dirre Wereda also originated from different areas including Dubluq, Madhacho, Melbana, Dambala Wachu, and Dida Mega. Gender composition was also considered in the FGDs arrangements. Results of these extensive FGDs are summarized below.

A starting question for all FGDs was concerned with finding a distinction between pastoralists and pastoral drop-outs. A pastoralist, according to their opinion, is a person who keeps and breeds livestock, manage them properly, watering, feeding, moving them from place to place in search of better grazing environment, including migrating with them to a distant area when the need arises. According to FGD participants, for a pastoralist,

livestock and the range resource they depend on for reproduction is everything to make livelihood. The FGD participants further reiterated that being a livestock owner is important but not a sufficient condition by itself for one to be classified as a pastoralist. A pastoralist should have the skill and the knowledge to take good care of his animals and the resource on which they depend in order to reproduce and provide livelihood to people. A pastoralist has to involve directly in the whole management of his herd. In pastoral areas there are many people who support themselves by selling fire wood, water, petty trading or cultivation. Such people are still classified as pastoralists no matter how small is the herd they own or stockless they may be as long as they meet the condition stated above, i.e., herding and managing livestock and the natural resource base of the system.

In the FGD conducted with pastoralists who hosted dropouts, a sharp division transpired between the participants on the question where to categorize a stockless person who lives in pastoral areas by providing herding labor services to wealthier households. Less than half of the members said a person who lives in pastoral area but does not raise his own livestock cannot be called a pastoralist while the majority said as long as one lives in a pastoral area and involved in herding be it his own herd or other people's, it does not matter, he can be classified as a pastoralist. However, all agreed that if an individual who is a stockless or and who lives in pastoral area but doesn't involve in one way or another in pastoral activities such as herding, watering of animals he can't be classified as pastoralist. He is considered as a useless person (*nyattu*) and can be even cast out of the society. Also, all agreed that there is no as such a threshold number of livestock one should own to be classified as pastoralist. Like in any other social grouping there are wealthy as well as poor pastoralists. A stockless person who stayed within the community is locally described as "*qolle*" while a pastoralist who moved out of the pastoral area unwillingly to either urban or peri-urban area was traditionally referred to as "*nama nyaphati gale or eltma*", literally means a person who joined alien community. Such a person is detached completely from his pastoral root and can't be identified as a pastoralist; such a person is rather considered as a dropout. A *qolle* who stays among the pastoral community can support his family through herding other people's livestock. His household members can provide their labor to assist the herd owner in watering, cleaning, etc. The wife can also assist in household activities. Even the small children of the head can assist in herding the small stock of the herd owner.

The FGDs participants agreed that *Qolle* may ultimately end up as dropouts unless they are restocked by the traditional mutual assistance mechanisms in a reasonably good time. In summary, a *qolle* is a stockless person who lives within the pastoral system or community and involved in pastoral activities. A dropout is a person who is driven out of the pastoral livelihood system unwillingly and settled in either urban or peri-urban areas or markets centers in a rural area, for example, such as Didahara in Yabello Wereda. Such a person can be detached completely from pastoralism or maintain a very loose connection.

The FGDs members were asked to list the factors that force people to leave the pastoral livelihood system and become dropouts. Participants talked about their own people's experience, and that of others witnessed in their lifetime. Many factors were identified, but the major causes that were repeatedly mentioned by the participants are summarized below.

- Drought which dissipate the pastoralists' herd in large number.
- War/conflict and livestock raiding that make the victim a livestock poor community
- Large family size and redistribution of ones wealth to many children may degrade the status of a family to eventually get reduced to a status of *qolle* and then a dropout.
- Animal disease epidemics may reduce many households to the state of stocklessness and may force some to leave the system.
- Some may be ejected out of the system due to mismanagement of own herd (referred to as "*okkoteen dhabe*")

All the FGDs indicated that a person who lost his herd for drought, disease or war and become a *qolle* has the possibility to get support from the system to stay within the community and pursue pastoralism, but a person who lost his herd due to mismanagement or abuse of his herd has no chance at all to get support from the community to stay within and pursue pastoralism. The only chance he may have is to run away from his community and become a dropout who is completely detached from his pastoral root.

When asked if there is a common process to be followed by an individual, household, group of individuals, or group of households, or olla members when making a decision to leave the

system, the FGD members asserted that there is no one process as such to be followed. The action to be taken depends on several individual situations.

Under normal drought situation when pasture and water become a problem, people consult each other to decide where, when and how to move to save human and livestock. In such cases they often move their livestock and return back to their homestead when situation improves. This is part of their traditional herd management system and the consultation between members during such a situation is so intensive and structured that consensus should be built on who should move with which type and age groups of animals and where to move.

If, however, war breaks out and people lost their livestock there is no serious consultation to be made; individuals make their own decisions where and when and how to rescue their lives based on their own circumstances. People can escape to places where they can be accepted and get support. Even under sever drought situation, once an individual lost his herd, the level of consultations made by members is very limited. Under such a situation the decisions to move or to use other strategies to save lives are made individually. In general, when it comes to moving out of the pastoral system in search of other livelihood strategies decisions are made individually. Factors such as availability of relatives in places where one wants to move, pre-existing social relationships with communities to move, availability of government and NGO support, proximity to centers where food aid distribution is a permanent feature and skill such as carpentry, masonry are important in guiding what directions to take when deciding to move out.

It is not always true to say that one leaves the system and become a dropout when he becomes a *qolle* because of drought or war. In some cases such people look for friends who could come in and support them to re-establish and stay within the system. If the victim has been a generous person before he becomes *qolle* he can seek for community support and he can even collect more animals than what he had before. If he were a mean person, no body will come to help him out and could remain *qolle* forever and dropout of the system. If a wealth herd owner hit by drought and lost all or most of his livestock, the first thing he does is to collect back the *debares* he has given out before and re-establish himself. Those who

became *qolle* and decide to remain within the system manage the situation by looking for a debare to build their herd overtime. However In some cases government intervenes directly to help dropouts start with new livelihood strategies by settling them in a given area, as was experienced in Cholkassa, Hidi ale, Adegelchet etc. locations within Yabello wereda.

For example in the 1984 drought many pastoralists in Borana lost their livestock and people from Moyale, Arero and even from rural parts of Yabelllo ran to Yabello town to get closer to the administrative centre where they could get food aid. These people later settled in hidiale, adegelchet and chollkassa by the government and were given plots of land to start cultivation. These areas where the dropouts settled were very close to Yabello town for one to engage in different income generating activities such as daily labor, collection and selling of fuel wood, cut timber for construction, do petty trading, do livestock trekking for traders, etc. Another commonly used area where dropouts run to is Burjiji where people involve in traditional gold mining.

The FGD members affirmed that getting into a new environment and adapting to a new livelihood strategy is a challenge. Joining and assimilating to a new social group and environment is a difficult task that requires lots of patience, commitment and perseverance. It is often difficult to the extent that it involves embarrassment, and especially in more complex border towns like Moyale, harassment by police, bribing the security or ending up in jail. One may need to have someone already established to withstand or successfully pass through these troubles. The FGD participants indicated that it is difficult to move from one livelihood strategy to another one. But if someone is committed for improving himself he can become successful (*namni kan deemefji kan deegetuu waa arga*). Adoption to new environment and new livelihood strategy requires the individual dropout's readiness to learn from others and to be a good observer. Prior skill also helps one in making a sound and reasonable decision on where to go and what to do. For example people with prior experience in trekking marketed animals could settle closer to livestock marketing areas such as Dubluk, Bake, etc and those with farming skill could move to places like Cholkassa, Dida Yabello where the potential for farming is better compared to the other drier areas. People with a skill in logging and handicraft go to the forested areas such as Obada and Nyaro in Yabello.

The major sources of livelihood for pastoral-dropouts include sale of fuel wood, water to urban consumers, look for remittance from relatives and children, cultivation, cultivating for others, move to forested area to supply timber for urban people, herding and trekking animals for traders; house maid, watchman, washing clothes for urban people, daily labor, petty trading, brokering and passing contraband goods. There is some level of division of labor between male and female members in their activity participation. For example, fuel wood collection, cloth washing, passing contraband items are mainly done by women while activities such as trekking animals for traders and brokering are areas of male engagement. For capital demanding activities one often takes credit from wealthier households. It is common for dropouts to go to places they knew before, places where someone from their village runaway before them, and to stay at the edge of the rural area but closer to town to maximize opportunities from both the rural and urban settings. Since they are familiar to the rural environment they can assist livestock traders and make money. Since they are getting closer to the urban environment they will be in a good position to have better knowledge about the urban system to assist the pastoralists in cases of purchasing vet drugs, taking them to hospitals, selling their animals, etc.

According to the FGD members, in Borana one does everything possible to run away from a place or a community where he became poor or *qolle*. He moves out of that community either to urban area or other rural places. Based on prior information he or she may have, one can move alone or with the family members. If moved to another rural pastoral area one can live on *dabarre* in which he can be restocked overtime to continue as pastoralist. This is a rare case. Most move to peri-urban or Urban areas.

If a dropout succeeds in his new livelihood strategy, his status in the society where he came from will be upgraded, otherwise he can be considered as a useless person who ran away from his own community and poverty but never became a better person. No matter how much a dropout is willing to maintain his relation with his original community this may not happen unless he is successful on his new endeavors. If a person becomes successful then he will receive a higher regard and recognition by his clan, relatives, and the community and his clan. If he fails he will be despised. Even his clan members and close relatives become

ashamed of him and try to disassociate themselves from him. In general one can say that the social relation and connection of a dropout depends on how much he succeeded to improve himself and help his family members from the income he generates from his new livelihood strategies. In fact those dropouts who left their household members behind in the locality try whatever they could to maintain their relation with their original community. Singles who fled from the system often remain completely detached from their roots. They disappear completely from the area and can even join the urban unemployed group and engage in different illegal and socially rejected activities. If someone with a family ran away after suffering losses, the clan is responsible to take care of the wife and the children. Nowadays the number of people who leave their family behind and disappear is on the rise and it has become a huge burden to the society.

Discussions were probed to find out if destitution and dropping out of the pastoral system have intergenerational aspect. The FGD with pastoralists reiterated that pastoralists who are repeatedly attacked by drought or conflict or disease, or those who lost the household head are the most likely people to become *qolle* and then dropouts. Although poor households are more susceptible to become dropouts it doesn't at all mean that poverty is transmitted from generation to generation. There is a saying in Borana "*abbaan Damma nyaatef ilmi afan bin miyaa'u*" father who ate honey doesn't make the mouth of the son any sweeter. This means the wealth of the father doesn't guarantee the son to become wealthy.

The FGD with the dropouts tried to demonstrate using live cases that poverty is not something that transmits from one generation to the other. They mentioned so many examples where sons of poor people became wealthy and sons of wealthy people became poor. Most agreed, being poor or wealthy is the work of God in which no one do have any power of influence. Of course people have to be hardworking and good managers of the wealth God has given them to continue as wealthy otherwise what one can't guarantee his family to prosper. Nevertheless they all said it is not uncommon to see larger number of people from the poor family being thrown out of the system than from the wealthy ones. The elders FGD reiterated that the most common trend real life reveals is that a son from a poor family likely remains poor because of low initial stock he receives from his father.

We asked the dropouts FGD if *bussagonafa* (BG) is functional and if so why dropouts were not supported by the system to stay in. They all pointed out that BG still exists and important to maintain the peace of Borana. No one can imagine Borana without a functioning BG. If BG disappears, it means the end of Borana as a community. They reiterated that BG has been overburdened by the magnitude of the current problem. The frequency of drought occurrence is increasing, more people are losing their livestock, and more people are becoming destitute and forced to claim for BG support. On the other hand the number of people which can contribute to BG is dwindling. Under such difficult circumstances BG can't support everybody. Nevertheless everybody who meets the criteria for BG support has the right to claim but he may not be the one selected to be restocked at a given year. There could be others in the lines that are more affected by the incident that deserve priority for restocking. Moreover after stingy screening process even if one is approved by the clan to be restocked it takes quite long time before he receives the contribution. The other problem is the person may not get adequate number of livestock from the BG contribution to sustain his livelihood as a pastoralist. What most do these days is, they put their claim to the clan and in the mean time look for other income generating alternatives in urban areas or within the same area to support their family. "*Raada Tokko Argachuurra magalartti galu wayya jedhama*" There is also some anomalies in BG. One with more intimate relationship with the *hayu* and the *jalaba* can be favored to be restocked quickly than one without such relationships. You need also to be vocal and outspoken to be heard by the clan members so that your claims are considered in a timely manner. In addition to that if you were wealthy and generous to others before you are affected by the incidence you can be restocked in no time. If you were a mean person then you may not be entitled to BG at all although you are a Borana.

The FGD with the pastoralists tried to be more elaborate on the functioning of BG. They said traditionally BG mainly restocks households who lost livestock for drought and war. A person who lost his herd for war or conflict would be restocked by any means. However, the process is too long and takes several years before one gets BG contribution. The clan meeting for BG is held once per year and decisions on who should be restocked are made in that meeting. In principle no matter where one lives it is an obligation for clan members to contribute to BG. The process also considers the number of animals one has lost in the

incident. A wealthy person may lose a large number of animals and may remain with good number. Such a person has the right to claim for BG. It is not a must for to become *qolle* to claim for BG. In BG female animals are used for contribution. One who has been generously contributing to BG has more chance to be restocked if he lost his herd (*barkatuu barkaa deebisa*). The elders FGD agreed on all the above regarding restocking through BG. However they said if one lost his wealth for drought, raiding, conflict the clan discusses to restock the individual. In case of drought induced loss the clan discusses if the applicant has taken all necessary management measures including migration to all possible areas to save his livestock. If the clan feels like the person failed to take the necessary measures to save his herd he may not be eligible for restocking and his application can be rejected.

The FGD participant elders indicated that in the old days the system supported *Qolle* to re-establish in short period of time. Pasture and water was ok, wealthy herders also had enough to support others. Those who received BG often keep the animals to reproduce and support the family from other sources such as petty trading, wage labor, herding others livestock. He never sells or slaughters his BG animals. The environment in terms of availability of pasture and water was fine to reproduce the small herd one may have. Any body with 5, or more cows is traditionally required to contribute towards the BG. The assumption behind this principle is that if he has 5 cows then it means he has several calves and other immature. Out of these he is supposed to contribute at least one female animal. In summary the FGD members related BG with the existence or continuation of Borana as a clan and as a people. However they all agreed that poverty is on the rise, conflict and drought frequency is also increasing, population pressure is becoming high which made poverty among the Borana widely spread which has also made BG less effective. BG still exists to help the stockless. But not so effective as it used to be due to the magnitude and frequency of drought and conflict that reduces the livestock asset of the community which would have been used for BG otherwise.

When asked about the trend in the number of people leaving the system as dropouts and the likelihood of them returning to pastoralism, the majority of the FGD with dropouts agreed number of drought and conflict induced dropouts and *Qolle* in Borana is on the rise. Few members argued that people are becoming clever and diversify their sources of income to

deal with unexpected problems of drought and other shocks to remain within their community and continue as pastoralists.

The FGD with the pastoralists also agreed with the other FGD that number of dropouts is on the increase. People are also becoming aware of other opportunities and do not stay in rural areas waiting for either BG or other support until they die. They run away to other places to seek for opportunities to make a living. They run to places where they can cultivate, where they can do petty trading and sale their labor, etc. “*Raada Tokko Argachuurra magalaritti galu wayya jedhama*” Some of the FGD participants argued that the increase is also due to education and increase in their awareness of other alternatives to make livings.

The number of *Qolle* in the rural areas is also on the rise. Recurrent drought de-capacitated the traditional system to support *Qolle*. For example for the last 5 years Yabello area suffered from three droughts which decimated large number of animals which depleted the pool of the livestock resource that would have supported to restock the *Qolle*. Human population is on the rise, availability of pasture and water is on the decline, bush encroachments is increasing, settlements expanding which compromised productivity of the system.

According to the FGD with the dropouts Dropouts/*Qolle* are not viewed negatively by locals. However it is the growing number of *Qolle* and dropouts that became too much for the locals to share whatever little they have with them. At the same time these people could be source of labor for the local but as their number swell they are becoming burden to the community.

The participants indicated that there are NGOs and departments in GO that support dropouts/*Qolle*. Pastoral development offices, (Safety net and food security program), water development offices, are the main one; CRS, CISP, AFD, CARE, GOAL are some of the NGOs that help such people.

Slightly different from the two FGDs, the elders FGD categorized *Qolle* as burden to the pastoral system. In the old days they were few in number and were of some benefit as a source of labor for the wealthy herd owners. They used to herd animals and in return receive

food, shelter, clothing, education, medical, etc support in return. But nowadays the number of *Qolle* and dropouts are large in number to be absorbed to be utilized as a useful asset or as a profitable herding labor by the dwindling number of wealthy herd owners. Given this situation the *Qolle* and dropouts prefer to go to the urban and peri-urban areas to look for other opportunities than staying in the system to look for a herding labor and/or waiting for years to be restocked through BG or contribution from relatives and friends or payment from the herd owner which requires years if not decades. The trend now is to get closer to urban areas and try to benefit from both settings, i.e., the rural and the urban. In most cases *Qolle* and dropouts do not go to bigger towns such as Yabello or Negelle immediately as they lack knowledge of the urban settings and opportunities. They prefer to go to smaller rural emerging towns such as Denbelabachena, Eleweya, Bake, Dubuluq, etc where they build their knowledge on the urban setting and opportunities. Small and growing towns are becoming point of attraction for dropouts and *Qolle* to move in.

According to the FGD with pastoralists, dropouts are perceived either positively or negatively depending on the behavior of the individual dropout. If the person has good behavior to live with the others in a peaceful manner then he will be perceived as a resource for the community in terms of providing labor and will receive the necessary support. Otherwise he will remain to be a burden to the society. If the person is not improving his relation with the community, he can be even thrown out of the community.

Finally, the FGD participants indicated major external support interventions required to rehabilitate and improve the livelihood conditions of pastoral drop-outs and *Qolle* (though some may remain controversial). These include:

- Food aid (a temporary solution to save lives)
- Settlement where there is more space for cultivation with full package of services
- Credit provisions: saving and credit services to support petty trading
- Create opportunity for wage labor
- Skill development to make them marketable, training in various skills
- Strengthen the culture of sharing
- Restocking for those who want to return to pastoralism

- Return conflict induced dropouts to their place of origin and assist them to build peace and co-existence
- Water Development and animal production services
- Resettlement in areas where land is available for cultivation and opportunities for jobs

The pastoralist FGD stressed that there is a need to be careful when targeting beneficiaries for all interventions. Target a person who is committed to change himself and ignore or exclude those who are not ready to change themselves. For example restocking has often become a failure because of poor targeting of beneficiaries.

Household Survey

HH characteristics

Following the focus group discussion and the Key Informant interview, further follow up was made on the pastoral drop outs at household level to underpin issues that characterize this sector of the community.

From the total household respondents sampled for household level interviews, 41 % of them were female-headed, although there were variations across wereda. Dire for instance had half of the respondents representing female-headed households; whereas in Yabello over three quartets of the respondents were male-headed. The representative households came from about 7 different kebeles in Moyalle town, and Yabello, but in Dire all households came from Dubluke Kebele. Overall the 150 respondents were spread across four ethnic groups namely Borena, Burji, Gabra, and Guji. The Borena (54%) and Gabra (46%) ethnic groups comprised the Moyalle respondents, while in Yabello there were Burjis and Gujis represented, and Dubluke respondents were all Borena. Table 1 shows the profile of the household heads from these sample areas. The average age of the dropouts was 49, and ranged between 20 and 90 years. Household sizes averaged a little over 6 persons, and some where as low as 2. Less than 13% of the male headed households had more than 1 wife.

The drop outs had very little skill, and a significant majority is unskilled. This poses a problem in creating opportunities for them to diversify income. There are however opportunities for skill development. The existing skill relates to masonry, crafts and also carpentry work. Diversification of income through skill development could as well be an entry point. However before any skill development initiative begins it is imperative that an assessment is made on the type of skill demanded. With new constructions coming up in Dubluka, Yabello and other smaller pastoral towns, it is likely that opportunity exist for masonry and carpentry work. The 24 hours hydroelectric supply has also created opportunities for carpentry shops. A good majority of the respondents are illiterate, however. This is understandable given the level of education coverage in pastoral areas.

Table 1. Household profile

Parameter	Moyalle	Yabello	Dire
Gender (% of respondents)			
Male	48	78	50
Female	52	22	50
Marital Status (% of respondents)			
Single	0	0	0
Married	52	78	60
Widowed	34	22	28
Divorced	14	0	12
Age (years)	47 (20-87)	49.74 (25-80)	51.84 (30-90)
Household size (number)	6 (3-9)	6.72 (2-9)	6.6 (3-15)

Although level of education can play key role in skill training, it can not be concluded that these illiterate group can not get trained. There are already exiting modules that have been tailored to train illiterate pastoralists. PARIMA has modules on small scale business management training geared to this type of people. The value of non-formal education

centers (NFE) and proxy non-formal education centers in this regard is also key step. The NFE centers can be strategically placed in the locations where the drop outs are.

Table 2: Education and skill of Household Heads

Level of Education (% of respondents)			
Level of Education (% of respondents)	Moyalle	Yabello	Dire
illiterate	80	73	94
Read and write	6	16	2
1-6 grade complete	8	9	2
7-9 grade complete	6	2	2
Total	100	100	100
Type of skill (% of respondents)			
Parameter	Moyalle	Yabello	Dire
none	90	84	92
Masonry	-	-	2
Carpentry	2	-	2
Blacksmith	-	-	-
Crafts	-	6	4
Other	8	8	-
Masonry and carpentry	-	2	-

Livestock holdings by the sampled households were also studied from the perspective of a given time frame. This was to see if there exists a trend in the holdings of animals. Cattle and camel holdings have dropped significantly since the last 15 and nine years respectively. Half of the respondents have now dropped from 13 heads of cattle to 1 in the last 12 years (Table 3).

Table 3. Cattle and camel holding

PARAMETERS	Mean	Median
Cattle numbers		
Maximum # of cattle ever owned	21	13
How long ago?	15	12
How many cattle do you own now?	2	1
Camel numbers		
Maximum # of camel ever owned	5	0
How long ago?	9	6
How many camels do you own now?	1	0

As is seen in Table 4, the major movement of households to their current locations took place in the last 20 years. Since 1990, there has been a sizable move of households out of their previous locations. This period (1990-todate) has been a period of occurrence of drought, and also the severity and frequency had changed. Following the 1984 drought, there have been droughts in 1998, 2000, 2002, 2005, and 2007/08. These have been the triggers for the movement of an increased number of households. The risk of drought is a covariate risk as all herders are equally constrained by climatic events and aggregate stocking rates on common property land. However the effects of common shocks need not be identical across households possessing differential initial wealth. Families depending on small herds are more vulnerable to drought than those with larger herds. While a 50% mortality of cattle would

represent a serious blow to a family living off 200 cattle; to a family living off 20 cattle 50% mortality could lead the household into a poverty trap, from which it can be difficult to escape. Although drought can single handily affect the pastoral livelihood, conflict due to resource competition and regional boundaries could also aggravate the situation. There are common economic conditions surrounding drought that transcend national and cultural differences and elicit common coping strategies as seen in Figure 1.

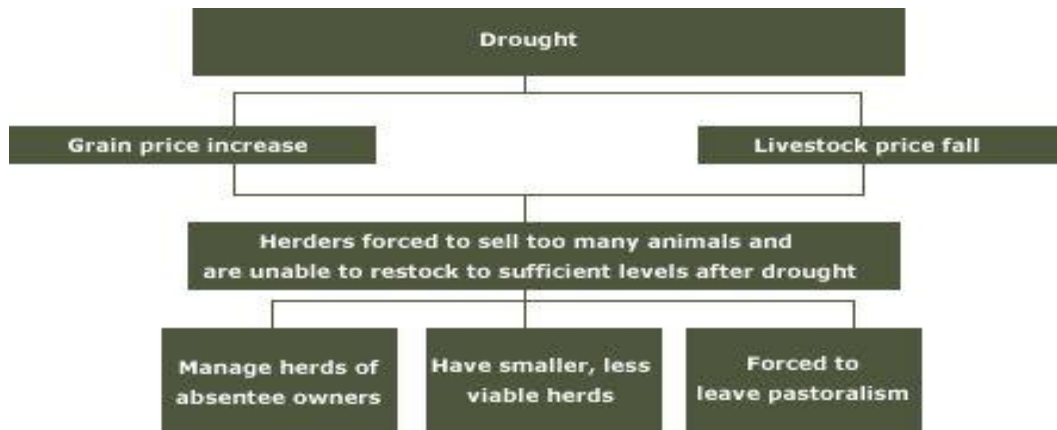


Figure 1: Coping strategies (source: <http://www.ifad.org/lrkm/theme/prm.htm>)

Table 4. Number of years since the household arrived in the current location

Years	Percent
less than 10 years(1999-todate)	40.5
11 to 20 years ago(1990-1998)	33.1
23 to 30 years ago(1984-1989)	6.1
34 to 40 years ago(1981-1983)	20.3
Total	100.0

The decision to move is mainly triggered by drought (64%) followed by conflict (Table 5). However, both drought and conflict singly or in combination are the driving factors to movement of the households to the current location. Over the years the nature and extent of conflict has changed, and more so its role in triggering movement of pastoral drop outs has increased in importance. The decision to move to a new location for settlement is made at individual, group and local government levels. However, the choice of the location is made mainly by the individual and group (90%). These households (85%) move to their new location alone and the family joins later. The majority of the households locate themselves within the wereda, but few others move to adjacent weredas. In Moyalle 22% of the respondents moved from a PA within the wereda. The rest came from adjacent weredas and distant wereda (Liben, Arero) and also cross border from Somalia and Kenya. Yabello wereda hosted 60% of the drop out respondents that came from PAs within; others came from Bulehora and Burji weredas. 78% of the respondents in Dire were from the wereda itself, the rest came from other wereda-50% of these are from Yabello.

Table 5. Movement related parameters

Parameters	% of the respondents
Movement triggers	
drought	64
conflict	26
Drought and conflict	10
Decision to move made by?	
Individual	36
Group	43
Local government	21
They moved with:	
Family	85.3
Alone but family joined later	14.7

The community perceives the wealth class under three major categories, namely Qolle/Dega; Jidugelessa; and Duressa (Table6). The Qolle/Dega category contains those with no animals and those with a cattle holding of less than four. These are poor and very poor categories. The distribution of the respondents across these wealth categories, prior to movement and now, shows a clear picture. In all of the study weredas the respondents showed a distribution across all wealth classes. For instance half of the Moyalle respondents were under the category Qolle/Dega. The remaining fell in the middle and well off category. However as the pressure mounted and the asset base was hit, at the time of the interview these groups were all under the poor and very poor category.

Table 6. Wealth class of households (% of respondents)

Wereda/Wealth category	Time period	
	Now	Prior to movement
Moyalle		
Qolle/Dega (poor)	100	50
Jidugelessa (middle)	-	10
Duressa (well off)	-	40
Total (%)	100	100
Yabello		
Qolle/Dega (poor)	86	52
Jidugelessa (middle)	14	30
Duressa (well off)	-	18
Total (%)	100	100
Dire		
Qolle/Dega (poor)	100	66
Jidugelessa (middle)	-	28
Duressa (well off)	-	6
Total (%)	100	100

Several factors emerged as the drivers of moving out of previous location and settling in the current location. Access to social services, increasing opportunities of income generation, access to cultivable land, and living in closer proximity to family/kin or clan were some that emerged. The relative importance of these across the weredas studies also showed variability. For instance the movement to and around Yabello was not driven by opportunity for daily labor, whereas it that was true in moving to Moyalle and Dire weredas. About 89 and 95% (in Moyalle and Dire respectively) of the respondents indicated that their move was driven by two main factors: opportunity for daily labor and opportunity to diversity through non-pastoral activity.

Table 7. Major reason for choosing current location (% respondents)

Reasons	Weredas		
	Moyalle	Yabello	Dire
Access to social services (food aid, social support, school, health, security, market)	12	15	-
Opportunities for daily labor	56	17	79
Opportunities for non-pastoral activities diversification (petty trade, sales-)	32	13	26
Opportunities to gain access to cultivable land	-	40	-
Affinity to relatives/clan	-	12	5
Total	100	100	100

Market access and service

One of the key points that were reflected from the survey was that HHs moved to the current location, inter alia, to increase market access. Question posed on the three most important markets indicated that in weredas like Moyalle there were three market places but the main reported by 84% of the respondents was Moyale market. For drop outs in Yabello the most visited market places were Haro Beke (52%), Ele Waye (24%), and

Yabelo (14%). The rest accessed Surpa and Dugda Dawa market places. Households in Dire had only one market place-Dubluka market. Overall the number of times/week the households visited any market place were 3, 1 and 3 for Moyalle, Yabello, and Dire respondents, respectively. The main purpose for visiting the market places was purchase of food and grain (84%) followed by sale of charcoal and woods, purchase of tea and sugar.

Table 8. Livestock asset: mean number (heads) of animals owned

Wereda	Cattle	Sheep and goat	camel
Moyalle			
Prior to moving	13	4	5
When moving	2	0	1
now	1	1	0
Yabello			
Prior to moving	19	30	20
When moving	8	12	2
now	4	4	3
Dire			
Prior to moving	13	6	0
When moving	3	2	0
now	1	2	0

Settling in the new location had created better access to social and physical capital (Table 9). The proportion of households that indicated improved access had risen compared to the time prior to their movement and now. Particular attention is the access to education, health services, and clean water. Over 90% of the respondents indicated that there was an increased access. There was also a positive trend in the asset ownership (Table 10).

Table 9. Social and physical capital

	% responding 'yes'	
	Now	Prior to moving to current location
Access to education	98.7	9.3
Access to health services	96.7	14.0
Access to saving and credit	58.4	4.0
Access to clean water	94.0	10.0
Access to farming plot	51.3	30.0
Access to employment	61.3	3.3
Access to food aid	87.3	18.7

Table 10. Asset ownership

Do you own?	% responding 'yes'	
	Now	Prior to moving to current location
Radio	25.3	7.3
Wooden bed	24.7	9.3
Working watch or clock	24.0	10.7
Lantern	51.3	10.0
Plough	31.3	20.0
Oxen	14.0	20.7
Mobile phone	5.3	2.0
House in rural area	60.7	49.3

The survey also revealed that the use of the social support network by the respondents is low (Table 11). One of the most important wealth distribution mechanisms among the Borana is *Bussa Gonofa*. This mechanism allows Borana with no livestock asset to petition the wealthy to re-distribute cattle. The overall decline in livestock asset of clan members and the increasing number of livestock destitute pastoralists, and the increased frequency of drought are some of the reasons for no receipt of *Bussa Gonofa*. The respondents did not receive (83%); did not give support (89%) to clan. Overall the survey showed that only 40% contributed to *Bussa Gonofa*, and 30% received from *Bussa Gonofa*. Some (40%) did claim *Bussa Gonofa* prior to moving. Others (33%) also claimed *Bussa Gonofa* following their arrival in the new location. A higher proportion (65%) indicated that they do not expect *Bussa Gonofa* contribution.

Table 11. Use of social support net work

Parameters	% responding 'Yes'
Is cash support received from clan now?	16.7
Do you give CASH support to clan?	20.7
Did you claim for <i>bussa gonnofa</i> prior to moving to this location?	39.3
Did you claim for <i>bussa gonnofa</i> following your arrival in this location?	33.3
Have you ever contributed to <i>bussa gonnofa</i> ?	40.0
Have you ever received from <i>bussa gonnofa</i> ?	31.3
Do you still expect a <i>bussa gonoffa</i> contribution?	34.7

Pastoral diversification is defined as the pursuit of any non-pastoral income-earning activity, whether in rural or urban areas. This definition includes: (1) any form of trading occupation (e.g., selling milk, firewood, animals, or other products); (2) wage employment, both local and outside the area, including working as a hired herder, farm worker, and migrant laborer; (3) retail shop activities; (4) rental property ownership and sales; (5) gathering and selling wild products (e.g., gum arabica, firewood, or medicinal plants); and (6) farming (both for subsistence and cash income). Risk is an important factor why herders might wish to

diversify their income sources, but it is not the only reason and in many cases it may not be the most important factor. The causes of pastoral diversification are multi-faceted and resistant to simplistic explanations. Part of the reason for this is that within the designated study areas we are dealing with heterogeneous populations. Considerable intra-community differences add to the complexity, in that motivations for diversification vary considerably along both wealth and gender lines. Rich and poor herders pursue diversification for different reasons, and risk may not be equally important for both groups. The survey results indicated that charcoal sales (23%), fire wood sales (50%), water sales (35%), and daily labor (49%) are major sources of income for the pastoral drop outs. Grain sells as well as wages from involving in farming activities (24%) is one of the income sources. Butter sale, carpentry, masonry, timber sales, mining, cross border services, salaried employment, sales of sand and stones, craft sales- income sources, by about 3% of the respondents.

Table 12. Income sources

Sources of income	% responding 'Yes'
Milk sales	6.7
Water sales	34.7
Fire wood	50.0
Charcoal sales	23.3
Salt, sugar and tobacco sales	10.7
Local brew sales	12.0
Hand pushed cart	10.7
Broker	11.3
Daily labor	48.7
Remittances	9.3
Grain sales/farm income	24.0
Livestock sales	8.0

Survey results in three weredas indicated that close to 40% of the households responding to the survey, are engaged in cultivation. Variations across weredas were noted, however. Notable difference was between Yabello respondents and those of Dire and Moyalle. While significant majorities (90%) in Yabello are engaged in cultivation, only 12 and 16 % were cultivators in Dire and Moyalle respectively. Quite often, pastoralists tend to engage in cultivation as an adaptive response when internal and external factors make livestock husbandry difficult, and when the pastoral mode of livelihood is in crisis. To some rain-fed or dry land cultivation is a strategy of adaptation to the new circumstances. The desire to circumvent the market by producing at least part of the household grain is also one factor behind the resort to some form of cultivation. Thus, the involvement in cultivation has in some cases led to sedentarization, and hence reduced mobility of herds and household members. Resource competition resulting from increased human and animal populations and the resulting changes in land use patterns can lead to more conflict. This may be especially true as non-traditional land use patterns – such as rain fed crop cultivation – emerge, uses that are not governed by established community norms and dispute resolution mechanisms. In a PARIMA study done in Yabello wereda (Teklu et al 2004), more than three times as many people thought herder-cultivator conflicts were increasing in their community and thought such conflicts were decreasing, while nearly twice as many thought conflicts between cultivators over land or water were increasing, as compared to those who believed cultivator-cultivator conflicts to have decreased locally. In summary, resource conflict appears to be associated more with the rise of non traditional land uses, especially crop cultivation in streambeds and valley bottoms traditionally used for grazing and watering herds, than with any growth in herd sizes associated with livestock cycles or growing pastoralist populations. All communities experience resource conflicts at some time, and most have evolved mechanisms for resolving disputes over land and water. Yet institutions may evolve more slowly than land use patterns, in which case nontraditional conflicts, such as those between cultivators and herders, may take longer to resolve than more traditional disputes between herders. Conflicts involving cultivators were significantly less likely to have been resolved at the time of our survey than were conflicts between herders (Table 2). While less than three percent of herder-herder conflicts went unresolved, conflicts involving cultivators had gone unresolved more than five times more frequently.

Table 13. Cultivation

Has your household planted crops since moved to the current location?	
ALL	
Yes	39.3
No	60.7
MOYALLE	
Yes	16.0
No	84.0
YABELLO	
Yes	90.0
No	10.0
DIRE	
Yes	12.0
No	88.0

Pastoral systems are in a dynamic process and so are the perceptions of communities in these systems. As seen from the survey results the majority of the respondents (83%) are looking for some kind of livelihood change in the next five years (Table 14). Some (46.7%) are looking forward to options for diversification (activity, income, and asset) , others (26%) are into building herd and going back to pastoralism; still others are into growing more crops over larger areas and become farmers. Few others (6%) are looking forward into some form migration where members of the household will temporarily move out to find work and food.

Diversification strategies have multiple causes and most generate low incomes and actually can increase risk during periods of stress. Herd mobility and herd diversification remain the major means of managing risk in pastoral areas and efforts to encourage diversification should not impede these strategies. Investment in education among pastoralists is a viable means of enhancing positive diversification. For poor herders and agro-pastoralists who have already settled options include: (1) Milk trading activities that benefit women; (2)

promotion of sustainable forestry activities that generate income through fuel wood and charcoal sales; and (3) restocking schemes that encourage re-establishment of viable herds.

Table 14. Livelihood changes and strategy

Strategy his or her household plans to follow in the next 5 years	
Strategy	% of respondents
No change: continue to live as it is now	7.3
Diversify: make new sources of income, food and asset	46.7
Build herd to move into pastoralism	26.0
Grow more crops over larger areas and become farmer	14.0
Migration: send members away from home to find work and food	6.0
Total	100.0

CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

There is poverty in pastoral areas and indeed there are poor pastoralists. The main thrust should therefore be building on the strength of the system, and at the same time identifying and reinforcing complimentary steps to help ensure the viability of the system. Therefore for those members of the pastoral system with the skills and interests to continue traditional livelihoods, there should be support as long as it is possible as these groups have proven to be effective and there are opportunities to make it more so. The second thing is to focus on those residents of pastoral areas who are not actively involved in pastoralism (e.g., *Qolle* and *degas*), or who are plainly exiting the system painfully (dropouts). They should be given support to identify and undertake alternative economic activities that support, complement, or at least do not undermine pastoral production. At present, their livelihood diversification is forced and unremunerative, driven by desperation rather than by emerging opportunities appropriate to this subpopulation in the pastoral areas. The study reveals that the rising

proportion of dropouts, *Qolles*, and *degas*, and the level of poverty in pastoral areas is becoming a serious issue. There is a pressing need to deal with the *Qolle* and *degas* who are the major feeders, and to mitigate the problems associated with dropouts and the growing poverty in the study areas.

To enhance positive diversification among pastoralist and in order to take advantage of livelihood strategies offering greater upward income mobility, which commonly involves diversification into non-pastoral activities, pastoral drop outs must be able to overcome entry barriers defined by skills, contacts and capital access. Where policy change can relieve those constraints directly, it can thereby expand poorer households' opportunity sets, allowing them to undertake more attractive livelihood strategies. This commonly appears as increased diversification into skilled employment, and gradually into self-employment. Interventions must aim explicitly to relieve poor households' working capital, skills and market access constraints, if they are to succeed in empowering the choice of viable livelihood strategies. Alternative livelihoods options for pastoral dropouts could be achieved through investment in education, skill development; women empowerment, and family planning.

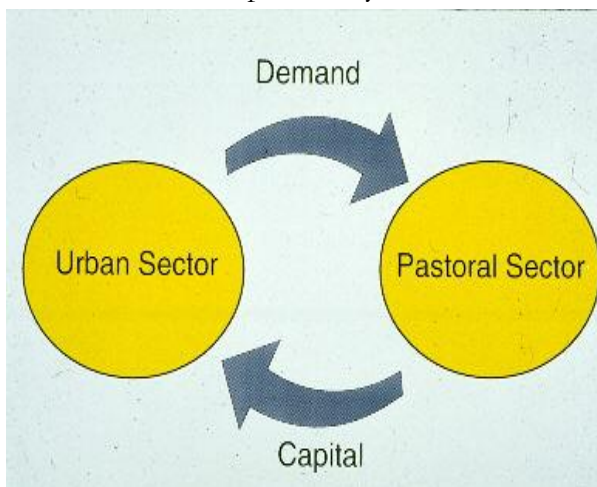
Ensuring security and peaceful co-existence

The study has clearly documented conflict and poor security situation as one of the major causes that drive pastoralists out of the system in search of other livelihood strategies and safer place to live. Conflict displaces people; disrupts production systems, causes loss or wastage of assets and in almost all cases loss of human lives that could include death of head of households. Conflict impoverishes community; increases the number of *Qolle* and *degas*; and weakens the functioning of traditional safety nets which are based on mutual helping mechanisms. The unreliable security situation in pastoral areas enhances the continuing influx of people from pastoral areas, as drop outs, into urban and peri-urban spaces. There is thus a need to examine the security situation in these areas, and identify factors that lead to conflict between different communities. This can help to mitigate the loss of wealth and the resulting displacement and influx and forced settlement of pastoralists into urban and peri-urban areas as dropouts.

Conflict induced movement of household is becoming a common event in the Borana plateau. Recent development is that many of these displaced do not seem to return but remain in small settlements closer to pastoral towns and also market locations. Efforts need to be put by local and regional government for these people to return back to their locations. Even if the return is mediated, a lot needs to be done to help them regain their motivation, confidence, as well as their asset base to begin to establish their former livelihood. As it stands now, pastoral development programs must have conflict management as a key component of their activities.

Urban development and urbanization that strengthens linkage with the pastoral economy

Effective rural-urban linkage would provide complimentary/symbiotic relationships between people and resources in the two geographical areas. The rural sector would be a source of capital for the growth of the urban economy. If well managed and marketed the livestock wealth in pastoral area is so huge to provide substantial financial capital for the urban investors. This however requires increasing market involvement of pastoralists and an appropriate banking system that would attract willingness of pastoralist to save proceeds from sales. In return, developed urban economy would constitute increased demand for pastoral products. There would be a steady demand for livestock and livestock products and a competitive price that would favor pastoralists. Developed urban economies absorb excess labor from the rural area and make it more productive to augment and support the flow of cash income to pastoral areas. Developed urban economy also opens up opportunities for employment for those pushed out of the system and it also enhances positive and upward economic mobility to drop outs contrary to what we see today a downward and negative economic mobility that could further marginalize and in some case stigmatize those people driven out of the pastoral system.



In the urban-rural linkages, urban development and urbanization that strengthens linkage with the pastoral economy, and that complements pastoralism, is key. The linkages need to be

developed not just for the future of urban cities and small towns, but also for the future of rural areas. Without a focus on the specific conditions of poverty and ways to directly enable poor households to expand economic, social and political capacities, rural-urban linkage strategies cannot be expected by itself to eradicate poverty. The wider spatial dimensions of rural-urban linkages and more direct forms of empowerment need to be simultaneously pursued. Policies that treat "rural" and "urban" as separate sectors and do not go beyond technological or infrastructural forms of linking rural with urban areas will continue to fall short of effectively reaching the underlying causes of poverty which include lack of access to resources, weak organizational capacities, and centralized planning that is too distant from local needs. The key dimensions of rural-urban linkages are flows of people, resources, information, commodities, inputs into production, and decision-making power.

The key interest in rural-urban policy formation is to understand the nature and direction of these flows and to identify the key driving forces in order to find areas in which current policies can be improved to promote mutually supportive rural and urban development. The flows between rural and urban areas are important to the welfare and economy of rural households. The maintenance of rural-urban ties is in the interest of even and balanced development within. These ties are better served when they are reciprocal and rather than when they are uni-directional.

Rural people depend upon small towns in the rural regions for agricultural productivity, rural goods and services, distribution centers for commodities, and processing of local goods. Among the most important findings is that urban growth in rural regions depends on both the productivity and the organizational basis of rural production. Towns in regions of high rural productivity and many small-scale producers seem to experience better growth and economic health prospects than do towns in regions where large producers dominate or agricultural productivity is low. The reasons for these differences are straightforward: the prosperity of rural towns depends on a wide sharing among the rural population of income generated by agricultural and rural production. Neither low rural productivity nor a few rich rural consumers can sustain local urban growth.

At the same time, towns are needed to perform many functions that address the needs of their rural hinterland. However, policies and practices in town building and servicing tend to neglect the specific needs of rural producers and households, offering instead standardized functions for all towns. Small towns also suffer from a weak financial base for physical, economic and social development. Pastoral towns such as Dubluq and Dida Hara which are currently becoming growing centers of attraction for pastoral drop-outs could be candidates to facilitate urban development and rural-urban linkage.

Promoting the development of financial intermediation services and enhancing the operation of private enterprises

Financial flows to villages are typically on a people-to-people basis rather than on institutional basis. This is often not enough to invest in business enterprises. Banks and credit associations are needed for start-up upstream—basic agriculture and manufacturing industries / downstream—processing, marketing, advertising activities. Credit is needed for even maintaining the existing agricultural productivity by maintaining land ownership of small-scale producers and further assisting them to purchase land and keep good agricultural land in production. The community can also make revolving credit arrangement, which can be assisted by NGOs and government / private businesses. Assisting in the formation of group co-operatives / enterprises is also a key step. For rural producers to form groups/ enterprises/co-operatives are a prerequisite to creating a sustainable production base in rural areas. Diversifying production and maintaining consistent levels of supplies, all require cooperative association among the producers. Together, the producers could achieve economies of scale for inputs and / or processing of activities, transporting to markets, and could further scale up production. The financial systems should be not be limited to only providing the conventional services such as savings and credit services. It should be design in such a way to provide other services such as insurance for livestock marketing, drought losses, human health, etc.

Education and skill development and creating opportunity for wage labor in urban and rural areas

Predominately the respondents are unskilled and direly need training on various skills that can help them generate income. However this primarily requires identifying the skills in

demand, and also a type of capacity building interventions that address the need of illiterate community members. Education is one means that helps people to be competitive in the job market in urban and peri-urban areas. An expansion of a literacy program and formal education will contribute towards positive and upward economic mobility of people in the pastoral areas.

Restocking for those who want to return to pastoralism

Restocking is implemented to assist pastoral households to build up lost herds due to drought, raids, epidemics or floods. In some cases pastoralists may be restocked as a form of disaster relief, which may not be so appropriate if the intention is to reconstitute them back to pastoral livelihood. In other cases it is implemented as component of a longer-term development effort. Restocking if planned and implemented properly it could be a useful option for pastoralists wanting to remain as pastoralists after losing a substantial portion of their herd but are left with few in which with reasonable assistance from either the traditional or agency based livestock contribution could continue as pastoralists. It is seen as a method to rehabilitate the impoverished pastoral households into the social and economic fabric of pastoralism. It is also a livelihood support intervention which aims at protecting the productive capacity of its beneficiaries. It is a poverty alleviation effort, rather than relief, which is employed by communities through their own traditional systems or by outsiders. Recent innovative approach on re-stocking involved engaging Pastoral Traditional Institutions (PTI) in the targeting of beneficiaries, purchasing, as well as distribution, as well as in forging partnership between the PTIs, communities and an implementing NGO that lead to a shared contribution of re-stocked shoats (Gebru et al 2007).

Strengthening indigenous safety net mechanisms which remain important, but are coming under extreme pressure

Given the intensity and frequency of drought and lack of enough time for many of the households to rebuild their herd before the drought again hits, coupled with the increased number of community members requiring assistance from the social safety net, there is indeed an extreme pressure on the indigenous safety net. Innovative ways need to be developed to strengthen it and also to reduce the number of expectant households. As indicated above mechanism should be worked out to blend the traditional safety net with the

modern insurance scheme. The idea of introduction of insurance mechanism for livestock deaths during drought times could relieve some of the burden off the traditional safety net.

Development that focus on management of the ecosystem, and utilization of the goods and services from the system that could provide various livelihood options

In pastoral areas livestock is taken as the only resource that people depend on to make a living. Hence development practitioners, hitherto, manage the system for livestock production only not for the multiple goods and services that the rangeland eco-system provides. Impact such development efforts bear little fruit on the improvement of human livelihood in pastoral areas. This was partially due to lack of understanding of the multiple function of semi-arid and arid eco systems, and the multiple goods and services the system produces that could provide a diverse livelihood options to people. The development direction in pastoral areas should move from the conventional focus to restore traditional pastoralism in which livestock is presumed to be the ONLY enterprise in the arid and semi-arid ecosystem to an approach that focus on the management of the ecosystem for multiple goods and services that the rangeland eco-system could provide for people to engage in various diversified livelihood strategies such as wildlife industry, tourism, recreation, energy including bio-fuel production. If the system is managed for multiple goods and services billions of dollars can be generated from the rangeland ecosystem that would be used to alleviate poverty in the pastoral areas and mitigate incidence of dropouts or negative downward economic mobility among pastoralists.

The problems associated with dropouts and their negative impacts on the viability of pastoralism are so complex that there is no as such a quick fix to deal with them. There can't be one blanket solution to deal with the problems of *Qolle, degas*, dropouts and those who are truly "pastoralists". It is doubtful if the conventional development approach that assumes homogeneity of livelihood strategies for people who live in pastoral areas and which also considers livestock as the only viable enterprise in the system, could be responsive enough to deal with this complex issue. Effective implementation of the recommendations discussed above requires some deviation from the traditional inward looking development approach to

a broader and more comprehensive sustainable livelihood approach that takes into consideration the pastoral ecosystem and the goods and services it offers at large. Regarding implementation time horizon, some of the recommendation such as introduction of locally managed financial institutions that could provide diverse financial services, development of market linkages, demand driven and tailored skill development, diversification and restocking can be implemented in short-term. Others such as Education, urbanization and urban development and urban-rural linkage, security, and ecosystem management are interventions that can be implemented in the medium to long term time period. The later ones really need policy support to be effective. However, development agents should still need to cautiously configure their focus and scale of activities because of the usual possibility that support programs might unduly attract more drop-outs, and this could unnecessarily present undesirable pressures that may thwart the viability of external support interventions.

Overall, supporting a sustainable pastoral livelihood is key to reducing the number of community members that painfully exit the system. In as much as there are those that are forced out of the system, there are those that are pulled into the viable asset, activity as well as into non pastoral income diversification options and are contributing positively towards sustaining pastoral system. This heterogeneity in the system is the niche that development organizations need to exploit.

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