Partos Joint Evaluation on Indigenous Peoples

Case study on pastoralist development in Ethiopia
and Cordaid’s contribution

Final version

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACHPR</td>
<td>African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>Action for Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAPE</td>
<td>Community Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPRI</td>
<td>Collective Action and Property Rights</td>
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<td>CASE</td>
<td>Cultural and Art Society of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>CELEP</td>
<td>Coalition for European Lobbies on Eastern-African Pastoralism</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAHW</td>
<td>community animal health worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFA</td>
<td>Co-Financing Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHW</td>
<td>community health worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMDRR</td>
<td>Community-Managed Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cordaid</td>
<td>Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development Aid</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>civil-society organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCM</td>
<td>Drought Cycle Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development (UK)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRIP</td>
<td>Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>DUBAF</td>
<td>Development by Unity and Brotherly Action for Futures</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIPP</td>
<td>Ethiopian Integrated Pastoralist Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (now renamed: Enhancing Pastoralist Research and Development Alternatives)</td>
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<td>EPD</td>
<td>Ethiopian Pastoralist Day</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>EW&amp;DRMC</td>
<td>Early Warning and Disaster Risk Management Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>FARM–Africa</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Research Management–Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGC</td>
<td>female genital cutting</td>
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<td>GB</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
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<td>GEF</td>
<td>Global Environmental Facility</td>
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<td>GGCC</td>
<td>Gamo Gofa Catholic Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>governmental organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>GoE</td>
<td>Government of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immuno-deficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>Hivos</td>
<td>Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation</td>
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<td>IBGs</td>
<td>Identity-Based Groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCO</td>
<td>Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFAD</td>
<td>International Fund for Agricultural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFPRI</td>
<td>International Food Policy Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>IGAs</td>
<td>income-generating activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIED</td>
<td>International Institute for Environment and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIRR</td>
<td>International Institute of Rural Reconstruction</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILRI</td>
<td>International Livestock Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPO</td>
<td>indigenous peoples organisation</td>
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<td>IPs</td>
<td>indigenous peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>IUCN</td>
<td>International Union for Conservation of Nature</td>
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<tr>
<td>IWGIA</td>
<td>International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>monitoring and evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoARD</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Federal Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFED</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance and Economic Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMM</td>
<td>Medical Missionaries of Mary</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRG</td>
<td>Minority Rights Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>non-governmental organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRI</td>
<td>Natural Resources Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>natural resource management</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPA</td>
<td>Oromia Pastoralist Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPADC</td>
<td>Oromia Pastoral Area Development Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Pastoral Association (lowest level of government administration in pastoral areas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PARIMA</td>
<td>Pastoral Risk Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASC</td>
<td>Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASDEP</td>
<td>Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCAE</td>
<td>Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCDP</td>
<td>Pastoral Community Development Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCI</td>
<td>Pastoralist Communication Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>PENHA</td>
<td>Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDPS</td>
<td>Rural Development Policies and Strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>RECONCILE</td>
<td>Resource Conflict Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>REFLECT</td>
<td>Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ</td>
<td>research question</td>
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<tr>
<td>S&amp;C</td>
<td>savings and credit</td>
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<tr>
<td>SORDU</td>
<td>Southern Rangeland Development Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNV</td>
<td>Netherlands Development Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPA</td>
<td>Strategic Partner Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGE</td>
<td>Transitional Government of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>TBA</td>
<td>traditional birth attendant</td>
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<tr>
<td>ToR</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDHR</td>
<td>United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAMIP</td>
<td>World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>WISP</td>
<td>World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism</td>
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<tr>
<td>YCC</td>
<td>Yabello Catholic Church</td>
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Thanks are also extended to all external resource persons for giving their perspectives, information and time. The kind assistance by non-Cordaid NGOs, including Save the Children–USA, Hope for the Horn, CARE and GOAL, and other individuals in universities and pastoralist development organisations is greatly appreciated. The insights and experiences they shared provided opportunity for the team to gain a broader picture of the issues around pastoralist development and policy influence in Ethiopia. Thanks are also extended to the Chairman of the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee of the Federal Parliament for giving his perspectives on pastoral livelihoods and policy.

We particularly appreciate the time and thought that pastoralists in Borana and South Omo Zones devoted to the focus-group discussions.

Finally, we would like to thank Lisette Desain of Partos for coordinating this programme evaluation.

Ann Waters-Bayer & Getachew Gebru

May 2010
Executive summary

Cordaid and two other Dutch co-financing agencies (CFAs) – Hivos and ICCO – designed a joint evaluation on their support to indigenous peoples (IPs), focusing on political and land rights, women’s rights, livelihoods and organisation of IPs. The study covered the period 2003–08 and was in three phases: i) an inception phase to review CFA policies and portfolios; ii) country case studies in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and iii) synthesis from the case studies and the review of CFA policies.

The fieldwork for the case study in Ethiopia was carried out from 11 November to 1 December 2009 by an agricultural sociologist and a livestock scientist. The study team met with partner organisations that are or had been supported by Cordaid or its predecessors. The team carried out semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions using different guideline questions for resource persons, partner organisations and pastoralists. It made field visits to the operational areas of four partner organisations. The team elicited views on changes in the situation of pastoralists over the last 10–15 years from practising pastoralists and people from pastoralist ethnic groups working in local civil-society organisations; and from non-pastoralists working with intermediary NGO partners of Cordaid and other actors in government and civil society engaged in pastoralist research and development.

Several changes were noted in the position of pastoralists related to political and institutional change, natural resource rights, livelihoods and the position of pastoralist women. Some key points include:

- Article 40.5 of the Constitution states that “Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands.” However, the attitude of the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) to pastoralists’ rights as IPs has been ambivalent.
- There is a shared view among resource persons and NGO staff that pastoralists now have a higher national profile through their Members of Parliament (MPs) and the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee as well as through the annual Ethiopian Pastoralist Day (EPD) celebrated since 1999.
- The key problem for pastoralists in Ethiopia is related to land-use rights. The national land policy does not recognise pastoralists’ rights to communal land: rights are vested in the State, which – according to the Land Use Proclamation of 2005 – can “convert communal rural land to private holdings”. In Oromia and Afar Regions, recently formulated land policies do refer to customary rights to communal land, but it is not clear how pastoralists can register these rights.
- There is concern that pastoralists are not able to defend their constitutional rights to land and to ensure recognition of customary land-use.
- There has been improvement in delivery of basic social services and in infrastructure (healthcare, education, water supply, roads, markets, communications) and increased involvement of pastoralist men and women in marketing livestock, livestock products and other commodities.
- Both pastoralists and non-pastoralists perceived marked positive changes in the economic and socio-political status of pastoralist women, particularly but not only at local level.

Overall assessment of change in the situation of Ethiopian pastoralists

Changing worldviews and values. Worldviews and values of pastoralists have changed through increased exposure to other cultures, above all through schools and markets. Small ethnic groups in South Omo have concerns about negative impacts of exposure to other cultures. However, also among pastoralists who have received a Western education, there is still a strong sense of identification with their ethnic groups and pride in belonging to them.

Reduced marginalisation and greater inclusion but increased poverty. Improvement in access to basic social services has reduced the marginalisation of the pastoralists in terms of inclusion in development, compared with a very low baseline 10–15 years ago. However, this reduction in marginalisation is confounded by distance and poor road access. In general, pastoralists are facing increasing difficulties in maintaining their way of life and production. The population is increasing and access to land for pastoralism is decreasing. Both ethnic and practising pastoralists see a future in mobile pastoralism, but expect that it will have to be supplemented by other livelihood activities.

Greater power and self-determination. Pastoralists have more opportunities for formal representation in modern government structures, right up to national level, where 23% of Ethiopian MPs are from (agro-) pastoralist areas, yet pastoralists make up, at most, only 15% of the total population in Ethiopia. It is a general problem in Ethiopia (not only pastoral areas) that devolution of power is being
implemented very slowly. Both the government and NGOs have given little attention to the civic education of pastoralists, to make them more aware of their constitutional rights.

**Struggle for rights to natural resources.** There is growing awareness of both the economic opportunities and social risks of individualism in resource use, which is increasing among some pastoral peoples living in better-endowed areas.

**Improved position of pastoralist women.** Greater ownership of assets has brought economic benefits to pastoralist women and their families. Their greater involvement in community-level institutions and their greater freedom to attend meetings and markets have broadened their horizons and given them more confidence to express themselves in public. However, pastoralist women are still marginalised compared with men in their own society and compared with other women in Ethiopia.

**Indirect “forced” integration.** Although the Ethiopian Constitution allows each ethnic group to express its own culture, many pastoralist groups – especially in South Omo – feel that formal education has weakened their culture and values. Settlement of pastoralists has been induced through fixed-point provision of education and health services, along with other factors. In South Omo, tourism development by non-pastoralists appears to be leading to distortion of the pastoralist culture.

**Contribution of Cordaid and its partners to these changes**

Cordaid and its partners have contributed to these changes through interventions to alleviate poverty, strengthen civil society and influence policy:

- Interventions related to **poverty-alleviation** included improved livestock husbandry, improved provision of basic services and diversification of income sources. In addition, some initial activities have been undertaken to promote community-based tourism and to strengthen the role of indigenous institutions in dispute settlement, natural resource management and redistribution of assets after drought.

- In **strengthening civil society**, the entry points were local organisation of pastoralists, such as common-interest groups for income generation, cooperatives and community-based organisations. The strengthening tools included training, mentoring and encouraging pastoralist participation in local decision-making bodies; and increasing the budgeting capacities in the local administration and the budget literacy of pastoralists. An important aspect of strengthening civil society has been the empowering of pastoralist women.

- Interventions related to **policy influence** have been made by Cordaid mainly at national level, often together with other development donors, through supporting NGOs that engage in lobbying for pastoralists’ rights. The EPD and thematic conferences (co-)organised by Cordaid partners created opportunities for pastoralists and pastoralist-support organisations to express their views. Cordaid financed studies on pastoralism and thus contributed to increasing the availability of information that can be used to influence perceptions and policymaking. Over and above the national initiatives, other global efforts also contributed to policy influence. For instance, for several years already, Cordaid has collaborated with the Minority Rights Group (MRG) to put pastoralists’ issues on the international development agenda. These efforts have recently been stepped up with the creation of CELEP (Coalition for European Lobbies on Eastern-African Pastoralism), involving MRG and various other lobbying organisations based in Europe. CELEP is coordinated by Cordaid.

**Assessment of Cordaid’s contributions and policy in pastoralist development**

Thus, Cordaid has taken a two-pronged approach to pastoralist development: directly addressing poverty alleviation and local organisational development at the grassroots, while trying to influence policy at national level. Both are relevant and necessary to achieve a goal of reducing structural injustice to pastoralists. Effective economic empowerment at local level has increased the self-confidence of pastoralists as citizens of their countries and has led to greater acceptance by others to listen to the voices of pastoralist men and women. Together with partner NGOs, Cordaid has developed some promising models, e.g. ways to build the livestock assets of women and to set up community-managed development funds, which deserve to be better documented and scaled up.

Through its achievements in increasing women’s economic power and encouraging their involvement in managing community assets, Cordaid helped strengthen women’s position in their families and communities. However, the pastoralist women generally have little genuine voice at higher levels. One
reason may be the low attention given by most Cordaid partners to functional literacy: writing and assessing proposals for development handled by higher-level institutions depends on these capacities.

Cordaid’s national-level partners have played an important role in raising the profile of pastoralism, putting pastoralist issues on the policy agenda and amplifying pastoralists’ voices through mass media and participation in major national and international meetings. Cordaid support has strengthened the capacities of intermediate NGOs to engage directly in lobbying, where they have brought pastoralists’ concerns into major policy documents. However, they have not been effective in ensuring policy implementation and protecting pastoralists’ rights on the ground, especially regarding land and water.

Cordaid’s current pastoralist development policy is very relevant: increasing policymakers’ knowledge about the rationale behind pastoralism; helping pastoralists organise themselves to generate income and to manage community assets and natural resources; and increasing participation and voice of pastoralist women and men. This is being reinforced by the collaboration in CELEP to create a wide support base among European donors and policymakers for pastoralist development in eastern Africa.

In view of the ambivalent attitudes toward the concept of “indigenous peoples” in Ethiopia, it has been wise of Cordaid not to put IP rights in the foreground in its policy-influencing activities.

**Sustainability of Cordaid-supported changes**

**Political rights.** Although some local awareness of rights as citizens has been raised, there is insufficient “local momentum” to increase pastoralists’ awareness of their civil and human rights, because of the low level of formal education and limited access to external information among pastoralists (especially the women). Both men and women supported by Cordaid partners have gained more confidence to influence local-level decision-making and to speak at regional and national meetings and events such as the EPD. However, if they see that their voices are not heeded – that nothing changes with regard to the most basic elements for their livelihoods: land and water – they could become de-motivated to engage themselves further as members of civil society. Community-Managed Disaster Risk Reduction (CMDRR), budget literacy and policy-advocacy training are examples of promising approaches that have been successfully piloted by Cordaid partners, but they are far from being mainstreamed. This will be necessary so that the paradigm shift in approaches to planning and accountability can be made sustainable.

**Natural resource rights and livelihoods.** These two aspects are inextricably linked in the case of pastoralists, whose livelihoods depend on flexible access to natural resources (rather than ownership of specific land areas). No matter how many small-scale development activities intended to improve pastoralists’ lives are initiated at the local level, if these – like pastoralism – depend primarily on natural resources, they will not be sustainable unless major issues such as secure access to common-property resources are addressed. Similarly, the efforts to increase income from and to reduce risk in livestock-keeping, e.g. through training community members as community animal health workers and improving access to market, will have little future if attention is not given to ensuring their rights of access to land and water and addressing the increasing risks of drought emergencies because of reduction in livestock mobility. In the long term, the policy of the GoE favours sedentarisation of pastoralists, and most of the current technical and administrative interventions go in this direction. The continuation of mobile pastoralism in Ethiopia will be endangered if Cordaid partners do not continue to question and influence the policies and interventions in pastoralist areas so that pastoralists’ interests are heeded.

**Position of pastoralist women.** It is not clear to what extent the gains made in the position of pastoralist women can be maintained and increased, in view of the new Ethiopian legislation for civil-society organisations. The situation in this respect will need to be closely observed and, in the meantime, efforts made to increase women’s opportunities for non-formal education and access to information. There is particular concern with regard to pastoralist women’s rights to natural resources. Customary institutions for resource allocation and access have afforded some degree of security to women’s use rights but, if these institutions become weaker and government policy for land tenure in pastoral areas does not take women’s concerns into account, pastoralist women are in danger of losing their traditional access to natural resources.

**Influence of Cordaid’s mode of support**

**Choice of partners.** Cordaid chose a well-balanced portfolio of partner organisations, including organisations with different strengths: those working on the ground with pastoralists, those that could study and analyse pastoralist issues and those that could communicate with policymakers on behalf of...
pastoralists. This portfolio was further improved in 2008 through systematic consultations with stakeholder in pastoralist development and participatory institutional mapping with pastoralist men and women and leaders in customary institutions.

**Support to planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.** The partner organisations appreciated the openness shown by Cordaid to accept and even encourage innovative, exploratory and flexible approaches to development. Through support from national and international advisors and Programme 1 staff, Cordaid has helped stimulate and assess change in organisational capacities. However, there has been little technical assessment of the activities carried out in the name of pastoralist development. The monitoring reports contain little information on outcomes and impacts. A follow-on funding phase is often approved without an in-depth evaluation of the achievements and outcomes of the previous phase. It was striking that many of the partners in the field were carrying out very similar types of activities, as if there was a standard portfolio of interventions. Moreover, many interventions supported a settled existence. Pastoralist groups had not been well differentiated with regard to their specific conditions, visions and realistic possibilities for development.

**Communication and networking.** Communication between Cordaid Programme 1 and its partners was described as satisfactory. Most partners felt that Cordaid staff had a good understanding of their difficult and often shifting circumstances, but insufficient presence on the ground. Partners expressed a need for Cordaid Programme 1 staff in the country, especially to understand the policy context. With regard to communication about policy changes within Cordaid as an organisation and how this affects the work of the partners, many partners felt confused and did not feel sufficiently consulted. There is no formal partner network of Cordaid partner organisations working on pastoralist issues and there is little communication between the partners. Experiences on the cross-border interactions supported by Cordaid (regional meetings for CMDRR partners and the pastoralist policy workshop in Arusha, Tanzania), however, proved that supporting such initiatives in partner networking can pay dividends.

**Specific recommendations to Cordaid**

1) **Facilitate reflection by pastoralist communities about visions and values.** Cordaid and its partners should facilitate more fundamental reflection among pastoralist communities about their visions for the future, for themselves and their children, and the basic values they want to maintain or enhance. Groups should be differentiated according to degree of dependency on livestock. Only then can they plan what is needed to support positive change in their own eyes.

2) **Promote culturally appropriate education.** Pastoralist parents, leaders and Cordaid partners should explore what type, place and timing of education the different pastoralist groups want for their children. In an effort to build an education system that integrates local culture and values, further study is required by Cordaid on how non-formal education programmes among pastoralists function, and to what extent traditional values have been and can be embedded in them.

3) **Base development approach on risk management and providing relevant information.** The CMDRR approach holds promise for strengthening community control over development in a way that gives realistic attention to the high risks involved in pastoralists’ lives. This approach would be a channel to help pastoralists obtain relevant information, and would also strengthen pastoralists’ capacities to influence decision-making. Embedded in the CMDRR approach would be interventions linked to marketing, livelihood diversification and strengthening local institutions.

4) **Support linking and learning.** Cordaid’s support to networking and information exchange about pastoralist development among its partners should be directed at two levels: in Addis Ababa among NGO directors and programme managers to compare and harmonise approaches and activities and to learn from them; and in southern Ethiopia to enhance mutual learning by field staff. More attention should be given to documentation of project outcomes and to training and mentoring in systematic analysis of partners’ approaches, participatory impact assessment and communicating what they have learnt to specific target groups.
1. Introduction

1.1 Background and context of the study

Three Dutch co-financing agencies (CFAs) – Cordaid, Hivos and ICCO – designed a joint evaluation of their support to indigenous peoples (IPs) worldwide, focusing on political and land rights, women’s rights, livelihoods and strengthening of indigenous peoples organisations (IPOs). The core evaluation question is: To what extent have CFA policies, strategies, procedures and programmes and those of their partner organisations contributed to reducing structural injustice towards IPs? To answer this, the evaluation team explored: 1) CFA policies; 2) changes in the situation of IPs and how these relate to CFA-supported interventions; and 3) how the CFAs support IPOs. The main period covered by the joint evaluation was 2003–08 (see summary of Terms of Reference in Annex 1).

The evaluation should lead to a better understanding of political and cultural sensitivities involved in supporting IPs and to lessons regarding, e.g., selection of suitable partners; modes of support to IPs, their organisations and intermediary partner organisations; communication between the CFAs and their partners and among the partners; and types and levels of activities that could help IPs improve their lives on their own terms. The CFAs intend to use the evaluation findings to show and account for the results of their activities to support IPs, to critically review these activities, and to inspire future policy development and implementation.

The evaluation process covered three phases between September 2009 and May 2010:

1) Inception phase (Sept–Oct 2009) focusing on CFA policies regarding IPs and how these are translated into interventions; this was based on a desk review of CFA documents on the global IP-related portfolio, other literature, and interviews with CFA staff and external resource persons;

2) Case studies (Nov 2009–Feb 2010) focused on Cordaid-supported work in Ethiopia and Kenya, Hivos-supported work in Bolivia and Guatemala, and ICCO-supported work in India, to see how the CFAs have operationalised their IP policies and supported their partner organisations and to assess the relevance and outcome of CFA policy and implementation in the selected areas;

3) Synthesis (Apr–May 2010), in which the inception and country case-study findings are compared and analysed to assess to what extent the situation of IPs has changed and how CFAs and their partners have contributed to these changes. It highlights the lessons learnt and makes recommendations for future CFA policy and programme development related to IPs.

Cordaid requested a focus on its work with pastoral peoples in eastern Africa, where it has been supporting partners primarily in Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. Two country case studies were carried out: in Ethiopia and in Kenya. The partners included in the studies were those operating under Cordaid’s Programme 1 (Identity and Diversity).

This report is on the case study of pastoralist development in Ethiopia and of Cordaid’s contribution to this process. It is based partly on a desk study of Cordaid documents, project documents and other relevant literature and interviews with resource persons in Europe and partly on a field study carried out in Ethiopia from 11 November to 1 December 2009 by a team composed of a Dutch-Canadian agricultural sociologist from ETC EcoCulture and an Ethiopian livestock scientist from PARIMA (Pastoral Risk Management).

The structure of the report largely follows the Research Questions (RQ) 4–10 in Parts B and C of the Terms of Reference (ToR; see Annex 1). After a brief recapitulation of Cordaid policy and strategy to support pastoralists in eastern Africa, Chapter 3 presents the changes in the situation of pastoralists (RQ4) from their own perspective and from the perspective of outsiders. In Chapter 4, the study team gives its assessment of these changes (RQ5). Chapter 5 discusses the contribution of Cordaid and its partners’ intervention to these changes (RQ6). Chapter 6 looks at the sustainability of the changes (RQ8). Chapter 7 examines how Cordaid’s mode of support contributed to the outcomes (RQ10). The relative importance of the partner network (RQ7) is discussed as part of Chapter 7. The unexpected outcomes of Cordaid partner’s interventions (RQ9) are discussed as part of Chapter 5.

1.2 Inception phase and preparation for the case study

During the inception phase, a team of three Netherlands-based researchers compiled information about concepts and definitions, international norms and developments, controversies and challenges
regarding IP issues. They looked into the explicit and implicit policies of the three CFAs regarding IPs and related interventions and made preliminary assessments of:
- the degree to which IP perspectives were incorporated into the policies and interventions;
- the amount of attention given to the challenges of marginalisation, discrimination and domination and helping IPs achieve greater self-determination and inclusion; and
- whether the CFAs selected partners and supported interventions in line with their policies.

In collaboration with one national researcher in each of the five selected countries, the evaluation team also developed plans for carrying out the case studies.

The term “indigenous peoples” used in the inception report and in this case-study report is in line with the most common use of this term in international discourse, referring to groups that,

“having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems”(Martinez Cobo 1986).

The interviews and the documents reviewed during the inception phase revealed that Cordaid’s Programme 1 focuses on Identity-Based Groups (IBGs) – minorities or marginalised groups with distinct ethnic, cultural or religious identities. This is a broader concept than “indigenous peoples”. In the project documents, there was seldom reference to IPs. In most cases, it was not clear whether the pastoralists and the Cordaid partners supporting them regarded them as IPs. This made it difficult to analyse the situation of pastoralists from an IP perspective and has led to study findings more focused on pastoralist development than on indigenous rights issues. This case study on Ethiopia focuses on changes in the situation of pastoralists primarily in terms of their livelihoods and their participation in decision-making related to development, including issues of access to land and other resources needed to continue living as pastoralists, and gives less attention specifically to their situation as IPs.

In Africa, most of Cordaid’s projects in Programme 1 involving IBGs in the period 2003–08 were carried out in Kenya and Ethiopia; in addition, about ten projects were regional in coverage (Horn of Africa / eastern Africa). Currently, the work of Programme 1 in Africa focuses on Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania. Because Cordaid’s regional programme for pastoralist development addresses cross-border issues, the study team chose to work in one of the two focus areas Cordaid selected for this regional programme: southern Ethiopia / northern Kenya. There are more partner organisations involved here than in the second cross-border area (southern Kenya / northern Tanzania).

In Ethiopia (including Horn of Africa projects operating in Ethiopia), 86% of all IBG-related projects in the period 2003–08 involved pastoralist ethnic groups, and the remaining projects involved Burji, Gamo, Kore, Konso and other minority ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia.

According to Cordaid’s Programme 1 project database, from 2003 until present, there were 16 partner organisations in Ethiopia. Three of these (Vicariate of Meki, Arba Minch Rehabilitation Centre and the Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat) have not been working directly with pastoralists. Of the 13 current partners in Programme 1 that are working with pastoralists, three are church-based, eight are Ethiopian organisations and two are international/foreign non-governmental organisations (NGOs; see Table 1).

In addition to the work with pastoralists supported by Cordaid’s Programme 1, much of the work of Programmes 4 and 5 in Cordaid’s sector for Emergency Aid and Reconstruction is in areas inhabited by IBGs, e.g. among pastoralists in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda who face recurrent drought and are frequently involved in conflict between ethnic groups and across borders. This sector works with various pastoralist groups in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya and has been working through some of the same partner organisations in the period under study.

1.3 Methodology

Selection of areas and partner organisations. Of the 13 current partners working with pastoralists, the team chose to visit ten partners active in southern Ethiopia and at national level (those partners shown in bold print and marked with “v” in Table 1). These included church and non-church partners that have been supported by Cordaid (and its predecessors) for different periods, from several decades to one year, and a project being phased out after 11 years of Cordaid support. They included Ethiopian
and international NGOs working at local and/or national level. They differed in their relative emphasis on rights issues, community development or poverty alleviation, and in their attention to gender issues. Four of the organisations visited (AFD, EPaRDA, FARM–Africa, GGCC) were also involved in the Disaster Risk Reduction activities of Cordaid’s Programme 4. For the field visits, the study team selected the operational sites of FARM–Africa, EPaRDA and CASE in South Omo Zone of the Southern Region\(^1\) and AFD in Borana Zone, Oromia Region. These were selected to coverage a representative range of newer and older partners working with different pastoralist ethnic groups – Arbore, Boran, Hamar and Tsimai – in order to gain some understanding of the different situations of these groups.

Cordaid also supports projects involving Afar pastoralists in northeast Ethiopia, but the study team focused on southern Ethiopia because: 1) the projects in Afar Region are relatively recent; 2) Cordaid’s explicit focus in its pastoralist policy is on the Ethiopia-Kenya cross-border area; and 3) most of Cordaid’s funding for pastoralist development goes to Borana and South Omo Zones.

Table 1: Cordaid’s partner organisations working with pastoralists in Ethiopia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Partner organisation</th>
<th>Organisation type / church affiliation</th>
<th>Pastoralist group(s) / level of intervention</th>
<th>Type of approach</th>
<th>Attention to gender</th>
<th>Period of funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Action for Development (AFD)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Rights focus</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>since 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Afar Pastoral Development Association (APDA)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>since 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cultural &amp; Art Society of Ethiopia (CASE)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Arbore, Tsimai, Bena</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>No mention</td>
<td>since 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Development by Unity and Brotherly Action for Futures (DUBAP)(^2)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Guji</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>2005–07 via PCAE / 2008 direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ethiopian Pastoralist Research &amp; Development Association (EPaRDA)(^3)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Arbore, Hamar, Tsimai, Bena, Karo</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>since 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Research Management (FARM)–Africa</td>
<td>Intermediary (UK-based NGO); SPA(^4)</td>
<td>Afar, Desenech, Hamar</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>since 1993 / SPA(^4) + projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gamo Gofa Catholic Church (GGCC)</td>
<td>Intermediary (faith-based)</td>
<td>Bako, Hamar</td>
<td>Poverty alleviation</td>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>since 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Integrated Development for Pastoral &amp; Agropastoral Communities (IDPAC)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>since 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Panos</td>
<td>Intermediary (UK-based NGO)</td>
<td>Pastoralists (national level); Afar, Boran</td>
<td>Rights focus</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>since 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia (PCADE)</td>
<td>Intermediary (local NGO)</td>
<td>Somali, Guji</td>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>2005–07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE)</td>
<td>National network</td>
<td>Pastoralists (national level)</td>
<td>Rights focus</td>
<td>No mention</td>
<td>since 2003 via Panos / 2009 direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vicariate of Awassa (re Dadim clinic)</td>
<td>Intermediary (faith-based)</td>
<td>Boran, Guji, Gabra</td>
<td>Poverty alleviation</td>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>since 1998 (phasing out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yabello Catholic Church (YCC)</td>
<td>Intermediary (faith-based)</td>
<td>Boran, Gari, Gabra</td>
<td>Poverty alleviation</td>
<td>Mentioned</td>
<td>since 1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FARM–Africa, EPaRDA and AFD have focused on pastoralist development for several years. The international NGO FARM–Africa has worked in Ethiopia since the late 1980s and developed innovative approaches to strengthening local capacities. It has been a Cordaid partner since 1993. During the period 2003–08, FARM–Africa received over 10% of the total commitment of Cordaid’s Programme 1 to Africa, partly through its UK office and partly through its offices in Ethiopia and Kenya. The Ethiopian NGO EPaRDA was initially supported through FARM–Africa but, since 2005, is being funded directly; it works in South Omo Zone. AFD evolved out of the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign, which

\(^1\) Officially designated as the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS)

\(^2\) Also known as Dubaf Yelimat Mahiber

\(^3\) Now renamed Enhancing Pastoralist Research and Development Alternatives (EPaRDA)

\(^4\) Strategic Partner Agreement
started work in southern Ethiopia in the mid-1980s and is an Ethiopian NGO since 1997. It became a Cordaid partner in 2005. CASE is a relatively new Ethiopian NGO (founded in December 2004) and became a Cordaid partner in 2006. It is the only partner organisation of Cordaid in Ethiopia that explicitly works with IPs. It operates in southern Ethiopia.

In Addis Ababa, both of the partner organisations working at national level were visited, with emphasis given to the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE), an umbrella NGO that was formed in 1998 under Panos. Cordaid initially provided support to it through Panos. It became independent of Panos in 2005 but has been funded directly by Cordaid only since 2009. Until now, Panos and PFE have taken an explicitly rights-focused approach.

**Research tools and process.** Before starting the interviews in Addis Ababa and the fieldwork, the study team formulated a checklist of questions for semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions. It drew up different guideline questions for: 1) resource persons, 2) partner organisations, and 3) pastoralists. On the basis of the research questions in the ToR for the evaluation, the team drew up an outline for the case-study report to provide a structure for capturing the information collected during the interviews and discussions.

In Addis Ababa, the team held initial meetings with headquarters staff of the partner organisations to be visited in the field, in order to gain a general overview of the organisation’s activities, especially those supported by Cordaid, and to arrange for the fieldwork.

The visit to partners’ field sites in southern Ethiopia lasted nine days, including four days’ travel by road there and back, covering over 2000 km. This reveals how time-consuming travel in pastoralist areas of Ethiopia is, and how little of the time allocated for fieldwork could indeed be spent meeting with pastoralists and supporting NGOs.

During initial meetings, the field staff introduced their work and helped plan field visits. Most meetings with pastoralists in the different ethnic areas were with mixed groups (men, women, elders, youth) involved in diverse development activities. With the Hamar and Tsamai, separate discussions were held with women, allowing the team to explore their specific perceptions and issues. The team also met with a mixed-gender water-management committee and a mixed-gender group of Boran youth who were students, traders or unemployed in a district town. With all these groups and with other local resource persons, it explored their perspectives on how the pastoralists’ situation had changed over the last 10–15 years, the positive and negative aspects of these changes, the factors that contributed to them and local visions of future pastoralist development. Recapitulating daily after the discussions and interviews, the team noted key findings, identified information gaps and selected issues to explore in subsequent meetings. It inserted the findings into the report outline on a continuous basis.

With the field staff and later, in Addis Ababa, with the headquarters staff of the partner organisations, the team held final discussions to give feedback on the field visits and to explore Cordaid’s mode of supporting and communicating with the partners.

In addition to the staff of partner organisations, the team met with local resource persons on specific topics (e.g. Hamar culture and education) and with staff of other development-support organisations (not funded by Cordaid) at local and national level. Resource persons included researchers working on pastoralist issues, members of networks concerned with pastoralist and indigenous peoples, the former and current chairs of the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) of the Ethiopian House of Peoples’ Representatives and members of the Oromia Pastoralist Association.

Altogether in the course of this case study, one or both members of the study team met with ten Cordaid staff members (8 in the Netherlands, 2 in Ethiopia; 70% women), one resource person in the UK, 32 staff members of Cordaid partner organisations in Ethiopia (13% women), 19 district government staff members (26% women), 16 other resource persons and about 100 pastoralists (about 70% women). It made 29 interviews with individuals (resource persons and partner organisation staff), 15 discussions with small groups of 2–5 persons (partner organisation staff), one group discussion with 19 district government staff and ten focus-group discussions with pastoralists, including two groups composed only of women and girls.

At the field sites and head offices of the partner NGOs, the team collected relevant documentation in hardcopy or electronic form on project activities. It reviewed project evaluation reports and studies, as well as other publications made available by resource persons on Ethiopian pastoralists and various
documents on pastoralist development in eastern Africa (see Annex 4). In 2008–09, several studies and evaluations had been made of Cordaid-supported projects in Ethiopia, including planning and scoping studies for the new regional pastoralist development programme and an evaluation of Disaster Risk Reduction activities. These existing, more detailed reports were useful complements to the findings of the study team. Upon the request of the team, some partner organisations also provided information about the relative contribution of Cordaid financial support to their overall funding.

While still in Ethiopia, the team wrote the aide-mémoire, a first draft of the case-study report, and a report on the evaluation process. Thereafter, it communicated by email to analyse the data in the documents and fieldnotes and to finalise the case-study report. The data were analysed by clustering them according to the categories in the table of contents and, within each cluster, examining similarities and differences according to type of respondent (e.g. different pastoralist groups, practising versus non-practising ethnic pastoralists, men versus women, Cordaid partners versus resource persons).

Methodological triangulation in this study involved: i) using different sources of data (interviews, discussions, Cordaid documents, partners’ reports, other documents, own observations in the field); and ii) collecting data from different perspectives: the endogenous views held by pastoralists and the exogenous views held by people not of pastoralist descent but working with pastoralists and/or well-informed about the situation of pastoralists in Ethiopia (“resource persons”).

In Annexes 2–5 can be found the itinerary, list of persons consulted, documents consulted and question guidelines used during the fieldwork. A more detailed description of the process of fieldwork and the team’s own assessment of its strengths and limitations of the work are given in Annex 6.

2. Cordaid policies to support pastoralists in eastern Africa

In 2000, Cordaid established a Regional Office in Nairobi, Kenya, in order to strengthen its relationships with partners, improve networking and strengthen the partner organisations through capacity building. It covered projects in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan. To address structural poverty of pastoralists, most support was channelled to partners working under the theme “Access to Markets”. This dealt mainly with organisation of livestock production and establishment of cooperatives, with a view to diversifying livelihood options. Increasing income through improved access to markets was meant to contribute to alleviating poverty. Aspects of civil-society strengthening and lobbying were also included under this theme. On regional level, the initiatives concerning pastoralists came under the theme of “Peace and Conflict”: in the Eastern and Southern Africa Department, the projects overseen by Cordaid’s Regional Office in Nairobi dealt with natural resource management (NRM) and conflict involving pastoralists in the Horn of Africa, e.g. the Karamojong cluster in parts of Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Cutting across these initiatives, Cordaid also worked with its partners on institutional capacity-building, gender equity, and policy research and advocacy. After Cordaid’s restructuring in 2006, most of these activities came under Programmes 1 (Identity and Diversity) and 4 (Disaster Prevention and Emergency Aid).

Since decades, Cordaid and its predecessors has been supporting projects working with pastoralists as the main minority groups living of the remote dryland areas in the Horn of Africa in which, initially, the Catholic Dioceses were operating and, increasingly in the last decade, NGOs not affiliated with the Church. However, there was not a specific Cordaid policy focused on pastoralist development. After the introduction of Cordaid’s new strategic plan in 2007, pastoralists became the IBGs on which the work of Programme I “Identity and Diversity” focused. A specific policy to support pastoralists was drawn up: “Increasing the Participation & Voice of Pastoralists in Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania” (Espinoza Rocca & Barmentlo 2008). This was based on a thorough analysis of the situation of pastoralists in eastern Africa. Marginalisation was identified as the key challenge of pastoralists, whose development has been impeded by inappropriate policy and interventions resulting from a:

- **Knowledge gap:** policymakers and development practitioners do not understand the rationale and dynamics of pastoralism, relevant information is not readily accessible and the pastoralists cannot convince policymakers and practitioners of pastoralism’s benefits to the national economy, the environment and society as a whole;
- **Power imbalance:** pastoralists are few in number relative to the population of the countries where they live, they inhabit drier areas that policymakers regard as useless, and they are not organised to be able to exert influence on decisions affecting these areas.
Cordaid decided that the emphasis of its work should be on helping pastoralists develop strong, well-informed, representative and active organisations that can form relevant linkages, develop effective strategies and cooperate with others to present a united front on key issues identified by pastoralists.

Box 1: Pastoralists and the concept of IPs

In 2008, while developing its pastoralist development programme, Cordaid explored the opportunities of using the IP concept to lobby for pastoralists’ interests. Allies of Cordaid in its work with IBGs – especially the Minority Rights Group (MRG) and the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) – work primarily from an IP perspective. The position paper on policy lobbying in Europe for pastoralists in eastern Africa (Cordaid 2009b) states: “The Human Rights Strategy of the Netherlands and the Human Rights and Democratization policy of the EU can be used to address the rights of pastoralist women and the rights of pastoralists as indigenous peoples in East-Africa.” In this paper, Cordaid explicitly defines pastoralists as IPs: “Pastoralists also enjoy additional rights recognised to minorities and indigenous peoples because they constitute a group that is culturally different from the rest of the national population … Minorities might also classify as indigenous peoples. What distinguishes indigenous peoples is their attachment to their land and natural resources”. According to the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR), ‘the term indigenous peoples in the African context does not refer to those who came first but to shared experiences of dispossession and marginalization. Pastoralists can therefore be considered indigenous peoples.’

Cordaid initiated the Coalition for European Lobbies on Eastern-African Pastoralism (CELEP) to influence policies of both European and developing countries to recognise pastoralism as a production and livelihood system, respect pastoralists’ human rights and promote sustainable NRM through livestock-keeping. The Coalition, which includes MRG and IWGIA, discussed the IP concept, as some other members work more from a perspective of livelihoods and NRM rather than IPs. All members acknowledged the need to use both strategies for maximum impact (Inge Barmentlo, pers. comm.).

In its pastoralist development strategy, Cordaid chose to take a three-pronged approach: i) building alliances, ii) strengthening pastoralist voice to advocate on their own behalf (self-determination), and iii) addressing the knowledge gap (strengthening research and policy-influencing organisations). It developed a regional programme focused on pastoralist communities in two cross-border areas: southern Ethiopia/northern Kenya and southern Kenya/northern Tanzania. The thematic foci are:

- Increasing the participation and voice of pastoralist women
- Increasing the participation and voice of pastoralists in planning and managing the natural resources on which they depend
- Improving the marketing of livestock and their products (Espinoza Rocca & Barmentlo 2008).

The work directly with pastoralists is meant to ensure that they can continue to gain a livelihood from dryland areas. This is a high-risk environment, which makes their mobile mode of production necessary and must include attention to reducing disaster risks and accessing markets. Thus, there are obvious links with Cordaid’s Programme 4 (Disaster Prevention) and Programme 9 (Small Producers).

3. Changes in pastoralists’ lives and some factors contributing to these changes

This chapter starts with a brief introduction to pastoralism in Ethiopia, followed by an account of changes in government policy related to pastoralism in an historical perspective, but focused on the period since 1991, when the current Government of Ethiopia (GoE) assumed power. These new policies opened up opportunities for pastoralists and supporting agencies to claim rights to self-determination and development by pastoral peoples. During the field study, views on actual changes in the situation of pastoralists and the contribution of Cordaid to these changes were sought from: a) the endogenous perspective, i.e. practising pastoralists and people from pastoralist ethnic groups working in local civil-society organisations (CSOs); and b) the exogenous perspective, i.e. non-pastoralists working with the intermediary NGOs partnering with Cordaid and other actors in government and civil

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5 However, this is not necessarily the case, as minorities may also have strong attachment to the land and natural resources. What distinguishes IPs is that they are entitled to special and internationally recognised group rights (as collective subjects) and minorities are not.

6 It was not possible to make a clear distinction between these two subgroups, although the ethnic pastoralists in local CSOs are clearly influenced by the national and, in some cases, international discourse on pastoralist development.
society engaged in pastoralist research and development (not in Cordaid-supported organisations). To the extent possible, but trying to avoid repetition, the perspectives of these two groups are reflected in Section 3.2 and 3.3, respectively.

3.1 Changes in policies related to pastoralists and pastoralism in Ethiopia

**Pastoralism in Ethiopia.** The 12–15 million pastoralists in Ethiopia (MoFED 2006) form a substantial minority (about 15%) in the total population, estimated to be almost 80 million (FDRE 2009). The pastoralists belong to about 30 ethnic groups. Because they are not a homogenous group – indeed, they are often involved in intra- and inter-ethnic conflict – collective action to defend their interests has been elusive. These pastoralists use primarily the arid and semi-arid areas of Ethiopia, which cover about 50–60% of the total land area of about 1.1 million km² and are unsuitable for cultivation, except along the river courses. About 40% (Pantuliano & Wekesa 2008) of Ethiopia’s total livestock population can be found in the pastoral areas. According to Sandford and Yohannes (2000), over half of the Ethiopian pastoralists live in Somali Region, about 30% in Afar, 10% in Oromia and 7% in the Southern Region. In Somali and Afar Regions, pastoralists are in the majority; in other regions, they are in the minority. In Oromia Region, pastoralists make up about 12% of the population (OPADC 2006), most of them in Borana Zone. In Southern Ethiopia, about 9% of the people are pastoralists7, most of them in South Omo Zone. The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MoARD 2005) estimates that pastoralists keep 73% of the goats in Ethiopia, 25% of the sheep, 20% of the cattle and all the camels. The livestock sector ranks second after coffee in generating foreign exchange (IIED/SOS Sahel 2010). Pastoral areas not only meet most of the domestic meat demand but are also the main suppliers of livestock for export, generating about US$50 million per annum for Ethiopia (Yakob & Catley 2010).

**Policy change related to pastoralists in Ethiopia.** Since the inclusion of the pastoral areas in Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889–1913), the governments of Ethiopia followed different policies and strategies concerning pastoralism, all primarily based on the assumption that the pastoral lands belonged to no-one as the users were not settled. Government control of pastoral land was given legal recognition in the Ethiopian civil code of 1960: all land used by pastoralists was designated as property of the State.

Under the socialist Derg8 regime, the 1975 land-reform proclamation to nationalise rural land gave only usufruct rights to pastoralists and allowed the state to further encroach on pastoral land and water resources for investments not related to pastoralist livelihoods or wellbeing. The best rangelands were enclosed for national parks, state forests and state-controlled ranches; the pastoralists were not allowed to use them for grazing. In place of the indigenous structure of pastoralist leadership and representation, so-called “Pastoral Associations” (PAs = lowest level of government administration) were set up with the aim of sedentarising pastoralists in specific localities. The laws and regulations related to state-farm development in these areas did not recognise resource use by pastoralists.

In 1991, after the fall of the Derg regime and establishment of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), there was a fundamental change in the political structure in the country toward decentralisation of power on the basis of ethnic regionalisation. With this came also a change in policy toward pastoral peoples, who make up about 30 of the roughly 80 ethnic groups in the country. Each ethnic group is regarded in the constitution as a “Nationality”, defined as “people with a common culture reflecting considerable uniformity and a similarity of custom, a common language or (minority) languages of communication, a belief in a common bond and identity, the majority of whom live in a common territory”. Two articles in the Ethiopian Constitution of 1994 refer explicitly to pastoralists:

> **Article 40.5:** “Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands.”

> **Article 41.8:** “Ethiopian farmers and pastoralists have the right to receive fair price for their products, that would lead to improvement in their conditions of life and to enable them to obtain an equitable share of the national wealth commensurate with their contribution. This objective shall guide the State in the formulation of economic, social and development policies.”

Other articles address the democratic rights of all Nationalities in Ethiopia, including pastoralists, e.g.:

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Article 8.1 & 8.3: “All sovereign power resides in the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia …. Their sovereignty shall be expressed through their representatives elected in accordance with this Constitution and through their direct democratic participation.”

Article 50.4: “Adequate power shall be granted to the lowest units of government to enable the People to participate directly in the administration of such units.”

Article 88.2 “Government shall respect the identity of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples. Accordingly Government shall have the duty to strengthen ties of equality, unity and fraternity among them.”

Article 89.4 & 89.6: “Government shall provide special assistance to Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples least advantaged in economic and social development … Government shall at all times promote the participation of the People in the formulation of national development policies and programmes; it shall also have the duty to support the initiatives of the People in their development endeavors”.

Pastoralist ethnic groups enjoy the same rights as other ethnic groups in Ethiopia. In the House of People’s Representatives, in addition to the members elected in the constituencies (defined primarily along ethnic lines), provisions are made for “special representation for minority Nationalities and Peoples” (Article 54.2). In the House of Federation, each Nation, Nationality and People is represented by at least one member, and another representative for each one million of its population (Article 61.2).

Women’s equal rights with men are enshrined in the Constitution, which does not include specific mention of pastoralist women, but several paragraphs are particularly relevant for them (see Annex 7). All of the articles are related to individual rather than collective rights.

Under the new government, decentralisation of government administration from the federal to regional and district levels was designed to improve responsiveness and accountability in service delivery and ultimately to increase democratisation of decision-making. The District Level Decentralization Program (DLDP) as part of the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP; MoFED 2006) seeks to create viable development centres at district level. Although this has progressed more slowly in pastoral than in highland areas, it does offer enabling conditions for pastoralist districts to make their own decisions at that level.

Key current policies related to pastoralism. Several policies of the GoE relate to pastoralist development. The major ones are the National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management (TGE 1993a), the National Policy on Women (TGE 1993b), the Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS; FDRE 2002) and the PASDEP (MoFED 2006). The last mentioned, which is the GoE’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, includes a chapter on “Pastoralist livelihoods and development”. It recognises “the unique lifestyle and needs of the pastoralist population”, acknowledges pastoralists’ previous marginalisation, and proposes a range of livelihood-related and service-delivery interventions tailored to the specific situation of pastoralists. It emphasises voluntary sedentarisation of pastoralists, consolidation and stabilisation of the settled groups, development of irrigated farming along reliable river courses, promotion of mobile social services, development of infrastructure and improving animal production in pastoral areas to meet export demand. The Pastoral Policy Direction of the Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA 2003) focuses in the short term (5 years) on reducing vulnerability, strengthening pastoralists’ capacities to respond to climate change and promoting good local governance. In the medium term (10 years), the policy is to improve water resources, livestock production and marketing, education, health, tourism, and trade and industry by attracting the private sector. In the long term (25 years), it envisions “stable” and settled pastoral and agropastoral communities that are linked strongly to non-pastoral economic systems and contribute significantly to the national economy.

Since the early 1900s, Ethiopia’s grazing lands have been regarded as property of the State. The 1975 land-reform proclamation led to the establishment of Pastoral Associations as administrative units, with a view to pastoralist sedentarisation and development of state farms. In essence, the proclamation removed grazing areas from pastoralist control. Constitutions have gone from considering pastoral areas as vacant (1955) to recognising pastoralists’ right to use land for grazing and not to be displaced from their land (1991). Policies and strategies pertinent to pastoral development have been developed since the establishment of the FDRE in 1991, although most of these have not dwelt on pastoral issues in depth. In the last two decades, there have been gradual improvements: the 1993 agricultural extension programme included nothing about pastoral development, but the RDPS proposed short-, medium- and long-term plans for pastoral development, initially promoting the tradition mobile production system as the source of livelihood for pastoralists, but with the ultimate goal of settling them.
A key problem has been that a common-property system of land rights is not recognised in Ethiopian land policy; this distinguishes only between State and private property. The GoE’s Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation of 2005 does refer to communal rights but by emphasising that “the right to land is exclusively vested in the state and in the people” and that the Government as owner of rural land can “convert communal rural land to private holdings” (§5.3). According to Mohammed Abdulahi (2007), this weakens pastoral communal land rights and makes it easier for federal and regional states to appropriate pastoral land to encourage private investment. Until recently, the pastoral regions did not have their own land-tenure policies but, in the last few years, with increasing strength of the Regional Governments, Oromia and Afar Regions have drawn up rural land-use and administration policies that refer to customary rights of access to communal grazing lands and ritual sites. However, it is not laid out how communal rights to land and water resource can be registered (Eyasu Elias 2008).

**Government institutional changes related to pastoralism.** In the wake of these policies, several institutional changes have taken place that offer opportunities for pastoralist development in Ethiopia:

1) Creation of formal pastoralist institutions within the government structure: in the National Parliament, the FDRE set up the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) in 2003 as one of 12 standing committees. The PASC’s mission is to bring about positive change toward sustainable pastoral development, specifically to: i) forge more reliable delivery of public services to pastoral areas; ii) foster more timely response to challenges and crises in these areas; iii) promote greater protection and promotion of pastoral rights; and iv) seek ways to enhance and improve economic, social, educational and political conditions for pastoralists;

2) Setting up Regional Pastoral Commissions to improve the wellbeing of pastoral communities by making “people-centred, community-based, holistic and multi-sectoral development interventions” (PFE 2005). These Commissions are meant to build pastoralists’ capacities to identify their needs and priorities and solve their own problems by channelling public funds through producer or community organisations. They are also meant to promote community-based NRM approaches, facilitate provision of financial services and build good governance;

3) Creation of the Pastoral Areas Extension Team and the Pastoral Development Coordination Team within the MoARD in 2000 and the Pastoral Areas Development Department in 2002 within MoFA in 2002. Under the latter, the Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP) was started in 2003 with funding from the World Bank, IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) and the GoE; this 15-year programme aims to improve livelihoods, reduce vulnerability to disaster and set up effective models of public-service delivery in pastoral areas;

4) Establishment of institutes of research and education focused on pastoralism, e.g. the Institute of Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Studies (IPAS) at Haramaya University (2007); regional research centres in Oromia, Afar, Somali and other dryland areas in a special effort since 2003 to improve research coverage of pastoral agro-ecologies; the Gewane Agricultural Technical Vocational Education and Training (ATVET) College in Afar Region to train development facilitators for work in pastoral areas (2002); and the Yabello Pastoral and Dryland Agriculture Research Center at the former Southern Rangeland Development Unit (SORDU) site in Oromia Region (2007).

According to the GoE report to the ACHPR\(^9\), measures to improve pastoralists’ lives include:

- The GoE’s health policy requires that special attention be given to the health needs of the most neglected regions and segments of the population, which include pastoralists. Under the PASDEP, the GoE is extending primary healthcare and preventative services to such previously neglected areas. Specific information, education and communication materials have been developed for the Health Extension Program in pastoral regions;
- The Education Sector Development Program of the Ministry of Education is reaching out to more remote and dispersed pastoralist communities in Afar, Somali, Oromia and Southern Regions, where several alternative basic education centres have been established. It has set up a “Pastoralist Programme”; teacher-training institutes offer a two-week course in “Pastoral Education”; and boarding schools and school-based feeding programmes have been set up to increase enrolment of pastoralist children; at primary level, instruction is supposed to be in the local language;
- In higher education, affirmative measures were taken to increase the enrolment of students from less-developed (largely pastoral) regions such as Afar, Benishangul, Gambela and Somali and for

\(^9\) Adoption of concluding observations on the report was deferred until after receipt of more information (ACHPR 2009).
those from pastoralist areas of Oromia and Southern Regions by lowering the entrance requirements for these students.

This GoE report stresses that the Constitution (Article 39.1) guarantees the right of self-determination of nations, nationalities and peoples, encompassing: i) the right to speak, write and develop their own languages, and to express, develop and preserve their own identity, culture and history; ii) the right to self-government, including the right to establish institutions of local government at regional, zonal or district level; iii) the right of secession, by which a nation or nationality may form its own sovereign state under international law; and iv) the right of representation at all levels of government.

One case of secession has indeed occurred. After the fall of the Derg, the Eritreans voted for independence in a referendum supported by Ethiopia and the United Nations. Since then, there have been struggles for secession, e.g. by the Somali people in the Ogaden, but this has not been granted. The devolution of power to Regional States defined along ethnic lines has given more rights of self-determination to pastoral peoples such as the Afar and Somali, who form the vast majority of the population in their respective regions. Each Regional State has its own legislative, executive and judicial powers. In other regions, pastoralist ethnic groups have some degree of self-governance within their own zones (Borana) in a larger regional state (Oromia) or in their own districts similarly divided according to ethnic groups (e.g. Desenech, Arbore and Hamar in the Southern Region).

Although policies for improving the situation of pastoralists in Ethiopia are generally favourable, they include contradictions, such as recognising the “unique lifestyle” of pastoralists and referring to their “voluntary settlement’, yet the government institutional changes and development interventions have been designed in such a way as to promote sedentarisation, and there is little evidence of services tailored to the specific situation of pastoralists. Implementation of the policies has been slow, or they have been misunderstood or misinterpreted at different levels of government.

Government stance regarding pastoralists and the concept of IPs. With respect to the GoE’s recognition of pastoralists as IPs, the situation is not straightforward. The new Ethiopian Constitution adopted in 1994 recognised the rights of the multitude of different ethnic groups in the country – including but not only pastoral peoples – for self-government. It set up ethnically based states that were permitted to secede from the federation, but there were no provisions for protecting minorities and ethnic groups living outside their own ethnic administrative regions (Kipuri & Ridgewell 2008).

In 1993, Ethiopia acceded to the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, and in 1996 to the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). However, it obviously had reservations about proposed agreements related to IPs. It did not ratify the International Labour Organization Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989), and it abstained in the vote on the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP) in the United Nations General Assembly in 2007.

3.2 Pastoralists’ perceptions on changes in their situation

3.2.1 Political rights

The views expressed by pastoralists in South Omo and Borana Zones about changes in their lives focused primarily on their socio-economic situation and on relations with people in the areas where they live and move. The issues they raised pertaining to representation and voice were concerned primarily with retaining or regaining rights of access to land, opportunities to influence development activities at local level and – especially in the case of women – rights to participate in decision-making within the pastoral society and in interaction with external development actors.

Men and women pastoralists in South Omo felt they had more opportunity than before to express their views in discussions about development activities at the local level (village and subdistrict), but they felt they had little say in issues – especially related to land-use rights – being discussed at higher levels.

At the local level, the practising pastoralists appeared to have little awareness of their rights as enshrined in the Ethiopian Constitution. For example, it was striking that, in Borana Zone, none of the water committee members – i.e. responsible people within their community – whom the study team met in the information centre in Alona where booklets on IP rights were openly stored, was aware of the
booklets or the topic. One Boran NGO staff member estimated that about 4/5 of the pastoralists in rural areas are not aware of their rights as Ethiopian citizens.

The educated pastoralists felt that, among pastoralists at the grassroots, there is more confusion than in former times, when all were aware of their rights within the systems of customary law. Now that these systems have weakened, pastoralists find themselves in a larger State with more uncertainty and less opportunity to receive answers to their requests and concerns. It was noted, however, that – at least among the Boran – this was a problem more for the men than for the women. The traditional gada system is highly male-centric. Pastoralist women who are aware of their constitutional rights are benefiting from change more than the men, and greater efforts were being made by NGOs and government agencies to inform women than men about their rights.

Educated pastoralists working in local NGOs in Borana Zone stressed the importance of information to be able to realise political rights. According to an educated Boran man:

“*What matters is information. Our people do not have information about the world. Pastoralists are good in getting information from each other, but don’t have access to outside experience.*”

Another educated pastoralist pointed out that the Government kept most of his people “*in the dark*” as to what their rights are and what is being planned for their development at national level:

“If you don’t know your rights, you don’t know whom to ask; you don’t know who is doing something for or against you. To have a stake in national planning, pastoralists should know what helps and harms them. But they are not even told that this is the plan.” *(Somali man)*

The educated pastoralists saw modern education as the key to greater awareness of citizens’ rights and understanding their value and did not express concern about loss of identity through this education. In stressing that the people with the greatest possibility for choice were the pastoralists with Western education, they interpreted “self-determination” of pastoralists in terms of individual choice rather than collective choice made ethnic groups. Possibilities for education had increased but, in the meantime, there were very few possibilities for illiterate pastoralists to access the information they needed to be able to influence decision-making at regional levels or higher.

Nevertheless, the general feeling was that some progress had been made in raising the general status of pastoralists in Ethiopian society. Repeatedly, pastoralists at both the grassroots level and in regional or national organisations drew attention to the fact that there has been a change in how the GoE perceives pastoralists. In the past, they were referred to in Amharic (the official language of Ethiopia) as “zelan” (nomads), which has a negative connotation of aimless wandering. Now, in public gatherings and speeches by government officials, they are referred to as “*arbetua ader*”, meaning livestock producers or pastoralists. It was proudly pointed out that “*a child of pastoralists*” had been the one who promoted this name and brought about this change.

In the case of pastoralists involved in associations at regional level, such as the Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA), there was a much higher awareness of pastoralists’ rights as ethnic groups, but they pointed out that the existing favourable policies on pastoralist rights are not being implemented on the ground. They are now pressuring for an institution at national level that represents pastoralists (seeing as neither the PASC nor the PFE can, in their present form, fulfil this function).

The concept of pastoralists as “indigenous peoples” did not come up spontaneously in discussion with pastoralists in the field. Most of the Western-educated pastoralist NGO staff and other resource persons of pastoralist background living in Addis Ababa had reservations about the applicability of the concept to pastoralists in Ethiopia, e.g.:

“The word ‘indigenous’ is used differently in other places than it is used here. Here, there are no other people coming above us. We cannot talk of indigenous peoples. We were here before and we are still here and there is nobody above us.” *(Somali man)*

Especially the larger pastoralist groups such as the Boran/Oromia, Afar and Somali regard themselves as superior to other ethnic groups (including some smaller pastoralist groups). They saw themselves as having substantial resources and control over their own affairs, as stressed by PFE staff:

“One cannot deny that the existing political system is geared toward minority groups. They have a lot of rights, which may not be the case elsewhere in Africa. For example, both the Afar and the Somali
have their own government, their own structures, their own budgets\textsuperscript{10}. In this respect, Ethiopian pastoralists are very advanced. Other peoples could learn a lot from the Ethiopian experience.”

When the study team brought up the concept of IPs in discussions with ethnic pastoralists, it was – in one case – welcomed in its emphasis on indigenouness:

“Development should come from within. The IP movement could help us make change.” (Guji man)

People of pastoralist background who had been involved in international events related to IP rights expressed disappointment that these events had not yet led to concrete improvement for their people. It was stimulating for the individuals involved to discuss rights and other issues of IPs and to learn how pastoralists in other countries are dealing with rights-based issues, but Ethiopian pastoralists’ rights to land and other resources continue to dwindle. On the other hand, longer-term opportunities were seen:

“Pastoralists’ rights to land can be obtained only by joining a movement like WAMIP\textsuperscript{11} that involves a much larger number of groups facing similar challenges.” (Boran man)

3.2.2 Rights to natural resources

There was uncertainty among most pastoralists as to how to ensure recognition of their customary land management system. A major problem was that some elders have been “used” or “manipulated” to allow outsiders to alienate land from the community. The GoE and investors have had little difficulty in gaining the consent of carefully selected pastoralist elders on behalf of “their” communities, although the matter was not discussed and agreed within the communities. The pastoralists felt that this problem can be overcome only by making all group members (not only leaders) aware of what is happening.

Especially the pastoralists in South Omo reported that they are facing much greater problems in recent years in retaining rights to use land and water. Large-scale commercial farming by a private investor has a huge negative impact on the lives of pastoralists living downstream, threatening their livelihoods and self-confidence. They feel they have no power to influence decision-making about use of the river water. Dry-season grazing and watering areas have dried up, the water table in the shallow wells has fallen, and there is little or no water for the pastoralists’ nascent efforts to practise small-scale irrigation. In the words of one Hamar woman, the cotton farm is “eating our meal and drinking our water”. The observed changes may not be due entirely to the cotton farm, but there is a strong feeling among the Hamar that it plays a major role. As a result, they say they have to move their livestock further away to non-traditional grazing areas, i.e. into the territory of their enemies, although they are fully aware that this could lead to more conflict.

Yesterday this was a river; now the river is dry because it was dammed. We are rearing our livestock for nothing. You have come that way; you have seen where the water is: it is in the big farm. But it is dry here. If you can echo our pain, this is our pain. This will cause conflict. There would not be conflict if water were here.” (Hamar male elder)

The same Hamar elder complained about the inequity and lack of transparency in the way the government administered land. He contrasted this with their customary land management system, in which the elders decided who could cultivate specific pieces of land: weaker people were allocated more open land, which required little or no clearing.

In Borana Zone, pastoralists referred to more frequent and severe drought in recent years as the main reason for having to move their herds beyond government-drawn district boundaries and into Kenya.

In both South Omo and Borana Zones, the pastoralists claimed that their wider radius of mobility, also across borders, has increased the potential for conflict. The men’s own “solution” to this has been to create a “better balance of power” by investing in small weapons and ammunition. However, many pastoralists also saw some promise in the peace-building activities supported by both NGOs and local institutions, to help them “find another way out”. The Hamar pastoralists in Assile referred to a generally improved environment for co-existence of different pastoral peoples, and explained that there was greater readiness to sit down and discuss things instead of actually using their weapons.

\textsuperscript{10} As mentioned in Section 3.1, the Afar and the Somali have their own Regional States with legislative executive and judicial powers. They may draw up their own development policies, handle their own budgets and can also levy taxes.

\textsuperscript{11} WAMIP: World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples
Some optimism was expressed in Borana Zone that traditional institutions to regulate land use were being strengthened. AFD’s training on land rights and NRM and its support to collaboration between traditional leaders and local government led to joint demarcation of rangeland in their localities and development of local bylaws overseen by a community committee. As a result, some plots of farmland in inappropriate sites had been abandoned, settlements around well heads relocated, private land enclosures dismantled, and traditional ways of managing the resources revived. This revealed the potential for a land management system that accommodates customary and government institutions.

A few local pastoralist leaders referred to international pastoralist gatherings held in South Omo and Borana Zones and to cross-border visits in Kenya where they learnt about NRM, risk management and market-related activities. This gave them opportunities to gain also other new ideas, such as about community-managed tourism. An important impulse for some pastoralist leaders and local NGO staff members came from taking part in international meetings, e.g. in Segovia, Spain, where they learned how livestock-keepers in other counties have influenced policymakers regarding resource-use rights.

3.2.3 Livelihoods

Basic services. The state of social-service delivery is an obvious indicator of the degree to which pastoralists are marginalised or excluded by government. There was general agreement among men and women pastoralists in both areas that, in the past 20 years, there has been a marked improvement in availability of basic social services (from a baseline of nil, in many cases). They highlighted the improvements in modern healthcare for both people and livestock, and in schools, water supply and roads. However, the services were described as still inadequate to meet the needs.

Much discussion with pastoralists in South Omo revolved around issues of education and its impact on culture, identity and wellbeing. A major change they mentioned was the increased number of schools and number of children going to school, but there were diverging views about the impact of this modern education. Many school dropouts do not return to a pastoralist way of life, yet do not find other employment that would allow them to send money back to their families. Some of the male dropouts engage in activities that their communities regard as harmful for pastoralist livelihoods and self-esteem, e.g. trying to earn money from charcoal burning, prostitution or posing for tourist photos.

The schools – especially for Grades 5 and upwards – are located too far away for the parents to have control over their children. Many pastoralist parents view the hostels for boarding schools with mistrust, as the children become alienated from their culture, e.g. the schoolchildren wear highlander clothes and the girls do not agree to arranged marriages, which means that the girls cannot be given for bridewealth. Particularly the Hamar and Tsamai expressed reluctance to send their girls to school:

“If the girl goes to school and is not serious, she ends up in a bar. It is better for me to sell her in marriage.” (Tsamai woman)

Some pastoralist women linked formal schooling with premarital sex and HIV/AIDS and wanted to “rescue” their daughters from this by withdrawing them from school. A Hamar man who had gone to boarding school confirmed that this danger was real, as many highlander youth and men were keen to have sex with pastoralist girl students. On the other hand, for both boys and girls, he saw education as the Hamar’s “most important chance”. It was a key factor to “bring Hamar into light … if they cannot read and write, Hamar cannot manage and utilise their own resources”.

The Boran and Guji pastoralists appeared to give higher value to formal education, to be more willing to send some of their children to school and to be less fearful that the children would cease to be Boran or Guji as a result. Ethnic pastoralist staff members of local partner NGOs pointed out that their people have been demanding schools because they have a right to education. The GoE has been responding to these demands, and there is now at least one primary school in each PA. Within the current generation, many more pastoralist children are going to school than in the past.

Diversification. All pastoralist groups said that, over the years, they had become more aware of other ways of gaining a livelihood that complemented livestock-keeping and – in the case of the groups in

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12 A study by Ryans (2002) revealed, after initial hesitant agreement, an increasing resistance of Hamar ritual leaders and elders to allow girls to go to school or even to take part in non-formal education. He interpreted this as “organised resistance to forces of globalization” and found that the resistance was located in the traditional institution of bridewealth, which subordinates women as a part of Hamar culture. The elders were forbidding girls to go to school in order to preserve their culture. This attitude still seems to persist seven years later.
South Omo – rainfed cropping, which is a traditional practice carried out mainly by the women. They gave as examples of diversification: selling chat (*Catha edulis*, a stimulant), honey and vegetables. They are selling more livestock and, with their earnings (also from non-livestock income), they are investing not only in livestock but also, in some cases of richer pastoralists, in building houses in town.

The pastoralists in both areas also reported increased involvement in livestock trade and – especially among women – involvement in petty trade. The greater market involvement and opportunity for trade with other parts of Ethiopia have been largely due to the improved road infrastructure – built mainly by the government – and the subsequent inflow of private entrepreneurs in transport and trade. Some pastoralist groups (e.g. Somali) have long been known as entrepreneurs; others are seeking – on their own initiative – closer linkages with national and international markets and are taking advantage of modern means of telecommunication. This draws them into the global economy and information networks. Here, men appear to have an advantage of women pastoralists, who felt that their market links were weak and limited in geographic spread. This was one reason they gave for the relatively modest benefits they were deriving from petty trade.

**Livelihoods.** With reference to livestock production, the pastoralists did not mention any increase in production by the main livestock species they traditionally keep, namely cattle. Instead, the trend was toward greater herd diversification. The pastoralist men and women noted the necessity to keep more goats and to start keeping camels, an animal which they previously regarded as wild. Some men described how they had relatively quickly changed their attitude to camel husbandry, and many of them see potential in this, not only to produce milk for their families but also to sell animals. The women tended to be more sceptical, referring to the difficulties in managing camels and the additional work entailed in trying to find them because they can wander far. Both men and women said that only camels and goats can live from the shrubby vegetation that has developed in recent years as a result of bush encroachment. However, the men felt that they have too little information about camel marketing (especially prices) and how to use camels for traction (ploughing) and transport. The women stressed that the veterinary service for camels is very poor, and the local traditional medicines are not as effective for camels as they are for smaller animals.

The pastoralist men and women in South Omo saw little benefit for their livelihoods coming from the growth of tourism in recent years. They complained about a strong negative impact on their children, who go to the towns to attract tourists to pay them for photos and, in some cases, for sex, and then return home sick (this may be referring to HIV/AIDS). The pastoralists – especially the Hamar – feel that the traditional values in their society are being destroyed by the expanding tourism, over which they have no control. Non-Hamars reportedly act as tour guides and give distorted accounts of the local culture. Some Hamar elders have been discussing this problem and are considering ways to make tourism more beneficial for their people, e.g. by offering them camping facilities in the pastoralist villages where the tourists can experience local life and culture, the pastoral youth are under the control of the society and the entire community can derive some income from the tourism.

In a focus-group discussion, youth from Boran pastoralist background now living in the town of Arero pointed to the importance of savings and credit (S&C) initiatives in helping to improve the lives not only of pastoralists but also of people in towns.

### 3.2.4 Status and rights of pastoralist women

Both men and women among the pastoralists in South Omo and Borana Zones felt that women have more to say within the home and, contrary to the situation in the past, now take active part in decision-making at community level. Women can make their own decisions about selling goats and honey and they use the income for household purposes. Women are now engaged in petty trade and manage public assets, such as grain mills and water cisterns. This has given them more self-reliance:

> “They no longer need to ask their husbands: ‘Do this for me’; instead, they can say: ‘I have this, and I can do this for myself’.” (Boran man)

Hamar men reported that the increase in women’s participation in public affairs came about as a result of several community meetings with NGO and government staff, which helped the men see things differently and make individual responses regarding their own wives and daughters. These new ideas were discussed during coffee ceremonies and slowly became more widely accepted in the community.
According to Hamar women, mainly access to goats and S&C helped them get “from down there to up here”. They felt they had gained in terms of public influence: they now have a right to discuss with men in the community and to come up with development ideas. They gave the example of their involvement in water-supply planning and management. There were also changes in women’s role in the production sphere within the household, largely through their increased ownership of goats. Even if their husbands or male relatives sometimes sold goats on their behalf, the women decided how the money was used.

Guji men reported that women in their communities now have assets and capital, and some women’s groups have managed to obtain land for cropping. Now that the women have their own resources, they have a stronger voice within the community. This change resulted from the efforts of both NGOs and the government to encourage formation of women’s groups working on livelihood and rights issues.

Not only in the modern but also in the traditional institutions, pastoralist women felt they have gained ground. For example, some Boran women now speak for themselves before the gada leadership rather than being defended by a male representative, as is the custom. At grassroots level, development-support actors discerned a greater awareness of women’s rights: pastoralist girls and women approach traditional leaders, local NGOs and government authorities (police) to claim their rights, e.g. freedom from abduction. Also some pastoralist men had reconsidered women’s rights. A Boran woman working with PFE pointed out that a highly respected Boran leader openly declared that his sons and daughters will inherit equally from him, contrary to the tradition of inheritance through only the male line.

3.3 Exogenous perceptions on changes in the situation of pastoralists

During the fieldwork in Ethiopia, development-support agency staff and resource persons identified similar changes in the situation of Ethiopian pastoralists, referring not only but primarily to those in South Omo and Borana Zones. Where there was any divergence between the views of Cordaid partners and those of other development-support actors, these are highlighted.

3.3.1 Political and sociocultural rights

Staff of NGOs that are not Cordaid partners saw Cordaid as an organisation that focuses on improving pastoralists’ livelihoods and their capacities to organise themselves. It was not seen primarily as an organisation greatly involved in policy influence. According to one resource person from a non-partner NGO, Cordaid made little direct investment in addressing structural injustice, partly because it did not have enough capacity to understand the dynamics and provide support on these issues. A certain percentage of project activities was supposed to be related to policy change, but attempts to address such issues were limited in Ethiopia. This was reportedly for four main reasons: 1) the great diversity among pastoralist groups; 2) the mobile mode of pastoralist production and life, which is not conducive to lobbying and advocacy activities; 3) the lack of receptiveness on the part of the GoE to this type of action being carried out by NGOs; and 4) Cordaid’s lack of a clear strategy based on an analysis of the major challenges and outlining the steps and actions to be taken.

**Awareness of rights.** The general tenor of responses from development-support actors was that only the very few pastoralists who directly represent their people at regional and federal level are likely to be aware of their constitutional rights. A comparison was made with Kenya, where even remote pastoralist communities on the border of the country are much better informed than in Ethiopia, possibly because of the better telecommunication system in Kenya that allowed access also to political information.

Cordaid partners in Borana Zone reported that, on a small scale, some activities have been undertaken to raise local people’s awareness of their rights, e.g. booklets printed in 2007 in Oromifa on land use and IP rights, within a project funded by Norwegian People’s Aid to enhance community capacity to manage natural resources. However, it was not clear how widely these booklets were distributed and read, or whether the issues raised were discussed with/by pastoralists or presented in a form that illiterate people could understand. The booklets on budget tracking (part of an initiative co-financed by numerous organisations, including Cordaid) draw attention to the need to address the rights of the elderly, the displaced and the vulnerable in budget planning. One partner NGO also developed a booklet for pastoralists on the Ethiopian constitution, to inform them about their constitutional rights and

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13 Also other changes were mentioned but reference is made here only to the issues raised in the ToR for this study.
14 In 2004, the literacy rate among Ethiopian Boran was less than 10% (Solomon & Coppock 2004).
to give them guidance as to where they can turn if they feel their rights have been denied. However, in view of the current political environment in Ethiopia\textsuperscript{15}, they are not distributing these booklets.

**Identity and culture.** Development-support actors reported that, compared with 10–15 years ago, pastoralists have more opportunities to celebrate their culture and identity in the public sphere beyond their local institutions. Especially among Western-educated sons and daughters of pastoralists who have found a place in the non-traditional society, there is a strong sense of identity reflected in their pride and self-confidence in their traditions, music, dress and language. This is encouraged by the GoE’s recognition of the diverse ethnic groups in the country, e.g. in celebrating Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day every 9 December and the Ethiopian Pastoralist Day (EPD) – a national holiday every 25 January, which the Ethiopian Prime Minister attended regularly in the last few years. The annual EPD is preceded by pastoralist celebrations at regional and sometimes also district level.

In recent years, there has been some discussion within pastoralist-support NGOs – primarily those based in Addis Ababa – as to whether or not pastoralists should be regarded as “indigenous peoples”. In some cases, among some discussion partners in Addis Ababa – including pastoralists with a Western education – the concept was vehemently rejected as taking them backwards, as being an “insult”. They gave the term the negative connotations of “primitive” and “uncivilised”. Pastoralists in Ethiopia have struggled to be recognised as livestock producers (\textit{arbetua ader}) and full-fledged citizens. Indeed, PFE staff said they want to stop harping on the “marginalisation” of pastoralists and instead to emphasise pastoralists’ unique resources and skills and their contribution to the national economy and society. Therefore, PFE will now focus on commercialisation\textsuperscript{16}.

On the other hand, PFE – as an umbrella network of organisations working with pastoralists – and some members and also non-members of PFE (e.g. CASE) had attended events related to IP rights. A Boran man who is a member of the Board of the World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP) reported that elders of several indigenous mobile ethnic groups in Ethiopia have registered their groups with WAMIP. They are exploring possibilities of using the IP platforms and arguments to further the causes of Ethiopian pastoralists. A few individuals from development-support NGOs, together with traditional leaders of some pastoralist groups, have been involved in one or more international meetings linked to the IP movement (e.g. Segovia), but the practising pastoralists in the rural areas of southern Ethiopia appear to be largely unaware of this movement and that they have now been classified as IPs.

The concept of “indigenous peoples” was described as an “\textit{introduced concept}”, but some of the partner NGOs felt that it might be useful to pursue “\textit{the IP line}” – stressing aspects of marginalisation, alienation of natural resources, disregard of traditional institutions and weak integration into the rest of society – to give more weight to the pastoralists’ efforts to realise their rights, particularly to land.

**Representation and voice.** Cordaid partners saw great change in terms of articulating pastoralist voice. In recent years, pastoralism has been placed conspicuously on the national agenda. Panos and PFE attributed this largely to the EPD held annually for more than ten years and the four national conferences on pastoralist development organised since 2000, originally by Panos and more recently by PFE. All partners agreed that the EPD has helped influence national policy and its implementation, e.g. improvement in social services and infrastructure (roads and communication) in the lowlands. However, more recently, it has developed into a large national cultural show with less opportunity to discuss issues. According to a recent evaluation of the EPD (Yohannes GebreMichael 2009), the government is increasingly dominating the event and the influence of NGOs is diminishing. Some interviewees felt that, in view of the decentralisation of government, it was time to give more attention to policy dialogue at regional, zonal and district level, providing opportunities to expose policymakers to the situation of pastoralists in their working areas.

According to the former and current PASC Chairs, of the 547 Members of Parliament (MPs) in the Ethiopian National Assembly, 23% come from pastoralist (80 MPs) and agropastoralist (45 MPs) districts. When established in 2003, the PASC was made up of MPs only from these districts but, more recently, it has become a committee with mixed membership with six members from these districts and others.

\textsuperscript{15} The current study focuses on the period 2003–08, but discussions with Cordaid partners were influenced by the changed context in 2009 because of Ethiopia’s new Charities and Societies Legislation (FDRE 2009, see Annex 8): NGOs that receive more than 10% of their funds from foreign sources are not allowed to engage in rights-based and lobbying activities. February 2009–January 2010 was a time of transition to this new situation.

\textsuperscript{16} This is also in reaction to the new Legislation, as lobbying was the main activity of PFE since its establishment.
14 from elsewhere. In the first couple of years, the PASC had only male members, but now there are four women members. The Chair and Vice-Chair come from pastoralist districts. Some NGO respondents felt that, as a result of the diversification of membership in terms of provenance, the PASC had lost some of its positive dynamics.

In the major pastoralist regions (Afar, Oromia, Somali, Southern), elders’ councils have been established and representatives are regularly invited to different policy discussions. The councils or associations were initially made up of male pastoralist leaders but are gradually reaching out to build up constituencies at the grassroots and also to include women leaders.

Through the decentralisation of government administration and the support by NGOs to local organisational development, pastoral men and women have become active in various community-level committees and groups to manage community assets and development (e.g. Water Management Committees, Community-Managed Disaster Risk Reduction Committees), as well as in development committees at sub-district, district and zonal levels. These provide opportunities for pastoralists to inform themselves and to influence decision-making. In some areas (e.g. Afar), the establishment of community radio programmes has also given pastoralists a local public platform to express their views. Various other gatherings organised by pastoralist institutions, NGOs and government agencies – often for peace-building purposes – have similarly provided national and international platforms for pastoralists to voice their concerns.

Cordaid partners and other development-support actors reported that pastoralist men and women have greater competence and confidence to engage in negotiation and decision-making about economic, social and cultural aspects of their lives beyond their traditional institutions, i.e. in interaction with government staff and NGOs. In some cases, this has gone hand-in-hand with revitalised customary institutions, particularly in NRM and conflict resolution, and the linking of formal and traditional institutions. This has been supported primarily by NGOs that have trained not only pastoralists but also government staff in participatory methods of development planning, implementation and evaluation. In short: there is greater inclusion of pastoralists in “modern” development processes.

3.3.2 Rights to natural resources

The changes in land use and land quality were described by international and local NGO staff as the greatest problem facing pastoralists in Ethiopia today, and also the most sensitive issue in dealings with Government. The pastoral system and pastoralist livelihoods are threatened by expansion of cultivation (encouraged by government policy), changes in migration patterns because of water development, bush encroachment on land that is no longer being burned in the traditional way and alienation of land to private investors, especially in Afar and Southern Regions. For example, large areas of land used by the Mursi people have been designated as wildlife parks (Poole 2009). Tens of thousands of hectares of dry-season grazing land on the banks of rivers in South Omo have been leased to commercial firms for periods of several decades in order to grow biofuels, depriving the Hamar, Desenech and smaller ethnic groups of land they had traditionally used. Key dry-season grazing areas have been converted to cropland or dried out because of upstream water extraction for cropping; this has weakened the entire pastoral production system. In a recent study, Eyasu Elias (2008) found that settler occupation and land alienation by the State for private investors, state forest or national parks severely curtailed the mobility of pastoralists and led to high livestock losses and increasing vulnerability to food insecurity and famine. Over 85% of the 300 Boran households and 93% of the 100 Karayu households interviewed faced food insecurity for about five months a year, mainly because of their displacement from their prime grazing lands and because degradation of the remaining pasture had led to a severe decline in milk production.

Although the land used by pastoralists in Ethiopia belongs to the State, the areas traditionally used by specific ethnic groups – and not (yet) of interest to investors – continue to be governed by the traditional institutions to a greater or lesser degree, depending on their strength. In recent years, tensions arose when individual pastoralists tried to enclose common land for their private use for cropping and/or grazing. Several such private enclosures (kalo) by local people were made in Borana Zone. However, through the combined pressure of the traditional Boran gada leadership, NGOs and local government officials, there is a trend back to assuring communal access to land: according to respondents in local NGOs, most enclosures to reserve areas for dry-season grazing are now communal rather than private.

According to the Constitution, pastoralists have “the right not to be displaced from their own lands”, but numerous examples were brought of pastoralists who had been displaced without the consent of the
group (although sometimes with the consent of a “leader”) and who did not know where to turn to defend their rights. In South Omo, the pastoralist groups are becoming more aware of their resource-use rights, and are seeking ways to regain access to land and water resources that had been allocated by the GoE for commercial farming. They are becoming more vocal (and, in some cases, violent) in approaching the investors and the local government to secure land, including ritual sites, and water for their communities for livestock-keeping and flood-retreat farming and/or small-scale irrigation. They also expressed concern about the effect of agrochemicals on their bees.

According to many interviewees, the increasing barriers to mobility and accessing key resources is leading to increased conflict. It was also conjectured that the low level of attention given by the GoE to conflict resolution has been deliberate. As one interviewee in Addis Ababa said:

“If people are in conflict, they will not think about development; they will not demand their rights. This is of benefit to the government, which does not have to answer their questions.”

It was reported that most of the changes in land policy that have been discussed and, in some cases, agreed in recent years have been related to private use of land for cultivation. Little attention has been given to communal use of land and, where this is addressed, the tendency has been toward wanting to allocate land to different clans and demarcate land, which could further weaken the pastoralist system, as it could lead to fragmentation, reduced flexibility and further destruction of livelihoods. Despite years of trying to enlighten policymakers, there is reportedly still no legal recognition of pastoral peoples’ collective and indivisible rights to land as a common-property resource that can be administered by the land-users themselves, including reciprocal arrangements for resource use.

3.3.3 Livelihoods

Development-support actors perceived that development interventions and the greater contact of pastoral peoples with other groups have led to gradual reduction in marginalisation over the last couple of decades. Pastoralists in southern Ethiopia have greater access to education and health services (human and animal healthcare) and improved infrastructure (especially water supply, roads, telecommunications and markets). Some felt that the GoE is giving greater recognition to pastoralists as a distinct group of citizens with rights to basic services specifically designed for them. MoFA was set up in 2003 to address the issues of pastoralists in emerging regions on the periphery of the country. All interviewees pointed to the higher schooling rates of pastoralist children in recent years. Schools have been set up and supported by the GoE, NGOs and pastoralist organisations. As examples, Boran pastoralists have established their own boarding facilities in Yabello, now managed by a committee of students (see also Anis 2008), and a Somali NGO set up a boarding school for pastoralist children in Gashamo, managed by a parent-teacher association. However, some Cordaid partners pointed also to the increasing number of school dropouts. They are neither well prepared nor motivated to return to pastoralist life, and are left in limbo, withdrawn from their traditional social setting but lacking the knowledge and skills to become employed or self-employed in the modern sector, e.g. in trade. Resource persons saw a need for technical, vocational and business training for these young people.

Both NGOs and the GoE played a role in the change, through building and staffing dispensaries, clinics and veterinary posts; training and equipping local people as traditional birth attendants (TBAs), community health workers (CHWs) and community animal health workers (CAHWs); and setting up birth huts for highly pregnant women in some areas (e.g. by EPaRDA in South Omo). Since 2003, many improvements in physical structures for education, healthcare and water supply have come about through the PCDP, co-funded by World Bank, IFAD and GoE. Also the private sector has played a role in setting up pharmacies for human and veterinary medicines in some towns in pastoral areas.

However, most Cordaid partners and other resource persons stated that, although social services had improved, there had been no significant improvement in the livelihoods of practising pastoralists. The general perception was that socio-economic differentiation and poverty has increased, as has vulnerability of the pastoral systems to disaster, and there is greater reliance on food aid in pastoralist areas. Possibly as a result of development interventions in healthcare as well as weakening social

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17 This reflects widespread and long-standing concerns about food-aid dependency, but it is interesting to note that a survey-based study of food aid in the East African rangelands revealed that if made up only a minor share of household income. In southern Ethiopia, only one-third of pastoralist households derived more than 25% of their income from food aid even in the midst of a severe drought (Lentz & Barrett 2004).
control, the human population in the lowlands had increased. The number of livestock per person had
decreased, livestock mobility has become more confined, the impacts of droughts had become more
severe, and conflict over natural resources had increased. A growing number of people have dropped
out of pastoralism to seek alternative sources of livelihood in towns. Others remained in the rural areas
but without animals and below the poverty line, haven also fallen out of the traditional system of mutual
support. Some of these did, however, receive support in the form of remittances from relatives living
elsewhere. NGOs, including Cordaid partners, admitted that interventions thus far to improve the
economic livelihoods of pastoralists did not have broad positive impact:

“There has been no strategic change in the lives of most pastoralists.” (male Cordaid partner)

By definition, grazing livestock constitutes the main source of livelihood for pastoralists. According to
NGO staff working in the lowlands, water development for people and livestock had a profound impact
on land-use patterns (greater concentration of grazing, changes in migration patterns), but did not lead
to improvements in livestock productivity or in the state of the natural resource base. The general
perception is that cattle production has declined. This is confirmed in studies made by Ayana and

Because environmental conditions are becoming less favourable for cattle – traditionally the preferred
livestock species of pastoralists in South Omo and Borana – some NGOs (e.g. FARM–Africa, EPArDA)
have introduced camels. After initial scepticism, interest among pastoralists in both areas is high,
according to these Cordaid partners. Also goats have become more popular, especially among women.
Thus, the species composition of the herds has changed over the past decade. However, the rituals
linked to reinforcing the identity and culture of the local people remain cattle-centred.

Despite the lack of improvement in livelihoods as pastoralists, the concept of “dependency” very
seldom arose in discussions with pastoralist-support NGOs. Indeed, the pastoralists who were
described as “dependent” (by a pastoralist leader) were those who are MPs in the PASC, who are
dependent on a government salary and therefore cannot speak openly on behalf of pastoralists.

3.3.4 Status and rights of pastoralist women

Pastoralist women and girls are reportedly much more greatly aware of their rights than 10–15 years
ago. Some Boran people had gone to local community-based organisations, the local administration,
the police or even the courts when girls were being forced into early marriage. A major factor in
bringing about this change has been the “aggressive” action of NGOs in addressing children’s and
especially girls’ education, talking with parents to convince them to send their children – including their
daughters – to school, and providing support (e.g. books, writing materials) for schoolgirls. Community-
based workers have helped in raising issues of girls’ and women’s rights within their communities. Also
the World Food Programme’s provision of food for girls attending school played an important role.

The approach of most development-support NGOs has been to empower women in economic terms, to
lead to social and political empowerment. Examples were given of how Cordaid partners and other
NGOs had made it possible for women to have their own livestock and their own money, over which
they can make their own decisions. This included facilitating women’s literacy training, promoting S&C
groups and income-generating activities (IGAs), and engaging in lengthy discussions with traditional
leaders to help them reflect on the situation of women in their societies. NGOs that supported the
establishment of pastoralist organisations, e.g. the OPA, strongly encouraged women’s involvement in
decision-making capacities. The result was that the OPA, which had started as an all-male initiative,
decided to fill any gaps in the general assembly only by women. Also in traditional institutions, such as
clan meetings, Boran women are involving themselves and are starting to ask about their rights. In
Borana, particular mention was made of the role of AFD and Oxfam–GB in stimulating this change.

Both Cordaid partners and other development-support actors in South Omo and Borana Zones and at
national level saw a marked increase in pastoralist women’s abilities to make decisions within and on
behalf of the household and in the community. They attributed this to the women’s increased access to
assets, such as livestock (above all, goats), and the considerable efforts made by both NGOs and
government agencies to help women organise themselves into groups and cooperatives for petty trade,
grinding-mill management, livestock marketing etc. They reported that pastoralist women had, over
time, revealed themselves to be better able to manage cooperatives than could the men; indeed, some
men in the cooperatives preferred to have a woman as treasurer and sometimes even as chair.
Among the Boran, the traditional wells had been managed solely by men, but the cisterns introduced in recent years for household water are managed largely by women, who are reportedly good in collecting fees and rationing water wisely. With the expansion of water development for human consumption, women’s role in the public sphere in managing these community assets has increased. However, NGO staff reported that many pastoralist men still need some initial “push” to include women in committees managing these assets and, if the NGOs and government agencies did not ask for women’s involvement, it probably would still not happen “spontaneously”.

According to one interviewee in a Cordaid partner NGO, the prevailing trend in Ethiopia toward providing individual rights to land leads to unfair distribution of resources largely because of unequal distribution of information about the opportunities to claim these rights – and women are particularly disadvantaged in this respect. The customary system of collective rights to resources took into account the needs of different segments in the community, such as women or weak persons. There was greater group awareness of responsibilities toward these segments than in the system of individualised resource rights. Gender issues in development interventions are closely linked with issues of property ownership. Here, pastoralist women face a dilemma:

“They are walking a thin line between personal and collective rights, and some are giving away their personal rights for collective security.” (male Cordaid partner)

Someone who attains individual wealth may be excluded from customary “safety-net” mechanisms. This is risky in a setting where other forms of social security are weak.

Even within a partner organisation, there may be differences of opinion regarding how to deal with individual (particularly women’s) and group rights. Traditionally, not only land rights but even rights to livestock are collective. Animals used to be and, in the more traditional groups, still are subject to multi-strata ownership by the clan. Strengthening women’s rights to own assets goes against this system of collective ownership. Just as, in the traditional system, a woman could not inherit property, whether land or livestock, also a man could not decide to send “his” animals elsewhere; this was decided by the group. In one NGO, the male staff members argued for the respect of group rights, which could be undermined by individual rights, whereas the female staff (in the minority) argued for strengthening pastoralist women’s individual rights to assets.

4. Assessment of change

4.1 Pastoralist worldviews, values and identity

There is obviously a strong sense of identity among pastoralist ethnic groups, also among Western-educated members who have succeeded in the modern world (but it must be noted that the study team met only those who still identified with and are trying to support their people). Nevertheless, worldviews of pastoralists are changing as a result of greater contact with other peoples, through markets, schools, faith-based organisations, NGOs, government officials from non-pastoralist ethnic groups, and tourists, as well as through mass media such as television. Pastoralists are seeing and embracing other sources of livelihood than solely livestock. The vision of the future of pastoralism expressed by educated pastoralists as well as by leaders of pastoralist associations was a way of life in which mobile livestock-keeping continued but was supplemented by commercial activities linked to urban areas, allowing access to basic social services and opportunities to be a:

“pro-active pastoralist civil society organised to influence policies to improve our lives.” (Boran man)

One Boran leader described his vision of the future in this way:

“We want pastoralists to be educated, to have health services, access to potable water, better livelihood, productive livestock systems, to use our own resources properly. We want to see a dynamic society that knows what is happening, that helps itself, that has confidence, that only asks about issues beyond its own capacity, that links with other actors. We have a vast rangeland and our own indigenous knowledge and institutions. We want pastoralists who properly exploit resources and confidently use the knowledge we have for our own development.”

Cash transactions rather than barter have been increasing in importance in the pastoralist economy in a process that has been taking place gradually over decades. In recent years, the herd structure in Borana and South Omo has changed to include more goats and camels, animals that appear to be
owned by individual family members, including women, who make their own decisions about the use of money coming from the sale of these animals. It was not clear to what extent the benefits from these individually owned animals are shared within the community, nor to what extent this change toward individual ownership of certain species weakens the collective rights to the culturally important livestock resources: cattle, which still form the major part of the dowry and pastoralist identity in these areas.

One indication of wider recognition of pastoralist identity is the GoE’s strong endorsement of the EPD. This was initiated in 1999 by Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia (PCAE), a Somali NGO that was also a founding member of PFE. PCAE handed over responsibility for organising the event to PFE and the PASC. MoFA now plays the main role in determining its structure and contents, and there appears to be less room than in the past for CSOs to express themselves via this platform. Nevertheless, the EPD still offers an opportunity to bring together diverse groups of pastoralists, each proud of its identity and, at the same time, seeking to raise common issues.

The increased self-confidence of the different pastoralist groups and their stronger feeling of identity are also translating into stronger political rights through the successful efforts in some areas to revive the customary institutions and to be recognised by local government as key actors for change. However, sociocultural change is undoubtedly taking place within the groups – to differing degrees – as a result of both external and internal influences, leading to stratification within the groups based on increased individualisation and socio-economic differentiation.

Most of the local and international NGOs working with pastoralists in Ethiopia do not exhibit much interest in the IP movement. This is not surprising in a country like Ethiopia which has not signed the DRIP and where NGOs need to tread carefully in what is obviously a very sensitive area. To a large extent, the concerns of IPs have indeed been addressed within the Ethiopian constitution, together with the concerns of the various other distinct ethnic groups within the country, and the GoE would be wary about giving special privileges to only selected ethnic groups that identify themselves as IPs.

Some pastoralist groups struggling to retain control of their land, especially those who feel pushed out by investors (commercial farmers) and national parks, have entered into the IP arena in order to draw wider attention to their plight. Even here, however, they are realising that – rather than stressing their unique ethnic identity – it may be more effective to form common-interest groups, e.g. all peoples living in an area being designated as a national park (Poole 2009). Also in a recent “bush university” with different pastoralist ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia, they argued for less emphasis on their ethnic uniqueness and more emphasis on alliance to achieve their common goals (Scoones & Anwera 2009).

4.2 Pastoralists’ rights to resources and services

The biggest challenge faced by pastoralists in Ethiopia is that the land and water resources that they use are not recognised by the GoE or by the wider Ethiopian public as being the collective property of the pastoralists. Even though the Constitution explicitly mentions pastoralists’ rights not to be removed from their land, reality looks very different. Insecure resource-use rights on State land, inappropriate land demarcation and registration procedures, lack of transparency in land grants to investors and unclear compensation procedures all combine to undermine pastoralists’ possibilities for negotiation.

The picture looks somewhat better with respect to reduced marginalisation, at least regarding access to social services by the pastoralist groups met in southern Ethiopia. This improvement was a result of efforts made not only by NGOs but also by the GoE. As this study set out to identify change, the sign is positive, because the baseline for comparison was the situation 10–15 years ago, when such services were almost non-existent. However, compared to elsewhere in Ethiopia, the pastoral areas are still far behind. Recent gender-differentiated statistics for Borana and South Omo were not available but, in a survey in pastoral districts of Somali Region, Devereux (2006) found that only 23% of the men and 5% of the women above 15 years of age were literate whereas, according to UNICEF (2010) for that period, 36% of all Ethiopians was literate. The school enrolment rate in pastoral areas is about 25%, whereas it is 95% on the national average. Similarly, the average national vaccination coverage (excluding measles vaccination) is 54%, but only 14% in pastoral areas of Ethiopia (CELEP 2010).

Because pastoralists are highly mobile in dry areas with very low population density, it is more difficult and expensive to provide social services and the people cannot take advantage of the existing services

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18 This is even partially admitted by the GoE: “the Government has set a policy that protects pastoral lands although it is not yet implemented fully” (PASDEP 2006, p195).
to the same extent as can those living in densely settled areas. Also in the future, community-based services will be vital for meeting the most basic needs of mobile pastoralists. Government policy should be supporting the interaction between community-based workers and the small number of facilities that the government can manage to operate. Lobbying and development activities for provision of social services should go in this direction to increase access of pastoralists to education and health services.

Box 2: Continuing difficulties in providing education for pastoralist children

According to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) of 1948, education is a fundamental human right, and it was enshrined already in the Ethiopian Constitution of 1987. In the past, pastoral peoples had little access to basic education, and girls did not have the same opportunity as boys to attend school. Pastoralist parents might decide to send one of their children to school as a kind of risk-spreading measure: creating capacity for alternative sources of income in the future. Although, especially in the period since 2003 when the PCDP started, more educational facilities in the form of schools have been built and more children – both boys and girls – are attending school, many pastoralists still do not send all their children to school. This is largely because formal education is still not offered in a “pastoralist-friendly” way. Conventional fixed-place schooling does not fit well with the mobile pastoralist economy and society. It deprives the pastoralist family of part of its labour force and prevents the children from gaining traditional education within the pastoral society (see, for an example of this, Lynch & Judd 2010).

Although children in ethnic groups in Ethiopia have the right to be instructed in their own language, implementers of school-based programmes have difficulties to find mother-tongue speakers with adequate qualifications (Anis 2008). As Krätli and Dyer (2009) point out, the UNDHR refers to education and not to schools (i.e. in stationary buildings for that purpose). It states that, while ‘elementary education shall be compulsory [...] parents have the prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children’ (UNDHR, 1948: Art. 26). They argue that, instead of offering more facilities for conventional schooling, educational approaches must be tailor-made to the specificities of pastoral lives, and they give examples of such approaches. In the support given by Cordaid to pastoralist education in Ethiopia, however, the emphasis is still primarily on conventional fixed-place schooling, such as in boarding schools.

4.3 Pastoralist self-determination, representation and power

Ethiopian pastoralists have greater opportunities for formal representation in modern government structures, but their presence in these structures has had low impact on improving the pastoralist way of life, largely because the effective power at national level remains in the hands of groups from non-pastoralist areas. Higher-level power relations in government seem to have weakened the PASC: inclusion of non-pastoralist MPs has made it more difficult for it to reach a consensus and influence policy in favour of pastoralists. In the Southern Region, pastoralists belong to several small groups which make up a minority among the ca 45 peoples in the region. They have not yet managed to organise themselves in such a way as to be effective in improving the lives of pastoralists as a whole.

In the Ethiopian constitution, pastoralists have both general and specific rights, but civic education has not been very effective in making them aware of their rights. Regional and local governments have not given serious attention to this, and most Cordaid partners – especially the faith-based ones – also did not involve themselves strongly in civic education. Under the new CSO legislation, awareness-raising will be even more difficult than in the past.

A general problem in implementing decentralisation in Ethiopia – not only in pastoralist areas – is that most local administrations understand the devolution of power to district level as a means for them to gain more power, but not as a process of increasing participation of local people in governance. To be sure, district and subdistrict development committees exist and pastoralist men and a few women are members, but – with the exception of some isolated cases where NGOs, including Cordaid partners, have deliberately sought to promote participatory decision-making – the power is still primarily in the hands of local government officials being controlled from higher levels of government.

Moreover, throughout Ethiopia, there is the additional problem that the constitutional endorsement of self-determination for ethnic groups that have their “own” regions, zones or districts endangers the rights of smaller minority groups and of individual citizens who do not belong to the dominant group in the ethnically defined area.
4.4 Position of pastoralist women

The main aim of most interventions related to pastoralist women has been to increase their possibilities to own and manage property as individuals, to generate income and to take part in decision-making at community level. Although, as discussed earlier, the focus on individual assets does not fit into the traditions of collective property, pastoralists are recognising that they need to seek alternatives or complements to livestock in order to sustain their livelihoods. Asset ownership by women and their better access to cash income have – according to pastoralists themselves – brought economic benefits to their families, also in male-headed households. This has created a cushion against risks. In addition, the economic empowerment of pastoralist women has broadened their horizons, so that they are discussing matters that had not been part of their domain before. Both men and women among the pastoralists claim that women’s voice is now more likely to be heard in the family and the community.

Also at national level, pastoralist women have more voice than in the past and have been elected into the Ethiopian Parliament. Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) found that – in comparison with Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda – Ethiopia had the highest number of elected pastoralist women parliamentarians, a total of four (from Afar, Oromia, Somali and Southern Regions).

Compared with 10–15 years ago, the situation of pastoralist women has improved, in their eyes and in the eyes of outside observers. However, compared with Ethiopian women in general, the majority of pastoralist women still suffer economic, social and political marginalisation and, within the pastoralist society, they still have fewer opportunities than do men to access social services and to participate effectively in decision-making. There is still a long way to go.

4.5 Forced integration

In the international debate on IP rights, forced integration is often raised as an issue. The Ethiopian Constitution gives all ethnic groups the right to express their culture, e.g. by using their own language. However, certain assimilative forces do suppress their culture, i.e. through offering public services such as clinics in ways that do not fit their mobile livelihoods, or social pressure perceived by pastoralist children to conform to the highland norms (e.g. of dress) at the schools:

“*It is not allowed to wear traditional clothes at school (in past as well as now).*” (educated Hamar man)

Elements of indirect “forced integration” are evident primarily in four spheres:

- **Western education.** From the perspective of some ethnic groups, especially in South Omo, education has weakened the local culture and values; some parents equate education with deviance, immorality and disease, yet are being strongly pressured by government and NGOs to send their children to school;
- **Induced settlement patterns.** The development interventions by the GoE and by most NGOs attract pastoralists to rural centres where fixed facilities for basic services (clinic, school, veterinary post, water supply etc) are located and along riverbanks where pastoralists are being encouraged to become sedentary mixed farmers practising irrigation or to become labourers in commercial farms;
- **Urbanisation in pastoralist areas.** This is linked with the above, being largely due to the establishment of local government administration and social services, accompanied by an influx of non-pastoralists who have the formal education and skills to work in the administration and services; the towns draw in especially the people who fell out of the pastoralist system, but also those who chose to leave their traditional communities and engage in alternative IGAs such as trade;
- **Tourism development.** Especially in South Omo, this has led the pastoralists – above all, the children and youth – to distort their own culture so as to conform to demands of tourists and tour enterprises (e.g. bull jumping by young men as entertainment arranged by tour guides rather than as a ritual of passage at a given time and in a given space); the pastoralists have had next to no opportunity to determine the way in which tourism has developed in their areas.

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19 However, Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) found it extremely difficult to identify who is a pastoralist in the political processes in these four countries, because MPs are not profiled in such a way.
4.6 Dependency among pastoralists

Early NGO and government-linked development interventions in pastoral areas, e.g. SORDU in Borana Zone, had focused on increasing livestock production and had introduced technologies that made pastoralists dependent on external inputs. More recently, NGOs and government agencies working in pastoral areas have recognised the importance of strengthening pastoralists' own capacities to manage their lives, and efforts in this direction have helped decrease dependency.

Some church-based Cordaid partners have difficulties in handing over responsibilities to others, as the Church feels morally bound to balance material and spiritual wellbeing. However, it became obvious that also the Church must prepare for change. For example: the decision of the Medical Missionaries of Mary (MMM) to leave Dadim in Borana Zone obliged local stakeholders, including clinic staff, to consider how they could continue the health programme under self-management. According to project documents (Cordaid 2004), the sisters had a strategy to make the programme sustainable by building local capacities to take responsibility for planning and implementing the programme, and to gain acceptance of it as part of the GoE health programme. The local community had evidently become sufficiently aware of the benefits of health services to be ready to share costs: after the sisters left, the number of patients continued to increase – a good example of decreased dependency on the Church.

5. Contribution of Cordaid partners’ interventions to changes

This section outlines the interventions made by Cordaid partners and tries to assess the contribution to changes in the situation of Ethiopian pastoralists in the last ten or so years. The assessment is made on the basis of project documents, discussions with project staff and beneficiaries and other resource persons, and – to a limited extent – mention of Cordaid contributions in other documents. Much of the reported impact of these activities comes from project progress and closing reports rather than impact studies, very few of which could be found.

When partners referred to support by Cordaid to pastoralist development, they included support from all Cordaid programmes, whether for development or for disaster relief. As Cordaid has supported not only specific development interventions but also organisational strengthening of its partner NGOs, reference is made here not only to Cordaid-funded interventions but also to some other activities carried out by these partners. This is based on statements by partners that the organisational strengthening made them better able to carry out these other activities.

The types of intervention made by partner organisations with Cordaid support (referring mainly to Programme 1) in 2003–08 that have contributed to the above-mentioned changes are presented below according to the three main aims of Cordaid’s work in pastoralist development during that period: to alleviate poverty directly, to strengthen civil society and to influence policy relevant for pastoralists.

5.1 Direct alleviation of poverty

In Ethiopia, most projects (71%) funded by Cordaid’s Programme 1 and its predecessors in the period 2003–08 were directly focused on poverty alleviation. They were in the following spheres.

- **Livestock production.** This included training of CAHWs (but all men in the case of AFD in Borana Zone and, according to Hamar women, also mainly men in their area) and helping pastoralists diversify their livestock assets, e.g. EPaRDA and FARM–Africa introduced camels to give pastoralists in South Omo (starting off with richer pastoralists) a means to continue practising pastoralism in a changed natural environment; several NGOs distributed goats to poor women, either to organised groups (EPaRDA, FARM–Africa, DUBAF) or through traditional institutions (CASE); the work with local institutions to manage grazing resources (AFD, CASE) has been particularly significant in maintaining livestock production; other activities to improve livestock production, primarily related to water and feed, were supported through the Community-Managed Disaster Risk Reduction (CMDRR) work of Programme 4;

- **Education.** This included promoting and facilitating formal education for both boys and girls and alternative education for men and women; support to boarding school for pastoralist children, including computer training (YCC); and providing monthly stipends and tutorials for girls from poor pastoralist families in secondary school (AFD). In Arero and three other districts in Borana Zone, where the pastoralists do not seem to have the same concern as in South Omo about the impact of
formal education on their culture, AFD set up local working groups that encourage pastoralist youth (especially girls) to continue their education (Grades 9–12); the aim is to produce better-informed citizens with diversified skills (AFD, YCC);

- **Health.** This included improving access to basic human health services through church-based programmes; providing mosquito nets, soap and training for preventative healthcare; and training CHWs and TBAs; e.g. the Dadim clinic combined its stationary service with several outreach posts;

- **Water.** This included improving access to dry-season supply of water, mainly potable water for humans, which reduced water-borne diseases and reduced the time and effort that women and girls had to make to fetch water (AFD); and establishment or rehabilitation of ponds, shallow wells and underground cisterns (EPaRDA, CASE, AFD);

- **Marketing.** This included supporting the formation and training of marketing cooperatives for livestock, incense, gum and honey or for multiple purposes (AFD), facilitating livestock marketing (CASE, EPaRDA) and improving local roads to improve access to markets (GGCC); however, marketing was one area where several interviewees – both pastoralists and NGO staff – felt that much more needed to be done;

- **Tourism.** Thus far, there is only one case of this: the community-based cultural tourism initiative of the Arbore, supported by CASE. It involves a very basic community-managed camp, the training of Arbore youth as guides, and allowing tourists to witness cultural rituals (e.g. bull-jumping by young men) at the proper time and place. The idea for this came through visits by CASE staff to northern Kenya; Cordaid did not suggest it but supports it in the framework of a locally planned project;

- **Other ways of diversifying income sources.** This included provision of seed money for petty trading in coffee, beans, local grains etc (EPaRDA, CASE); training primarily pastoralist women, operating as individuals or in cooperatives, in handicrafts (weaving, basketry, pottery, leatherwork, beadwork) to improve quality and to sell the products to tourists (CASE); encouraging small-scale irrigation, including women’s gardening groups (EPaRDA, FARM–Africa); and promoting beekeeping; although with varying degrees of success (EPaRDA).

Of particular interest from the IP perspective is the work of CASE to sustain indigenous systems of managing resources, showing the value of traditional institutions in development and highlighting the relevance of customary dispute-settlement and resource-management mechanisms. CASE worked through the traditional safety-net institution (*dabre*) governed by cultural leaders to provide goats to needy women. It used traditional institutions for restocking livestock after disaster, e.g. giving animals to a flood-stricken group through the mutual-help institution of a neighbouring group that then gave the animals to the group in need. The process and impact of this approach to development deserves special study, in comparison with more conventional forms of providing livestock to destitute people. CASE also took an unconventional approach to maintaining diversity in both income generation and the environment by encouraging the sharing of indigenous knowledge in beekeeping. Tsamai men who traditionally made beehives out of tree trunks were trained by Ari men who made beehives out of woven grass. A process of local experimentation and innovation resulted in a more environmentally friendly and low-external-input form of beekeeping that improved on traditional practice.

According to focus-group discussions and interviews with project staff and resource persons, outcomes of the activities have included: improved market linkages, development of a culture of saving, greater access by men and women to financial resources, diversification of income sources, boosted morale and confidence of cooperative members because they have assets and money for times of crisis, greater community control in dealing with drought (especially through community-managed water systems) and raised status of resource-poor women household heads within their communities. Particularly women’s involvement in cooperatives and S&C groups gave them a chance to show their capacities for leadership in the community. Some partners pointed out that project activities to diversify livelihoods were useful vehicles for bringing people together to discuss larger issues such as those related to gender or environment.

In the project documents, mainly quantitative results are reported, e.g. the number of hectares under small-scale irrigation and the number of households involved in this activity (EPaRDA), but the impact on food production, income, nutrition etc and thus on overall poverty alleviation is rarely mentioned.
5.2 Strengthening civil society

The activities supported by Cordaid to strengthen civil society in pastoralist areas have involved organisational strengthening and building capacities for citizen participation in the public sphere, e.g.:

- **Community-level organisational development.** Cordaid partners, most commonly in close collaboration with government services (Cooperatives Desk), have helped pastoralists organise themselves in common-interest groups and to become registered as cooperatives. Also other NGOs have contributed to this in the same areas where Cordaid partners are working, and it is not possible to assess which of the support organisations played a larger role.

- **Strengthening local decision-making in development.** Partners have devoted much time to strengthening pastoralists’ capacities to be active members of local multi-stakeholder development committees, to contribute to development of local action plans and, in the case of FARM–Africa, to empower community development committees to manage their own development funds. Particularly the CMDRR approach introduced by Cordaid’s Programme 4 has changed the way of thinking of the partner organisation staff involved and has generated great enthusiasm to take another approach to development than what they had practised thus far; the pilot experiences in the field suggest good potential for strengthening pastoralists’ decision-making in development, improving coordination between pastoralists’ and local government’s development planning, and reducing pastoralists’ vulnerability to disaster and climate change (AFD, EPaRDA, FARM–Africa, GGCC).

  The male and female pastoralists in the Water Management Committee in Alona (Borana Zone) described with obvious pride how they had been elected by their peers according to clear and relevant criteria. They felt strong and independent enough as a group to make their own arrangements to visit a neighbouring committee to compare experiences. This they did without the support of AFD, which had facilitated establishment of their committee.

  Cordaid has supported partners that use participatory approaches, giving different segments of the local population a chance to become involved; the community-based work combined with approaches that involve exchange between different stakeholder and ethnic groups broadened the pastoralists’ perspectives and stimulated new ideas, e.g. building community-managed lodgings for tourists and engaging in participatory research on NRM (AFD, CASE, EPaRDA, FARM–Africa).

- **Civil engagement in budget process.** A small but powerful project was the one on budget formulation and budget literacy, carried out in 2008 as part of the Protection of Basic Services (PBS) programme. It was a concerted campaign involving several NGOs, including AFD, with various sources of funding, including Cordaid, to increase government transparency and accountability to its citizens (see Box 3). District government staff and local community members were informed and trained through discussions, posters and a booklet developed by the Poverty Action Network of CSOs in Ethiopia (Freedom from Poverty). This provided key information on how the government uses citizens’ money: what is a budget, sources of government budget, categories of government expenses, allocation of budget and how this affects citizens’ day-to-day life. The booklet was translated, with Cordaid funding, into the Oromifa language so as to reach more people at district and community level. Similar efforts were made (although not with Cordaid funding) to raise pastoralists’ awareness of their rights, e.g. regarding land, by printing booklets and posters about these in the local language. On their own initiative, partner NGOs have incorporated such materials into the Cordaid-supported training of community-based workers.

**Box 3: Budget literacy to increase pastoralists’ influence on development decision-making**

In Arero District of Borana Zone, AFD – with funding from Cordaid and numerous other organisations – supported the local government staff and the local population in budgeting of public monies in a consultative and transparent way. The annual district budget is displayed on the official notice board of the district administration. Three representatives from each of the subdistricts are involved in and informed about government budget allocation within the district. In some subdistricts, the budget was reportedly also posted and/or was read aloud. This one-year project gave community members an opportunity to discuss and negotiate budget matters with line offices. It built their capacities as informed members of civil society who can influence local government decision-making. The pilot activity, which was also carried out in Dire District, revealed the potential of making pastoralists aware, as citizens, of the use of government budget and their possibilities to influence it. The district officials reported that the training through AFD improved their planning process and helped them be more accountable to the local people. It helped them to better serve the local communities, allowed quick reaction to emergencies, increased the local people’s confidence in the government administration, and led to a better relationship between the government and
its citizens. Discussions with district officials in Arero revealed that, at this level of government, there is indeed interest in such civic education. Also with the new regulations for CSOs operating in Ethiopia, it should be possible for Ethiopian NGOs partnering with Cordaid to continue to support civic education by giving training for government staff and citizens upon the request of the local government.

- **Strengthening indigenous political, social and cultural institutions.** The categories into which Cordaid divided its activities throughout the first part of the evaluation period (direct poverty alleviation, civil-society strengthening, lobbying) did not give specific attention to issues of culture, identity and diversity. This became more prominent with the formation of Programme 1 (Identity and Diversity). Related activities are included in this report under “civil-society strengthening”, as a sense of identity and pride gives people the self-confidence to play their role as citizens and engage in development according to their own value system. Several partner NGOs (e.g. FARM–Africa, EPaRDA, AFD) have sought to strengthen indigenous institutions and link these with government institutions, most deliberately in the Cordaid-supported work of FARM–Africa in strengthening the district administration in its consultation and collaboration with local people. Partners have tried to make government officials see the value of indigenous institutions in managing resources, including settlement of disputes. As a lawyer with one partner NGO pointed out, the modern legal system cannot handle all NRM disputes, especially those in remote areas, where disputes can and should be handled locally. In the politically sensitive atmosphere of Ethiopia, it is better to refer to these activities as “natural resource management” than “conflict management”. Particularly through the work of CASE, Cordaid has contributed to reinforcing cultural identity through promoting traditional crafts; celebrating pastoral traditions (initiation ceremony, cattle jumping); recognising and building on indigenous culture, knowledge and skills, e.g. peer training in making environmentally friendly improved traditional beehives; and using traditional institutions of mutual help to build peace.

- **Building capacity of staff from local ethnic groups.** Some Cordaid partners have deliberately hired, trained and encouraged local people as community facilitators, in such a way that some have gone on to represent and/or serve their people at higher levels of politics or government. For example, a Hamar and a Tsamai woman who were formerly community facilitators working with EPaRDA later became MPs, and a male community facilitator became head of one of the district government offices. Through building capacities of staff from pastoralist groups, Cordaid partners have also contributed indirectly to raising local awareness about civic rights, as – according to such staff members – they use opportunities both during and outside of their work to inform their people verbally about their rights. It was obvious to them that providing information in printed form was not appropriate for most of their people.

- **Empowerment of pastoralist women.** The Cordaid-supported NGOs in South Omo and Borana have sought to strengthen women’s rights not primarily through advocacy and lobbying, but rather by empowering women in economic terms: helping women form groups or cooperatives to generate income, e.g. to manage grain-grinding mills (EPaRDA); helping them procure assets such as goats, often through easier access to micro-credit; and supporting activities such as functional literacy training, HIV/AIDS awareness-raising and training women in healthcare. Approaches used by the NGOs in supporting group formation and income generation stimulated the women to identify and discuss other non-economic issues, including women’s social problems. Comments by women in focus-group discussions revealed that building up the assets of poor women as individuals and groups had given them a chance to re-enter pastoralist society and become locally recognised members who can participate and share. This is a most basic step toward giving voice to individuals and strengthening social cohesion. Support from Cordaid through CASE, DUBAF, EPaRDA and FARM–Africa opened the way for pastoralist women to earn their own income and buy their own animals, which they traditionally do not have a right to inherit. With Cordaid funding, Panos facilitated community radio in Afar to raise issues related to women’s rights, e.g. the discussions on issues of female genital cutting (FGC) on community radio culminated in a regional meeting of elders, who decided to stop FGC. This was already against Ethiopian law, but the law had not been applied. Panos claims that the Afar elders’ decision greatly reduced the practice of FGC. The women’s leadership programme recently developed by Cordaid and its partners in eastern Africa promises to contribute further to pastoralist women’s empowerment.

Thus, civil-society strengthening has taken the form mainly of enhancing local organisational capacities. Group-based capacity building to improve the economic position of men and women has played an important role in increasing their confidence and competence to deal with broader issues.
5.3 Influencing policy

According to the project descriptions in the Cordaid database, less than 30% of the projects funded by Cordaid in the period 2003–08 explicitly dealt with issues of lobbying, advocacy and policy dialogue and, in some cases, the activities were more explicit on paper than on the ground. Many of the partners initially worked on decreasing pastoralists’ marginalisation from development and increasing their capacities to influence decisions at local level. In the last couple of years, some partners planned projects that were more deliberately focused on rights and policy issues, also at local level, but progress with these activities (or even in obtaining government permission to carry them out) was slow because of the uncertainty about the new legislation that was being formulated for CSOs.

Of Cordaid’s partners in Ethiopia, Panos and PFE have been the ones that have most explicitly taken a rights-oriented approach; they have been the main actors in advocacy and policy dialogue at national level. Most of Cordaid’s partners in Programme 1 are members of PFE, but the church-based organisations and a couple of newer local NGOs do not belong to this network. Panos and/or PFE activities supported by Cordaid, often together with other donors, have included:

- **Supporting development of pastoralist organisations.** In collaboration with the Oromia Pastoral Area Development Commission, AFD and PARIMA, PFE has helped establish the Oromia Pastoral Association (formerly, Council), the first council in Ethiopia with direct representation of pastoralists. It defends the interests primarily of Oromo (which include Boran) pastoralists but has also been active, together with PFE, in supporting formation of similar councils in Somali and Afar Regions;

- **Organising national meetings on pastoralism.** Since 2002, PFE has played a key role in organising the annual Ethiopian Pastoralist Day (EPD), which provides a platform for pastoralists and pastoralist-support organisations to converge to raise and discuss their concerns in both the formal programme and informally. The EPD was supported by Cordaid originally through Panos and, from 2005 onwards, through PFE. Panos and PFE also organised four national conferences on pastoral development in 2000, 2001, 2004 and 2007, which raised awareness about pastoralists’ conditions, achievements and needs;

- **Creating opportunities for pastoralists to express their views in public.** This was done not only through the EPD, but also at workshops and other gatherings in Ethiopia and beyond and through national and community radio. PFE brought pastoralists to consultation meetings, such as on the draft land-use and administration policy in pastoral areas of Afar Region; this was in collaboration with the Afar Pastoralist Development Forum, which PFE helped establish. PFE also facilitated PASC members to visit pastoralist areas and to listen to the local people;

- **Direct inputs into government policy formulation.** Having noted that the GoE’s Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper in 2002 lacked sufficient attention to pastoralism, Panos and PFE consulted with pastoralists and member NGOs at national conferences and workshops and, on this basis, developed a 6-page chapter on pastoralism in the GoE’s PASDEP. This was a major achievement of lobbying activities funded by Cordaid;

- **Disseminating information about pastoralism,** e.g. through the pastoralist documentation centre in the PFE office (equipped with books, newspapers, computers, TV, camera etc, also supported by the UK Embassy and other sources); publishing a directory of pastoralist-support organisations; and improving mass-media coverage on pastoralism. Panos and PFE gave journalists opportunities to access relevant information through attending national and international meetings, and have arranged training (including field visits) to improve the quality and quantity of coverage in national media on pastoralist issues and thus to improve public perceptions of these peoples. One outcome was the informal Pastoralist-Friendly Journalist Group, which has produced numerous articles and news items in print and visual media (these activities were jointly financed by Cordaid and MRG);

- **Providing training for network members,** e.g. in networking (Afar Pastoralist Development Forum), policy advocacy for pastoralism and project cycle management;

- **Speaking on behalf of Ethiopian pastoralists** in various national and international meetings where development and policies were discussed, including international meetings related to IPs.

The workshop reports by PFE, currently the Cordaid partner most involved in policy and advocacy, seldom indicate whether and, if so, how many women took part in the district, regional and national discussions on issues affecting pastoralists’ lives. The sole report in which a “gender-differentiated” list of participants was found (PFE 2006) revealed that all participants were male.
Also other Cordaid partners, such as FARM–Africa, have made inputs in consultations and discussions to develop policy, such as the formulation of regional land-use policy in Afar. Partners have used Cordaid funds to support participation of pastoralist leaders in relevant meetings at national and international level, such as the participation of OPA members in the Cordaid-funded RECONCILE/IIED international workshop in Tanzania on pastoralism and policy.

In lobbying at the local level, Cordaid partners have assisted pastoralists in their efforts to retain or regain local rights to access land and water, e.g. to rescue traditional cultural sites (CASE) and to negotiate with the manager of a large commercial irrigated farm located upstream to release some water for pastoralists living and trying to practise small-scale irrigation downstream (FARM–Africa).

Cordaid on its own or in collaboration with other organisations has also supported studies related to pastoralism, such as on the role of traditional institutions in conflict resolution (EPaRDA, CASE), the situation of pastoralist women (Kipuri & Ridgwell 2008) and the perceptions and strategies of pastoralists in the face of climate change (FSS 2009, a study commissioned under Cordaid’s Programme 4). The records kept by the Dadim clinic in Borana provide valuable long-term data for research and development planning in pastoralist areas, as well as for national and international organisations doing research on health demographics. For example, the Dadim clinic is one of the few sentinel sites for recording incidence of HIV/AIDS in pastoral areas.

With Cordaid funding, DUBAF used Oromifa broadcasts of Radio Fana to provide the Guji people and other pastoralists in Oromia information about good governance, conflict resolution and human rights, e.g. related to natural resource devastation through gold mining. DUBAF also provided information for pastoralists through a series of five seminars for PA clusters on current world politics and the economic crisis, reforming the economy, and coping with climate change. The seminars also allowed informal discussions on political matters. In at least one seminar, they included the 70 women who were in the goat-distribution scheme that DUBAF was supporting.

Cordaid has also contributed indirectly to raising pastoralists’ awareness of rights by supporting local NGOs so that they can continue their work. These NGOs are committed to long-term change in society and have shown themselves able to change local-level perceptions, e.g. regarding girls’ schooling, and helping to open minds in the pastoralist communities to question and seek answers, as AFD is doing in using the REFLECT (Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) approach with pastoralist women.

The partner NGOs usually had more explicit support for advocacy work from other donors, e.g. from the EU Civil Society Fund, Norwegian Development Fund, Norwegian People’s Aid, Oxfam–GB, DFID and Save the Children. Although the funding was sometimes relatively small, Cordaid has collaborated with other donors in supporting policy-related work, e.g. the civic engagement in budget planning. Working together with others may make it more difficult to attribute outcomes to any particular donor, but is likely to have greater overall impact than had Cordaid tried to do this work on its own.

In general, Cordaid partners (and outside resource persons, but to a lesser extent) felt that, as a result of the lobbying, advocacy and policy-dialogue activities supported by Cordaid, the GoE gained a better understanding of pastoralists’ problems. However, it will still take some time before this brings real improvements in the rights situation and the day-to-day lives of practising pastoralists.

5.4 Unintended outcomes of Cordaid partners’ interventions

Negative cultural impact of schooling. An unintended outcome mentioned most often by pastoralists in South Omo was the negative impact of conventional education on their culture. After much persuasion, they had agreed to send some of their children – also girls – to school. However, there are reportedly problems with alienation of these children from their culture, as well as a growing number of school dropouts who no longer fit into their communities yet are not well prepared for making a living elsewhere. It was striking how little the pastoralist parents felt they could influence the location, form and content of their children’s education. This contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and indeed the Ethiopian Constitution (Article 39.1), which grants rights to all peoples to express their own identity and culture. Cordaid has given little direct support to education in South Omo (more so in Borana) and is now trying to withdraw from providing basic services. However, it will be important that Cordaid and its partners influence educational policy to promote alternatives that blend “modern” with indigenous forms of education incorporating the local language and culture (“intercultural education”).
Sedentarisation. The fact that many of the services and micro-projects being supported by Cordaid (and other donors and the GoE) take the form of fixed structures may have encouraged sedentarisation. However, constraints to livestock mobility because of land alienation and impoverishment of many pastoralist households have probably been bigger factors leading to increased sedentarisation. In the southern part of Ethiopia (Borana and South Omo Zones), the pastoralists appear to be taking advantage of the fixed-place services, yet reportedly still practise mobility with their herds. In Afar and Somali Regions, where pastoralists are more mobile than in Borana and South Omo Zones, there may be a greater need to develop mobile services for those segments of the pastoralist population that do not have a fixed base for at least part of the year.

6. Sustainability of the Cordaid-supported changes

Political rights. Local awareness of citizens’ rights has been raised to some extent, e.g. through the budget literacy work, through seminars for women’s organisations and through mass media such as radio. However, because of the low level of formal education and access to external information among pastoralists (especially women), there is not enough “local momentum” to increase pastoralists’ awareness of their rights. Both men and women supported by Cordaid partners have gained more confidence to voice their concerns and influence decision-making at local level, and pastoralists are sending representatives to regional and national meetings and events such as the EPD. However, if they see that their voices are not heeded – that nothing changes with regard to the most basic elements for their livelihood: land and water – they could become de-motivated to engage further as members of civil society. As the new legislation for CSOs in Ethiopia does not allow foreign donors to provide direct support to rights-related work, the gains made thus far could be lost. It will be extremely important for Cordaid to provide support in ways that serve – at least indirectly – to strengthen local organisation and access to information. CMDRR and budget literacy are examples of promising approaches that have been successfully piloted by Cordaid partners in limited areas but they are far from being mainstreamed into the activities of government and NGOs in Ethiopia. This will be necessary so that the paradigm shift in approaches to planning and accountability can be made sustainable.

Natural resource rights and livelihoods. These two aspects are inextricably linked in the case of pastoralists, whose livelihoods depend on flexible access to natural resources (rather than ownership of specific land areas). No matter how many small-scale development activities intended to improve pastoralists’ lives are initiated at the local level, if these – like pastoralism – depend primarily on natural resources (e.g. small-scale irrigation), they will not be sustainable unless major issues such as secure access to common-property resources are addressed. Without collective and informed decision-making by the local community with respect to land and water use, the other development efforts will be wasted and the pastoralists’ livelihoods threatened. Similarly, the efforts to increase income from and to reduce risk in livestock-keeping, e.g. through facilitating access to goats and camels, training community members as CAHWs and improving access to market, will have little future if attention is not given to effectively guaranteeing their rights of access to land and water and addressing the increasing risks of drought emergencies because of reduction in livestock mobility.

To be able to defend their land rights, pastoral peoples need better access to information about these rights and impending threats to them. The strengthened grassroots organisations could play some role in defending local land rights but, to be able to do this effectively, they would need to be linked with strong regional pastoral organisations and with sources of legal support within the country. If these issues are not addressed very soon, there can be no sustainability of pastoralism in Ethiopia, in view of the rapid rate of land alienation.

Where social services have been provided in pastoralist areas for a long time (ten or more years) and have gradually come to be valued, the Dadim experience shows that local staff can take over management and local people can share some of the costs. However, longer systematic preparation for greater local participation in managing and financing the service and linking with relevant government bodies would have been preferable to the relatively rapid transfer of responsibilities made necessary by the decision of the MMM sisters to leave Ethiopia. In any development intervention, phasing out – in the sense of gradually changing the roles of the various actors – is essential. Some Cordaid-supported

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20 This section is conjectural, based on own judgement of the study team, informed by observation of current trends and the forecasts of interviewees.
projects have helped build capacities among pastoralists so that they can influence, manage and play a role in delivering services. Moreover, there is some openness on the part of the Ethiopian government to recognise community-based workers, as shown by local government’s willingness to collaborate with NGOs in related training. Further cultivation of this link would increase the likelihood of sustainability of services combining government and community inputs, not only in human but also in animal healthcare.

**Position of pastoralist women.** It is not clear to what extent the gains made in the position of pastoralist women can be maintained and increased, in view of the new CSO legislation. The situation in this respect will need to be closely observed and, in the meantime, efforts will have to be made to increase women’s opportunities for non-formal education and access to information. There is particular concern with regard to pastoralist women’s rights to natural resources. Customary institutions for resource allocation and access have afforded some degree of security to women’s use rights but, if these institutions become weaker and government policy for land tenure in pastoral areas does not take women’s concerns into account, the women are in danger of losing their traditional access to natural resources (Flintan 2010).

7. **Influence of Cordaid’s mode of support**

7.1 **Choice of partners**

The portfolio of Cordaid’s partners is well balanced between international NGOs, with specific expertise and niches; and local NGOs, including new ones focused on specific pastoralist areas (e.g. DUBAF among the Guji, CASE in South Omo). Cordaid showed itself to be open to explore partnership with new kinds of organisation with different approaches that can generate lessons for all partners, e.g. the collaboration with CASE to strengthen links between culture and development. On national level, Cordaid has worked with two NGOs that explicitly focus on pastoralists’ rights (Panos and PFE); and, in Borana Zone, one of the partners (AFD) did so explicitly. The relatively small number of partners with this focus is not surprising in Ethiopia, where it was difficult and has now become virtually impossible to receive government permission to carry out advocacy-related activities with external funding. Most other partners with which Cordaid chose to work have a focus on community development, seeking to strengthen the local pastoralists’ capacities to link with other development actors, above all, in government offices. CASE is the only partner that works more in the direction of cultural autonomy.

In the study period, international or larger and more established national NGOs (e.g. FARM–Africa, Panos, PCAE) served as intermediaries for activities carried out by new local NGOs or networks (e.g. EPaRDA, PFE, DUBAF). Thus, Cordaid supported the emergence and strengthening of local NGOs and came “closer to the ground”. Cordaid’s support to smaller local NGOs which were not widely known by other donors gave these NGOs the opportunity to build up their capacities and reputation in specific fields related to pastoralist development. They could then apply these skills in partnership with other organisations. They appreciated that Cordaid support helped put them in this position.

In Ethiopia, Cordaid does not have pastoralist membership organisations as direct partners. The staff of some local NGO partners, such as DUBAF, appears to comprise mainly people of pastoralist background, but they operate as development-support NGOs, not membership organisations. Cordaid has provided support for regional pastoralist associations through intermediaries – both international and national NGOs – especially through PFE, which helped set up the Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA) and then used OPA to help set up and mentor similar organisations in other regions. This was the only logical path for Cordaid to follow during 2003–08, when there were no pastoralist member organisations that could be supported directly.

Membership-based pastoralist organisations and local NGOs with a directorate from a pastoralist background would be better able than intermediary NGOs to interact frequently with community members and could gain a mandate from the communities to speak on their behalf. In Ethiopia, however, where “modern” forms of pastoralist organisation are only slowly emerging, intermediary NGOs remain vital to help develop the management, administrative and technical capacities of these young organisations. It will be critical to build their capacities to communicate with and represent their constituencies, both men and women. With the new Ethiopian law for Charities and Societies that came into full force in February 2010, Cordaid will have no choice but to support these organisations only indirectly through intermediary NGOs.
7.2 Support to planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation

Partner NGOs valued Cordaid as an organisation that gives not only funding but also capacity-building support and opportunities to take part in various thematic seminars and workshops to build staff capacity. Many mentioned the work of the Ethiopian representative in the Regional Office who visited the partners and occasionally brought them together for 2–3 days to share experiences. He helped especially the local NGOs make linkages and attend international meetings, such as those organised by WAMIP; also members of pastoralist communities could take advantage of these opportunities. Their involvement in such events exposed them to new ideas and reportedly improved their capacity to communicate with others. Cordaid head office also provided information about upcoming conferences and about additional funding opportunities. In the case of PFE, Cordaid invited them to collaborate in drawing up a joint proposal to the European Union. It also helped partners link up with other initiatives, such as the value-chain development training offered by the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) for NGO staff and pastoralist cooperative members. It included partners in relevant networks, such as the Stop AIDS Now (SAN) network initiated by Cordaid and Oxfam–Novib.

Cordaid was described more than once as a “good partner” (three local NGOs even referred to it as “our best donor”). The partner NGOs were unanimous in their appreciation of Cordaid’s flexibility, reliability, readiness to discuss approaches and processes, and understanding of the context of their work. Whereas other donors were “quick to punish” if the local NGO made a mistake, Cordaid was open to discussing why it happened and what could be done to improve performance.

The partners appreciated the advisory support from Cordaid with respect to financial, human resource and project management as well as internal HIV mainstreaming; the logistical support (e.g. for vehicle acquisition); the dialogue about approaches; and the opportunities provided by Cordaid for them to take part in exchange visits and workshops (this referred mainly to CMDRR-related activities). The on-the-job coaching provided by the Cordaid finance officer was greatly appreciated by the office staff, as well as – in the case of DUBAF – the opportunity for peer learning on financial management from another local NGO. DUBAF made special mention of the considerable time invested by the Cordaid financial officer in expediting the purchase and import of a vehicle.

Unlike many other donors in Ethiopia, Cordaid has provided funds for organisational capacity-building, including support for working on strategic issues such as developing organisational policy and a workplace HIV policy. Since 2005, Cordaid has given specific attention to organisational development in its NGO partners, in both more established and newer ones. Performance-based standards were established jointly with the NGOs in the years 2005–07. In the case of church-based organisations, these referred to funding as the main form of support; less attention appears to have been given by Cordaid (and possibly by the partners themselves) to organisational development, except some aspects of financial and staff management. The newest NGO partner reported that it had received little training thus far from Cordaid, and felt that it needed strengthening in financial management, project planning, proposal writing, M&E, reporting, and analysing and documenting its own experiences. Other NGOs that had been Cordaid partners for several years expressed a need for support in developing proposals with community participation, updating on new development approaches, and experience sharing among Cordaid partners not only in Ethiopia but also in neighbouring countries.

Cordaid’s mode of supporting partner organisations encouraged them to take flexible approaches in working with pastoralist communities, as activities and timing could be adjusted in discussion with Cordaid. Some national NGOs mentioned that the relatively short funding periods (1–3 years) and the frequent change in Cordaid policy did not favour the continuous, long-term efforts needed to facilitate development in highly challenging pastoralist areas. On the other hand, international NGOs – comparing their experiences with other donors – found that Cordaid’s funding period of 3–4 years, with possibilities of budget-neutral extension and building on previous projects, was ideal for their way of working. They valued Cordaid’s willingness to support innovative and exploratory activities with suitable amounts of funding.

Monitoring and evaluation consisted mainly of making 6-monthly and annual reports and sometimes arranging external evaluation. Cordaid provided guidelines for minimum requirements for making project proposals and reports, and advised the partners about issues that needed to be addressed. The partners were given a great deal of scope to describe their project activities in their own way. Thus far, relatively little information about outcomes and impacts is included in the reports. That information
which is included is quite general and not based on systematic assessments. However, development of indicators for assessing change is reportedly underway as a joint effort of Cordaid staff and partners.

Although Cordaid staff has been assessing change in the partners’ organisational capacities, little technical assessment has been made by the partners or by outside specialists/evaluators of the development interventions. One exception is FARM–Africa, which has made somewhat deeper-going studies of specific activities, e.g. small-scale irrigation. Many of the partners in the field appeared to be carrying out very similar activities, as if there was a standard portfolio of interventions. Moreover, many interventions supported a settled existence. Pastoralist groups had not been well differentiated with regard to their specific conditions, visions and realistic possibilities for development.

Although Cordaid did inform partners of external funding possibilities, some staff of local NGOs felt that more attention could be given to training and mutual learning about less conventional ways of raising funds within the country. This would mean widening public support for pastoralist development not only in terms of money but also in terms of appreciation of pastoralists’ real needs and own initiatives and involvement of the “educated children of pastoralists” in development activities.

With regard to perceptions of their participation in project planning, pastoral men and women met in the field generally felt they had been involved and listened to during planning of specific activities, e.g. how goats would be distributed to women. In contrast, the partner NGOs did not always feel they had been sufficiently consulted by Cordaid about planning of programme shifts. Cordaid’s frequent change in policy and structure obliged them to change the focus of their work according to ideas coming from The Hague, rather than coming out of local assessment of need for re-focusing based on the realities on the ground. The example most frequently given was Cordaid’s policy change to focus on market access. Partners tried to accommodate this shift, but shortly thereafter were informed that the new focus would be on issues of governance, rights and voice of pastoralists. To be able to continue receiving Cordaid support, partners felt obliged to re-design their projects and develop capacities to handle these new activities. Now, with the new Ethiopian legislation for CSOs, they have to completely overhaul their approaches and proposals once again, and are not sure how to continue with some of the activities already approved by Cordaid. One partner NGO described itself as caught between what the donor wants, what the NGO thinks it can and should do, and what the government allows.

Cordaid partners are now trying to rework their project documents to reduce explicit support to rights-based ideas, legal assistance and peace-building activities, as the GoE will not give them the mandate for such activities. Instead, they plan to put emphasis on learning from sharing experiences, a process that they expect will bring out the essential issues in pastoralists’ lives.

7.3 Communication between Cordaid and partner organisations

In general, the partners regarded the electronic communication between them and Cordaid head office to be satisfactory. The staff in head office was managing to facilitate from a distance. However, almost all partners mentioned that Programme 1 no longer had “feet on the ground” since the Regional Office in Nairobi closed. Until then, there had been more direct support in writing proposals and more frequent face-to-face contact with Cordaid staff in Programme 1. The Ethiopian staff member in Cordaid’s Regional Office was valued as a networker and for his advisory support in drawing up project proposals. After the Regional Office closed, the most frequent contact that Ethiopian partner NGOs had with Cordaid was with Ethiopia-based staff members of Programme 4.

A word that arose repeatedly when partner organisations spoke about communication with Cordaid was “confusion”; and one long-term partner described Cordaid as “baffling”. Several partners expressed uncertainty as to whether they could continue to “fit into” changes being made by Cordaid. They could not see any strategic logic of splitting the work with pastoralists into two Cordaid programmes, although “it all boiled down to helping people respond to change and building sustainable livelihoods”. The artificial split did not facilitate communication and integration of activities that belong together. One international NGO staff member said:

“There seems to be an internal disconnect within Cordaid. Programme 4 funds the same activities as Programme 1 does, but tries to do it in 18 months instead of 36. The rush makes it difficult to deliver good quality.” (Cordaid partner)

He felt that working with the same target groups with two different approaches under the two programmes could damage the NGO’s reputation.
Several partners – both international and national NGOs – suggested that, if there were a Cordaid resource person in Ethiopia, s/he could help them learn from their own work and from other partners through a genuine network. Assigning such a person would allow for closer linkages with pastoralist-development discourse and initiatives involving other actors in Ethiopia. It would also help the partner NGOs understand better what is happening in the Netherlands and make Cordaid less baffling.

7.4 Role of Cordaid partner network

In the period 2000–07, i.e. until Cordaid’s Regional Office in Nairobi closed, there was reportedly relatively good exchange between partner organisations at regional meetings. The communication was geared toward mutual learning (consultations, workshops, feedback from field visits) rather than policy advocacy and lobbying through concerted action. Partner organisations could give no examples of activities of a Cordaid partner network under Programme 1 since then. As one partner expressed it: “If a Cordaid partner network exists for Programme 1, it is very discrete.” Some partners did not even know which other organisations in Ethiopia are supported by Cordaid.

The perception of some partners working with Programme 1 is that Cordaid called country-level meetings only to explain the next restructuring and/or new policy, rather than for networking. Because there was no interaction and mutual support within a network, there is less potential now among Cordaid partners to have a combined impact on policy than there was when the Regional Office was functioning. The Cordaid support to different partners in most of the 2003–08 period appears to have been piecemeal, with some innovative pilot activities that would have deserved scaling up but – for lack of this – did not have a wide impact. The potential for broader impact can be seen in the case of CMDRR, which has facilitated an active network for learning about and promoting the approach, including provision of good documentation (written and visual). All of the partners’ (very enthusiastic) accounts of Cordaid-supported networking referred to meetings on disaster risk management under Programme 4. Another learning alliance related to pastoralism that was mentioned was the value-chain network “run by ICCO and SNV”. (Cordaid is also part of this learning alliance, which has been operating since 2007.)

Several Cordaid partners are engaged in similar types of activities, e.g. revitalising traditional resource-management practices and institutions, facilitating S&C, promoting improved forms of beekeeping and supporting schemes to provide poor women with livestock assets. They are often using different approaches to these activities. There has been little communication between them for mutual learning. Another issue that several partners felt should be discussed as a group was the new CSO legislation and how Cordaid-supported organisations could best deal with it. There was a strong demand expressed for building a partner network. With the development of Cordaid’s pastoralist programme in 2008, there appear to be opportunities for greater synergies.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Assessment of Cordaid’s role in reducing structural injustice to pastoralists

Cordaid pastoralist policy in Ethiopia remains relevant. As outlined in Chapter 2, Cordaid policy for pastoralist development in the period 2003–08 focused on improving access to markets and addressing conflict issues, with attention to capacity building, gender equity and policy advocacy. Most of its work in Ethiopia was in support of pastoralists. From 2007 onwards under Programme I “Identity and Diversity”, pastoralists became the identity-based minority groups on which Cordaid focused. To overcome the marginalisation of pastoralists, whose development has been impeded by inappropriate policy and interventions, Cordaid seeks to increase policymakers’ knowledge about pastoralists and to redress the imbalance of power between pastoralists and dominant ethnic groups. The focus is on helping pastoralists develop their own representative organisations to plan and manage their own development and to engage directly in advocacy to improve their situation. Particular emphasis is given to increasing the participation and voice of pastoralist women, increasing pastoralist participation in NRM, and improving the marketing of animals and their products. This policy continues to be relevant. The emphasis that Cordaid places on raising awareness about the need for mobility for productive use of natural resources in dryland areas is appropriate in Ethiopia, where policymakers are concerned primarily about the contribution of pastoralism to the national economy. The issue of IP rights was not
put at the forefront; this was a wise decision on the part of Cordaid in view of the sensitivity of this issue in the Ethiopian political landscape (see Box 4).

**Box 4: Classifying pastoralists as IPs in the Ethiopian context**

Throughout Africa, the concept of “indigenous peoples” has been a topic of debate for decades. In Ethiopia, it is a particularly sensitive topic. Many people in government and NGOs regard it as a concept introduced from outside and not applicable to the situation of Ethiopia, which prides itself in never having been colonised. All ethnic groups in Ethiopia could be called indigenous in the sense that they originate from that country (or fairly close by). Nevertheless, the term “indigenous peoples” could theoretically be applied to historically marginalised ethnic groups, particularly those whose language, social characteristics and lifestyles set them apart from the dominant political and economic structures of the nation. Pastoralist groups within Africa have indeed been classified as such by the ACHPR.

Elsewhere in eastern Africa, distinct cultural minorities that have suffered marginalisation by the colonial and then the post-colonial African state discovered that framing their demands in terms of the IP movement helped them gain international visibility and support for their demands. For example, Hodgson (2002) observed how the Maasai in Tanzania chose to “become indigenous” as a political strategy, adopting the label as a tool for social and political mobilisation. The Ethiopian government could easier interpret such movements as anti-government, and the outcomes could not only be dangerous for those directly involved but could also be detrimental to pastoralist development. Cordaid partner NGOs in Ethiopia have chosen to seek ways to work together with government institutions in trying to improve the lives of pastoralists, rather than taking what could be interpreted as an antagonistic stance.

Most of the educated ethnic pastoralists and supporting NGOs in Ethiopia prefer to stress the economic contribution of pastoralists to the country rather than pressing for their rights as IPs. Each of the ethnic groups in Ethiopia can, of course, decide for itself whether it wants to identify as an IP. As for Cordaid and other “outsiders”, they will need to determine what would be the added value and tactical advantage, if any, of promoting pastoralism as an IP movement in comparison with efforts to inform all stakeholders and stimulate dialogue about pastoralists’ rights according to the Ethiopian Constitution (self-government, culturally appropriate education, rights to land etc). These efforts could include bringing arguments about the specificity of pastoralists’ mode of life and flexible use of natural resources in dryland areas and could be embedded in activities related to conflict resolution, CMDRR and mutual learning about pastoralist development.

During 2003–08, the Cordaid partners working at national level in Ethiopia and internationally in eastern Africa gave attention primarily to raising awareness of government and, to a lesser extent, of the wider public about the situation and needs of pastoralists. They also influenced important policy-change processes, especially with regards to the Ethiopian PASDEP and regional land-use policies. Such activities are important for addressing the root causes of injustice to pastoralists.

The fact that Cordaid and its partners did not explicitly use an IP lens to focus on Ethiopian pastoralists probably helped to make the interventions more effective. The approach of strengthening local pastoralist organisation primarily for the purposes of generating income and managing community assets and natural resources has resulted in greater confidence and skills among pastoralist men and women to take part in development planning. Raising awareness about rights and strengthening the voice of pastoralists in interaction with other stakeholders have been incorporated into the community-development work, especially in the CMDRR work. A “head-on” approach to combating structural injustice through the IP movement could have been counterproductive.

**Good progress in operationalising the policy.** At local level in the pastoralist areas, the approach taken in most of the activities designed to alleviate poverty has shifted from one of welfare to one of strengthening the capacities of local NGOs and community-based organisations. Cordaid has made good progress in helping its non-church partners make this shift. The activities focused on economic empowerment triggered off processes that led to higher self-esteem of pastoralists, including women, greater recognition by themselves and others of their capacities to manage assets and resources, and more voice at least at local levels of decision-making about development. The support to recognising the richness of culture and indigenous institutions in different pastoralist groups has reinforced this process. This local empowerment is an important step toward increasing pastoralist influence on policy at regional, national and eventually international levels, i.e. it goes in the right direction toward reaching Cordaid’s policy goals.
Some initial work has been done in helping to establish pastoralist membership organisations and raising the profile of pastoralists at regional and national level. Although other donors than Cordaid have been the main actors in this regard, there is potential for synergy that can be exploited in the future. A larger role has been played by Cordaid in supporting activities that give pastoralists a platform to express themselves, e.g. in the EPD and conferences, and that amplify pastoralists’ voices through radio and print media. National-level NGOs have managed to influence the content of major policy papers, such as the PASDEP. However, they have not been very effective in ensuring that the policies are implemented on the ground and that pastoralists’ rights to access land and water to maintain their livelihoods are protected. More attention could have been given also at local level to making pastoralists aware of their rights and strengthening their capacities to demand that they receive what is due to them by law.

**Women’s influence strengthened at local level.** Especially since 2005, Cordaid has encouraged partners to give attention to gender issues. In the period 2003–08, 46% of the projects were explicitly focused on women either totally or with a main component, while another 38% included mention of gender issues in the project description. The partners that gave deliberate attention to gender managed to heighten awareness of these issues within the pastoralist groups with which they worked. Their support to women’s involvement in diverse ways of generating income for their families, in managing their own assets such as livestock, and in managing public assets such as water supply led to improvements in family and community welfare, according to the pastoralists themselves. The women gained a stronger position within the household and gained confidence and skills to take active part in development planning at community level. At least some local men now recognise women’s ability and right to do so. However, there is still little involvement of pastoralist women in decision-making in regional meetings. Although more girls are now attending school, the rate of illiteracy among the women has remained very low, limiting their capacities to participate effectively in higher-level bodies where literacy is more needed. Cordaid partners have given relatively little support to functional literacy.

NGOs operating in Ethiopia with more than 10% of their funds from foreign sources may no longer promote women’s rights (see Annex 8), but they can engage in activities like alleviating social problems of women, organising women in groups, promoting IGAs and providing adult education. The REFLECT approach used by AFD is an empowering methodology that involves action research by women themselves, leading them to reflect on the position of women in society. Giving women space in this way to raise and discuss issues could lead over time to their playing a larger role in policy influence.

**Some unique contributions to pastoralist development.** With respect to the relative importance of the contributions of Cordaid and its partners to pastoralist development in Ethiopia, it would be unfair to make a comparison with other development-support organisations that have different mandates and are dealing with different levels of funding. What is important is to highlight some of the unique and/or key contributions that Cordaid and its partners have made toward improving the situation of pastoralists and some promising models that have been developed and that deserve to be scaled up:

- With respect to poverty-alleviation and livelihood-support activities, Cordaid’s partners EPaRDA and FARM–Africa have been the only organisations in South Omo that introduced camels, providing a good example of supporting pastoralist communities in their efforts to diversify the livestock species they keep in response to changing environmental conditions. Similarly, these and other NGOs supported by Cordaid have experimented with different ways of building the livestock assets of women, which has improved their economic and social status.

- With respect to local organisational development and planning, Cordaid has supported some pioneering work of FARM–Africa in empowering community development committees to manage their own development funds and in strengthening the district administration in participatory planning with local people; this activities linked in well with the CMDRR approach of Cordaid’s Programme 4.

- With respect to conflict management, Cordaid has supported EPaRDA in developing an approach that has received recognition by government officials and NGOs in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. Also the peace-building support provided by CASE working through customary institutions of mutual aid is a promising approach.

- In raising awareness of citizens’ and particularly women’s rights, Cordaid has supported some unique initiatives such as community radio (through Panos) to stimulate discussion about FGC and the use of government radio programmes (through DUBAF) to raise issues about pastoralists’ rights of access to natural resources.
• The innovative budget-literacy approach with district government offices and local citizens appears to have been effective in the pilot areas in increasing pastoralists’ influence on use of government funds. This was a joint effort of Cordaid and several other donors.

• In policy influence, most Cordaid partners have been able to combine efforts under the umbrella of PFE, which has also received some direct support from Cordaid along with several other national and international NGOs and donors. PFE has managed to link pastoralists and pastoralist-support organisations with national and regional government policymakers, particularly through the EPD.

• Some unique documentation of indigenous knowledge and institutions among pastoralists has been supported by Cordaid through CASE, which is unusual among local NGOs in its documentation capacity, as can be seen in its publications available even through bookshops in Ethiopia.

The process of developing these approaches and the impacts that have been achieved deserve to be better documented, so that they can be more widely shared and scaled up.

It is not possible to measure the extent to which the changes as described by pastoralists themselves and by supporting NGOs can be attributed to Cordaid. This is because several donor agencies, often in close collaboration with government agencies, have been supporting pastoralist development along much the same lines as does Cordaid. Indeed, as indicated above in several cases, activities are often jointly supported by several donors. Cordaid is to be commended for this good collaboration.

Some of the partner NGOs made the effort to calculate the proportion of their total funding that came from Cordaid in 2007 and 2008 (see Table 2). This gives some indication of the extent to which Cordaid contributed to the work of the partners in financial terms. However, Cordaid’s contribution cannot be measured only in terms of the absolute or relative amounts of funds spent. According to discussions with NGO partners and other NGOs, equally if not more important have been the type of support given – particularly in organisational strengthening of local NGOs – which has leveraged support from other funders. Also the contributions of Cordaid partners in joining formal and informal networks for mutual learning and greater impact, such as the new network for pastoralist development in Borana Zone reported by AFD, have been indirect results of Cordaid’s support.

Table 2: Cordaid contribution as percentage of total annual income of some partner NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organisation</th>
<th>% contribution to 2006 income</th>
<th>% contribution to 2007 income</th>
<th>% contribution to 2008 income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBAF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARM–Africa*</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panos</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>funded through Panos</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Calculations provided by the respective NGOs
* funds to FARM–Africa Ethiopia, not including funds via the UK office

8.2 Some general lessons that could have wider applicability

The findings on specific changes perceived by the groups of pastoralists met during this study – from four ethnic groups in Borana and South Omo Zones in southern Ethiopia – may not be valid in other pastoral areas in Ethiopia or in neighbouring countries, as there are large differences between pastoralist groups with respect to their relative exposure to other cultures and other forms of governance, their distinct customary forms of organisation (especially for resource use), the nature of the environment (arid as opposed to semi-arid or subhumid) and – related to this – their degree of mobility and possibilities to combine livestock-keeping with other sources of livelihood. This is to say nothing of differences in pressures from outside, such as encroachment of subsistence crop farmers, tourism, mining or commercial-farming development and – with a view to applicability in neighbouring countries – differences in government policy and legislation. The short time available for the fieldwork allowed focus-group discussions only with pastoralists living in areas relatively easy to reach. Wealth stratification would have been needed to assess to which wealth categories of pastoralists the findings apply. There is also great heterogeneity within most pastoralist communities in terms of social status and power; these could not be discerned during the brief field visits. However, the findings could be
triangulated to some extent by seeking both endogenous and exogenous perspectives. Moreover, the latter perspectives on general changes in the situation of pastoralists were expressed with an awareness of the broader context in Ethiopia and eastern Africa. Such general changes include the trend toward sedentarisation and “modernisation” in terms of adaptation of traditional practices and culture. Therefore, some general lessons can be drawn from the study that could be more widely applied in development-support work also among other pastoralists in Ethiopia and eastern Africa.

**Choosing partners and allies.** Ultimately, pastoral peoples’ influence on decisions that affect their lives will be strengthened through more effective pastoralist organisations that can communicate and negotiate with other political actors on behalf of pastoralists. In Ethiopia, the most promising path to this end is through carrying out consultations and participatory institutional mapping with pastoralist men and women and their leaders in customary institutions to identify partners that the local people respect and trust. In selecting partners, it is wise to select ones with different strengths; closer networking between the partners might have helped make better use of their strengths. For example, some local NGOs (e.g. CASE) have considerable experience and interest in documentation and publication. Consideration could have been given to encouraging collaboration between them and other local NGOs in compiling experiences also from the other Cordaid partners for publication in local languages.

**Strengthening organisational capacities of partners.** Addressing development of the entire partner organisation strengthens not only the project activities financed directly but also renders the partner better able to engage in other development activities. Open-mindedness and flexibility on the part of the donor helps greatly to assure partners that there is a good understanding of the difficult and often fluctuating circumstances under which they operate. The interaction between partners during regional workshops and the informal learning that takes place during such cross-border meetings and exchange visits contributes to this process, widens horizons and stimulates new ideas and enthusiasm to try out new approaches.

**Suitable types and levels of interventions.** The lessons learnt about types and levels of activities suitable for improving pastoralists’ lives included the following:

- The economic empowerment of pastoralist women and youth at local level can make an indirect contribution to increasing voice and choice.
- Activities that bring together several ethnic groups to address a common concern (e.g. improving health facilities, advocating for continued use of land designated as a national park, negotiating with commercial farmers to maintain or regain rights to water) can contribute to social cohesion among the different groups and can reduce the potential for inter-ethnic conflict.
- Support to budget literacy can, even in a short period, provides important impulses to increase transparency and accountability of government at district level.
- Giving attention to mass media – especially community radio – can unlock potential to inform pastoralists and to amplify their voices. The mass media allow much more frequent communication. Where community radio is controlled by pastoralist communities, this provides an avenue for them to raise concerns, debate issues and bring in new ideas. Unlike events like EPD – as important as they are –radio communication is not constrained by distance; pastoralists do not need to travel so far to make their voices heard.

**Multiple-level approach to policy dialogue.** Policy-influencing activities can be more effective if partners working at different levels are involved: grassroots, regional, national and international. Good practice demonstrated on the ground, such as showing the potential of local institutions to manage natural resources, provides a basis for more convincing lobbying. There are considerable differences between regions within a country with respect to conditions for doing effective work, as this depends greatly on the regional and district policies and on the individuals holding influential positions in the administration. However, whatever the degree of openness of the local administration, in a country like Ethiopia where the administrative structure is organised from the top right down to subdistrict or even lower levels, interventions at local level need to seek harmony with higher levels of administration as well as with customary institutions in order to avoid misunderstandings and blockages.

In the long term, the policy of the GoE is in favour of sedentarisation of pastoralists and individualisation of land rights, and most of the current technical and administrative interventions go in this direction. Pastoralists’ comments in discussions and in workshop reports revealed that they want to maintain herd
mobility and see no sustainable alternative to the traditional practices of managing rangeland as a common-property resource. There is a need to continue questioning and influencing the direction of current technical interventions and long-term policies of the GoE, so that these respond to pastoralists’ interests. Many policymakers still lack a basic understanding of pastoral systems. This gap can be addressed through national and regional workshops, such as the RECONCILE/IIED training on pastoralism and policy. The course should be translated into local languages, so that it can strengthen the ability of leaders in pastoralist organisations to argue their case themselves. It may be possible to combine this with training pastoralists at local level to use legal tools to secure land rights, along the lines of the work in Mali (Ba Boubacar 2008). However, under the newly introduced regulations for CSOs in Ethiopia, partners will have to be creative in fitting such training into their activities.

Advances could be made in decreasing structural injustice to pastoralists through simultaneous efforts of: i) supporting national NGOs in influencing the thinking of national and regional policymakers; ii) empowering practising pastoralists and their organisations to take strategic and well-prepared steps in interacting with these policymakers, which would include increasing pastoralists’ access to relevant information; and iii) creating platforms where pastoralists and policymakers can interact directly.

**Need for good data.** When one tries to compare the perceptions of change given by pastoralists and resource persons with “hard” data on the change in situation of pastoralists from publications and official reports, it is striking that the same statistics about Ethiopian pastoralists are quoted and re-quoted year after year. One Western-educated ethnic pastoralist, commenting on a draft of this report, pointed out that researchers have been writing since decades that pastoralists make up 15% of the population and use 60% of the total land area, yet everyone knows that hundreds of thousands of hectares of pasture have been taken away from pastoralists over the years. He claimed that planners in Ethiopia have exact figures about highland farmers in terms of human and animal population and land area, but it is all a “guess” in the case of pastoralists. How can any assessment and planning be done on this basis? Development planners do not have up-to-date information about human and livestock populations; relative numbers of “pastoralists” who are mobile, semi-settled, settled and totally without livestock; area of land available for grazing in different seasons etc. Also the pastoralists themselves need good and accessible data as a basis for their own planning and policy advocacy.

### 8.3 Specific recommendations to Cordaid

1. **Reflect with pastoralist communities about visions and values:** The livelihood-related activities that Cordaid supports in the name of pastoralist development are fairly similar, as if pastoralists had already second-guessed the NGOs about what kind of support could be offered. Cordaid’s partners should facilitate more fundamental reflection among pastoralist communities about their visions for the future, for themselves and their children, and the basic values they want to maintain or enhance. Groups should be differentiated according to degree of dependency on livestock (and thus relative wealth). Only then can the pastoralists plan what is needed to support positive change in their own eyes. One entry point in this line will be the customary institutions among the pastoral peoples. Working with these institutions will help underpin the actions identified as priorities and, in the process, this approach would help strengthen the customary institutions to articulate the concerns of their people at different levels of policymaking; local, zonal, regional and federal.

2. **Promote culturally appropriate education:** Through research, exchange with other stakeholders and – above all – visioning exercises with pastoralist parents and leaders, Cordaid partners should explore what type, place and content of education the different pastoral peoples want for their children. This would form the basis for building up an education system (formal and non-formal) that integrates the local culture and values. Creative ways should be sought to maintain linkages between teachers and parents, including traditional leaders, at all levels of schooling, with particular attention to girls’ schooling beyond Grade 4. Particular attention should be given to non-formal education for both youth (school leavers) and adults. Cordaid should carry out a study of how non-formal education programmes among pastoralist groups have functioned, and to what extent traditional values have been and can be embedded in them. Involvement of local people, including traditional leaders, in non-formal education would provide a space to discuss also wider issues affecting their community and increase their capacities to make these views more widely known.

3. **Base development approach on risk management and provision of relevant information.** The CMDRR approach holds promise for strengthening community control over development in a way
that gives realistic attention to the high risks involved in pastoralists’ lives. With good facilitation, it
enables local people to recognise what they can do themselves to mitigate against disaster and what
the government should be doing to help secure their livelihoods, i.e. what they have the right to
demand. The training motivates and capacitates: i) people in pastoralist communities to manage
their own development activities; and ii) government staff to support community-managed activities.
This approach should be incorporated into the overall community-level planning. The reflections on
key issues that (could) affect their lives and the linkage with district-level authorities, who are
themselves interested in disaster risk reduction, would also strengthen pastoralists’ capacities to
influence decision-making. CMDRR will, of necessity, involve issues of access to land and water,
including the risks of losing access as a result of dispossession. It should be combined with support
to pastoralist communities to obtain information about what is being planned by others, so that they
can include this in their own planning about how to deal with proposed changes or interventions.
Embedded in this approach would be interventions linked to marketing, livelihood diversification and
strengthening local institutions. Several years of external support should be provided to scale up and
internalise this approach through targeted training, intermittent coaching and peer-to-peer learning.
At this point in time when the GoE is profiling itself on the international climate-change arena,
CMDRR should be welcomed by the government as an approach to strengthening climate-change
mitigation and adaptation.

4. Support linking and learning. Cordaid should support networking and information exchange about
pastoralist development among partner organisations at two levels: in Addis Ababa among directors
and programme managers to compare and harmonise approaches and activities and to learn from
them; and in southern Ethiopia (possibly also with partners in northern Kenya) to enhance mutual
learning by field staff. More attention should be paid to documenting qualitative and quantitative
evidence of project outcomes and impacts. Partners need training and mentoring in systematic
analysis of their approaches, participatory impact assessment and communicating what they have
learnt to specific target groups, such as pastoralists, district- or regional-level officials or international
agencies. This will mean that: i) time and funds need to be included in project proposals for reflection
and learning events, training in documentation (print and audiovisual) and facilitating exchange; and
ii) relevant advisory support will need to be budgeted.

The information could be used to enrich the modules for the RECONCILE/IIED course on
pastoralism and policy, intended to address policymakers’ poor understanding of pastoral systems.
The modules and tools created for policy awareness and capacity building of stakeholders, including
pastoralist organisations, may need to be adapted for different regions in the country, using relevant
information generated from Cordaid-supported partners, among others.

AFD staff also suggested an analysis of experiences by Cordaid partners and others in
integrating indigenous and modern education (both conventional and alternative) in pastoralist areas,
possibly combined with a “writeshop” facilitated by IIRR, which has a specific focus on this in its
Pastoralist Education Project. It would be particularly important that these linking and learning
activities provide pastoralist groups and associations with relevant information for their own use.

Another example from one of the church dioceses was the documentation of lessons learnt over
the past 10 or more years in how to build up human health services adapted to a dispersed and
mobile population and how to stimulate local capacities and pastoralists’ interest in the health
services to such an extent that the Dadim clinic is still functioning after the departure of the medical
missionaries. This could be compared with and enriched by similar experiences of other healthcare
services supported by Cordaid for many years, such as in Lodwar, Marsabit and Ngong in Kenya.

The study team does not recommend that Cordaid take an approach to supporting pastoralist
development in Ethiopia from the explicit perspective of indigenous peoples, as this could jeopardise
the partners’ position in improving the situation and position of pastoralists in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, as
mentioned above in Recommendation 3, Cordaid and its partners will need to find effective ways to
press for implementation of the specific collective rights of pastoralists as stated in the Ethiopian
Constitution, in particular their right “not to be displaced from their own lands” (Article 40.1).
Annex 1: Terms of Reference: Joint Programme Evaluation Indigenous Peoples

Participating organisations: Cordaid, Hivos, ICCO.

May 2009

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List of abbreviations

CFA Co-Financing Agency
CBO Community-based Organisation
CG Co-ordination Group
ERG External Reference Group
IOB Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie (Policy and Operations Evaluation Department)
IP Indigenous People
MFP Medefinancieringsprogramma (= CFP: Co-Financing Programme)
MFS Medefinancieringsstelsel (= CFS: Co-Financing System)
OECD/DAC Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development/Development Assistance Committee
PME Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
RBA Rights Based Approach
SWOT Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
ToR Terms of Reference

1. Joint Programme Evaluation Partos

All recipient organisations from the Dutch Co Financing System (MFS) are required to establish a practice of regular “project evaluations” of their activities. In addition, the larger MFS recipients are also required to organise “programme evaluations”. In contrast with project evaluations (where the object of evaluation is an individual project/ organisation supported by an MFS organisation) the object of a programme evaluation is a particular programme and/or policy area of the MFS organisation. The selection of programmes to be evaluated is made by the MFS organisations themselves. Programme evaluations are part of the accountability mechanisms of MFS organisations. Therefore they are required to be result oriented. The

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21 Without the 13 pages of annexes; these are included in the annex to the inception report (11 December 2009).
quality of these programme evaluations is assessed by IOB, the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Based on their previous collaboration\(^\text{22}\), the organisations Cordaid, Hivos, ICCO and Oxfam Novib have decided to implement part of their programme evaluation agenda jointly: in the period 2007-2010 they organise a series of five joint programme evaluations, focusing on subject areas common to and relevant for each of them. Each organisation has agreed to participate in at least three joint evaluations\(^\text{23,24,25}\). The co-ordination of these joint programme evaluations is with Partos, the association of Dutch civil society organisations in the international development cooperation sector.

The present document provides the Terms of Reference for one of these five joint programme evaluations, focussing on the CFAs’ support for ‘indigenous peoples’. Participating organisations are Cordaid, Hivos and ICCO. They will be referred to below as “the CFAs”.

2. CFAs and Indigenous Peoples (IP)

The CFAs have a long history of supporting initiatives and organisations of indigenous peoples\(^\text{26}\), also referred to in this text as IP. This should be of no surprise given the overall mission of the CFAs to contribute to poverty eradication: in many countries indigenous peoples belong to the poorest and most marginalised social categories in society. During the period 2003-2007, the three CFAs committed roughly € 60 million to more than 330 projects in support of indigenous peoples, in some 35 countries\(^\text{27}\). The supported initiatives included interventions focusing on land rights, political rights, livelihood, the rights of indigenous women, and organisational strengthening.

The policy foundation for working with Indigenous Peoples differs between the CFAs\(^\text{28}\). In spite of these differences it is possible to trace—in very general terms—a common framework of analysis of and approach to the position of IP namely structural injustice. In that framework a number of concepts are central: “Exclusion/marginalisation/discrimination”, “Domination” “Self determination” and “Inclusion”. In the following we briefly describe these central concepts.

Exclusion- Marginalisation- Discrimination- Domination
IP tend to be excluded from the -sources of- power in their societies. This is the case when they constitute a numerical minority in a country, but it also applies to situations where they are the majority population (as in some Latin American countries). Their exclusion is not a natural situation but the –ongoing— result of historical processes during which other groups have imposed their domination over them and by which IP were marginalized and discriminated according to the prevailing rules and culture in a society. IP’s exclusion has various dimensions: political, economical and also sociocultural. They are often considered and treated as second class citizens in the national political structures. Their historical and collective rights & claims on land and natural resources are not recognized and respected. Their cultural traditions and identity differ from, and are not respected by, the dominant culture and group(s) in society. Often IP live in remote, degraded areas and sometimes in (protected) areas rich of natural resources. Sometimes and in certain aspects IP’s position in society can be characterised as “forced inclusion”. Forced inclusion refers to forms of forced assimilation into systems, structures and values of the dominant group(s).

Self determination - Inclusion
Yet, the (recent) history of indigenous peoples is not only a history of exclusion. It is also a history of struggle for self-determination and inclusion, and of positive assertion of one’s own culture and identity. In
the last decades in many countries land rights were obtained as well as possibilities for bilingual education created. On the international level there were several successes; in 2007 the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore in several countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico) indigenous people made important progress in participation in national politics and legislation.

Improvement in the position of Indigenous Peoples requires changes at two – interrelated – levels:
(1) at the level of the IP themselves (organisation building, self-esteem, cultural assertion, economic development, basic needs)
(2) at the level of state and society (legal, economic and political structures and arrangements).

The outcome (or impact) of such changes can be described as “self determination” and “inclusion”. Self determination points to the ‘rights of peoples to freely determine their political status and to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural rights’. Inclusion refers to the inclusive society. This means a society which ‘values the perspectives and contributions of all population groups and subgroups and a society which incorporates the needs and viewpoints of constituent communities. This implies respect for IPs’ notion of what constitutes desirable development and poverty eradication.

CFAs’ interventions consist of support to a wide range of ‘actors’ pushing for the above mentioned changes. These actors are – organisations of – the Indigenous Peoples themselves as well as non-IP civil society organisations supporting the IP (organisations). Both types of actors are among the partner organisations of the CFAs. These partner organisations can be active at local, regional, national and international level and in different thematic fields.

Although the accepted international definitions and this framework do suggest that it is possible to speak about the situation of indigenous peoples in general terms, it should be clear that behind these - relevant - general notions there is a diversity of contexts, which can only be addressed appropriately at a more ‘local or national context’ level.

Additional challenges
In principle CFAs’ interventions with IP are not different from CFA interventions in general. They always involve relationships with partner organisations and with target group (organisations). However, supporting IP does imply some additional challenges for CFAs, which are related to – real/potential – differences in outlook and worldview between CFAs and IP. Such differences include views on ‘development’ and ‘poverty’ and the balance between individual and collective rights. Differences such as these find their expression around issues actively promoted by CFAs such as ‘gender equality’ and ‘accountability’.

The promotion of women’s rights and gender equality is a core concern of the CFAs. Apart from the fact that for most participating organisations it is one of their specific policy areas, they also have committed themselves to “mainstreaming gender” in all their work. This implies that the CFAs seek to ensure that all supported development activities and projects are gender sensitive and contribute to enhancing gender equality. Sometimes this CFA commitment meets with resistance from the IP organisations, invoking arguments of cultural difference. The CFAs therefore face the challenge of addressing the (potential) tension between (i) supporting the collective right to a specific, ethnic identity and self-esteem and (ii) enhancing individual indigenous women’s rights and gender equality.

Another challenge faced by the CFAs is the “how” of their support for IP. IP membership-based organisations (local CBOs or higher level federations) are often organisationally weak and unstable. When providing direct support to such organisations the CFAs find themselves in major difficulties to meet the increasing accountability requirements of their back-donors. On one hand CFAs are supporting the IP organisations’ own identity and organisational needs, on the other hand the requirements ask for a strong – or linear – PME-system. These difficulties appear less when providing indirect support to IP, via more established intermediary NGOs. However, the problem with such NGOs however may be their distance from the IP.

3. Joint Programme Evaluation Indigenous Peoples

3.1. Purpose: what will this evaluation be used for?

The CFAs will use the findings of this programme evaluation:
- To show and account for the results of their activities in support of Indigenous Peoples,
- To critically review these activities,
- To inspire future policy development & implementation.

3.2. Objective – Evaluation Question (EQ)

The objective of this evaluation is to answer the following Evaluation Question:
To what extent have CFA policies, strategies, procedures and programmes and those of their partner organisations contributed to a reduction of structural injustice towards indigenous peoples?
Specifically, to what extent have CFA policies and programmes contributed to:
- A reduction of marginalisation of certain population categories and a change in power, poverty, the worldviews and values, an increase and strengthening of the political, economic, social and cultural self-determination and identity of marginalised peoples;
- A reduction of marginalisation and inclusion in development processes that is considered positive by them, and
- Avoiding or mitigating of forced assimilation or integration?

3.3. Research Questions (RQ)

Answering the Evaluation Question means that the evaluation must address and answer the following research questions:

A. CFA Policies

1. What policies have the CFAs formulated regarding Indigenous Peoples? (explicit as well as implicit policies)?
2. How should the formulated policies be assessed in light of:
   - the current international debates,
   - the incorporation of the perspective of IP, and
   - the amount of attention given to the challenges mentioned in par 2?
3. Have the CFAs selected partner organisations and have the CFAs supported interventions that are in line with the policies described?

B. Changes in the situation of IP and the relation with CFA supported interventions

4. In what way did the position of the (selected) IPs change over the last 10 years concerning:
   - political rights
   - land rights
   - livelihoods
   - rights of indigenous women
5. Can these changes be assessed - and to what extent - as:
   - a reduction of marginalisation of the IP and a change in power, poverty, the worldviews and values, an increase and strengthening of the political, economic, social and cultural self-determination and identity of the IP?
   - a reduction of marginalisation and inclusion in development processes that is considered positive by them and
   - avoiding or mitigating of forced assimilation or integration?
6. To what degree and in what way can the changes under 4) be explained by the interventions of the CFA’s partners?

C. Mode of supporting

10. In what way has the mode of supporting IP-organisations by the CFA’s contributed to or undermined the (positive) outcomes. Include topics like:
   - Selection criteria of partners (different levels, intermediary organisations or indigenous organisations)
   - Accountability systems, PME-models
   - CFA-partner involvement/communication

D. Synthesis

11. What can overall be said about the change in structural injustice in the situation of IP in the case studies and the contribution of the CFAs' partner organisations in this change?
12. What lessons are there to be drawn from the case studies to enhance the positive outcomes (diminish the negative) and to effectively support the IP-organisations?

3.4. Methodology – Implementing the evaluation

General approach
These Terms of Reference will guide three separate studies, one for each CFA. Each study will start – inception phase – with an analysis/reconstruction of the CFA’s policies & strategies in working with IP (RQ under A)

Phase 2 will cover research questions under B and C, and consist of a small number of case studies. The Cordaid study will focus on Africa (pastoralists in Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia), the Hivos study will focus on Latin America (Bolivia and Guatemala) and the Icco study will focus on Asia (India).

Phase 3 will lead to a synthesis report in which the findings of the CFA studies will be compared, according to research questions under D.

The evaluation will be carried out by a team of three evaluators, one of which will act as team leader. Each evaluator will be responsible for one CFA study. The teamleader will coordinate the whole process and be responsible for writing the synthesis report.

Partos will sign up a contract with only the teamleader. The two other evaluators will work under responsibility – read under contract – of the teamleader.

The evaluation needs to meet the standards set out by the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB), an independent body of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see annex 4, in Dutch).

Methodology in detail

Phase 1 - Inception

The inception phase covers 2 activities:

* Addressing research questions under A (1 – 4) concerning the CFA policies on IP. Given what was said about these policies in paragraph 2, this will partly mean a ‘reconstruction’ of the policies/theory of change/intervention logic.

This phase should include:
- A review of the relevant literature.
- A systematic review of relevant files, reports and other documents (e.g. existing (impact) studies, project and previous programme evaluations) available at Cordaid, Hivos, ICCO. A basic analysis should be done on the total portfolio of the participating CFAs.
- Interviews with desk- and programme officers, and management at the CFAs: to get an insight in the relation between policy, knowledge and practice of desk and programme officers.
- Interviews with other relevant informants (organisations or individuals) in the Netherlands.

* Preparation of phase 2

This includes:
- a general refining of the research questions and development of indicators and judgement criteria, based on 4.1.1.
- a country specific refining of research questions/indicators/judgement criteria. This includes a check on the most relevant of the project foci.
- identification of sources of information and techniques of data collection.

This phase will result in three inception reports, one for each CFA. Approval of inception reports is a condition for the start of the next phase. Apart from the approval of each individual inception report, which will be done by the Partos Evaluation Manager and the respective CFA, it is proposed that in a ½ day workshop the three inception reports will be compared, as a first contribution to the synthesis report.

To sustain uniformity during the inception phase and later during the synthesis phase the inception reports should be written following the same table of contents and using the same concepts. Also the three case studies’ report should be written following the same table of contents. The uniformity must be guarded by the teamleader.

Phase 2 - Case studies – data collection

The data collection will include
- desk study of IP context in case study countries
- desk study of CFA documents and partner files
- interviews with CFA staff
- field work case studies, including interviews with informants from IP and partner organisations

Each country case study will address the research questions 4-10 against a thorough context analysis of the (historical) changes in the position of the IP.

The aim of the country cases is to:
  a. Complete of information that did not show up during phase 1.

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29 Evaluators must be aware of general data limitations in CFA supported projects. Baseline studies are generally not available. Data limitations occur in CFA files as well as in administrative systems of partner organizations.
b. Verify already collected data, and collect additional data on partner organisation and target population level (looking for intended as well as unintended, positive as well as negative effects).

c. In addition to partner organisations, other reliable and appropriate data sources and informants should be consulted as well. Triangulation of data found in the desk study is needed.

d. Share the information collected with at least the partner organisations, but preferably also other relevant stakeholders in the field, in order to create a common understanding and stimulate the learning process at relevant stakeholders.

This phase will be finalised with 3 reports answering the research questions 1-10 and the evaluation question for each CFA.

**Phase 3 - Synthesis**

Based on the three CFA reports a synthesis report will be written. This report will answer part D, RQ 11 and 12.

### 3.5. Scope

- Policy wise (Part A of the research questions) the evaluation will cover the totality of CFAs’ involvement with indigenous peoples.
- Geographically the scope of the evaluation includes Africa (Kenya-Tanzania-Ethiopia), Latin America (Bolivia- Guatemala) and Asia (India ). The country fieldstudies will cover a sizeable part of the CFAs’ overall IP portfolios (in terms of financial commitments- Cordaid 35%, Hivos 42%, Icco 29%).
- The historical scope of the evaluation is at least the period 2003-2007. However, it may differ per case study, sometimes a “deeper scope” may be preferred. The historical depth of each case study will be determined during the inception phase.

### 3.6. Result levels and Evaluation criteria

- The evaluation will address ‘results’ at the outcome level, and – where possible – at impact level
- The evaluation criteria applied by this evaluation are effectiveness, sustainability and relevance. For these concepts we follow the definitions formulated by DAC (Development Assistance Committee – see annex 5) The evaluation will not attempt to assess efficiency.

### 4. Deliverables and deadlines

All final products need to be in English. Depending on the selected areas for field study, translations may need to take place to French or Spanish. The final synthesis report should be handed in **the 1st of april 2010**.

**Expected products, delivered by the consultants, and deadlines**

**Time available for phase 1 is 8 weeks: mid august 2009 – mid oct 2009**

During this phase, the consultants:

a. will have a kick-off meeting with the co-ordination group (CG): **augustus 2009**

b. will draft an inception report (**after 7 weeks**). This inception report includes a reconstruction of the policies and intervention logic, and a further operationalisation of the evaluation framework, evaluation questions, judgement criteria and indicators, based on this ToR, the proposal of the evaluators, and what they have found so far. This inception report is also sent to the External Reference Group (ERG) for comments.

c. will have a meeting on the inception report and the progress in the implementation of the work plan with the co-ordination group (after 9 weeks). The discussion includes:
   - comments of the ERG
   - problems faced so far and solutions found
   - reliability of data collected
   - more information on judgement criteria and provisional indicators
   - verification that all important sources of information have been/ will be used
   - first outline second phase for the case studies, suggestions for fine-tuning of the evaluation questions and the methodology for data collection in the field phase

d. should submit a final report end oct 2010, including any comments received from the co-ordination group. This final report includes at least:
   - an overview of the different policies (formal or informal), intervention or programme logic, judgement criteria plus indicators, practices and main activities during 2003–2007 of the four participating CFAs
   - an overview of expenditures by CFAs (total and MFP budget) and the number of partners involved (most of this is already available in the portfolio)
   - an analysis of the link between the work of CFAs within the changes of the
geographical context, preliminary answers on the evaluations questions, and hypotheses to be further validated through field research.

Number of pages for the final inception report: max 40 main text, excl. annexes

Format: draft report: electronic version (MS Word format)
final report: hardcopy (5 copies) plus electronic version (MS Word format)

Time available for phase 2 is 12 weeks: nov 2009 - end January 2010

At the end of the field study phase, the consultants will:

a. submit three to three (of course the number depends on the number of countries visited) draft country reports and one thematic report (mid January 2010). These reports will also be shared with the partner organisations for comments. These reports should include at least:
   - reports of the field briefings and debriefings (meetings or workshops) in the countries/regions
   - context analysis, methodology, findings, conclusions and a maximum of four organisation specific recommendations regarding the evaluation questions
b. give a presentation of the findings to the co-ordination group (around Mid January 2010)
c. submit four final country reports (no later than end January 2010), including any comments received from the concerned parties on the draft reports.

Number of pages for each report: max 40 main text, excl. annexes

Format: Draft country reports: electronic version (MS Word format)
Final country reports: hardcopy (5 copies of each report) plus electronic version (MS Word format)

Time available for phase 3 is 8 weeks: February 2010 - April 2010

After the field study phase, the consultants will:

a. submit a draft Synthesis Report (around mid March 2010) based on the desk and field studies: besides answering the evaluation questions, the draft final report should also synthesise all findings, conclusions and recommendations into an overall assessment of the programme. This draft Synthesis Report is also sent to the External Reference Group for their comments and concerned parties.
b. give a presentation on the draft report to the co-ordination group (Mid March 2009), followed by a discussion on:
   - findings, conclusions
   - quality of the report
   - utilisation of the report, including transferable lessons and recommendations
c. and if deemed necessary, this discussion can immediately be followed by a meeting with the External Reference Group and the coordination group.
d. submit a final Synthesis Report (no later than first week of April 2010), including any comments received from the concerned parties on the draft report. This report needs to match the standards set out by the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB), an independent body of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see annex 4, in Dutch).

Number of pages of synthesis report: max 60 main text, excl. annexes

Format: Draft Synthesis report: electronic version (MS Word format)
Final Synthesis report: hardcopy (5 copies) plus electronic version (MS Word format)

The final Synthesis Report will include an annex 1 with the formal assessment of the External Reference Group. It will be printed and distributed by Partos, and put on Partos’ website.

5. Evaluation Team

The team leader should have expertise in managing complex evaluation processes. Experience with evaluations which go beyond policy level; knowledge of the working conditions and contexts of local partner organisations in the South is a must.

The evaluators will have to complement the specific ‘indigenous peoples’ – social science focus on expertise, gender expertise, and have experience in quantitative and qualitative survey techniques. Language skills needed are Dutch, English and Spanish/Portuguese in order to be able to read and interpret the files available at the CFAs.

Although not the main focus - learning is an important part of the PE-process; therefore it is important to include participative learning experience and skills in the team. At least one team member should have an understanding of the Dutch co-financing system. Preferably, the team should be a mixture of northern and southern consultants. Working with local consultants during field studies in the South is a pre-condition.

Team members should not have had a working relationship with the involved CFAs during 2002-2007, the period just before and under evaluation. The co-ordination group follows the generally accepted principle that the evaluation of a programme must be carried out by independent bodies, organisations or individuals. In this particular case, this means that consultants should not have been involved in setting up the policy or
programmes relating indigenous people at the CFAs under evaluation, nor should they have worked as policy-, programme or desk officers on this specific topic at these CFAs. In short: someone should not evaluate his or her own work.

It is the responsibility of the team leader to assure:
- composition of the team
- a realistic time frame and budget for the evaluation
- the consistency of the deliverables with the ToR
- the quality of the content of the deliverables

The team leader is ultimately responsible for finalising the report and co-ordinating and guiding the evaluation process (including all logistic arrangements).

6. Budget
A budget should give a breakdown of the expected number of days per team member and their fees. Prices need to be calculated in Euro’s, are maximum prices and cannot be changed during the contract. The maximum budget available for the complete evaluation (including all three case studies and synthesis phase) is € 365,000. (VAT Inclusief)

We suggest a division of the budget over the three case studies and the synthesis phase. Per case study (rq 1-10) the amount could be € 110,000. (VAT Inclusief). For writing up the synthesis report we estimate the budget at € 35,000. (VAT Inclusief)

The payment procedures are as follows:
25% at acceptance by the evaluation team of the task
25% after approval by co-ordination group of the draft inception report (end phase 1)
25% after approval by co-ordination group of the final organisational or country reports (end phase 2)
25% after approval by co-ordination group of final report and financial justification (end phase 3)

7. Management and steering of the evaluation

Co-ordination Group (CG)
The evaluation is managed by the evaluation manager within Partos, with the assistance of a co-ordination group consisting of members of the four participating co-financing agencies. The co-ordination group members have prepared the current Terms of Reference. The main function of this group is:
- To select the evaluation team who actually implement this evaluation.
- To ensure that the consultants have access to and have consulted all relevant information sources and documents related to the project/programme available at the agencies.
- To validate the evaluation questions.
- To discuss and comment on notes and reports delivered by the consultants.
- To assist in feedback of the findings, conclusions, lessons and recommendations from the evaluation back into their organisations.

External Reference Group (ERG)
Partos, together with the Co-Financing Agencies have installed a Reference Group of external experts to advise the co-ordination group on the quality of process and results of the joint programme evaluations. The External Reference Group gives advice on the draft Terms of Reference, the draft inception report, the draft Synthesis report, and prepares a final assessment on the quality of process and results. Their independent assessment will be included in the final synthesis report as an annex.

Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB)
The CFAs are accountable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Dutch public for the obtained results. The evaluation reports will be open for public use and are reviewed by the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department, an independent body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to a Quality Assessment List (annex 4, in Dutch).

All contracting, payment and correspondence concerning the evaluation goes through Partos:
Ellermanstraat 15
Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel.: 020 – 320 9901

8. Minimal requirements for proposals

In case you are or your organisation is interested, we invite you to prepare a proposal for implementation (max. 15 pages, excluding annexes). We encourage you to team up with other organisations or individuals. The proposal should be written in English. We expect a plan of approach, with at least the following information:

**Understanding context and evaluation questions:**
- Fine tuning of the evaluation questions, including a first draft of ‘judgement criteria’.
  The evaluation questions need to be captured into different judgement criteria developed by the consultants. Each evaluation question should have at least 1 to 2 judgement criteria. The achievement of these criteria during the period 2003 -2007 can be assessed or judged through indicators, which need to be developed by the consultants during the first phase of the evaluation.

**Evaluation capacity:**
- A proposal for a methodology, the way in which data will be collected and data sources needed, taking into account the expected methodological problems and data shortcomings.
- A proposal for how to analyse data in order to answer the evaluation questions.

**Evaluation team:**
- An overview of the roles, expertise and skills of the team members in the evaluation.
- Time table, including possible risks, and measures you may take in order to reduce those risks.

The proposal should include at least the following annexes:
- Composition of the evaluation team with cv’s, showing their knowledge, skills and experiences
- List of relevant evaluations within the last 5 years

A separate document including a breakdown of the requested budget should be sent with the technical proposal, but in a separate envelope. You should give the reference number “Partos /09/LD/800, technical - or financial proposal” for quotation on the envelopes.

Technical and financial proposals (3 hardcopies each, in two different envelopes) should be sent to the contact person at Partos (mentioned in chapter eight), and need to be in her receipt no later than **13 July 2009 at 17.00 o’clock Dutch time.** We also ask you to send an email with the two documents.
## Annex 2: Itinerary for fieldwork in Ethiopia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8–9 Nov</td>
<td>Travel by Netherlands-based team member to Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Nov</td>
<td>Reading reports, refining methods, drawing up question guidelines and structure of report; meetings with resource person and Cordaid head office staff member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Nov</td>
<td>Arranging logistics for field trip; revising itinerary; making/confirming appointments for following day, for field visits and after return; visit to EPaRDA for discussions and arranging fieldwork; field notes; reading reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Nov</td>
<td>Meetings with resource persons / partner organisations’ head offices (AFD, CASE, FARM–Africa); recap of day’s discussions (ditto each evening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Nov</td>
<td>Travel from Addis to Arba Minch; evening meeting at Gamo Gofa Catholic Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Nov</td>
<td>Travel from Arba Minch to Woito; meeting with EPaRDA and CASE field staff at Woito; brief visit to CASE office in Woito; travel from Woito to Turmi; visit to Arbore ecotourism site and to grain-mill group; discussions with EPaRDA &amp; FARM–Africa field staff in Turmi; joint planning of next two days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Nov</td>
<td>Meetings with groups of Arbore and Hamar community members (men, women, youth, traditional leaders); discussion with resource person on Hamar culture (Dimeke); visit to FARM–Africa office; presentation of project activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Nov</td>
<td>Meetings with groups of Tsamai community members; feedback discussions with CASE, EPaRDA and FARM–Africa staff; travel from Turmi to Konso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Nov</td>
<td>Travel from Konso to Yabello; visit to Yabello Catholic Church (boarding school for Boran youth); meeting at AFD for presentation and discussion of activities and arranging fieldwork; meeting with EPaRDA staff buying camels in Borana for South Omo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Nov</td>
<td>Meeting with Boran water-management committee at CMDRR information centre in Alona; meeting with youth from pastoralist areas in Arero town; meeting with Arero District administrator and line office staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nov</td>
<td>Meetings with other development actors in Borana Zone (CARE, GOAL, Yabello Research Centre); feedback and discussions at AFD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Nov</td>
<td>Travel from Yabello to Hawassa; meeting at Vicariate of Awassa about Dadim clinic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Nov</td>
<td>Travel from Hawassa to Addis; arranging/confirming meetings during next days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Nov – 1 Dec</td>
<td>Feedback and discussions at headquarters of partner organisations; meetings with pastoralist parliamentarians and elders council (OPA) and other resource persons; debriefing with Cordaid head office staff member; writing aide-mémoire, including study process report, and drafting case-study report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2 Dec</td>
<td>Return travel by Netherlands-based team member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Annex 3: Persons consulted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alba Espinoza Rocca (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Participation</td>
<td>Programme Officer, Pastoralist Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ced Hesse</td>
<td>IIED, UK</td>
<td>Programme Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frédérique van Drumpt (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Participation</td>
<td>Project Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilda van ‘t Riet (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid</td>
<td>Monitoring &amp; Evaluation Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inge Barmentlo (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Participation</td>
<td>Programme Officer, Pastoralist Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margriet Nieuwenhuis (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Participation</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piet Spaarman</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Emergency Aid &amp; Reconstruction</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasja Kamil (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Sector Emergency Aid &amp; Reconstruction</td>
<td>Team Leader Eastern &amp; Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie Joubert (f)</td>
<td>Cordaid, Section Participation</td>
<td>Programme Officer Lobbying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdulkarim Guleid</td>
<td>Federal Parliament</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abebe Balcha</td>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Board Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrian Cullis</td>
<td>Save the Children–USA</td>
<td>Programme Officer, Ethiopia Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boku Tache</td>
<td>Freelance consultant</td>
<td>Board member of WAMIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Temesgen</td>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>Policy Research Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girma Zenebe</td>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey Hassen (f)</td>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>Cordaid Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Abate</td>
<td>OPA</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jemjem Udessa</td>
<td>DUBAF</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnathan Napier</td>
<td>FARM–Africa</td>
<td>Country Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mattijs Renden</td>
<td>Cordaid</td>
<td>Financial Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed Ali</td>
<td>Federal Parliament</td>
<td>Chair of Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muluneh Mengistu</td>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Program Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nura Dida</td>
<td>OPA</td>
<td>Chairman of OPA, General Secretary of East African Pastoralist Elders Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahel Belete (f)</td>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>Programme Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rustico Binas</td>
<td>Consultant to Cordaid</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction Advisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Desta</td>
<td>PARIMA</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafesse Mesfin</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>Acting Director and Board Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamre Teka</td>
<td>Panos–Ethiopia</td>
<td>Country Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegegne Alemayehu</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tezera Getahun</td>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ton Haverkort</td>
<td>Cordaid</td>
<td>Regional DCM/DRR Programme Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wako Dubo</td>
<td>DUBAF</td>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondwossen Chanyalew</td>
<td>FARM–Africa</td>
<td>Project Manager, EIPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondwossen Gulelat</td>
<td>PFE</td>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohannes GebreMichael</td>
<td>Addis Ababa University Geography Department</td>
<td>Lecturer; specialist in pastoralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yosef Gebrehiwot</td>
<td>Save the Children–USA</td>
<td>Senior Specialist Design, M&amp;E, Africa Area Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoseph Negassa</td>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Omo, Ethiopia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aregay GebreSellasie</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>South Omo Risk Management Project Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Paddy Moran</td>
<td>Gamo Gofa Catholic Church</td>
<td>Integrated Community Development Project Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hora Galcha</td>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>Woito Field Programme Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Said</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>South Omo Project Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meseret Negaya</td>
<td>Catholic Mission Dimeke</td>
<td>Deacon (Ethiopian Orthodox Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Abdurahman</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>South Omo Programme Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wondifraw Baykeda</td>
<td>FARM–Africa EIPP</td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yared Tesfaye</td>
<td>Network of Ethiopian Women’s Associations (NEWA)</td>
<td>Public Relations &amp; Communications Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenabu Indris</td>
<td>FARM–Africa EIPP</td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbore, Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argido Hugo</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td>Community tour guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td>Community tour guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dido Gino (f)</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td>Member, Women's Grain-mill Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudei Ito</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td>Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sika Sala</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td>Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walo Baro</td>
<td>Genderoba community member</td>
<td><em>Kernat</em> (spiritual leader)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 other women and 3 men</td>
<td>Genderoba community members</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamar, Ethiopia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amba Hebla</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Community Development Committee; evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amba Kollo</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Early Warning and Disaster Risk Management Committee (EW&amp;DRMC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banko Bere</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, EW&amp;DRMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bello Kero</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, EW&amp;DRMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikar Adama</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Community Development Committee; traditional forecaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedo Illo</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Community Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hylo Gele (f)</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member and Chair, Women’s Petty-Trade Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inte Shada (f)</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Women's Petty-Trade Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudo Bali (f)</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Member, Women's Petty-Trade Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wino Kerley</td>
<td>Assile community member</td>
<td>Chairman, Assile PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 30 other women</td>
<td>Assile community members</td>
<td>Members of various groups in Assile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazo Morfa Dalime</td>
<td>First native Hamar linguist</td>
<td>Youth League and Sport Office, Jinka (by phone and email)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Tsamai, Ethiopia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bergi Belemu (f)</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Women’s Petty Trade Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beruda Fetale</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Member, Camel Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birhanu Golla</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burtenesh (f)</td>
<td>EPaRDA</td>
<td>Luka Community Development Facilitator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gito Ayke</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gona Gayco</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusho Abja (f)</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Women’s Goat Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusho Bito (f)</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Women’s Petty-Trade Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ole Tonko</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shantamu Ole</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Member, Camel Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade Ayke (f)</td>
<td>Luka community member</td>
<td>Women’s Petty Trade Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca 25 women</td>
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<tr>
<th>Borana, Ethiopia</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aberra Abebe</td>
<td>AFD</td>
<td>Arero District Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abushe Zewedu</td>
<td>Arero Youth Association (AYA) Metagefersa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adi Boru</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alemayehu Teshome</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Member of the Education Working Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Belete (f)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Petty trader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayele Mindaye</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td>Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azeb Abate (f)</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Women Affairs, Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chahu Godana</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Public relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabo Dika (f)</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td>Member and petty trader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dejene Reta</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Water Development Office, Head Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diba Debosa</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Finance Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dika Gersso</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>District Security Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dike Kura</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Budget Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emawayish Shibu (f)</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Vice Director, Arero High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabu Techo</td>
<td>Alona community member</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelegelo Ashiru</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Speaker of District Cabinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glisso Kusiya (f)</td>
<td>Arero District Administration</td>
<td>Women Affairs Expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Role</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godana Jarso (f)</td>
<td>Resident of Fuldwa PA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halake Arerto</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussiene Jarso</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Head of Education Bureau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jirme Godana</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Technical &amp; Vocational Training Centre Expert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalite Debre</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliti Jillo (f)</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassa Shume</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Government expert for Youth Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legesse Terefe</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Human Resources Management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko Ali (f)</td>
<td>AYAM member, Water Management Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techa Guraha</td>
<td>AYAM member, Water Management Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigist Abebe (f)</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Women Affairs Expert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsegaye Desta</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Pastoral Development Officer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wako Dolo</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Vice-speaker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wako Erbole</td>
<td>AFD, Alona Community Development Facilitator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waktole Terefe</td>
<td>AYA Metagefersa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wario Wachi</td>
<td>Arero High School, Student, member of Education Working Group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenebe Abdulkadir (f)</td>
<td>Arero District Administration, Leader, Youth Extracurricular Activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yabello, Ethiopia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abebe Olkeba</td>
<td>Yabello Pastoral and Dryland Agriculture Research Centre, Researcher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezunesh Ale (f)</td>
<td>Yabello Catholic Church, Matron, girls’ hostel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boru Boneya</td>
<td>Yabello Catholic Church, General Manager, boarding school hostel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father Emerike Petersixtus</td>
<td>Yabello Catholic Church, Project Coordinator</td>
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<td>Galma Guyo</td>
<td>CARE, Livelihoods Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Girma Getachew</td>
<td>GOAL Ireland, Borana Field Office Programme Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lemessa Daba</td>
<td>AFD, M&amp;E Officer; Acting Field Office Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teshome Dahessa</td>
<td>CARE, Borana Field Office Programme Operations Manager</td>
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<td><strong>Hawassa, Ethiopia</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yibeltal Jemberu</td>
<td>Vicariate of Awassa, Secretary Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father Sixtus Augustini</td>
<td>Vicariate of Awassa, Secretary General</td>
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Annex 4: Documents consulted

A. Documents from Cordaid and partners

Various project descriptions, proposals, progress reports, internal communications etc, plus:


Bayer W & Sumbash Tolla. Final evaluation of FARM–Africa’s Ethiopian Pastoralist Programme (EPP).


CASE. 2009. Second Year First Quarter report “Promotion of traditional institutions and community participation”.


Cordaid. 2004. Considerations PN 118/1261F Medical Missionaries of Mary Health Care Programme.


Cordaid. 2008a. Programme 1 in words: explanation of the framework of objectives for Programme 1 (Participation for identity based groups).

Cordaid. 2008b. Terms of reference: design and implementation of a tailor-made training for Cordaid on pastoralism and policy options in East Africa and Ethiopia.


EPaRDA. 2009b. Dassenech Woreda Flood Victims Rehabilitation Project. PPT.


EPaRDA. 2009e. Progress of South Omo Pastoralist Empowerment Project achievements. PPT.


FARM–Africa. 2009b. Woreda Capacity Building Project Community Development Fund implementation guidelines.


PFE. 2005. Inclusion of a chapter on pastoralism in the PASDEP.


PFE. 2008a. Promoting gender mainstreaming within pastoral programs and organizations: a generic guideline, prepared by PFE in partnership with Oxfam Great Britain.


Yosef Gebrehiwot. 2007. Cordaid Ethiopia Program 1 general remark and observation.

B. Other documents


Flintan F. 2008. Women’s empowerment in pastoral societies. WISP / GEF / UNDP / IUCN.


Annex 5: Question guidelines for fieldwork

Resource persons
- Changes in national and regional policies and their implementation related to pastoralism in Ethiopia (including cross-border issues) in last ten years?
- To what extent has Cordaid contributed to developing legislation/policies supportive of pastoralists regionally (internationally) and in Ethiopia?
- Changes in actual situation of pastoralists? (political rights, land rights, livelihoods, rights of pastoralist women, integration in development, other ...)
- Contributions of Cordaid partners to networking and learning on pastoralist development? (added value to pastoralist development in the area?)

Partner organisations
- Changes in national and regional policies and their implementation related to pastoralism in Ethiopia (including cross-border issues) in last ten years?
- To what extent has the PO contributed to developing legislation/policies supportive of pastoralists regionally (internationally) and in Ethiopia?
- Has Cordaid supported PO to develop and implement specific programmes addressing pastoralist/IP issues? If so, how?
- Specific objectives of projects? (any mention of social & cultural rights, collective rights, self-determination, reducing marginalisation?)
- What other projects (not Cordaid-supported) implemented by the PO that are addressing pastoralist/IP issues? When and how developed? (complementarity, synergy, relative impact?)
- What differences in worldviews of pastoralists as compared to those of PO (and Cordaid) create challenges in development activities? How were these differences handled when planning activities?
- What kinds of tension have arisen during project implementation between collective/ cultural rights and individual (incl. gender) rights? How have these been dealt with?
- How well does the PO think it has mainstreamed gender? How is this evident? Is there a gender-differentiated monitoring system in place?
- Monitoring system at PO level? (project documentation, M&E documents, progress reports)
- Documentation of learning and good practice? (examples?)
- Frequency and quality of communication between PO and Cordaid?
- Changes in actual situation of pastoralists? (livelihoods, rights of pastoralist women, integration in development, other ...) What brought these changes about? Contribution of Cordaid-supported work to this?
- Change in rights position of pastoralists (political rights, land rights, access to and control over resources, rights of pastoralist women)? How evident? How did this change come about?
- Examples of special laws/court rulings supportive of pastoralist rights?
- Change in no. of pastoralists over last __ years benefiting from Cordaid projects? (depending on how many years the PO has been working with Cordaid)
- Are pastoralists with whom they work now stronger or weaker in ability to deal with shocks and disasters (resilience)? How evident? How did this change come about?
- Unexpected positive and negative outcomes of Cordaid-supported PO’s work? How were these or will these be dealt with?
- What linkages does the PO have with other Cordaid partners in the network? What activities are carried out jointly? Frequency? Complementarities? Informal contacts?
- In which other networks is the PO involved that relate to pastoralists/IPs?
- What other institutional linkages with relevant organisations? (e.g. research and educational institutes)
- How has Cordaid supported organisational and capacity strengthening of PO? How does PO assess change in its capacity to work on pastoralist issues over past __ years? (depending on how many years the PO has been working with Cordaid)
- No. and % of staff with good understanding of pastoralist/IP issues?
- How has the organisational-strengthening support (funding and otherwise) from Cordaid helped PO to carry out its tasks in support of pastoralists in a different and more effective way? (sustainability)?
Pastoralist groups

- Does the PO represent the interests and address the needs of the pastoralists? If not, what needs to be changed so that this happens?
- What does development mean for these pastoralists (different pastoralist groups, men, women, elders, youth)?
- How are pastoralists (and who among them) involved in planning their own development process (participation)?
- No. and types of community development plan developed by pastoralists and state of implementation?
- Changes in their lives – positive and negative? How did these changes come about? (gender-differentiated)
- Changes in access to and control over resources – positive and negative? How did these changes come about? (gender-differentiated)
- Stronger or weaker in ability to deal with shocks and disasters (resilience)? How evident? How did this change come about?
- Examples of how pastoralists have tried to claim their social, cultural, economic and/or political rights and results obtained? Change in level of confidence to make such claims and, if so, together with whom?
- Examples of special laws/court rulings supportive of pastoralist rights?
- Any local organisations / institutions built or strengthened with a view to claiming rights?
- Unexpected positive and negative outcomes of well-intended support from PO? How were or should these be these dealt with?
- Change in access to markets and financial services?
- Confident that they can continue to improve their economic situation as individuals and/or as group? (gender-differentiated)
Annex 6: Documentation of fieldwork process

Note: A process documentation was prepared on the first two case studies in Ethiopia and Guatemala as a source of learning for the subsequent case studies in Kenya, Bolivia and India.

The fieldwork for the case study of Cordaid-supported activities related to pastoralists in Ethiopia was carried out in the period 11 November – 1 December 2009.

Areas, organisations and resource persons

According to the Programme 1 project database, over the period 2003–09, there have been 14 partner organisations in Ethiopia. The study team arranged to visit ten of the current 13 partners that are active in southern Ethiopia and at national level: Action for Development (AFD), Cultural and Art Society of Ethiopia (CASE), Gamo Gofa Catholic Church, Yabello Catholic Church, DUBAF, Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPARDA, now renamed Enhancing Pastoralist Research and Development Alternatives), Food and Agriculture Research Management (FARM)–Africa, Panos, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) and the Vicariate of Awassa (regarding the clinic in Dadim that used to be run by the Medical Missionaries of Mary). The team visited the operational sites of AFD in Borana and of CASE, EPARDA and FARM–Africa in South Omo, where it discussed with field staff, groups of men and women pastoralists, and line offices working with the partner organisations. CASE was selected because it is focusing explicitly on indigenous peoples, which is not the case for the other partner organisations working with pastoralists.

The team visited the areas of four ethnic groups: Arbore, Boran, Hamar and Tsamai. Initially, it had tentatively included the Guji area in the itinerary, but time proved to be too short (as the distance was so long) to be able to travel there. Cordaid also supports projects involving Afar pastoralists, but the team chose to focus on southern Ethiopia because: 1) the projects in Afar are relatively recent; and 2) an explicit focus of Cordaid according to its pastoralist policy is the Ethiopia–Kenya cross-border area, where the Afar do not live.

The ten organisations included church and non-church partners that have been supported by Cordaid for different lengths of time, from several decades to one year and including a project that is being phased out after 11 years of Cordaid support. They included different types of organisations (local NGOs, international NGOs) working at different levels (local, national). They differed according to their relative emphasis on rights issues versus community development or service provision, as well as in their level of attention to gender issues. Four of the organisations selected (AFD, EPARDA, FARM–Africa, Gamo Gofa Catholic Church) were also involved in the Disaster Risk Reduction activities of Cordaid’s Programme 4. Cordaid head office in The Hague informed all ten partners about the mission, asked them to collaborate and attached the Terms of Reference (ToR) for the joint evaluation. However, most partners visited had not read the document, because it was too long.

In addition to the staff of Cordaid partner organisations, the study team met with local resource persons on specific areas (e.g. on culture and education of the Hamar) and with staff of other development organisations (both governmental and non-governmental) at both local and national level that are not being funded by Cordaid. Other resource persons consulted included researchers working on pastoralist issues at regional (subnational) and international level in research and university institutes, members of networks concerned with pastoralist and indigenous peoples, the former and current chairs of the Parliamentarians’ Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee, and the Oromia Pastoralist Association.

Description of the study process

Preparations for fieldwork. The study team reviewed the project descriptions and other documents that had been made available by Cordaid. The preparation of the inception report for the evaluation afforded a relatively good overview of the type of organisations and activities that Cordaid has been supporting since 2003. Drawing from the ToR, the team formulated a checklist of questions for semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions. It divided the guideline questions according to: i) resource persons; ii) partner organisations; and iii) pastoralists. The team also agreed on a draft outline for the report, to provide a ready-made structure for the information to be collected in the field. In Addis Ababa, the team made initial visits to the headquarters of the partner organisations to be visited in the field, in order to gain a general overview of each organisation’s activities, especially those supported by Cordaid, and arrange for the fieldwork.

Fieldwork. The field visit to operational sites of partner organisations in pastoralist areas in southern Ethiopia lasted nine days, including four days of travel there and back. A total of 2062 km were covered. Because of the long distances between pastoralist groups and the time limitations, it was not possible to discuss with as many pastoralists groups as had originally been planned.

In each case, with the partner organisation’s staff in the field office, the team made a list of operational sites, types of activities, types of pastoralist groups involved and distances between groups. It stressed that it wanted to meet with pastoralists rather than inspecting structures (clinics, school buildings,
pools etc). Together with the partner organisation, the study team planned the field visits according to the location of the diverse activities and the time needed for travel and for discussions. The partner organisations wanted to show many more sites and to have the team interact with many more groups than was possible within the limited time available. Staff from the partner organisations accompanied the team during the discussions with pastoralists. The pastoralists with whom the team met were involved in water management, petty trade, savings and credit cooperatives, ecotourism, goat groups and camel-keeping (introduced into South Omo by EPaRDA and FARM–Africa). The main topics raised by the pastoralists were conflict, access to water and land, culture, education (particularly the effect of girls’ education and boarding schools on pastoralist culture and identity), human and animal health, beekeeping, budget tracking, local organisation, ecotourism and women’s rights.

In the field, it was difficult to distinguish Cordaid-supported work under Programmes 1 and 4, as similar activities were carried out under both. The original project information made available by Cordaid head office had been confined to Programme 1 but, in the field, the team realised that these could not be examined separately from those of Programme 4, if an assessment was to be made of Cordaid’s contribution to improving pastoralists’ lives and position in Ethiopia.

The study team discussed with partner organisation staff in English and/or Amharic and discussed with local people (pastoralists, local government officials and other resource persons) in their local languages (Arbore, Boran, Hamar and Tsamai). As neither member of the evaluation team could speak these languages, it had to work through interpreters, often involving double translation from the local language to Amharic to English. The interpreters were, in most cases, field staff (including community facilitators from the local ethnic group) from the partner organisations. In one case, a Borana speaker was hired who could translate directly between Borana and English. This was not possible in the case of the other ethnic groups, as the level of formal education is so low that no-one could be found who could translate directly into English. Only one of the community facilitators who acted as interpreter was female (in the Tsamai area); this reflects the extremely low number of local women who can be employed by the partner organisations, so few local women have formal education.

Most meetings with pastoralists were with mixed groups of people involved in different activities, including men and women, elders and youth, and traditional leaders. In two cases (Hamar and Tsamai), separate discussions were held with male and female pastoralists; this allowed exploration of their specific perceptions and issues. In both meetings with women, it was possible to gain the views of both middle-aged and young women/girls. One meeting was held with a water-management committee (mixed gender) and one meeting with a group of male and female youth from Boran pastoralist communities who were students, petty traders or unemployed in the district town.

With these persons and groups at the field sites, the study team explored primarily how the situation of pastoralists had changed over the last ten or more years (from both the perspective of the pastoralists and the perspective of support organisations), the positive and negative aspects of these changes (including unexpected outcomes) and how Cordaid’s support to pastoralists and partner organisations may have contributed to them.

As the assessment of change in the situation of pastoralists and reasons for change was much broader than evaluating the specific activities being supported by Cordaid, the team found that many of the Participatory Rural Appraisal tools it had intended to apply were not particularly useful. Instead, the group discussions in a more traditional style allowed different people to tell their stories, and the local people themselves (e.g. the community leaders) often encouraged others to give their views which might differ from their own. The facilitation on the part of the study team was primarily to encourage also younger people in the discussion group to express their views. In most cases, the pastoralists’ accounts of significant changes in their lives went according to the periods of different government regimes: the reign of the Emperor Haileselassie, the Derg (military government) and the current government. Some accounts even went as far back as the time of the Italian invasion. These divisions in the “timeline” were obviously a common local way of recounting their own history. In the case of Boran pastoralists, however, the time division they made in their historical accounts was according to their traditional gada institutions of 8-year periods of leadership.

The study team’s recapitulation sessions were held either in the evenings (if not then engaged in discussions with partner organisation staff) and while travelling from one site to the next. With the aid of a small hand-held computer that operates on flashlight batteries, notes were made of the key issues coming out of the interviews, discussions and observations. The team identified gaps in information and selected specific issues to be explored more deeply in subsequent interviews and discussions, such as perceptions of pastoralists as IPs and the functioning of traditional institutions. The key findings were inserted on a continuous basis into the report outline that had prepared before commencing the fieldwork.

By the time it reached Borana Zone, the team realised that it would make more effective use of its time by engaging in deeper-going discussions with partner organisation as well as with other development actors working with the Boran, rather than spending still more hours on the road to visit the Guji area.

In the field sites and in the headquarters of the partner organisations, the team collected relevant documentation in hardcopy or electronic form on project activities as well as brochures, booklets, posters,
and a thesis on girls’ education in Hamar. It also reviewed project and evaluation reports, studies and other publications on Ethiopian pastoralists provided by resource persons, as well as literature on pastoralism in other parts of eastern Africa.

With the field staff of the partner organisations, the final discussions addressed Cordaid’s mode of interacting with the partners, particularly non-financial support, as compared with their assessment of their needs for such support. Travelling together with field staff members for long periods to reach the distant operational sites gave the team additional opportunities to discuss the work and perceptions of the staff.

In addition to the feedback with each partner organisation at the local level after the field visits, the team gave feedback on the fieldwork to the headquarters of these organisations in Addis Ababa.

Meetings in Addis Ababa. In Addis Ababa, most of the semi-structured interviews with resource persons were carried out by both team members jointly; a small number of persons were interviewed separately. The discussions after returning from the field focused on key issues that had arisen, such as the appropriateness of trying to improve pastoralists’ situation by advocating for their rights as IPs, the gap between policy and its implementation in pastoralist areas, and the tensions between modernisation (particularly formal education) and cultural identity and social fabric.

The team wrote the draft version of the case-study report and the report on the evaluation process while together in Ethiopia, and agreed on later revisions of the case-study report by email.

The draft version of the country case study was given for comments to highly knowledgeable and respected members of pastoralist communities so that they could assess whether the perspectives of their communities had been adequately reflected in the report. Their comments, send by email, were incorporated into the final version of the report.

Strengths / achievements

- The background material compiled for the inception report was very useful for identifying key issues to be explored in the case study.
- The question guideline enabled the team to obtain broad information on changes in lives of pastoralists and issues affecting them, e.g. influence of land development by investors on pastoral livelihoods.
- The team managed to obtain the perspectives of a wide array of pastoralists, both male and female, including traditional leaders, local committee members, parliamentarians and youth. Separate meetings with women pastoralists allowed rich discussion and much more active participation than when the women were in the same group as the men.
- It proved useful to visit several ethnic groups in order to recognise the diversity among pastoralist peoples. Had the focus been on only one ethnic group, it would not have been possible to capture the considerable differences between groups with respect to their culture and the intensity of their interaction with “modernity”.
- Joint meetings with staff of different partner organisations working in the same area (CASE, EPaRDA and FARM–Africa) allowed approaches and perspectives to be shared and debated.
- Meeting sometimes jointly with NGO and government staff, and with NGO staff and communities, enabled us to see the mutual trust and good relationships that had developed between them.
- The discussions with resource persons and staff members of other NGOs not supported by Cordaid allowed the study team to put the work of Cordaid partner organisations into a wider context.

Weaknesses / constraints

- Most of the project descriptions in the Cordaid database are in Dutch, which made it difficult for the team members to gain a quick overview of the partners and projects being visited.
- In most cases, the partner organisations received short notice about the visit of the evaluation team. In one case, the partner organisation could not keep the appointment made ahead of time because other urgent business (a meeting with another evaluation team) had arisen.
- The partner organisations expected a conventional evaluation covering all or at least many of their activities and sites, and were not sure how they should be preparing for it.
- When the team visited an area where several partner organisations are working, it was difficult to plan the site visits, as each of the NGOs had planned to show several examples of their work. The joint meetings with the staff of three partner organisations in South Omo did not allow for in-depth organisational assessment of any one organisation.
- Many partner organisations appear to be suffering from “evaluation fatigue”. Other studies and evaluations had already been made of Cordaid-supported projects involving pastoralists in Ethiopia in the last year. In addition, the partner organisations also have other donors, most of which visit the organisations for purposes of technical support, supervision or evaluation. Several times, complaints were made that the field staff is so busy working with such “visitors” that there is not enough time to work with the intended beneficiaries.
- It was also in view of these complaints that the study team felt constrained in calling together most or all of the field staff of a partner organisation for a joint organisational assessment. Moreover, the staff in
the headquarters and field offices of the partner organisations are located 600 km or more apart from each other; this meant that the study team had to address the issues related to mode of support to the organisations twice: once in the field and then again in the head office of the partner organisation.

- The travel time needed for the fieldwork had been underestimated in the evaluation proposal. The Ethiopian pastoralists live literally on the margins (i.e. near the borders) of the country. Even after reaching a field office, several additional hours of driving were sometimes needed to reach pastoralist groups. The proposal should have budgeted for a longer time in the field. Because of time limitations, it was not possible to visit the Guji area, as had been tentatively planned.

### Recommendations for future country case studies (specifically in Kenya)

- The letter sent from Cordaid to the partner organisations should make clear that this is not a conventional evaluation looking at all the details of their various activities but rather is trying to gain a broader picture of what has happened in the situation of pastoralists over recent years and why. The partners should not arrange a detailed agenda that involves visiting numerous sites of interventions. Instead, they should prepare for meetings with pastoralist groups (men, women, elders, youth) with whom they work; further ad hoc meetings can be arranged after discussion with the evaluation team on the spot.

- Instead of or in addition to the ToR for the evaluation, a brief summary of the evaluation purpose and foci should be sent to the partner organisations to be visited, along with the letter requesting their cooperation.

- It is important to communicate in good time with the partner organisations in Kenya, so that they can send concise updated information that they think would be relevant for the evaluation (e.g. most recent progress reports, study reports) and so that specific dates and times for the visit of the evaluation team can be arranged.

- Considerable valuable time is spent only driving to and from the pastoralist areas. It may be advisable to fly, e.g. to Marsabit, and to use the vehicle of a partner organisation in the area, covering the costs for fuel, driver etc out of the evaluation budget. An attempt should be made to reduce travel time through strategic selection of sites to be visited. A return trip by vehicle may be necessary (e.g. through Isiolo) if also Samburuland is visited. Language difficulties will probably not be so great in Kenya as in Ethiopia, as most Kenyan pastoralists speak Kiswahili, which is also spoken by the national consultant. Therefore, translation will be needed only for parallel group discussions by the national and international consultant.

- The question guidelines should be simplified still further, with main broad lines of enquiry.

- The team should work together during the first round of meetings with partner organisations, resource persons and pastoralists, and can then divide and work in parallel, so as to make more efficient use of the short time available for the case study.

- At field sites, it is not advisable to try and visit as many sites as possible; sufficient time should be taken with mixed and different focus groups for deeper-going discussion.

- It works well to start with a general discussion with a mixed group of pastoralists and then to split into two subgroups: male and female. This procedure should be tried also in Kenya.

- It is important to gain not only the views of the older pastoralists about the history of and reasons for change, but also the views of youth engaged in pastoralism as well as youth who have left this way of life and culture, in order to be able to assess the probable future trends.

### Validity of the findings

As views were gained from different pastoralist ethnic groups and from both men and women within these groups and also from a diverse range of resource persons in addition to partner organisation staff, the study team feels that it has gained a broadly valid picture of change among pastoralists in southern Ethiopia. Most of the pastoralists who took part in the group discussions were direct beneficiaries of Cordaid support, but the changes they reported were largely confirmed by the resource persons from both pastoralist and non-pastoralist backgrounds. There was sufficient time for the study team to gain perspectives from men and women in different ethnic groups but insufficient time to differentiate them according to wealth and power categories. It is possible that the team met with the more “successful” and vocal segments of the community and received a more positive picture than would otherwise have been the case.

Also because of time limitations, it was not possible to explore the pastoralists’ views about and possible contacts with the IP movement, e.g. WAMIP. There may be more linkages with this movement by some pastoralist groups, or at least by their leaders, than could be ascertained during the focus-group discussions. The primary aim of the field study was to find out about change in the position of pastoralists and what contributed to this change. Self-identification as indigenous peoples was not an issue raised by any of the pastoralists themselves. A study focused on this would have been another study than outlined in the ToR for this study.

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and what contributed to this change. Self-identification as indigenous peoples was not an issue raised by
any of the pastoralists themselves. A study focused on this would have been another study than outlined in

the ToR for this study.
Annex 7: Excerpts from Ethiopian Constitution Article 35 on the rights of women

Women’s equal rights with men are enshrined in Article 35 of the Ethiopian Constitution (FDRE 1994). This does not include any specific mention of pastoral women, but several paragraphs are particularly relevant for them. These include:

Article 35 (3): The historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women in Ethiopia taken into account, women, in order to remedy this legacy, are entitled to affirmative measures. The purpose of such measures shall be to provide special attention to women so as to enable them to compete and participate on the basis of equality with men in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private institutions.

Article 35 (4): The State shall enforce the right of women to eliminate the influences of harmful customs. Laws, customs and practices that oppress or cause bodily or mental harm to women are prohibited.

Article 35 (6): Women have the right to full consultation in the formulation of national development policies, the designing and execution of projects, and particularly in the case of projects affecting the interests of women.

Article 35 (7): Women have the right to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property. In particular, they have equal rights with men with respect to use, transfer, administration and control of land. They shall also enjoy equal treatment in the inheritance of property.

Article 35 (9): To prevent harm arising from pregnancy and childbirth and in order to safeguard their health, women have the right of access to family planning education, information and capacity.
Annex 8: Excerpts from Proclamation 621/2009 on Charities and Societies Administration and Regulation

The GoE’s Proclamation 621/2009 on Charities and Societies Administration and Regulation (FDRE 2009) states that, if an organisation is registered as an Ethiopian resident charity/society (i.e. receives more than 10% of its funds from foreign sources) and as a foreign charity (registered outside the country), it is not allowed to work on:

- advancement of capacity building on the basis of Ethiopia's long-term development directions
- advancement of human and democratic rights
- promotion of equality of nations, nationalities and peoples and of gender and religion
- promotion of rights of the disabled and children
- promotion of conflict resolution and reconciliation
- promotion of efficiency of justice and law enforcement services.

The legislation does not apply to religious organisations or to international or foreign organisations operating in Ethiopia by virtue of an agreement with the Ethiopian Government.