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# Pastoralism, policies and practice in the Horn and East Africa

## A review of current trends

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Regional  
Pastoral  
Livelihoods  
Advocacy  
Project



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# Preface

This publication forms one of a series of six reports prepared under the ECHO-funded project on ‘Reducing the vulnerability of pastoral communities through policy and practice change in the Horn and East Africa’. The aim of the project is to raise awareness among planners and policymakers about the full potential of pastoral systems to make a significant contribution to the economies of the region. Each of the six reports presents evidence-based research findings to overcome misconceptions and misunderstandings regarding particular aspects of pastoral livelihoods, and highlights appropriate policy recommendations that favour pastoralist systems. The reports present evidence to help inform thinking in order that policymakers can keep abreast of new opportunities and threats in the rangelands.

Understanding pastoralism and its future is the subject of fierce debate. The term ‘pastoralism’ is used to describe societies that derive some, but not necessarily the majority, of their food and income from livestock. For many decades, governments regarded pastoralism as ‘backward’, economically inefficient and environmentally destructive, leading to policies that have served to marginalise and undermine pastoralist systems. More recently, pastoralism has come to be regarded by many as a viable and economically effective livestock production system, but the policies needed to reverse its historical marginalisation and address the chronic levels of poverty and vulnerability faced by many pastoralist communities have yet to be put in place.

We define pastoralists both in the economic sense (i.e. those who earn part of their living from livestock and livestock products) and also in the cultural sense, in which livestock do not form the main source of income, yet people remain culturally connected to a pastoralist lifestyle in which the significance of livestock is more cultural than economic. Based on the evidence presented in these reports, we believe that herding livestock over rangelands will remain part of a vital and dynamic production system for many – but not all – who live in the arid and semi-arid lands of the Horn and East Africa. Appropriate policies are required that support both the economic potential of pastoralism and pastoralist lifestyles that depend on alternative livelihoods. As such, the series aims to help create a vision for development in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs).

Mobile pastoralism constitutes a rational use of dryland environments, but this livelihood is undermined by lack of access to basic services, inappropriate policies on land use, repeated humanitarian responses to emergencies (responses that fail to address root causes and structural issues), population growth and decades of economic and social

marginalisation. In order to realise the economic potential of pastoralism and achieve projected growth in livestock sectors, governments will have to invest in pastoral production systems. An initial and vital step in this process will be adapting livestock and disease control policies to enable international trade from mobile pastoral systems. More specifically, the paper on commodity-based trade proposes two options: 1) alignment of disease control policies with the standards of livestock markets within the region (which are more realistic and easier to attain than the international standards set by the world animal health organisation); or 2) a certified compartmentalised production system through which animals can be traced to their source, a strict animal health regime (which could be implemented by supervised community animal health workers) in which treatments are recorded, and the slaughtering of animals (and removal of all bones and lymphatic tissue) in abattoirs which comply with international standards, thus allowing for the export of meat from animals produced in pastoral systems anywhere in the world.

For those pastoralists still practicing their traditional way of life, as well as those who have lost their livestock and abandoned the traditional pastoralist way of life, various forms of social protection will be essential. Many of these so-called ‘destitute’ pastoralists have moved to urban settlements in search of alternative livelihoods. Social protection can contribute towards economic growth involving ‘alternative’ livelihoods, but it is important that governments in East Africa should implement both unconditional safety net programmes (i.e. that do not require productivity in exchange for resources) in pastoral areas, as well as providing basic social services and infrastructure.

Whilst social protection, service provision and support for alternative livelihoods can enhance the resilience of households and communities to the effects of recurrent disasters such as drought, livestock disease and conflict, there is also the need to address the underlying causes of vulnerability to these shocks. Current emergency responses are designed primarily to save lives and often have the perverse effect of encouraging people to remain in places that cannot sustain them; decades of almost continuous food aid, water trucking and other last-resort emergency inputs have led to the mushrooming of settlements, associated degradation of the local environment and decreased access to dry season pastures. More effective emergency responses require the ability to respond much earlier in the disaster cycle through contingency plans and funds that effectively protect different livelihood strategies before household assets become depleted. These issues are addressed in the paper on preparedness planning, which highlights the need for a detailed understanding of livelihoods as part of existing early warning systems.

The need for effective disaster risk management is paramount and reflected in the Regional Drought Decision (RDD) implemented by ECHO. The implementation of the action is heralding a new era of donor policy and partner practice. This initiative is helping to release funds and enabling NGO presence to be sustained when there is a need to rapidly transfer resources within existing projects in a more timely way as emergency threatens. We are already seeing some cases where new action has helped prevent predicted crises from emerging. The gradual shift in donor policy and practice contributes to a growing Community of Practice (CoP) that wants to see a greater incorporation of preparedness, recovery and development planning in any emergency response and vice-versa. This momentum must now be maintained as a vital part of humanitarian action and risk reduction if exit strategies are ever to become a reality.

Responding to climate change will also require a long-term approach to provide the investments necessary for appropriate and sustainable development, allowing pastoralists either to adapt to their changing environment, or to transition out of pastoralism into alternative livelihoods. The paper on climate change argues that this must be effected through a rights-based approach, to increase the integration of pastoralists into political, social and economic systems at national and regional levels, thus addressing the fundamental problems of marginalisation and weak governance that lie at the root of the chronic poverty and vulnerability of pastoral areas. Where

pastoral communities are currently associated with degrading rangelands, climate change should result in these communities being seen as custodians of these environments as policy adapts and politicians recognise the huge contribution these mobile systems can make economically, socially and, especially, environmentally.

The overall message that emerges from this publication series is that pastoralists must be supported not only to maintain the extraordinary resilience inherent in their traditional way of life, but also to adapt and – for some – to create viable alternative livelihoods in and beyond the ASALs. Concerns over population growth, climate change, conflict and declining productivity of the natural resource base present very real challenges for pastoralists in the Horn of Africa. Without significant support, levels of poverty, vulnerability and destitution will rise due to the effects of marginalisation, recurrent drought and floods, conflict and livestock epidemics. Market development can help to realise the economic potential of livestock and livestock products, such that mobile pastoral systems of production and management remain a viable option for some pastoralists. For others, support is needed to allow for the adoption of alternative and diversified livelihood options. The evidence presented by the current series encompasses broad views that relate to the future viability of pastoralism, providing guidance in identifying appropriate practical and policy interventions in the arid and semi-arid lands of the Horn of Africa.

# List of acronyms

<b>ASALs</b>	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
<b>AUC</b>	Africa Union Commission
<b>CIDA</b>	Canadian International Development Agency
<b>DANIDA</b>	Danish International Development Agency
<b>DFID</b>	Department for International Development
<b>DREA</b>	Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture
<b>ECHO</b>	European Commission's Humanitarian Aid Office
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IIED</b>	International Institute for Environment and Development
<b>LPI</b>	Livestock Policy Initiative
<b>OCHA</b>	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
<b>PRSP</b>	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
<b>RECONCILE</b>	Resource Conflict Institute
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>RoK</b>	Republic of Kenya
<b>RoU</b>	Republic of Uganda
<b>RTD</b>	Right to Development
<b>UNEP</b>	United Nations Environment Programme
<b>URT</b>	United Republic of Tanzania
<b>WFP</b>	World Food Programme
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organisation

# Executive summary

Food and livelihood crises in pastoral areas have been raising concern in the national and international development arena. A mixture of livelihood shocks ranging from natural forces such as droughts, floods and diseases to man-made forces like the ban on meat exports to the Gulf region, privatisation of common property resources, control of stock numbers and limiting livestock movements have interacted to compromise pastoral livelihoods. Increasing vulnerability has led to questions about the viability of pastoralism.

Diverse views have been expressed with regard to pastoralism and its future. Some scholars have accepted the Malthusian perspective, submitting that there has been a population explosion in pastoral areas. In their eyes, the growth in livestock herds has not matched human growth due to reduction of available land, thereby reducing the livestock–human ratio to a level where the livestock population cannot support the human population beyond the poverty threshold (for more on this, see the accompanying report ‘Demographic trends, settlement patterns, and service provision in pastoralism: transformation and opportunity’).

Climate change has also been propagated as the cause of the current vulnerability. It is said that, with droughts becoming frequent and unpredictable, rains coming short but with great intensity, traditional indigenous ways of predicting droughts and rains have been seriously challenged so that pastoralists are caught unprepared and hence unable to cope.

While these explanations of the challenges facing pastoralism are valid to a point, they fail to appreciate that the main reason for the increasing vulnerability of pastoral livelihoods is the persistent cycle of inappropriate policy and practice (for more on this, see the accompanying report ‘Getting it right: understanding livelihoods to reduce the vulnerability of pastoral communities’). After decades of experimentation with inappropriate policies – policies that are neither consistent with needs nor responsive to the uniqueness of the pastoral system – the impacts are now being manifested in increasing vulnerability, fuelled by pastoralists’ inability to manage risks and cope with the manifold challenges that characterise the drylands.

Governments in the Horn and East Africa have historically neglected pastoralism. Both during the colonial and post-colonial eras, the attitude of governments towards pastoralism has ranged from outright hostility to benign neglect. When governments have intervened in pastoral areas, the result has been failed projects informed by imperatives that are totally inconsistent with the reality of the drylands. Policy, legal and institutional interventions have undermined the authority and effectiveness of traditional pastoral

institutions and values, which are the repository of indigenous knowledge that pastoralists have used for millennia to manage risks and cope with livelihood shocks.

The overall result of this cycle of inappropriate policies has been the stagnation of development in pastoral areas. Governments and donors have deliberately sought to focus development support in the so-called ‘high potential’ areas deemed to offer the highest returns on such investments. Pastoral areas have been characterised as ‘hardship areas’ and have continued to lag behind the rest of the country in terms of communications infrastructure, social services and economic investments (for more on this, see the accompanying report ‘Social protection in pastoral areas’).

Government and donor preoccupation with drought management, relief and humanitarian aid to pastoral communities has diverted attention from the need to invest in and develop pastoral areas, while also creating a dependency syndrome in pastoral communities. It is not possible for pastoralists to effectively manage droughts if they are unable to spread and manage the risks inherent in their drylands environment. Traditional practices such as mobility are critical means and strategies of spreading risks among pastoral communities. Yet these are the practices that have been undermined by government and donor interventions.

In order to secure pastoral livelihoods and open up pathways for sustainable economic development in pastoral areas, it is imperative that drought management, relief and humanitarian assistance are combined with interventions aimed at enhancing opportunities for economic production and integrating pastoral economies into national economies. Appropriate policies for pastoral areas must incorporate the need to address the unique challenges of these regions with the provision of resources and incentives for upward economic mobility for individual pastoralists.

To this end, pastoralists themselves must also be challenged to better appreciate the dynamism of culture and the need to manage social change in such a way as to take advantage of emerging opportunities and technologies of production for upward social as well as economic mobility. Cultural practices and traditions are constantly changing as a consequence of interaction with other social, cultural, political and economic forces, but whether these changes become opportunities or constraints to specific communities depends in large measure on how communities organise themselves to engage with these forces and changes. Failure to organise and to create the capacities for effective and meaningful engagement with these forces of change will inevitably lead to further marginalisation and vulnerability for pastoral communities.

This paper argues the need to address increasing pastoral vulnerability at two levels, namely i) managing risk by spreading it, and ii) increasing livelihood options as a way of increasing abilities to cope with crises. The paper advocates for policy and practice change in terms of:

1. Increased investment in infrastructure development within pastoral areas to create and secure a vibrant pastoral economy with opportunities for diversification of and alternative livelihoods.
2. Development of a holistic and conducive policy framework with incentives for private sector investment and integrated development of pastoral areas and pastoralism.
3. Increased investment in universal education in pastoral areas to create a well-trained human resource that can compete for opportunities with others in the global market and complement pastoralism.



# 1. Introduction

This report concerns current policies and practice towards pastoralism among governments, development agents (including donors, international and national NGOs, International Financial Institutions and other key international actors like UN bodies) and pastoral communities in the Horn and East Africa. It seeks to deepen understanding and interrogate policy and practical responses by governments and development agents to pastoralism and pastoral vulnerability.

The study on which the report is based covered three countries: Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. It sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. To review governments' and development agents' policies<sup>1</sup> and practice on pastoralism in the Horn and East Africa.
2. To analyse and present the impact of current policies and practice on pastoralism, how they influence investment and development of pastoral areas and their impact on pastoral livelihood vulnerability.
3. To map key players who can be instrumental in influencing positive change in policy and practice to promote the development of appropriate policies and practice that address pastoral livelihood vulnerability.
4. To provide evidence on the economic viability of pastoralism.
5. To provide recommendations for more positive policy approaches to pastoralism in the Horn.

The study was undertaken through a desk review of policies and literature. This entailed the analysis of a wealth of documents including constitutions, decentralisation policies, natural resource management and conservation policies, food-security related policies, service provision, agricultural and rural development policies as well as poverty reduction strategy papers and development agencies' strategic plans. Research papers and reports arising from studies by experts, both grey and black, were also reviewed.

In some areas it was not possible to gather all relevant information either because data on livestock production is not disaggregated, or because much of the research conducted in pastoral areas is done for purposes of donors and NGOs and tends to be kept within those organisations. Data is not readily available on the contribution of pastoralism to national economies and there is limited information/data on the different categories of pastoralists. There is none about those who have fallen off the pastoral system.

The report is organised into three sections. The first section gives the context of pastoral livelihood vulnerability, with a

<sup>1</sup> The policies and practice referred to here cover both official and informal policy statements. Informal talks among decision-makers expose their understanding of pastoralism and their attitude towards pastoralism, factors which lie at the heart of all policies on pastoralism.

summary of contributing factors. It also discusses the significance of pastoralism. Section two looks at the policies and practices on pastoralism in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia, and analyses their appropriateness to pastoralism and the need for a holistic approach in addressing vulnerability. Section three identifies the key stakeholders and actors to be targeted with messages of change in an effort to promote a paradigm shift in addressing pastoral livelihood vulnerability. The paper concludes with recommendations.

## 1.1 Pastoral livelihood vulnerability: identifying the problem

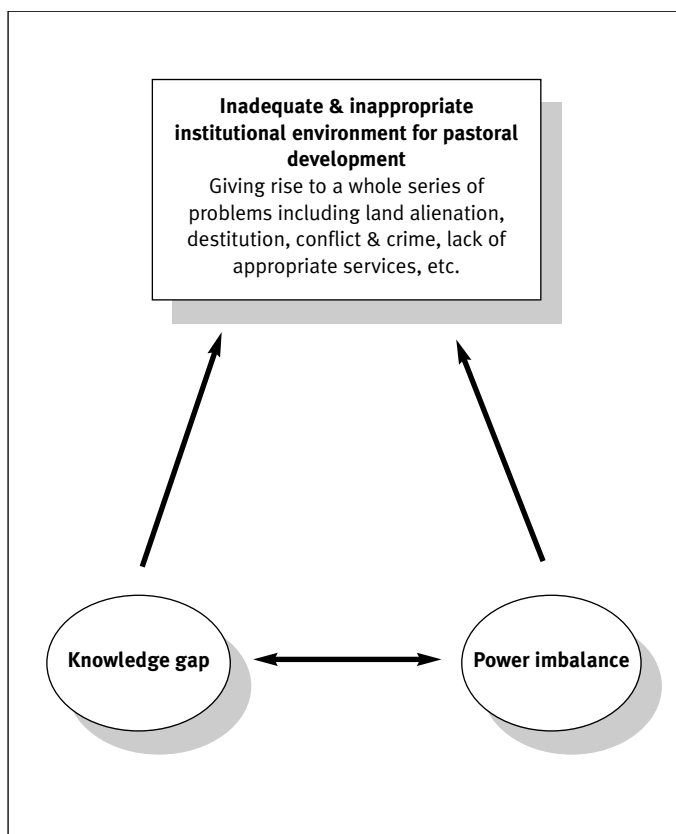
Policy and practice have tremendous impact on development and security of livelihoods. Policies lay the foundation for practice by setting priorities and frameworks for government action. Efforts and resources are mobilised and directed towards the attainment of policy objectives. It is for this reason that it is important to question the policy context in seeking to understand government action in the development of pastoral areas.

Pastoralists' resilience to climatic shocks and other drivers of change is decreasing, and their vulnerability increasing. (For more on this, see the accompanying report on 'Pastoralism and climate change: enabling adaptive capacity'.) While diverse initiatives are being implemented to help pastoralists cope and prosper, more and more pastoralists find themselves unable to remain within the pastoral production system. More and more are falling out of pastoralism every year, increasing the numbers that have come to depend on emergency relief food provision for survival.

Different explanations have been advanced for the increasing vulnerability of pastoralists. Population growth in pastoral areas has created pressure on land, reducing the amount of land available per family for livestock production. This has reduced the number of livestock per family, thereby undermining the ability of families to provide for their needs. Climate change has increased the frequency of droughts, floods and livestock disease against a backdrop of near-collapse of the social networks that helped pastoralists to rebuild their stocks after what used to be occasional shocks. These natural factors are exacerbated by a harsh policy and legal environment that is focused on modernising pastoralism.

With regards to the policy environment, the vulnerability of pastoralists is exacerbated by their marginalisation from policy processes as a result of two critical and interrelated factors – knowledge gap and power imbalance. Unable to sufficiently articulate the rationale of their livelihood and to organise themselves to influence policy, pastoralists have been absent from national, regional and international policy processes. The

**Figure 1: Schematic representation of the key causes of inappropriate pastoral policy in East Africa and the Horn**



(Source: Hesse and Odhiambo, 1999)

result has been policies that are inappropriate and which undermine pastoralism (Hesse and Odhiambo, 2006).

Driven by their misperceptions of pastoralism and their disapproval of a way of living that is not their own, policy-makers have perfected the cycle of inappropriate policies and interventions. Many do not understand and appreciate the rationale of pastoralism – why pastoralists do what they do. As a result, they see critical aspects of pastoralism such as mobility and reliance on indigenous knowledge as backward and inconsistent with the imperatives of a modern state and economy. They perceive pastoralists as being resistant to change when they persist with these practices.

There is also a power imbalance between pastoralists and other livelihood groups in the countries of East Africa and the Horn. This imbalance manifests itself in the absence of pastoralists in key policy-making frameworks and their limited influence on policy processes and policy institutions. The power imbalance is explained in part by the fact that pastoralists tend to be minorities in most of these countries, often living in geographically remote areas away from the capital cities and the centres of political and economic activity, with few representatives in the national political frameworks such as parliament and the civil service. These two factors combine to contribute to the inappropriate policy frameworks alluded to earlier.

Governments and their development partners have for a long time focused on policies that seek to settle pastoralists. The Ethiopian government is working on a plan to settle pastoralists along the river banks. Kenya and Uganda have developed policies that seek to control grazing and livestock mobility, promote commercial ranching and de-stocking and private land ownership over communal land ownership in pastoral areas. The increased vulnerability of pastoral livelihoods to shocks and other drivers of change is in many ways a function of the cumulative effect of these policies.

The responses to addressing increasing pastoral vulnerability have been equally inappropriate, with most actors focusing their attention on provision of emergency aid. Unfortunately, the provision of relief aid without proper investment in the development of pastoral areas – to expand and create opportunities within the pastoral production system – keeps pastoralists hanging on the edge of a cliff from which most fall off, into destitution and aid dependency. Many actors have failed to see that an exclusive focus on relief food provision on humanitarian grounds without proportional investment in pastoral areas has diverted attention and practice in pastoral areas from investment and development to emergency relief provision and drought management. This has denied pastoral communities the dignity of the right to development enshrined in the 1986 Vienna Declaration on Right to Development and other fundamental human rights recognised under the UN declaration of rights, among them the right to a standard of living (art 25) and the right to work (art 23). Humanitarian and development actors also give inadequate attention to the policy environment, focusing on inputs and projects and giving insufficient attention to livelihoods.

A major problem in pastoral areas is that governments, the international community and the private sector fail to promote development through adequate investment. The practice of approaching development or investment from a humanitarian perspective must change. It must be realised and appreciated that pastoralists have a right to development, both as individuals and as communities. Practice and enthusiasm in giving humanitarian assistance must be married with infrastructural investment to create opportunities which pastoralists can utilise to attain, secure and enjoy their economic, social, cultural and political rights. The submission herein is that the right to development is a universal and inalienable human right. It must be respected, protected and promoted by all – states, the international community, the media and development agencies.

#### *1.1.1 The link between human rights and the right to development*

‘... since human rights are by definition “moral claims”, malnutrition, for example, is morally unacceptable because it is a flagrant breach of the most important of all, the right to life. Without food, a person loses first his dignity because he is unable to feed himself and his family, and then he loses his life because he is unable to feed his body. Both the right to life

and the right to dignity are key concepts in all human rights instruments adopted by the international community, starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. In this case, “the right to food”, or as it has been better expressed, the right to feed oneself, becomes critically linked to the right to development’ (Williams, Kjonstad and Robson, 2003).

Without adequate focus and strategies for comprehensive development in pastoral areas, humanitarian efforts to help pastoralists will be like cleaning downstream pollution without addressing the root causes upstream. It is imperative to appreciate the fact that new challenges are emerging from intensive and extensive relief aid provision in pastoral areas. Critically, increasing sedentarisation around food distribution centres in pastoral areas and in the peripheries of town centres is creating a group of peri-urban pastoralists. If not addressed, these new challenges will lead to increased vulnerability. ‘This concentration of large numbers of people in permanent settlements without a means of livelihood other than famine relief greatly increases pressure on the immediate environment, often leading to severe degradation trends’ (Ekaya, 2004: 25).

To reduce pastoral vulnerabilities, development twinned with relief aid should be the focus of programmes and projects in pastoral areas. This calls for a change in practice and policies, with policies and laws geared towards promoting investment in pastoral areas.

## 1.2 The strategic importance of pastoralism

Pastoralism is a livelihood and production system practiced in the arid and semi-arid (dry) lands in the Horn and East Africa. These lands cannot support sustained and reliable agriculture because of climatic conditions characterised by low and variable rainfall of about 250–600mm and high temperatures of about 35–40°C.

Pastoralists make use of these lands by practicing an extensive livestock keeping system. They move their livestock from place to place to utilise the diverse flora found in the drylands without degrading the environment. To do this, they use different herd management strategies such as herd splitting, herd diversification and herd maximisation that ensure that they spread risks of loss of livestock from droughts, diseases and theft while making maximum use of the available foliage without degrading the environment. For instance, during drought, pastoralists would divide their livestock into different categories: shoats, cattle and camels are driven in different directions to minimise risks and maximise the use of vegetation.

### 1.2.1 Economic contribution of pastoralism to the national economies<sup>2</sup>

Many policies fail to recognise the contribution of pastoralism to national economies. Because the pastoral system is assumed to be a national wealth consumer, and not producer, initiatives are put in place to transform it into a producer. This is just not true. Evidence shows that the total annual marketed value of pastoralists’ livestock in Kenya is close to Kshs. 5 billion, and can go up to Kshs. 8bn in some years (Nyariki, 2004). In Uganda, pastoralists own up to 90% of the national herd, providing meat, hides, skin and milk for domestic and international markets. In Ethiopia, livestock trade and exports of livestock-related products earn the country substantial amounts of foreign exchange.

Statistics show that the livestock sector in Kenya contributes about 50% of agricultural GDP, which in turn contributes about 25% of total GDP. It is estimated that pastoralists hold 70% of the national herd (Government of Kenya, 2004), with a monetary value of over Ksh. 60bn (Republic of Kenya, 2002:

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed reading of the economics of pastoralism, see the two reports to RECONCILE: Nyariki (2004) and Muhereza (2004).

**Table 1: Livestock products in Kenya**

Item		Production			
		2001	2002	2004	2006
Milk (mil. Lts)	Production	2,448	2,497	2,598	2,729
	Demand	2,047	2,113	2,250	2,404
Beef (tonnes)	Production	295,610	304,478	323,021	342,693
	Demand	329,600	339,500	360,200	382,00
Mutton (tonnes)	Production	37,540	38,606	40,830	43,182
	Demand	49,050	50,440	53,350	56,420
Goat meat (tonnes)	Production	43,750	45,050	47,810	50,920
	Demand	38,640	39,790	42,220	44,960
Camel meat (tonnes)	Production	8,250	8,300	8,470	8,790
	Demand	8,200	8,200	8,300	8,400
Pig meat (tonnes)	Production	11,474	13,901	15,326	16,896
	Demand	7,000	7,204	7,631	8,083

Source: National Development Plan 2002–2008

**Table 2: Human and livestock populations ('000) in Kenya's 13 pastoral districts**

District	Human population	Camels	Sheep	Goats
Tana River	180.9	70.0	180.0	400.0
Garissa	392.5	56.0	40.0	271.0
Mandera	250.4	300.0	216.0	162.0
Wajir	319.3	260.0	250.0	300.0
Isiolo	100.9	30.0	180.0	205.0
Marsabit	121.5	78.0	300.0	425.0
Moyale	53.5	7.0	3.0	12.0
Baringo	265.0	4.3	233.0	876.2
Kajiado	406.1	0.0	500.0	449.0
Narok	365.8	0.0	436.0	423.0
Samburu	143.5	3.7	696.0	53.1
Turkana	450.9	115.0	687.0	2,062
West Pokot	308.1	1.0	190.0	120.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,358.4</b>	<b>925.0</b>	<b>3,749.0</b>	<b>5758.3</b>

Source: RoK (2000; 2003).

30). The country is just about self-sufficient in livestock products, especially milk and meat, most of which come from the pastoral areas (see Table 1).

### 1.2.2 Pastoralism's contribution in Kenya and Uganda

This section makes a case for the contribution of pastoralism to the national economies of Kenya and Uganda.

A conservative estimate of the monetary value of annual off-take in pastoral areas in Kenya is between Ksh. 5bn and Ksh. 8bn. Pastoralists contribute over 70,000 of the 400,000 tonnes of meat consumed in Kenya annually. Furthermore, pastoralists produce all the milk and meat that they consume, thereby contributing to their own food security even as they support the rest of the country. This, coupled with the direct employment of pastoralists in the pastoral production system, the employment of other Kenyans in pastoralism-related activities such as trade in livestock, transport services, leather industries, slaughterhouses, butcheries and eating houses and their productive use of the ecologically harsh terrain of the ASALS, constitute an important contribution to the national economy that is not captured in the economic data.

In Uganda, the livestock sector contributes 7.5% to total GDP and 17% to agricultural GDP. The number of cattle in the country in 2001 was estimated to be 5.6m, of which 90% were held by pastoral communal grazers, nomads and smallholder farmers in the traditional pastoral production sector (Uganda Investment Authority, 2002; Uganda Investment Authority; Republic of Uganda, 2001; Uganda Meat Policy, 2001; Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), 1998. The livestock sector in Uganda produces hides and skins, which are exported to Europe and Asia, earning the country up to \$10m in 2002. Moreover, milk production has enabled the country to progressively reduce its reliance on imported milk and milk products and is supporting the emergence of a milk-processing sub-sector.

### Box 1: The not-so-visible contribution of pastoralism to national economies

The 'income' from pastoral slaughter has implications for food security, personal security, poverty and environmental health. In the absence of pastoral beef/meat production, pastoralists would be forced to look for alternative sources of food, including relief food, cattle raiding/rustling, or rural-urban migration. Governments would have to find the money to purchase the relief food from already constrained budgets. Pastoralists would also resort to other more environmentally degrading uses of the rangelands. Cattle raids have serious implications for personal and national security, as they result in loss of lives and limbs, destruction and loss of property, and general impoverishment. All these have serious cost implications for the government and a bearing on national economic development indicators and prospects. Insecurity is not only a constraint to production; it also diverts resources from productive use as they are then directed at promoting security. For pastoralists and pastoral production, insecurity constrains mobility, thereby leading directly to loss of productivity. In the absence of mobility, pastoralists tend to concentrate their livestock within limited parts of the rangelands, leading to degradation, loss of livestock, deprivation and poverty.

Adapted from Dickson M. Nyariki, The Contribution of Pastoralism to the Local and National Economies in Kenya. A report for RECONCILE, April 2004.

### 1.3 The changes and challenges being experienced by pastoralists

Pastoralists are experiencing a period of intense change. Some of these changes are driven by climatic shocks; others are policy-driven. All contribute directly or indirectly to increased vulnerability. The following are some of the critical challenges facing pastoralists:

### **Box 2: If it wasn't for pastoralism, what would become of the drylands?**

The drylands are not suitable for any viable economic activity. They are certainly not viable for rain-fed agriculture. Pastoralism is a land use and production system most appropriate to these areas. It maximises the potential of the drylands in a sustainable manner. Pastoralism makes productive use of what could otherwise be idle ecosystems, for the benefit not only of its inhabitants but also for the rest of the population. In making productive use of the drylands, pastoralism relieves the pressure on wetlands.

Adapted from RECONCILE report to the WISP on the Economics of Pastoralism, 1st Draft, June 2006, pp. 12–14.

#### *1.3.1 Changing land tenure system*

The pastoral production system is anchored in a common property regime. Because of its extensiveness, it requires vast amount of land. Communal land ownership facilitated the migration of livestock and human beings from one place to the other in search of pastureland and water. But with the establishment of colonial government in East Africa, restrictions were imposed on the cyclical movement of livestock and people, and new rules and regulations undermined traditional governance structures. Post-colonial governments have continued these damaging policies, with laws and policies that promote individualisation of land tenure.

While individual land ownership works best in crop farming areas, it is not viable in pastoral areas. But this has not stopped the subdivision of pastoral lands and the issuance of land titles to individuals. As a result, dry-season grazing reserves have been lost, livestock movements restricted and land tenure has been rendered insecure. This in turn has greatly limited the number of livestock pastoralists can own without degrading the environment and at the same time increased conflicts over land and other resources like water, especially in time of drought.

#### *1.3.2 Breakdown of traditional governance structures and institutions.*

Pastoralists have always used traditional knowledge to maximise production returns from drylands with very little crop productivity. Because of the sensitivity of the drylands ecosystem, they used norms and values to regulate the utilisation of resources and to manage individual competition within the system for the benefit of the community. They developed traditional structures with strong kinship structures that were able to enforce compliance with societal norms. It was through such institutions that dryland grazing reserves were determined and set apart. They also used traditional knowledge and institutions to map out dry-season grazing routes, thus minimising conflicts among pastoral clans and with other groups.

The emphasis on the formal structures of governance has led to traditional structures and institutions being treated as irrelevant. For pastoralists, this has weakened kinship ties and respect for traditional leaders, with resulting disregard for early warning, over impending drought for example. In addition to this, it is imperative to note that formal governance structures are remotely felt in pastoral areas where government investment is minimal and lack of interest in developing infrastructure is maximal. Close kinship ties based on strong traditional institutions once acted as insurance against crises like epidemic and drought, through helping with restocking and herd division and diversification. The effectiveness of these institutions has been greatly undermined over the years since colonialism.

#### *1.3.3 Increasing interest and demand for land.*

Pressure on land is increasing in East Africa. Many people from crop farming areas are increasingly encroaching into the drylands where pastoralism is practiced. High population density in agricultural areas is forcing most families to look for alternative land elsewhere, especially in the semi-arid areas where, because of the policies and laws in place, pastoralists have difficulty controlling inflows and securing their lands. There is also international interest in pastoral areas with respect to the production of biofuels. With more people moving into pastoral areas, the absence of a comprehensive land use policy is encouraging unsustainable production activities in conflict with the main livelihood and economic mainstay of the indigenous inhabitants of the ASALs. This engenders land use conflicts between pastoralists and crop farmers.

#### *1.3.4 Perceptions and stereotypes leading to poor understanding of pastoralism as a viable economic system*

The increasing vulnerability of pastoralism has its roots in inappropriate interventions initiated to address pastoral problems. Many policy-makers and practitioners perceive pastoralism as an unsustainable, inefficient land use with little economic contribution to the national growth and environmentally destructive. The modernisation process that ensues leads to the creation of structures and institutions that facilitate the alienation of pastoral resources and increase pastoral vulnerabilities.

### **Box 3: Common stereotypes, misperceptions and myths about pastoralism**

- Pastoralists degrade the environment by keeping large herds.
- Pastoralism is constrained by poor animal husbandry.
- Pastoralists are irrational, accumulating stock beyond the carrying capacity of the land.
- Pastoralists are not market-oriented.
- Mobility is a backward practice.
- Pastoralism needs to be modernised for it to make a substantial contribution to national economic growth.
- Pastoralists have no need of formal education.

### 1.3.5 *Inadequate investment and development of ASALS*

Across East Africa and the Horn, there is little private and government investment in the development of pastoral areas. In Kenya, this flows from implementation of Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965, which provided that government development plans prioritise areas offering high returns. This initiated the official marginalisation of pastoral areas that were and are still perceived as areas of low potential. Government investment policy, relatively unchanged to this day, has impacted negatively on pastoral livelihoods in terms of infrastructural development, social service provision and general development. With limited market access, pastoral areas experience high costs in doing business, lack of opportunities for income diversification and consequently high unemployment and stagnation of incomes. Those who fall out of the system find it

difficult to rejoin the pastoralist mainstream and become dependent on relief aid.

### 1.3.6 *Failure to capture the diverse needs and vulnerabilities of pastoralist groups*

Different groups within the pastoral system have different needs and different levels of vulnerability. In most of the discourses on pastoralism at policy or at project levels, focus is usually on the traditional pastoralists, excluding those who were pastoralists but for many reasons are no longer practicing it – among them the new peri-urban dwellers. Even the limited efforts made to improve pastoralism are not appropriate for those who have ‘dropped out’ of the pastoral system and require special attention either to return to it or to engage in other sustainable livelihood initiatives.

## 2 Pastoral development and government

Governments have responsibility for ensuring equitable development by establishing frameworks for safe, secure and vibrant livelihoods across the state. Governance is therefore at the centre of societal development, and policy plays a critical role in guiding the choice-making process, identifying the problems to be addressed, establishing parameters and putting in place structures and institutions. It should be designed in close consultations with all the stakeholders, who have the keenest understanding of the issues and priorities involved.

Pastoral areas have not benefited from the attention other arable lands have enjoyed. They have been marginalised since colonial times, with benign neglect both of people and infrastructure. Policy-makers implement stand-alone projects, short-term in nature and in most cases targeting the development of the livestock sector.

Governments should develop policies and laws that enshrine development as a right of pastoralists. These laws and policies should catalyse the production capacities of individuals and communities so that their livelihoods are secured. Through concerted effort and effective interaction between governors and governed, it is possible to develop laws and policies that make communities self-sufficient, while at the same time contributing in a highly significant manner to the wider economy.

### 2.1 **Laws and policies on pastoralism in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia**

Pastoral development is at different stages in East Africa and the Horn. Countries like Kenya and Ethiopia have taken important steps in recognising pastoralism in policy statements and documents; others, like Tanzania and Uganda, while appreciating the uniqueness of pastoralism, seek to settle pastoralists.

While it is appreciated that different countries are at different levels of development, the cross-border kinship ties and movements of pastoralists would recommend substantially common policies and laws. A rare commonality, however, is the desire of governments to settle pastoralists and convert their lands to crop farms and ranches. Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania are all promoting settlement, destocking, commercial ranching and controlled grazing in pastoral areas. In Kenya and Tanzania, large chunks of pastoral lands have been hived off for wildlife conservation through the establishment of game reserves and national parks.

A review of policies and laws in East Africa and the Horn shows that there is growing recognition of pastoralism in policy and legal documents, for example in the Ethiopian constitution and following the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), known as the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in Uganda and the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) in Ethiopia. Implementation however remains weak.

In this study, we have established four categories of policies and laws that impact on pastoral livelihoods.

**1. Policies on governance** including constitutions and policies on decentralisation. The constitutions of Kenya and Uganda do not have specific provisions on pastoralism and pastoralists, but the Ethiopian constitution guarantees the right to grazing land for pastoralists and the right not to be displaced from their lands.<sup>3</sup> The challenge of course is in the actual operation of the law, and in this regard statutes have been enacted, even in Ethiopia, which appear to derogate from these guarantees. Decentralisation policies in Uganda

<sup>3</sup> Article 40 (5) of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

and Ethiopia provide opportunities for pastoralists to influence decisions at the local level for the benefit of their livelihoods. In Kenya, the management of devolved funds such as the Constituency Development (CDF) Fund and the Local Authorities Transfer Funds (LATF) are an opportunity for pastoralists to direct development funds to areas that are of relevance to their livelihoods. The extent to which pastoralists are able to take advantage of these opportunities ultimately depends on their capacity for self-organisation and mobilisation to make local institutions of governance accountable.

**2. Policies on land and natural resource management.** Access to and security of land tenure is critical for productive and sustainable pastoralism, but land laws and policies have hindered the development of pastoralism. Failure to recognise communal and pastoral land tenure in laws and policies, and the little regard paid to customary land laws in both land administration and management and within the judicial system, have led to governmental abuse of the land rights of pastoralists through the appropriation of their lands for other uses.

Positive steps are beginning to be made in recognition of pastoral land rights. Uganda captured the issues of land tenure security through the provision of community land in the 1998 Land Act and the Land Sector Strategic Plan of 2002 identifies pastoralists as a vulnerable group with insecure and uncertain land rights. Implementation of these laws is however painfully slow. Ethiopia has recognised pastoral land rights in the constitution at federal government level, although there are still challenges in statutory provisions such as the Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation, which revised the Rural Land Administration Proclamation No. 89/1997, and seems to undermine opportunities for communal landholding.

In Kenya, land laws and government practices have in the past failed to secure pastoralists' land rights. The Trust Land Act, Land (Group Representatives) Act and the Registered Land Act have provided avenues through which pastoral lands have been privatised and in some cases grabbed by non-pastoralists, thereby undermining livelihood opportunities for pastoralists. Now, however, the Draft National Land Policy (DNLP) offers new hope for pastoralists, if adopted. The DNLP recognises pastoral land tenure as a separate tenure category and enjoins the government to enact legislation for it. It also provides for community land rights to be secured through a devolved land administration system that ensures communities have a say in decisions about land allocation and use at the local level, through Community Land Boards whose members are representative of the local community.

Policies and laws on natural resources such as water, forests, wildlife, wetlands and environmental conservation also have implications for pastoralists and pastoral livelihoods. Often, the operation of these policies constrains pastoralist

migration and access to strategic resources such as dry-season grazing grounds and water.

Water laws and policies can help manage and reduce conflict over water points by limiting the construction of water dams and pans to areas within seasonal migratory routes. This has not been the case with water policies in East Africa and the Horn, where policies presuppose the existence of water and deal only with water service provision and water resource management. Forestry laws and policies on the other hand seal critical grazing points off from pastoralists and their animals. This also is the case with wildlife conservation policies and laws that separate wildlife management from pastoralists despite the fact that pastoral livestock coexist harmoniously with wildlife. Pastoralists are denied access to graze their livestock in reserves and parks during the dry season, yet are required to allow wildlife to use their land both as dispersal areas and migratory corridors. Forest and wildlife laws both give inadequate incentives for local participation in forest and wildlife conservation that would, if engaged with, help communities diversify their livelihoods.

**3. Policies on economic development** in Eastern Africa are focused on commercialisation of agricultural and livestock production and general modernisation, and as a result have proved unhelpful to pastoralists. The tendency in policy stipulations is to seek to modernise pastoralism using the same arguments and interventions that have failed to deliver development to pastoral areas for the past 100 years. In recent years, however, economic development policies have recognised the need to support pastoralism as a land use and livelihood system and to use it as the basis for economic development in the drylands. Kenya's Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) devoted an entire chapter to the challenges of development in the ASALs and Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan acknowledges the need to support pastoralism, as does Ethiopia's Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to Eradicate Poverty (PASDEP). However, the positive statements in these policy documents are not as yet translated into actions and strategies that deliver on their promises. Indeed, as the new Vision 2030 in Kenya has shown, sometimes governments take one step forward and two steps back with regards to pastoralism. Although Vision 2030 is meant to build on the foundation laid by the ERS, it is virtually silent on pastoralism.<sup>4</sup>

**4. Policies on peace-building, disaster management and security** are also increasingly touching on the interests of pastoralists. The endemic conflict that characterises pastoral areas, and which has been exacerbated in recent years by the proliferation of small arms, has focused the attention of governments and other actors on these regions. Periodic disasters as a result of drought also mean that these areas

<sup>4</sup> There are efforts by the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands to develop an annex to Vision 2030 that will address the concerns of pastoralists.

remain the focus of humanitarian interventions. In the post-9/11 era and the global ‘war on terror’, the Horn of Africa has also become the focus of interventions, especially by the US government, aimed at checking the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. These interventions are bringing into these pastoral areas resources and opportunities that, if well-harnessed, could help address key challenges to livelihoods and development. The increasing recognition of the potential role of traditional institutions in peace-building and conflict management is also focusing attention on pastoral communities and their institutions as vehicles for promoting sustainable peace and development.

## 2.2 Policy and practice of the international community with respect to pastoralism

Pastoral issues are being discussed today at regional and international levels, by institutions and donors, holding out hope of integrated policy development and change for the better in existing policy and practice. The African Union Commission (AUC), through the Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture (DREA), is developing a policy framework on pastoralism for Africa. This is expected to provide a continent-wide policy that will protect lives, secure pastoralist livelihoods and build sustainable communities. Within East Africa and the Horn, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is leading the Livestock Policy Initiative (LPI) process in member countries through the establishment of coalitions of actors known as ‘policy hubs’, which work with expert working groups to ensure that livestock potential is understood, articulated and strategically built into PRSP processes.

Donors such as international monetary institutions, UN bodies, the European Union (EU), USAID and others play a critical role in development processes. Through resource mobilisation, material and intellectual support and political influence over governments, they set the agenda, determine

thematic areas for developmental purposes and exert influence through dialogue and conditionalities. The regional policy processes mentioned above, for example, are being funded by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the European Commission’s Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) respectively.

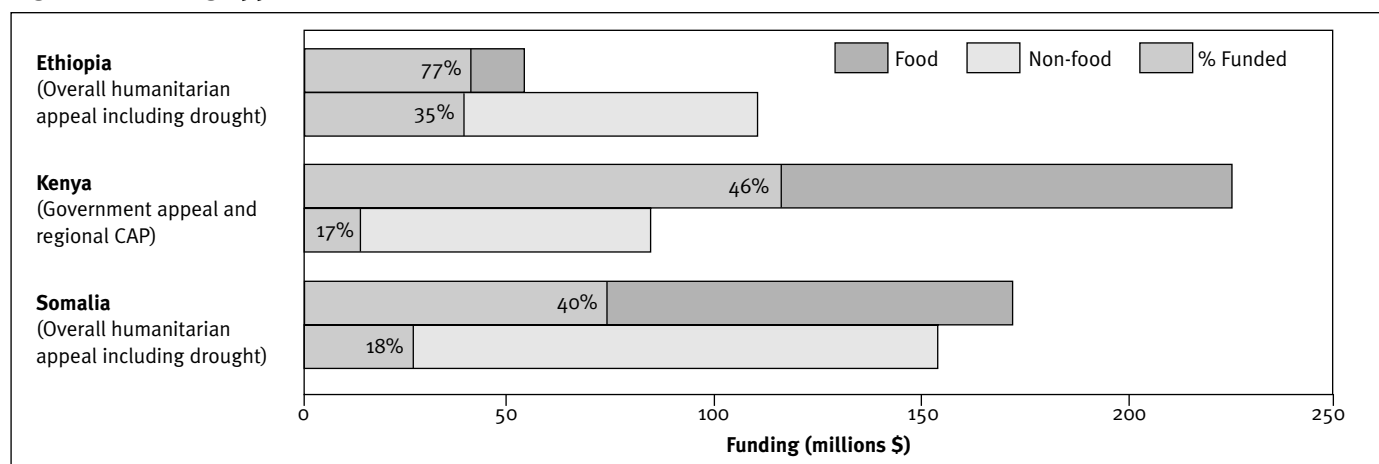
Notwithstanding donor support to pastoral areas, existing practice and policies are neither comprehensive nor strong enough to bring about the much-needed paradigm shift from relief aid-oriented support to integrated pastoral development. The current support system is project-based, focusing on humanitarian assistance and building pastoralists’ resilience. This is not enough to get pastoralists onto the path of economic mobility based on access to markets, availability of opportunities for livelihood diversification and human resource and capacity development.

Figure 2 shows the donor focus on and preference for food aid over non-food programme support.

Donors, humanitarians and development agencies need to realise that the current emphasis on humanitarian assistance, without accompanying and appropriate development and livelihood programmes of significant scale, is creating a cycle of dependency and has the potential to destroy pastoral economies. While provision of food aid to those in settlement camps is a necessary support mechanism, it will impact negatively on the local population by forcing down food prices in the marketplace.

In charting development paths for pastoralists, some NGOs, both local and international, adopt a linear approach to pastoral development based on aspects of drought preparedness and livestock development. They overlook education and complementary livelihood activities that would spread risk and maximise opportunities, and so condemn many to an unsustainable, static pastoralist lifestyle.

**Figure 2: Funding appeals and contributions**



Adapted from Saving Lives through Livelihoods, HPG Briefing Paper, May 2006.



**Table 3: Selected donor initiatives in pastoral areas**

Organisation/Donor	Initiative	Areas covered
<b>ECHO/EU</b>	Providing €30m in humanitarian aid to improve drought preparedness in the Greater Horn of Africa. The commission aims at reducing peoples' vulnerability by helping communities to improve their response to and preparedness for recurrent drought cycles in seven countries	Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda
<b>USAID</b>	A number of initiatives including the Pastoralists Livelihood Initiative. The project focused on enhancing early warning systems, increasing access to markets, improving livestock production and facilitating policy reforms	Ethiopia and Somali
<b>World Bank</b>	Has provided long-term support to the Arid Lands Resource Management Project, a government. Initiative to reduce widespread poverty and enhance food security in seven arid districts in north-eastern Kenya, improve crop and livestock resilience to drought, increasing economic linkage with the rest of the economy and improving basic health services, water supply and other services	Arid districts of Turkana, Marsabit, Wajir, Garissa, Tana River, Isiolo, Samburu and Baringo, Kenya
<b>DFID</b>	Has one of the longest engagements with drylands development and pastoralism both directly and through funding support to Oxfam and its Regional Pastoral Programme. Under the Ministry of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) will identify the unique features of these areas in order to provide evidence of impact to inform Kenyan national social protection policy and advise on budget resource allocation. DFID is currently in the process of designing a programme of work on pastoralism in the sub-region and is holding consultations in that regard	All countries of the Horn of Africa

Development agencies need to reflect upon their engagement with pastoralists and to invest in systems and structures backed by programmatic support to offer diverse livelihood opportunities to all pastoralists. In *Vulnerable Livelihoods in Somali Region, Ethiopia* (April 2006), Stephen Devereux captured the new aspirations of pastoralist children through the voice of a schoolgirl in rural Gashamo, who says:

*We are living in the twenty first century. We can't be expected to live like the nineteenth century, like our ancestors. We should move in time with changing times. We can't behave as if things like computers and phones don't exist. Since we know about these things, we also want to have them. In the old days these things didn't exist, so our parents just continued living as their ancestors. For our generation, things are different and we want different things. None of the children in this school want to be pastoralists. We have been sent to school in order to get a better life (Devereux, 2006).*

How do we ensure that pastoralists' children have better choices? Can we contribute towards the fulfillment of the dreams of those children who want better lives by focusing our efforts on drought response and preparedness only? Can

we provide better lives through our current efforts in the provision of relief food aid?

As shown in Table 4, some donors and development agents are already adopting a programmatic livelihood support approach to pastoral development, integrating humanitarian assistance, policy and infrastructural development to promote the holistic development of pastoral areas and reduce vulnerability.

Better lives for pastoralists demand investment in infrastructural development to create opportunities and markets and integrate the pastoral economy into national economies. For decades, donors have supported livestock-based initiatives in pastoral areas, but without sufficient investment in them both in terms of resources and long-term commitments. Balanced growth that can sustain development and livelihoods demands investment in people, infrastructure and livestock, and a shift from short-termism to long-term planning founded on consultative participation with all stakeholders.

Like the World Bank in the 1990s, most donors fund short-term projects in pastoral areas on the basis of theoretical assumptions without relevance to the pastoral environment. When these fail, they respond by cutting short their support or shifting their funding priorities and areas, aggravating

#### Box 4: World Bank investment in pastoral development from the 1960s to the 1990s

World Bank investment in pastoral areas from the 1960s to 1990s had four main phases:

i) The ranching phase (mid-1960s to early 1980s). This was characterised by the transfer of Western ranching technologies to tropical areas. There was heavy capital investment in fencing, water development, developing exotic breeds etc. Examples were ranching projects in Kenya, Botswana and Yemen.

ii) The Range/Livestock Project (mid-1970s to late 1980s). This focused on developing communal areas and securing grazing land rights adjudication. This involvement saw the development of group ranches in countries like Kenya.

iii) Pastoral Association development (early to mid-1990s). Here emphasis was laid on the development of overall policy frameworks to secure mobility and flexibility in grazing rights. Water projects were developed and handed over to the community for management. It was a top-down approach.

iv) Integrated Natural Resource Management (mid- to late 1990s) This phase emphasised support to private institutions for the provision of services and management of resources and attention to incentives and institutional frameworks.

A review of all the phases shows that first-generation projects produced disappointing results. The second- and third-generation projects produced mixed performance. In general, however, all fell short of expectations. The failure of these initiatives affected World Bank investment policy in pastoral areas in sub-Saharan Africa. The Bank reduced its investment in pastoral areas of Africa by half. By the 1990s, only a handful of projects with smaller pastoral development components were being implemented in Kenya and Mali. Funding for pastoral development in other areas was stronger, including in Asia, the Middle East and North America, but the total fell from \$150m a year in the 1980s to \$50m in the 1990s, with less than half being directed sub-Saharan Africa.

Adapted from Cornelius de Haan<sup>5</sup>: An Overview of the World Bank's Involvement in Pastoral Development, December 1993).

pastoral vulnerability. By adapting a holistic approach to pastoral development, and by including pastoralists in planning and priority setting, government and other actors can develop a comprehensive, systematic and focused action plan to turn pastoral areas into vibrant and self-sufficient economies. Failure to do this will leave unmanageable numbers of people dependent on food aid.

<sup>5</sup> Cornelius de Haan, the World Bank Livestock Advisor, presented the review at the Donor Consultation Meeting on Pastoral National Resource Management and Pastoral Policies for Africa organised by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office in Paris in December 1993.

## 2.3 Pastoral communities and development

Pastoralists themselves must share the responsibility for addressing their vulnerabilities and the development of their areas as well as developing sustainable traditional livelihoods. Their attitudes, behaviour, pragmatism, leadership and willingness to adapt and respond appropriately to new challenges such as individual land tenure and climate change are of paramount importance.

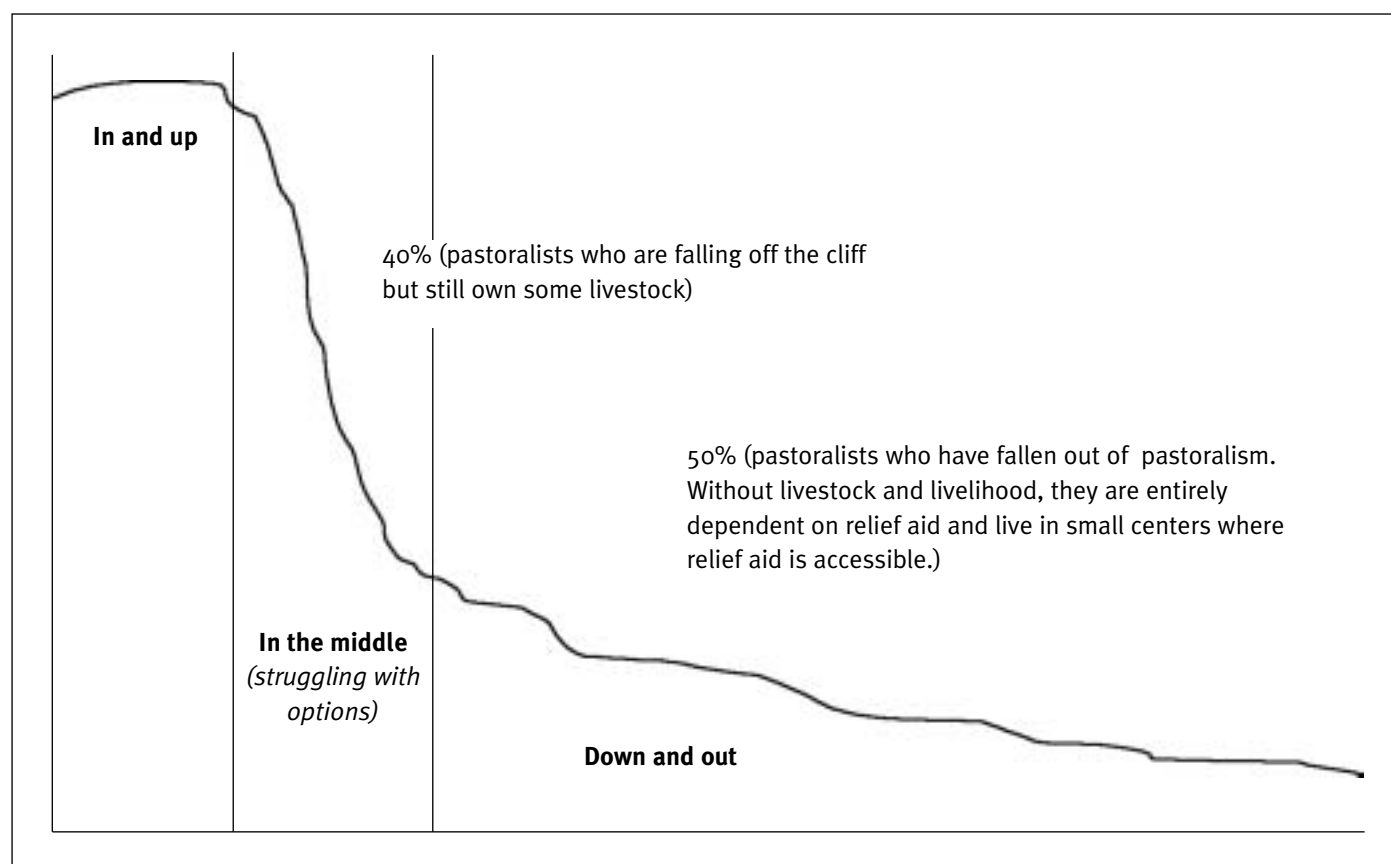
The dilemma within the pastoral system is growing ever deeper. The frequent droughts which have made restocking and herd accumulation impossible have kept most pastoralists on the very edge of life, contemplating alternatives. Many women feel that pastoralism is facing a bleak future. Men on the other hand cannot imagine life without livestock. The divide is illustrated by Stephen Devereux after meeting community members in a settlement in Gashamo: 'The future of pastoralism depends not just on the attitudes of the people who are currently practicing pastoralism as their livelihood system, but even more crucially on the attitudes and aspirations of the future generations. Many women pointed out that their children and grandchildren are on the verge of rejecting pastoralism as a way of life, because of a combination of "push" factors (the increasing difficulties of pursuing livestock based livelihood in Somali Region)<sup>6</sup> and "pull" factors" (the lure of urban living)'.

It is imperative that pastoralists themselves start conceiving of change. The reality is that, with land fragmentation and individual land ownership gaining ground, the nomadic life is ever more difficult. Only a small number of livestock can be kept, insufficient even to provide for daily needs. Rather than wait for circumstance to force change on them, pastoralists can plan to diversify their livelihoods. The first step is to focus on the education that will open new doors to the younger generation. The 'we' versus 'them' discourse that pastoralists have maintained over decades, alienating them from other communities, must change for them to win the support they need from other communities.

Education for pastoralists' children must be seen as a right for all, not as a guarantee of support for parents in their advancing years. Pastoral civil society organisations have a role to play by showing the pastoral community the importance of education, to enable children to pursue the careers of their choice for greater opportunities within and without the pastoral system.

<sup>6</sup> Somali region is one of the pastoral areas of Ethiopia, inhabited by pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, farmers and traders. Devereux began investigating the causes and consequences of livelihood vulnerability in the region in 2006 after a series of crises including droughts and livestock diseases, a crackdown on contraband trade, bans by Gulf states on livestock imports and violent clan and regional conflicts. His report made clear that women are advocating for livelihood diversification and education for their children, with an emphasis on girls, and that they see education as a way to complement pastoralism by opening up and exploiting opportunities inside and outside the pastoral system.

**Figure 3: Diagrammatic representation suggesting percentage of pastoralists with different levels of livelihood vulnerabilities within the Horn and East Africa region**



Looking at the diagram, it is notable that not all pastoralists are currently vulnerable or have the same levels of vulnerability. There are pastoralists who are well-off with stable livelihoods. They own vast amounts of land and hire pastoral youths to graze and or browse their livestock. They have diversified their livestock and have access to veterinary medicines and livestock markets right up to international level.

Many pastoralists once stable in pastoral production today find themselves in danger of losing their livelihoods. They restock to start the cycle of livestock accumulation, but time and again see their efforts wiped out by drought exacerbated by ever-weakening kinship and social ties that once offered coping mechanisms through loans and herd division. Land subdivision and farmland encroachment has worsened their position.

A third category are those who have fallen out of the pastoral system altogether and are in desperate need of far-reaching interventions. They have no livestock or land and live in shanties with limited access to social amenities, depending almost entirely on relief agencies. Some work as labourers in nearby towns, often as guards and watchmen; others sell charcoal to survive.

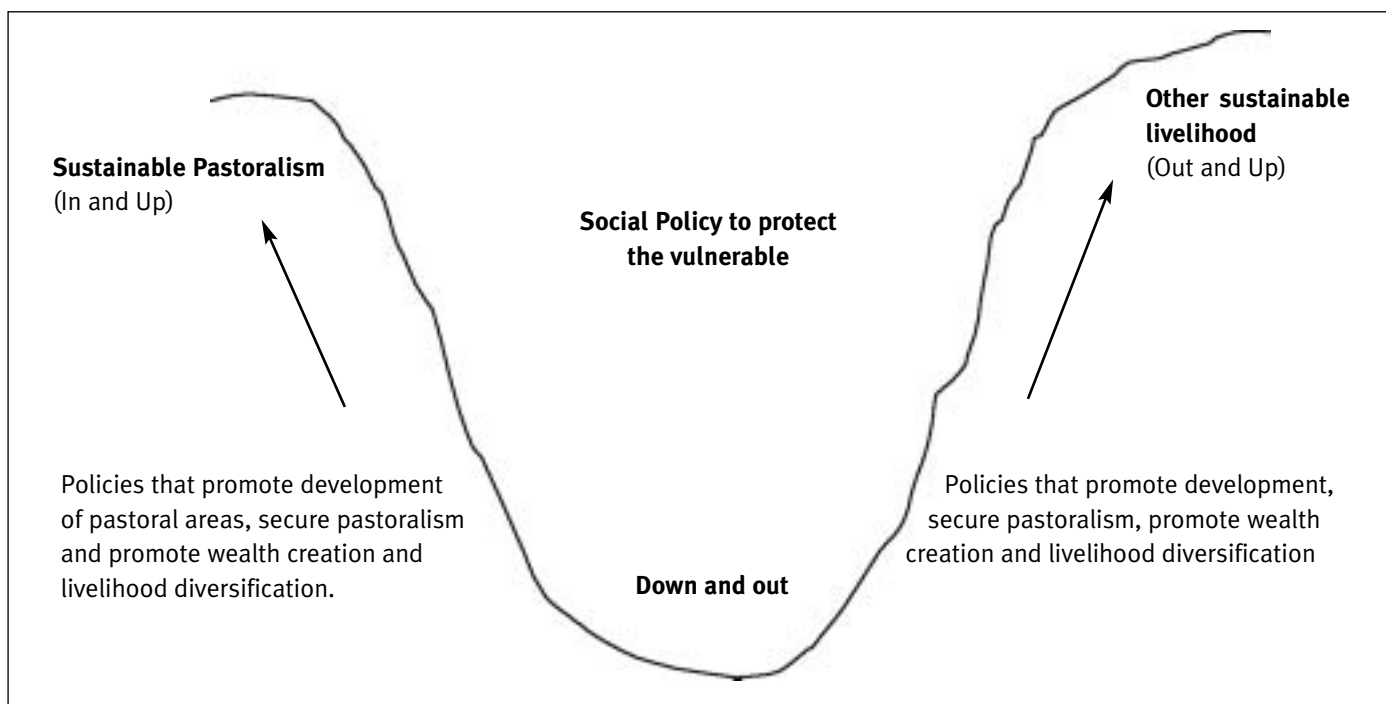
Current policy and practice must change to accommodate these different categories of pastoralists and their unique needs. By focusing on drought preparedness only, we are not helping

those who have fallen out of the system and others who are still being forced out. Communities without crops or livestock have no incentive to prepare for drought. A different approach is needed to build capacity for drought preparedness in pastoral areas. It should focus on wealth and opportunity creation by investing in and promoting development of pastoral areas.

#### **2.4 Change in policy and practice: from inappropriateness and exclusion to relevance and inclusion**

Livelihood vulnerability is a product of diverse forces that can be broadly divided into two: natural forces, including fluctuations in climatic conditions, and man-made forces, including practices and behaviours that damage the environment and fail to manage risks, including grabbing pastoral lands and putting them under crop production or ranching. In pastoral areas, policy interventions to protect livelihoods have been inappropriate and exclusionary, weakening the social structures necessary for building sustainable and resilient production systems.

Most policy-makers see crop production as the best way of creating wealth and generating income. Developments in livestock production including exotic breeds with high milk and meat potential have reflected negatively on the traditional livestock system, which is seen as wasteful in terms of land

**Figure 4: Proposed intervention model to address pastoral vulnerability through policy and practice**

requirement especially when compared against production. The resulting tendency is to modernise by settling pastoralists, controlling their grazing and encouraging them to shift to commercial ranching through policies including the regulation of livestock numbers, changes in land tenure, initiatives to settle pastoralists and the encouragement of crop production in ASALs through irrigation.

These initiatives are not in themselves bad. But they are irrelevant to the pastoral production system. In most cases, they help render pastoralists unproductive, thereby preventing them from contributing to national development and economic growth. It is a vicious circle, for this is precisely the argument – that pastoralists contribute little to the national economy – that is used to further marginalise pastoralists.

Appropriate policies and practice should focus on two critical areas:

1. Reducing levels of exposure to risks as a way of managing livelihood vulnerability.
2. Enhancing the ability of pastoralists to counter increased vulnerability by expanding options for them to spread risks.

Reducing exposure to risks and expanding livelihood options demands policies that are preventive (pre-empting the causes and effects of vulnerabilities), protective (addressing the security, dignity and rights of the vulnerable within their livelihoods) and promotional (addressing the growth and sustainability of pastoralism nationally and regionally). Positive changes in policy and practice must be cognisant of:

1. Social changes in the pastoral system, in values, generational aspirations and the effects of globalisation.
2. The inherent need to secure and promote mobility within the pastoral production system. The pastoral system is built on the basis of geographical, economic and cultural mobility.
3. Recognition of the economic contribution of pastoralism to national economies, especially in terms of meat, milk, traction and tourism, one of the keys to GDP growth in a country like Kenya.

#### 2.4.1 Social changes in the pastoral system

The breakdown of the traditional culture of reciprocity and gift among most pastoral communities has had a devastating impact on aspects of restocking, herd diversification and division, and access to traditional grazing pastures. The exposure of the younger generation to alternative lifestyles, their understanding of the benefits of individual property ownership vis a vis communal ownership, and the role of education in accessing a 'better and predictable' life all have a profound impact on the future of pastoralism and are one of the drivers of change that are putting pastoralist livelihoods at risk.

#### 2.4.2 Need for pastoral mobility

Physical/geographic mobility is the need to move constantly from one place to another in search of pasture, water, markets and to avoid disease. This movement, challenged by land fragmentation and fencing in pastoral areas, is internal within countries and external across borders. Policies that seek to promote pastoralism must take this cyclical movement of livestock and people into account. Migratory routes need to be mapped and protected to manage conflicts between pastoralist communities and with farming communities and to

help governments plan for provision of basic services to the pastoralists – including for example the construction of dips and health services to control livestock diseases, and the establishment of livestock markets at strategic points.

Economic mobility is the ability to change livelihood systems, whether temporarily or permanently. In pastoral areas, economic mobility is limited by the limited opportunities available to explore livelihoods other than pastoralism and by the pauperisation that often results from this, as described above. Cultural/social mobility is closely related to gender. In

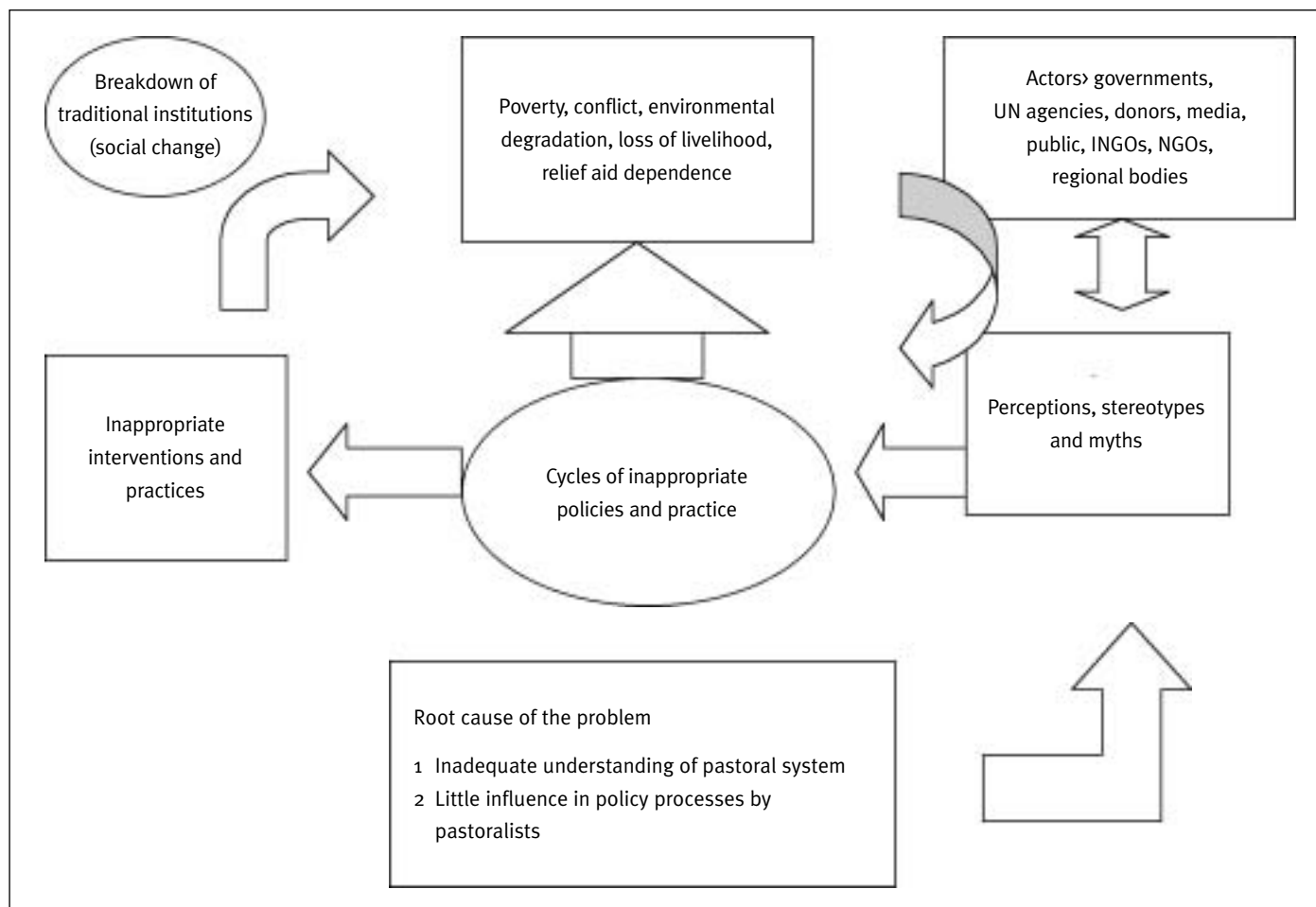
pastoralist communities, it is easier for men to move up the social scale than women, who generally have greater domestic responsibilities but fewer decision-making powers and accordingly less opportunity for economic mobility. New policies are needed to address this gender disparity. Women are already getting into key decision-making institutions and substantial numbers have changed livelihood activities in hopes of providing a better life for their families. Policies that recognise this and secure women’s rights would do much to reduce the vulnerability of pastoralist communities.

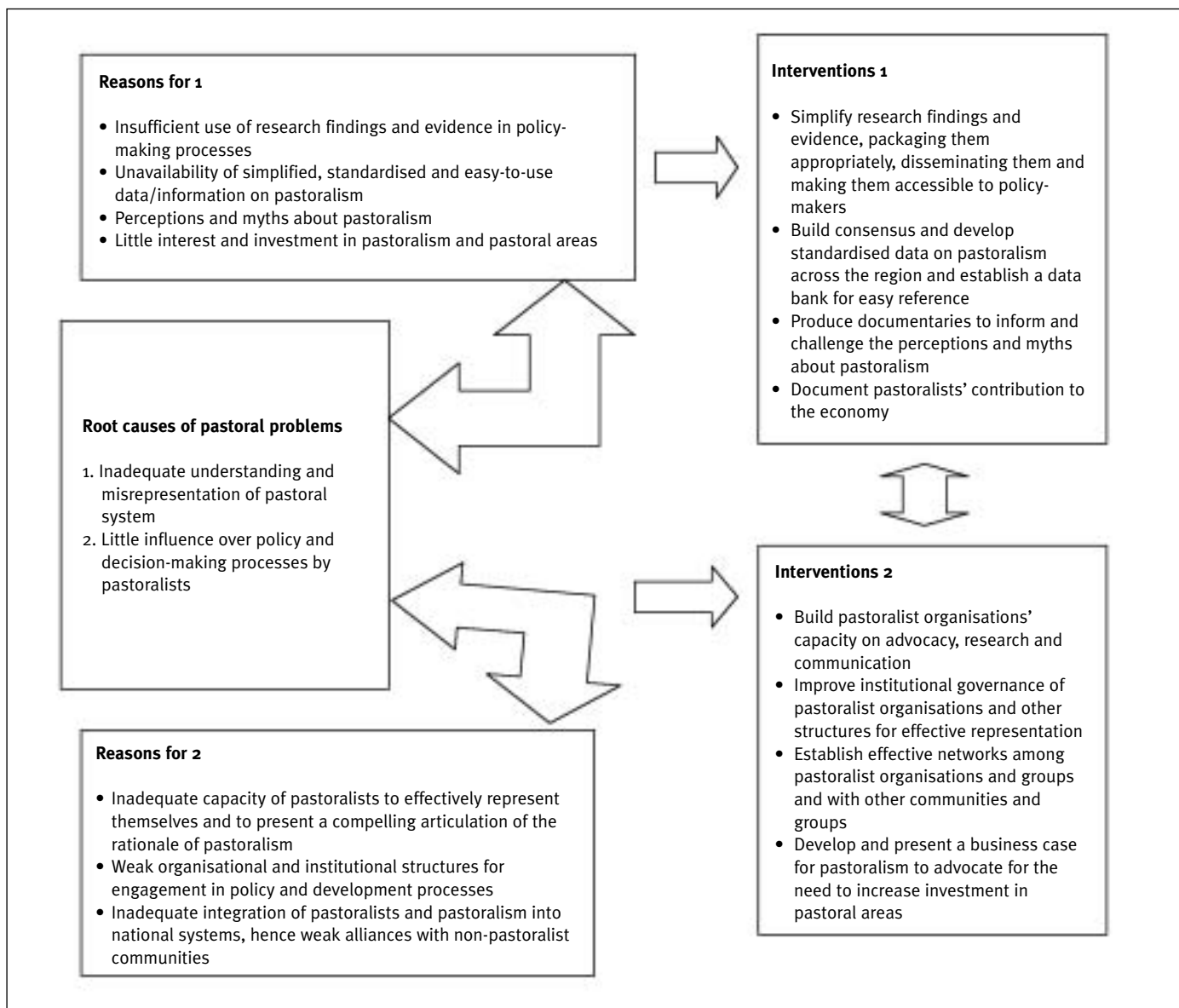
### 3 Influencing policy processes for development and sustainable pastoralism

Policy formulation processes are complex, involving an array of stakeholders with diverse powers. One of the most critical players is of course government. The way the government perceives a problem and determines the way it will respond to it influences other players. At the same time, however, the

strong negative perception of pastoralism and pastoralists by publics, governments, decision-makers and development agents has contributed massively to the inadequate allocation of funds for pastoral development and to the focus on modernising pastoralism.

**Figure 5: Summary of the dynamics feeding and sustaining increasing pastoralists’ vulnerabilities as a result of policy and practice.**



**Figure 6: A model intervention strategy**

### 3.1 Working out the system

Reducing pastoralists' vulnerability requires a multifaceted approach that addresses root causes, changing attitudes and perceptions, and that builds and reinforces pastoralists' voices in policy and developmental processes. Because of the cyclical nature of the factors causing vulnerability, efforts should be made to break the cycle at different levels with immediate, medium and long-term interventions. These interventions should address the instability, unpredictability and variability factors that expose pastoralists to increased risks and reduce their abilities to cope with and manage risks.

In Figure 6, interventions 1 and 2 lay a strong foundation for breaking the cycle in the short and medium term. By bridging the knowledge gap and offsetting the power imbalance through a targeted campaign challenging the perceptions, attitudes and myths about pastoralism, policy-makers and practitioners will have an opportunity to reassess their

behaviours, principles, policies and practices on pastoralism, creating an entry point towards promoting policy and legal changes that facilitate increased investment and development of pastoral areas and pastoralism.

There is a need to facilitate change by:

1. Changing the negative perceptions of pastoralism and pastoralists with a media campaign of documentaries, brochures, pamphlets and other easy-to-read and -carry materials. The campaign should deliver:
  - Changes in the language used in reference to pastoralists by the media and policy-makers to effect a more positive representation of pastoralism in policy documents and public discourse.
  - Positive changes in the content of policy documents and reporting on pastoralism.
  - Greater appreciation of pastoralism by the public in East Africa and the Horn, including in school curricula, debates and conferences with policy-makers.

2. Increasing understanding and appreciation of pastoralism as an economic and socio-cultural system. This understanding should be reflected in policy documents through:
  - Increased recognition and inclusion of pastoralism and pastoralists.
  - Development of pro-pastoralist policies including a review of the policies that are constraining pastoralism.
  - Increased budgetary allocation and investment in the development of pastoral areas and pastoralism to create more options for economic mobility as a coping mechanism for vulnerable pastoralists.
  - Change from a focus on emergency and humanitarian assistance to systematic investment in and development of pastoral areas.
3. Enhancing the capacity of pastoralists to engage effectively and proactively with policy processes and other initiatives for the development of pastoral areas and sustainable pastoralism. This should lead to:
  - Establishment of pastoralists' networks and collaborative initiatives championing pastoralists' development agenda.
  - Initiatives by pastoralists themselves to address their increased exposure to risks and their reduced ability to cope with the stresses on their livelihood.

## 4 Conclusion

Pastoral livelihood vulnerability can be reduced through policy and practice change intended to reduce risks within the pastoral system while expanding options for economic mobility. This calls for a holistic development of pastoral areas as opposed to implementation of isolated sectoral projects aimed at addressing emergencies. Governments, donors, humanitarians and development agencies should integrate livelihood support and humanitarian assistance to develop the capacity and resilience for pastoral communities to adapt and manage vulnerability.

There is a need to establish a central resource centre to house study reports on pastoralism. This would improve access to information on the diverse aspects of pastoralism and help bridge the current knowledge gap and power imbalance.

Pastoralists must be told the 'uncomfortable' truth that their children deserve formal education as a right so that they can

enjoy the freedom of choice between pastoralism and other livelihood activities. Traditional knowledge is under severe strain in the face of climate change and other factors, and provision of universal primary and secondary education should be supported and promoted in pastoral areas. The right of pastoral children to education must be loudly trumpeted and enforced.

There is a need to promote business and entrepreneurship in pastoral areas. Credit and savings facilities should be provided so that those out of the pastoral system can be encouraged to engage in business and avoid becoming relief-dependent.

There is a need to develop, invest in and promote communications and transport infrastructures in pastoral areas to improve market access to and for pastoral products and thereby to help open up and diversify the pastoral economy.

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# Annex 1

## Examples of policies/laws and how they affect pastoralism

Kenya		
Policies/laws	Policy description	Impact of the policy on pastoralism
1. Trust Land Act	The Trust Land Act governs communal land tenure, most of which is found in pastoral areas. It gives county councils the power to manage the lands in trust on behalf of the community in accordance with the customary laws of the people ordinarily resident in those lands.	Trust obligations of the county councils have been abused, resulting in allocation of the land to individuals and groups without regard to the interest of local communities. The law has thus failed to protect pastoral lands.
2. Land (Group Representatives) Act	Under this Act, groups come together to adopt a constitution and elect representatives to be registered as the holders of their common land, known as a group ranch. Group representatives once incorporated have the power to sue and be sued, to acquire, hold, charge and dispose of property of any kind and to borrow money with or without security in their corporate name on behalf of the group. They are supposed to do so for the benefit of all the members of the group and to fully and effectively consult the other members of the group.	Although this law was meant to secure pastoral land and to provide ways through which landowners in pastoral areas could use their lands to get loans or access other credit facilities, it has been largely a failure in its operations, largely as a result of corruption and lack of transparency and accountability among group representatives. In this sense, the law actually fueled vulnerability of pastoralists.
3. Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) 2003–2008	The development plan introduced by the National Rainbow Coalition when it took over power in 2003. It acknowledges the neglect of pastoral areas and proposes measures to strengthen livelihoods in the ASALs through support to livestock and range management, ecotourism and where feasible long-term irrigation projects to contribute to overall food production and food security.	This document was relevant and appropriate for pastoral development, and if implemented would have had far-reaching impacts by sinking boreholes and building dams in strategic locations to facilitate migration, improving livestock breeds through research, strengthening animal health delivery systems by providing mobile clinics and disease surveillance mechanisms, creating strategic disease-free zones to facilitate the export of animals and increasing cross-border disease surveillance and conflict resolution and management mechanisms. However, the implementation proved wanting. (For more on this, see the accompanying report 'Mobile pastoral systems and international zoosanitary standards: devising a compatible approach.')
Uganda		
1. Land Act 1998	Recognises customary tenure and provides for the establishment of Community Land Associations (CLAs) to hold communal land. CLAs have power to set apart land for common use including grazing.	The implementation of the law has been wanting, with no CLA having been formed ten years since the Act came into operation. The protection given to communal lands has also been undermined by other policies and laws, especially with regard to protected areas and appropriation of land for investment.

<b>Uganda (continued)</b>		
<b>Policies/laws</b>	<b>Policy description</b>	<b>Impact of the policy on pastoralism</b>
2. National Policy for the Conservation and Management of Wetland Resources (1995)	Although it does not mention pastoralism explicitly, the policy is good for pastoral land and natural resource use. It calls for the preservation and non-destructive, sustainable and wise use of wetlands, to secure livelihoods of natural resource dependent-communities. It provides that, in the event of any permitted change in the use of wetlands, traditional uses like grazing and fishing must be permitted to continue.	The policy can be used to argue for pastoral land use and to assert that grazing is not a destructive practice. By discouraging the fencing of wetland resources used for dry-season grazing, it guarantees pastoralists' access rights to them.
3. Forest Policy	Prohibits grazing in all forest reserves.	This policy alienates some pastoral resources by preventing pastoralists from accessing pastures in forest reserves.
4. Meat Production Master Plan Study 1998	A framework for the development of the livestock sector. It focuses on the smallholder and commercial sectors, with emphasis on the smallholder sector. It acknowledges the fact that smallholders own the majority of herds and play a leading role in meat production, and proposes systematic intervention in issues including disease control and range management.	This plan seeks to commercialise livestock production and aims at converting smallholders into big commercial entrepreneurs. A holistic approach looking at the socio-economic dimensions of livestock-keeping by smallholders like pastoralists would be preferable to focusing on livestock only.
5. Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), 2004	The national framework for development planning and poverty eradication. It recognises the importance of pastoralism as a production system especially to the livestock sector, and acknowledges the need to target it in interventions in the sector.	The recognition of pastoralism in the policy and the existence of specific ministries and departments that target pastoral areas provide an important framework for engaging with government to address pastoral concerns. However, policy commitments are undermined by the persistence of negative perceptions about pastoralists, especially the Karamojong, in policy circles.
<b>Ethiopia</b>		
1. Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	Guarantees pastoralists access to grazing land and protects them from eviction from their lands. Provisions on devolution are also relevant to pastoralists and their governance.	The constitutional guarantees are to be managed through statutes, which are often informed by imperatives of modernisation and settlement and undermine the interests of pastoralists.
2. Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (2005–2010) of pastoralists.	Focuses on human development, rural development, food security and capacity-building. Recognises pastoralism as a livelihood system and acknowledges the failure of previous policies to support it.	This strategy makes positive policy statements about pastoralism and includes specific measures to improve pastoral livestock production. It is however underpinned by an imperative of commercialisation and modernisation of livestock production that often works against the interests
3. Food Security Strategy	Seeks to improve crop production and contains provisions for livestock development, livelihood diversification, voluntary settlement of pastoralists, improving livestock and marketing, and developing large-scale commercial ranches.	The policy can be used to support pastoralist production but its underlying premise is clearly that pastoralism as a livelihood system is in transition, and pastoralists are set to evolve into settled farmers.

# Annex 2

## Actors to be targeted with project messages

The following are some of the key players who should be targeted in seeking to bring about meaningful change in policy and practice. Specific details about who to target, how to

reach them, and by when will be discussed in the advocacy and communication strategy.

<b>Governments within the region</b>	<b>Regional bodies</b>
Office of the President	East Africa Community
Office of the Prime Minister	IGAD
Ministry of Northern Kenya & Other Arid Lands	COMESA
Ministries responsible for:	AU
Lands	<b>Donors and key financial institutions</b>
Livestock	USAID
Health	ECHO
Water	FAO
Planning	IMF
Regional Development	World Bank
Infrastructure Development	DFID
Local Government	UNEP
Agriculture	WFP
Education	WHO
Northern Uganda	DANIDA
Karamoja	CIDA
Livestock Development	<b>Private sector and parastatals</b>
Arid Land Resource Management Project in Kenya	Manufacturing Associations
Devolved Funds Committees	Chambers of Commerce
<b>Media and the public</b>	Livestock Marketing Boards
International Media (print and electronic)	Investment Authorities
National Media (print and electronic)	<b>Pastoral community</b>
	Civil society organisations
	Elders
	Women
	Youth
	Religious leaders
	Parliamentary groups
	Civic leaders
<b>Others</b>	
Research organisations, international NGOs, national NGOs and networks, faith-based organisations, professional associations, political parties	

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