

# Pastoralism: past perspectives and future policy



## PENHA's 25th Anniversary Conference

2 October 2015

Overseas Development Institute, 203 Blackfriars Road, London, SE1 8NJ

#PENHA25



## **Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA)**

PENHA's mission is to reduce poverty among the pastoralists in the Horn of Africa through the empowerment of communities and to foster sustainable and dignified livestock-based and non-livestock-based livelihoods. This requires a co-ordinated approach at the grassroots and policy levels. PENHA therefore commits itself to two goals:

- To empower pastoralist communities and their institutions to play a full role in their own development;
- To influence development policy and development programme design in order to foster sustainable livelihoods among pastoralists.

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## **Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute (ODI)**

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) is the UK's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues. Its mission is to inspire and inform policy and practice which lead to the reduction of poverty, the alleviation of suffering and the achievement of sustainable livelihoods in developing countries. ODI's Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) is dedicated to improving humanitarian policy and practice through a combination of high-quality analysis, dialogue and debate.

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## Acronyms

ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
AU	African Union
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
COPACSO	Coalition of Pastoral Civil Society Organization, Uganda
DLCI	Dryland Learning and Capacity Building Initiative
EU	European Union
FAC	Future Agricultures Consortium
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GAA	German Agro Action
HPG	Humanitarian Policy Group, ODI
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ITDG	Intermediate Development Technology Group
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRI	Natural Resources Institute
PCAE	Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia
PCDP	Pastoral Community Development Project
PENHA	Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa
PFE	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
UCL	University College, London
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund



## Acknowledgements

PENHA would like to thank the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and the staff of the Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG), in particular Sara Pantuliano and Melanie Archer, for supporting and hosting the conference, as well as the whole organizing committee for all their hard work. We are also grateful to all the speakers – many long-standing friends – who came and shared their expertise and insights, some of whom travelled from the region, in particular PENHA regional staff members Amsale Shibeshi and John Livingstone. We also express special thanks to Dr Tekeste Ghebray for opening the conference. We would like to extend our thanks to the PENHA board, volunteers, and staff, to all our friends and supporters, and to all who participated in the conference, in person and online. The question and answer sessions were vibrant and provided interesting perspectives, as did the facilitated sessions where participants discussed different scenarios.

As always, we thank our patron, Joanna Lumley, for her financial contribution to the conference and her continued moral support.

Note that the views expressed in the proceedings do not necessarily represent the views of the institutions represented.

**Conference photos:** Jeff Salzer (jeffsalzer.com)



25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference participants outside ODI, October 2015

Watch a video of the conference at: [www.odi.org/events/4265-penha-pastoral-25-anniversary-conference-horn-africa](http://www.odi.org/events/4265-penha-pastoral-25-anniversary-conference-horn-africa)

## Executive summary

PENHA was founded in 1989 by a group of British and Horn of African researchers following a conference with the Pastoral Development Network at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London. PENHA's 25th anniversary was celebrated with another conference at the ODI, in October 2015, which brought together members of the pastoral fraternity, many of whom had been present at PENHA's founding conference.<sup>1</sup> As outlined in these proceedings, the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference reflected on the important role that PENHA has played and continues to play in the region; exploring present and future challenges being faced by pastoral people; and seeking new opportunities to ensure the sustainability and viability of pastoralism in a fast changing political, economic, and environmental landscape.

PENHA's 25-year journey is highlighted in the keynote address by Dr Tekeste Ghebray, former Executive Secretary of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Thanks to the efforts of PENHA and other like-minded organizations, pastoralism is an important global issue today and is firmly on the political map. The founding of PENHA came at a critical time in the history of the Horn of Africa. It was a time of emerging alliances and the opening up of political spaces. Twenty-five years on, there is a renewed sense of purpose. As Dr Zeremariam Fre, PENHA's Director, emphasizes, pastoral people are now taking charge of their own destiny and can no longer be marginalized. They are negotiating access to land with other local resource users, and communities are coming together across different livelihood systems, building alliances, strengthening solidarity, and preparing for change.

The conference was organized into four sessions. The first session looked at the political context of pastoralism, with key speakers reflecting on the changing paradigms of pastoral development. Session two explored the evolution of the pastoral economy and future possible scenarios. Session three provided some rich discussion on how pastoralism adapts to shocks such as climate change, and stressed the importance of not treating environmental, economic, and social shocks in isolation since there is an interdependence. There is much to be learned from pastoralists who are masters at adapting to variability and turning challenges into opportunities, such as through creative diversification. As highlighted by Dr Fre, it is also important to not only look at adaptation to climate change from a pastoralist perspective – the reality is more complex and the whole context has to be taken into account, including from the perspective of the highlanders. We also heard about the work that PENHA is doing to empower women in the region to become more resilient to change.

One of the emerging themes of the conference was the politics of change which is impacting all pastoral communities. Land and resources are being expropriated to drive new development agendas. Rapid urbanization is bringing new infrastructure, linking rural and urban areas; growing populations are adding pressure on land and resources; large-scale land acquisitions for oil and mining exploration are displacing communities; regional interaction and trade are expanding;

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<sup>1</sup> The report of the workshop held in London, UK on 30 November 1989 – *Establishing a Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA)* – can be downloaded here: [www.penhanetwork.org/sites/default/files/uploads/manual/documents/PENHA%20founding%20conference%20October%201989.pdf](http://www.penhanetwork.org/sites/default/files/uploads/manual/documents/PENHA%20founding%20conference%20October%201989.pdf)

climate change is impacting on the environment and bringing uncertainty. There are new fears too – the spread of Islamic extremism, particularly among the younger generation, and the international response to it.

There are positive signs for the future, however. Pastoral communities, who are masters are dealing with variability, are seizing new opportunities and diversifying their incomes and livelihoods.

*Prosopis juliflora* brings new options for food, fodder, fuel and furniture. High levels of urbanization mean a greater demand for milk and meat, and for services such as health and education. New livelihood strategies supported by PENHA are contributing to women's economic empowerment. The digital revolution has given pastoralists access to information and trading, mobile banking services and the remote identification of grazing areas. Young people are seeking new career options and have more choice over their future.

Despite this evolution of the pastoral economy, governments are continuing to pursue policies to control and restrict pastoral practices through sedenterization and 'modernization' programmes. As experiences from the speakers reveal, mobile pastoralism can be compatible with modernity, and a new pastoralism that is both modern and mobile is emerging. The rules of engagement are changing and PENHA is in a position to know how and where to position itself going forward. There are opportunities to engage with new actors, for example emerging institutions in the South – some universities in the region are offering academic courses on pastoralism – as well as the private sector.

As highlighted by the Chair of the Board, John Plastow, PENHA, as a network, is able to bring a range of voices and expertise to the table – locally, regionally, and internationally. The challenge now is to determine what role there is for PENHA and others to facilitate these aspects of positive change for pastoral peoples over the next 25 years. As reiterated by many of the speakers, pastoralism is not something of the past. It is very much part of the future in many parts of this planet, and it needs international, national, regional, and local support.

## Profiles of speakers and chairs

### Dr James Bennett

James Bennett has undertaken extensive research on collective grazing management in communal rangelands in South Africa. More recently, his work in southern Ethiopia has focused on social-ecological change and adaptation in pastoralist grazing systems. James is currently a senior lecturer in environmental sciences at the Centre for Agroecology, Water and Resilience (CAWR) at the University of Coventry, UK and is Editor-in-Chief of *African Journal of Range and Forage Science*.



### Izzy Birch

Izzy Birch has been involved with pastoral development since 1993 when she moved to Kenya for Oxfam. She later led Oxfam's pastoral programme in the Horn and East Africa. Since 2008, Izzy has been working with the Government of Kenya - first as technical adviser to the minister who had been given a new portfolio for Kenya's drylands, and currently as technical adviser to the CEO of the National Drought Management Authority. She has been closely involved with the Kenyan government's work on resilience in drylands since 2011.



### Yusuf Dirie

Yusuf Dirie studied mechanical engineering as a first degree, and then switched his academic focus to technology and innovation management, focusing in particular on pastoralist innovation systems in the Horn of Africa. Yusuf is based at the Science Policy Research Unit (SPRUE) at the University of Sussex, UK. He is a teaching fellow and lecturer, and also works with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), as well as completing his PhD. The working title of his thesis is *Progress as Alibi? Framings of Pastoral Development in the Horn of Africa*.



### Dr Zeremariam Fre

Zeremariam Fre has over 25 years of development work experience in Sub-Saharan Africa and has worked as a consultant and advisor for a number of international organizations including the EU, NORAD, NOVIB, IIED, Oxfam-GB, CAFOD, ITDG, FAO, IFAD, UNCCD-IGAD, UNICEF, ACORD, SOS-Sahel, Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), national governments ministries and NGOs in the Greater Horn of Africa and Europe. His research interests include evolving livelihoods, urban-rural/rural-urban interactions, indigenous knowledge systems, resource based conflicts, sustainability of urban and peri-urban agriculture, destitution and urbanization among African rural communities. Zeremariam is currently a Teaching Fellow at the Development Planning Unit (DPU) at University College London (UCL) on the MSc Development Administration and Planning course and is the director and founder of PENHA.





## **Dr Tekeste Ghebray**

Dr Tekeste Ghebray has worked extensively in the Horn of Africa. He has worked in government in Ethiopia for many years with the Ministry of Agriculture in various capacities. He also played an important part in the emerging Agricultural Commission in Eritrea which then became the Ministry of Agriculture in the pre-independence and post-independence days. From 1996 to 2000, he was selected to be the executive secretary of the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). He was also the FAO representative in Afghanistan for several years and he is engaged actively with civil society, with government, and with intra-governmental agencies



## **Katherine Homewood (Chair of Session Four)**

Katherine Homewood is professor of human ecology at University College, London. She works primarily on the interaction of conservation and development in pastoralist systems in East Africa, focusing on the implications of environmental policies and practice for people's livelihoods and welfare, and on the implications of people's resource use for biodiversity.



## **Simon Levine**

Simon Levine is a research fellow at the Humanitarian Policy group at ODI, London, where he now worries most about livelihoods, protracted crises and resilience. He worked on a variety of development programmes for NGOs for many years, usually in war and post-war contexts such as Mozambique, Cambodia and Burundi. He then spent nine years living in Uganda, working across Eastern and Central Africa and the Horn of Africa specializing in livelihoods, vulnerability analysis and early response. In Uganda he also developed a passion for land rights, on which he worked extensively. Since returning to England in 2010 to work at ODI, he continues to want the humanitarian system to get fixed and wishes that more research was able to contribute something that actually helped that to happen.



## **John Livingstone**

John Livingstone is PENHA's regional policy officer. He studied economics at Warwick University and Queen Mary College, London, and has worked as a policy analyst and consultant. His particular interests include governance, the political economy of development and women's economic empowerment. John has contributed to a wide range of PENHA programmes, in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somaliland and Uganda. He is currently working with PENHA-Somaliland and with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) on participatory approaches to land tenure policy.



## Professor John F Morton

John Morton is professor of development anthropology and head of the livelihoods and institutions department at the Natural Resources Institute (NRI), University of Greenwich, UK. John started his career carrying out fieldwork among Beja pastoralists in North-eastern Sudan in 1982-83, and has subsequently worked with pastoralists in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, India and Mongolia, and with other groups of livestock-keepers in other African countries. John has led research on drought management in pastoral areas, on the role of parliamentarians in pastoral development, and linkages between pastoral development and the corporate sector. He has carried out high-level consultancies on pastoralist development for donors and NGOs including DFID, the World Bank, the European Commission, Oxfam and Save the Children Fund (SCF-USA), and has written numerous briefing papers aimed at policy-makers. John also has research interests in the impacts of climate change on the rural poor and their opportunities for adaptation, and served as a lead author on the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC, and as coordinating lead author for the chapter on rural areas of the Fifth Assessment Report. John is also a PENHA board member and former board chair.



## Dr Clare Oxby

Clare Oxby spent a formative year living with Tuareg pastoralists in Niger as part of her doctorate in social anthropology for SOAS. Since then pastoralists have remained an important focus of her agricultural research and advisory work (eg long-time-ago research officer on Pastoralism at ODI, consultancy with UN FAO) and her university teaching, most recently in the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bern, Switzerland.



## Dr Sara Pantuliano (Chair of Session Two)

Sara Pantuliano is director of the humanitarian policy group at ODI. She is a political scientist and has extensive experience in conflict and post-conflict contexts. She led UNDP Sudan's Peace Building Unit, managed a high-profile post-conflict response in the Nuba Mountains, and was an observer at the IGAD Sudan peace process. Sara has written widely on Sudan and South Sudan and is a recognized public speaker and media commentator on humanitarian issues. She is the managing editor of *Disasters* and member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Risk and Resilience. Sara is a trustee of SOS Sahel and serves on a range of advisory boards, including the Humanitarian Innovation Fund, the Refugees Studies Centre and the UN Association of the UK.



## Nick Pasiecznik

Nick Pasiecznik is managing consultant for Agroforestry Enterprises, specializing in research, development and training in agroforestry, drylands and timber processing, and is a leading expert on the *Prosopis* species. Other interests and experience include forestry, agriculture and land-use systems, organic production, invasive species and plant taxonomy. Nick was editor of *Farming Matters* magazine from March to December 2014.



### **John Plastow (Chair of Session Three)**

John currently works as a consultant and was previously the programme director of CARE International UK, responsible for managing the programme department which consists of the following teams: advocacy, humanitarian/emergency, private sector engagement, programme funding and management and programme quality and impact. Throughout his career, John has worked for a variety of INGOs in East Africa, South Asia and the Middle East. He is chair of PENHA's board.



### **Angela Raven-Roberts**

Angela Raven-Roberts is an independent consultant and researcher at the International Gender Studies Centre in Oxford, UK. She works on capacity development, specializing in gender, youth, and livelihoods in emergencies, post crisis recovery, pastoral livelihoods in change, and the role of national civil services in disaster preparedness, and is reviewing current educational policies for pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa. Angela was formerly the regional chief of emergencies at UNICEF Geneva and has over 30 years' experience in humanitarian and development work at the UN, with NGOs and in academia.



### **Micheline Ravololonarisoa (Chair of Session One)**

A feminist socialist and activist, Micheline Ravololonarisoa has a thirty-year career in international development, with specific emphasis on gender equality and women's rights. She has worked for international NGOs and the United Nations, where she retired in 2010 as the Head of the Africa Division at the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, now UN WOMEN). Micheline has had the opportunity to work with pastoralist communities in the Sahel region, whilst a regional programme coordinator with the Agency for Cooperation Research and Development (ACORD) and she is now an independent expert consultant working mainly in Africa and Asia.



### **Amsale Shibeshi**

Amsale Shibeshi is the regional programmes coordinator of PENHA, and is based in Somaliland. She has managed development programmes in Ethiopia, Somaliland and Uganda, including a regional women's economic empowerment programme. She studied international relations with a focus on the role of NGOs. Amsale is currently coordinating livelihoods projects with cooperatives and women's groups in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas of Somaliland, in collaboration with UN agencies.



## **Jeremy Swift**

Jeremy Swift, an economist, has worked on pastoral research and development in East and West Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia including China and Mongolia. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the pastoral Tuareg in Mali, and has worked with many pastoralists across Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran and Central Asia. As researcher and policy adviser, Jeremy has worked to strengthen pastoral economies, livelihoods and education. Before taking his post as fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, in 1978, he worked for several other organizations, including the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, FAO and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.



## **Dr Camilla Toulmin**

Camilla Toulmin is an economist with particular expertise on dryland Africa. Her work has combined field research, policy analysis and advocacy. Her interests include building alliances with those on the frontline of sustainable development and land rights in Africa. Her current work focuses on climate change, property rights, global governance and natural resources. Camilla is the former executive director of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), where she is now a senior fellow.



## Welcome by Dr Zeremariam Fre, Director of PENHA

I welcome you all from all parts of the world. The pastoralist fraternity or sisterhood brings us all together and I am delighted to say that this is a great day for all of us – for the older generation, for the younger generation, and for the generations to come. Our first meeting was held at Regent's Park College at ODI in November 1989. Some people here were present then, and it is a great pleasure to have them here again. The sense of solidarity in pastoralism in terms of us being part of a wider struggle for justice for the pastoral people in our region and elsewhere is very important and we didn't want to just have a PENHA party to beat our own drums, but we thought we would get together to reflect and to discuss all the changes and opportunities in the world where pastoralism is evolving and changing, so that we can prepare and accommodate ourselves for those changes. This sense of solidarity is very important.

PENHA's experience with pastoralism for more than 25 years has been, and continues to be, a tough ride. The most wonderful thing is that the pastoral people are taking charge of their own destiny. They can no longer be marginalized. Twenty-five years ago, pastoralists were marginalized in so many ways – in particular internally with the urban/highland attitude towards pastoralists considering them as “wild animals”. The gap has been narrowed. One of PENHA's great successes has been to bring people together across those livelihood systems. A lot of PENHA people come from highland areas, and that is a great achievement. Pastoralists are not an isolated group and we have broken that dichotomy between highlands and lowlanders. That is the only way you can bring about internal changes and remove prejudices. In fact many of the highland communities are as poor as pastoralists. It is a fallacy to think that pastoralists are the only marginalized group. There are great opportunities to look at both livelihood systems – the marginalization of pastoralists in the lowlands is in fact exacerbated by poverty in the highlands. This is an important point of departure for PENHA in its history.

This gathering is an opportunity to strengthen the solidarity among us as fighters in this struggle for justice. As we celebrate this milestone, I would like to remember Mandela's great speech when he said: “After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb”. As we move forward, there are challenges and opportunities. One of the opportunities is to strengthen the pastoralist fraternity/sisterhood among us as professionals, as academics, as activists. In this conference, while we reflect, we need to think about the new, emerging challenges and opportunities in a situation where pastoral livelihoods are changing. We need to think how we move away from the old orthodoxies. I mentioned one of them – the division between highland and lowland. We need to question ourselves. Is our perception of pastoralism correct? Do we actually represent the views of those people we claim to represent? I was recently in Afar and mentioned this conference and one of the older pastoralists said: “Come nearer to us, London is too far, Addis is far, so come to Afarland, and speak with us under the tree, we will feed you... we will slaughter a sheep or a goat for you”. This is quite remarkable. We need to be modest and think how we can recommit ourselves and remove some of those notions of dogma about pastoralism. We tend to be evangelistic; we don't always want to change things. We need to understand and accommodate the evolving changes.



Speaking as someone from the region, we need to engage with our governments, we should not shy away from them. We need to support them, challenge them. If pastoralism is going to move forward, we need to constructively engage with them. NGOs are running out of money. We need to be catalysts, to make sure that the ideology of pastoralism is implanted in our government systems. This is a long-term challenge, but it is also an opportunity.

Furthermore, there are also emerging academic institutions, for example, in Ethiopia, where masters' courses on pastoralism and drylands are being designed. This is very important and we should support that process. Also we have to see how we can support civil society organizations, given the government legislation that constrains them and the global political context, etc. But we also have to see how we can catalyse change and support emerging institutions, including NGOs and academic institutions. Otherwise western institutions will dominate the show. We need to shift that support into empowering the institutions in the South, as a matter of principle as well as practice.

To end, I'd like to mention that PENHA has been built on the sweat of its people from the region, and some have passed away. I would like to remember among those: Paul Baxter from Manchester and Professor Lionel Cliff, who participated in our conference in 1989; Mr Dolal Mohamed Sirad who was killed in Ogaden in Ethiopia about five years ago; the late Professor El Hadi Abusin and Dr Abbas Musa Shasha from Khartoum University; and Dr Ahmed Karadawi, who was a commissioner for refugees in Sudan. I would also like to remember Professor Suoum Gebre Selassie of Addis Ababa University, who was very active in Ethiopia as part of the constitution-building, with an article on securing land rights for pastoralists; and Mr Kassahun Meskele Cheru, PENHA's deputy director and senior finance/administration officer.

Apologies from our former chair Mohamed Suliman from Sudan who will join us later on. PENHA has had nine chairpersons in its life. John Plastow is our ninth chair, and I will call on him next to tell us more about the objectives and expectations of the conference, then we will move to the guest speaker, Tekeste Ghebray, former head of IGAD, who has honoured us by travelling from the region.

## **Purpose and objectives of the conference by John Plastow, Chair of PENHA's Board**

As Zeremariam mentioned, I have the privilege of being the ninth chair of PENHA. Welcome to everybody, it is great to see so many old friends and some new ones. We have three audiences today – the one that is here in the room, an online one from all around the world, and as Zere said, we have a third audience “upstairs”, listening to us from above.

Today we have an interesting and varied programme. The conference and the programme are aimed at reflecting what PENHA has been about over these past 25 years. The clue is in the name – PENHA is very much about networking, it is focused on issues of environment, and is pro-pastoralist. Above all it is rooted in the Horn of Africa. PENHA has always tried to bring a range of voices to the table, and that is reflected here today. We have people and subjects from across a range of disciplines and institutional perspectives, all of whom are committed to acting in solidarity with the interests and challenges that face pastoralists. This is what PENHA has always been about – bringing different voices together to debate and find practical solutions to these challenges. This is as true as it was in 1989 as it is today. PENHA has always sought to straddle that divide between academia and practitioner, and the room and audience reflect that, bringing together two important perspectives, and it also does that across sectors – governmental, intra-governmental, civil society, and increasingly private sector – and I think we have all of these voices in our audiences today.

Another critical element of PENHA's identity is its focus on women. PENHA has invested a lot in gender issues, and also on an international perspective. PENHA is an unusual institution in that it has this strong rootedness in the countries of the Horn, but it has also striven to link an international voice and that is something that brings its value.

The conference today is about bringing together these different constituencies to reflect together on how we can positively affect change with pastoralists in the Horn and beyond. PENHA is now over 25 years old, it is challenged by a sense of renewal, about what its future is, and today will perhaps provide some pointers, but it is also a space where we can hopefully all get some renewal through the different debates. As PENHA has offered a pathway to change over the course of its 25 years, it still aspires to be a force to affect change in the coming years and decades too. I encourage all to actively participate and engage.

I'd like to move to our keynote speaker. We are fortunate to have a distinguished long-term friend of PENHA with us who is going to tell us a little bit about the history of PENHA to complement what Zeremariam has said. I'd like to welcome Dr Tekeste Ghebray – a fantastic person to speak for the many people of the Horn of Africa and reflect on the part that PENHA has played in the history of the region.

## **Keynote address: Reflections on PENHA's 25 year journey by Dr Tekeste Ghebray, former Executive Secretary, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)**

It is a pleasure to be with you all today. I am delighted to have been asked to open this conference, which marks the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of PENHA. Following a conference on pastoral development at ODI in 1989, PENHA was founded by a group of development workers, led by Dr Zeremariam Fre. The ambitious aims were to contribute to policy and practice through action-oriented research and project implementation. PENHA aimed to be a genuinely regional organization.

For 25 years, PENHA has played a role in development practice and debate in the IGAD countries. PENHA has collaborated with policymakers, local government, development agencies, community organizations and ordinary people in pastoralist and non-pastoralist communities. PENHA has been involved in and contributed to development policy and practice in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somaliland, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda – seven countries over 25 years. This is a tremendous achievement, which owes much to the character of PENHA's founder, Dr Zeremariam Fre – a man who is at home in each of the countries of the Horn.

Personally, I have been involved with PENHA for over two decades, and as a former executive secretary of IGAD, I have a keen interest in regional affairs. It has always been heartening to see PENHA linking people up across the region, and bringing its own distinctly Horn-of-African perspective to matters.

We are happy to have with us today a distinguished group of speakers and participants. I look forward to hearing what they have to say about the crucial issues that pastoralists face today. To start this day of discussion and debate, I would like to give a brief overview on PENHA, its principles and its activities.

### ***PENHA – beginnings and core principles***

PENHA started as a regional network of professionals, collaborating to promote development in the pastoralist communities of the Horn of Africa. PENHA focuses on pastoralism, and the first task was to promote understanding of pastoralism as an economically rational and environmentally sound activity. PENHA also emphasized self-reliance, as opposed to dependency, arguing that the region and its peoples had the necessary human resources to shape their own development and that the people should not be seen as passive recipients of aid.

There were some core principles. Firstly, pastoralists, like African farmers, were rational economic agents, responding to incentives and making the best use of semi-arid environments. They were not ignorant nomads, randomly wandering around and hostile to any progress. They also have a body of indigenous technical knowledge, built up over centuries of experience. Pastoral peoples have developed a complex understanding of animal diseases, local fauna and flora, and of how these could be used to treat diseases. Local people have a better understanding of local conditions than any outside expert.

Accordingly, development agencies needed to work with people, in participatory ways. Solutions could not simply be worked out by experts in distant capitals and imposed on local people. Experts needed to collaborate with local people in a two-way learning process. PENHA aimed to combine grassroots work with research and policy work, so that each informed the other. PENHA's policy recommendations are based on an intimate understanding of the communities involved.

At the policy level, PENHA believed that African solutions needed to be developed, not just because Africans have a better understanding of the local context, but also because policies will not work if local people do not believe in them and "own" them.

### ***Influencing policy through advocacy and capacity building***

From the early 1990s, PENHA has worked with policymakers, development agencies and local organizations to provide insights that enhance programmes. PENHA worked with governments, delivering training for governmental staff and departments in Ethiopia and, in Eritrea, it undertook a number of studies on pastoral land tenure and on health in pastoral areas, which culminated in two major policy workshops. PENHA also trained several hundred middle and lower level ministerial staff members in resource management and land use planning, as well as conducting related training at the grassroots for community members.

Close personal and professional relationships were important to PENHA. Civil society and government were not seen as adversaries. A friendly chat with a minister might be more effective than a public challenge on a policy issue. A lot was accomplished behind the scenes, in collaborative ways as well as through formal channels. I will mention a few examples:

- Senior members of PENHA lobbied lawmakers in Ethiopia to include an article in the Ethiopian federal constitution (1995) which clearly 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. The implementation shall be specified by law"* (Article 40 number 5, 1995).
- PENHA trained more than 1,500 lower and middle-level government officials in several countries of the IGAD region, on topics ranging from general knowledge about pastoralism to more complex issues of range management, policy formulation in pastoral areas amongst others. Many such trainees now hold senior government positions, influencing policy practice in favour of pastoralists in their respective countries.
- PENHA has also provided technical and institutional support to emerging academic-cum-governmental institutions in introducing short courses or degree courses dealing with pastoralism. Mekelle University in Ethiopia and the Federal Ministry of Science and Technology in Sudan are examples.
- PENHA floated the idea of an Ethiopian Pastoralists' Day, later taken up by the Ethiopian Pastoralist Forum, and encouraged the government to back it.
- PENHA provided technical and institutional support for the establishment of the Ministry of Pastoralism and Environment in Somaliland. It went on to work with the government of Somaliland to draft a land tenure policy.

- In Uganda, PENHA staff worked with the Minister of Agriculture to draft a pastoralism policy document, after PENHA had held a regional policy workshop in Mbarara in 1999. PENHA formed working relationships with a number of influential politicians, strengthening their understanding of pastoralism and commitment to pastoral areas.

PENHA has a large group of high-calibre Horn experts and associates, who undertake consultancy assignments throughout the region, advising governments and donors to adopt more pro-pastoralist programme interventions. PENHA staff and associates have contributed their expertise, insights and advice to many of the pastoral development programmes across the region.

Working with others, and in national and international civil society forums, PENHA has helped to promote more favourable attitudes towards pastoralism among policymakers. At the same time, PENHA has helped to empower pastoralists themselves, with information, knowledge and skills. Particularly in Ethiopia, PENHA fostered the development of strong pastoral civil society organizations.

### ***Economic growth, social change and a modern pastoralism***

The 1990s brought improved governance and better economic policies. In the 2000s, with more openness to trade, investment and new technology, African economies began to grow. Sustained economic growth across Africa has raised living standards. New urban consumers, with new consumer tastes, provide markets for pastoral products – meat and milk. There are growing numbers of peri-urban camel milk suppliers, for example, in Ethiopia and Somaliland. Across the region, commercial producers are supplying processed and flavoured milk, and they buy large quantities of milk from pastoralists.

Voluntary and spontaneous settlement has fed the growth of rural towns and trading centres. Pastoral households are increasingly pursuing a mixed strategy, combining pastoralism with other economic activities – some children maintain the herds, while others look for jobs outside of pastoralism or pursue modern careers. Many pastoralists are choosing to settle. But others have been forced to settle, because they can no longer pursue their pastoral livelihoods. After several severe droughts in Somaliland, many pastoralists lost their stock and had to find new livelihoods. Many of these pastoral “drop-outs” burn trees to make charcoal for sale at local and regional markets. In Ethiopia, Afar pastoralists who have lost their land have also turned to charcoal production.

At the same time, the digital revolution is reaching rural areas, and transforming the lives of farmers and pastoralists – with mobile phones, mobile banking, satellite TV and greatly increased access to information. Networks will soon cover most pastoral areas. Pastoralists can now save money on their phones. In Kenya and Somaliland, livestock insurance schemes have recently been set up so that pastoralists can make monthly payments and receive payouts after drought hits, enabling them to re-establish their livelihoods. Mobile phone apps are being developed for animal health workers, and may soon help to greatly improve disease monitoring. Already, pastoralists are using their phones to find out on the availability of water and pasture in the next district.



### ***Gender and social change***

From the early 1990s, PENHA emphasized the need to promote gender equality. PENHA has put gender at the centre of its work, and women have played leading roles in PENHA. In 1998, Dr Hirut Terefe of Addis Ababa University, a senior PENHA associate, led a review of gender and development in pastoral areas that informed subsequent PENHA work. In projects across the region, PENHA has supported women's groups, with training and microfinance. These projects have helped women to increase their independent incomes, and, in some cases, helped to give them a stronger say in local affairs. A three-year regional women's economic empowerment programme with DANIDA delivered tangible benefits to women's groups in Somaliland, Sudan and Uganda. National policy workshops culminated in a regional policy workshop in Addis in 2012. Later, Everse Ruhindi of PENHA-Uganda presented a paper at the 2013 Institute of Development Studies (IDS) conference on Africa pastoralism, subsequently published in an IDS book.

PENHA has also worked with women leaders in politics and business. In Uganda, Hope Mwesigye occupied various ministerial posts and chaired PENHA-Uganda's advisory board. She led national programmes that empowered women, and helped PENHA to play a major role in extending these programmes to pastoral areas. Lessons from Uganda have helped to inform recent work in Somaliland on women in governance.

### ***Governance and pastoralist parliamentary groups***

Governance was an early concern. Sadia Ahmed of PENHA-Somaliland participated in a 1998 minority rights group conference on pastoralism and governance. After that, Abdi Umar of the Kenya Pastoralist Forum provided intellectual leadership for a push to engage pastoralists in politics.

PENHA worked with the pastoralist parliamentary groups of Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya. In 1999, Amsale Shibeshi of PENHA addressed the inaugural session of the Uganda pastoralist parliamentary group, and PENHA-Uganda began a long and close interaction with that body. In 2004, PENHA worked with the Natural Resources Institute (NRI) of Greenwich University on a study of pastoralist parliamentary groups in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. In Somaliland, Sadia Ahmed of PENHA conducted research in 2012 with the University of Pennsylvania on the role of traditional institutions in governance in Somaliland. A study on the role of women in politics has recently been completed.

### ***Regionalism***

Regionalism was another core founding principle of PENHA. PENHA saw the inherent value of promoting regional understanding, interaction and cooperation, at different levels. PENHA has always supported an open regionalism, with the various countries of the region open to each other and to the world.

PENHA believes in the value of a regional approach. Regional approaches help to foster a shared vision for pastoral development. They capture the regional nature of pastoralism, which necessarily operates across borders. In each country, the local context is very different, but there are some common issues. A regional perspective also makes a comparative analysis possible, helping to draw lessons for one country from experience in another. At the continental and global level, regionalism can strengthen advocacy efforts around common issues – together Horn of African pastoralists and their advocates can have a stronger voice.

In every IGAD country, pastoralists occupy border regions and pastoralists cross borders and this creates legitimate security concerns – Ethiopia and Kenya, in particular, have long, porous borders, which are crossed routinely by pastoralists, as well as by smugglers and insurgents. Last month, Sadia Ahmed of PENHA-Somaliland participated in a UN-ECA regional conference on these security issues.

For many years, PENHA wished to see the AU become a stronger, more cohesive organization. In recent years, PENHA made a small contribution to the development of the AU's pastoralism policy framework, providing various documents for the drafters. The AU has adopted an enlightened pastoralism policy that PENHA can back fully.

At the sub-regional level, IGAD has supported new efforts to promote coherent, or "harmonized", livestock policies. In the late 1990s, PENHA collaborated closely with IGAD on policy development, helping to draft policy documents on drought and desertification. PENHA continues to participate in a range of IGAD initiatives. Dr Tafesse Mesfin of PENHA-Ethiopia has been involved in the establishment of IGAD's Centre for Pastoral Areas and Livestock Development (ICPALD), recently set up in Nairobi as a centre of excellence on pastoralism. An IGAD representative participated in PENHA's 2015 regional conference on *Prosopis* management in Addis and PENHA participated in IGAD's regional conferences for civil society on its "resilience" programme.

For governments and NGOs, key international agencies – the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) – are important sources of expertise. PENHA is often a useful partner for these agencies, collaborating at the local level in project implementation, and providing policy insights. PENHA is an implementing partner for the FAO in Somaliland, helping pastoralists to participate in the development of a new land policy. In Ethiopia, Somaliland and Sudan, PENHA has been working with IFAD to address the issue of *Prosopis*. PENHA has just begun work on a two-year research project with Adigrat University, assessing the productive safety net programme in Ethiopia's Afar region.

PENHA has worked across the region for 25 years, building an intimate understanding of policy, practice and people in several countries. Over these 25 years, there have been dramatic changes in the Horn, as well as in the wider context, for development actors.

### ***Pastoralism and adaptation to climate change***

Tackling climate change is now at the centre of policymaking. PENHA has emphasized pastoral mobility as an effective response to erratic rains and more frequent drought. In 2011, drought hit every country in the Greater Horn at the same time – pastoralists moved with their animals, but could not find pasture. Even ranchers in the green parts of Western Uganda lost animals. How can we respond effectively to climate change? We do not have clear answers. But we are grateful to have here today Professor John Morton, former PENHA board chair, who has been working with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) on these issues.

### ***Challenges***

There are new challenges for PENHA and other development actors. These include: land grabbing by the powerful; the need for new policies on extractive industries (mining and oil exploration) that promote equity; the need to promote regional integration and trade with harmonized policies; as well as the need to address drought and climate change. What are the appropriate responses to these new challenges? And what kind of role can PENHA play in addressing them?

## Session 1: Putting pastoralism on the political map

**Chair: Dr Micheline Ravololonarisoa, International consultant on gender and development**

This panel session focuses on how pastoralism has become a mainstream issue and examines present opportunities and challenges in the political arena. How can we build a new fraternity, support the empowerment of pastoralist, and realign the discourse in the face of challenges, which include:

- Change in government policy/practice
- Change in discourse
- Change in global economy.

**Speakers:**

- Dr Angela Raven-Roberts, Visiting Fellow, International Gender Studies Centre, University of Oxford
- Professor John Morton, Head of Livelihoods and Institutions, Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich; PENHA Board Member
- Dr Zeremariam Fre, Director, PENHA; Lecturer, Development Planning Unit, UCL

## Pastoralism: politics, policy, practice and “performance” by Dr Angela Raven-Roberts

The launch of PENHA 25 years ago came at a critical point in history with:

- Political changes in the Horn of Africa and many other areas with pastoralist societies, such as Central Asia
- Scholarship and debates about pastoral livelihoods, environment, violent social change
- Emerging practices in humanitarian and development interventions
- New trade policies, global markets, and re-appropriations.
- Power and “performance” in the context of “transforming development”.

Pastoralism is becoming a mainstream issue, bringing challenges in the political arena with the politics of pastoralism, and policies that govern pastoralism, practice and performance.

The founding of PENHA came at a critical time in the history of the Horn with new opportunities and the opening-up of and transformation of spaces. Activists came together behind change and justice for Horn communities. There were issues of self-determination and recognition of livelihoods and identities - land to the tiller/herder towards land from the tiller/herder. How do we deal with the new (positive) politics of development? There were also steps backwards – how does the politics of change and liberation impact communities? It has often resulted in conflict/violent social change.

There have been other changes, such as emerging humanitarian and development practices and changes in pastoral practices. There has been the development of emergency guidelines – how pastoralism and animal health are affected during conflicts; how to integrate early warning systems (EWS) into government policies – and the setting up of standards. The political will to activate systems has been a challenge. For every innovation we need a politics of will, a political contract to respond, together with accountability by governments. There is often failure in the will to act.

There are innovative practices in cash, communication, and in more attention to gender (not just women), also in identities, masculinities. There is economic and social change under the impact of social transition with different members of communities taking advantage of opportunities, such as better milk marketing, etc. There are changes in a volatile global economy, where pastoralists are becoming more central – and peripheral communities are now central to development

Pastoral communities’ land and resources are however being expropriated and/or undermined to drive a new development agenda. How can these communities take advantage and have a right to have a say in the resources under their hooves? There are new regional scenarios in the Horn. There is rapid urbanization with networks of roads and railways being planned. How can communities take advantage of these developments?

There is also an effect on pastoralist communities in the diaspora, including conflict between clans. Communities in Australia buying cattle using their networks are exacerbating ongoing prices of dowry, rating systems etc., showing that the local is also part of global, and that the experts are the communities themselves.



Emerging issues include the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and UN commitments around climate change. What role is there for PENHA? Networking is an important part of PENHA with connections in the UK – friends, diaspora, and academia. The politics needs to be readvocated with more engagement with governments and donors – and the communities who have to continuously reassert their position.

## On governments' maps or in governments' sights? New patterns of control over pastoralism by Professor John Morton

*"To any planned, built or legislated form of social life, one may apply a comparable test: to what degree does it promise to enhance the skills, knowledge and responsibilities of those who are a part of it"*

*James C Scott*

### **Background**

There is an apparent growth in consensus among researchers, NGOs, donors, and governments in the 1990s around the essential rationality and sustainability of mobile pastoralism and the need for supportive policies. There are also increasing signs that governments are leaving this consensus, and/or being more explicit about policies to limit pastoral mobility, sedentarize pastoralists, and "modernize" pastoralism.

### **Why are governments doing this?**

- Old reflexes of control
- New landscapes of fear
- New opportunities in rangelands – minerals, large-scale land acquisition
- Concerns about the viability of pastoralism: recurrent crises, food aid dependency, conflict, demography, **climate change** – concerns are genuine but are being used tactically.

### **How are governments doing this?**

- Direct repression
- Projectizing pastoral development
- New rhetorics
- Control through climate policies.

### **Projectizing pastoral development**

There have been an increasing number of large-scale projects and programmes:

- donor-funded: Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) in Kenya, the Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP) in Ethiopia, etc.
- without donor funding: the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP) in Uganda.

These come with the distinctive paraphernalia of project management: Project management units (PMUs), log frames, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) components. This is not to decry these

projects or achievements, but to be aware that these have become **hybrid forms of governance** in their own right.

#### Rhetorics old and new

- Old rhetorics of civilization and settling down
- An emphasis on women and children
- Food aid dependency
- Long-time scales, endlessness, recurrence, and continuity
- Food security as the growing of crops.

#### Climate policies as control

- Concern with the impacts of climate change on pastoral livelihoods is a two-edged sword
- Additional concerns about responsibility of livestock keepers for greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions
- The Ethiopian Green Economy document shows the risks of climate response based on top-down control:
  - High levels of generality
  - Untransparent analyses and costings
  - A dehumanized language of undifferentiated livestock-keepers without agency
  - Unfeasible across-the board targets for species-substitution, productivity improvement, rangeland improvement.

#### ***What can we do? Some suggestions:***

- Provide locally-specific analyses of how power is functioning
- Support multiple and diverse strategies of advocacy and action, by and for pastoralists
- Take advantage of decentralization at appropriate scales
- Build flexibility into institutions.

## **Reflections on PENHA's 25 year journey and the search for future directions within the shifting paradigm in pastoralism by Zeremariam Fre**

PENHA prides itself on being the first African-led regional NGO, bonding people from the Horn of Africa across political, ethnic, ecological and socio-economic lines. It was founded in 1989 against a backdrop of instability and conflict in the IGAD sub-region, which perpetuated the underdevelopment of pastoral and other rural communities.

At that time, pastoral people lacked a voice. There were no regional or national pastoral civil society organizations, and there was no active engagement of pastoralists in policy development at government level. Academic and governmental institutions had little capacity - their priorities were in managing relief and rehabilitation programmes following the Sahelian droughts of the 1970s and 1980s.

Many conflicts came to an end in mid-1991, creating the right conditions for PENHA to seek Africa-centred solutions. As PENHA's founder, and with the support of like-minded academics and development experts from the Horn of Africa and elsewhere, we set out to identify strategies and policies that would ultimately empower pastoral people and state actors to improve the quality of life for pastoral people. Our mission was to 'to promote regional collaboration and restore hope and dignity' in a post-conflict Horn of Africa.

The lack of knowledge and awareness of pastoralism's contribution to local, national and regional economies was motivation to establish an African-led regional institute for pastoralism and the environment. We opened our first regional office at Addis Ababa University in 1993, keeping our London office so as to have some presence in the UK.

PENHA's institutional development has had two major phases. The first, from 1989 to 1998, saw a focus on policy research, publications, policy advocacy at many levels, regional networking, capacity building of local and national emerging government institutions, consultancies, and some capacity building support to community-based organizations in Uganda and Ethiopia. PENHA's central task during that period was to become a lead agency in promoting and transmitting new thinking on pastoralism at local, national, and regional level, using the office in Ethiopia as its main hub.

Our activities and outputs from this phase clearly indicated that PENHA was evolving from a regional network to a regional centre of excellence on pastoralism and environment, and we had a successful fundraising campaign in 1997. Unfortunately, in May 1998, the Ethio-Eritrea border conflict erupted, which had a detrimental impact on our work, forcing us to close the regional office, yet maintaining strong links with Ethiopian partners.

We had to review our strategic position to manage the crisis and so we adopted a country-focused programme approach, which was the beginning of the second phase. Between 2000 and 2001, we opened offices in Sudan, Somaliland and Uganda, while operating through our partners in Ethiopia and Eritrea. This positive experience brought us closer to the pastoral and agro-pastoral people at country level.

New challenges have been emerging over the last decade: climate change, population pressure, expanding urbanization and pressure from governments pushing for a settlement policy, mining activities, conflicts around land tenure rights, and regional and local security issues. These have brought new opportunities:

- 1) **Livelihood diversification:** Stronger urban-rural socio-economic linkages and increased livestock trade at local, national and regional level have brought a diversification of income to complement livestock production. A semi-sedenterized system has given rise to irrigated agriculture and seasonal employment, bringing expanding opportunities for women, such as trading and small-scale farming.
- 2) **Policy engagement:** Pastoral people are becoming more involved in political processes, with a voice in local and national government. They benefit from available government and NGO-supported social services, such as education and health.
- 3) **Communication:** Pastoral and other rural communities are benefiting from improved communication, infrastructure and access to markets, supported by the state, NGOs, multilaterals and the private sector.

These changes will continue to shape future trends in pastoralism and agro-pastoralism in the region and inform PENHA's new strategy and organizational vision.

To close, I would like to acknowledge the enormous social and human capital which has kept PENHA going for 25 years. We would not be where we are today without the dedication of all my PENHA colleagues, board members, volunteers and associates, as well as government officials, donors, international supporters, academic institutions, and partner NGOs and CBOs. Above all, I would like to pay tribute to all the pastoralist communities in the region whose struggles and optimism have inspired - and continue to inspire – PENHA's work.



## Session 2: Evolution of the pastoral economy

**Chair:** Dr Sara Pantuliano, Director, Humanitarian Policy Group, ODI

In this session, the speakers give their predictions on key economic trends for the next 25 years, covering a range of topics – from private sector links to the pastoral economy, from the diversification of employment to the importance of education.

**Speakers:**

Dr Clare Oxby, Researcher and Consultant

Simon Levine, Research Fellow, Humanitarian Policy Group, ODI

John Livingstone, Regional Policy Officer, PENHA

Dr Jeremy Swift, Pastoral Development Consultant

## The impact of Niger's mining industry on local pastoralists by Clare Oxbly

I've been asked to talk about – to predict – economic trends over the next 25 years. I'm not an economist – I'm a social anthropologist. So, I've just picked out three of the trends that I thought were going to be relevant. And I speak from more of a West African/Sahelian perspective, but I think many of the issues will echo what is happening in the Horn.

Uranium mining has resulted in the movement of 60,000 pastoralists to urban areas – but many will move back to the pastoralist areas if there is an opportunity to do to. The reason for moving is the lack of water – as well as the pollution of wells. However, the pastoralist economy still continues – the markets are still in place, a major pastoralist meeting takes place, and pastoralism is probably more sustainable than mining. It is not easy to visit the area – but there are many resources in the internet from local groups working in the country.

The impact of Niger's mining industry on local pastoralists serves as an illustration of three key trends over the next 25 years:

1. Formal alienation of pastoral lands
2. Urbanization / pauperization of dispossessed and displaced ex-pastoralists
3. Resilience of pastoralism as the way of life most suited to many geographical locations in the absence of huge and sustained inputs.



### **Cyclical change – recurrence, repetition and recovery from crises**

Number 3 seems to be run contradictory to 1 and 2. And so, rather than talking about an evolution, a linear development, in the case of pastoralism, it is more appropriate to talk about cyclical change. If you look back over the history, speaking from a Sahelian perspective, into the 19<sup>th</sup> century we have a lot of documentation on what we could call “crises”. They may be triggered by drought or political instability, often both together. In 1917, there was the effect of World War 1; in the 1970s, there

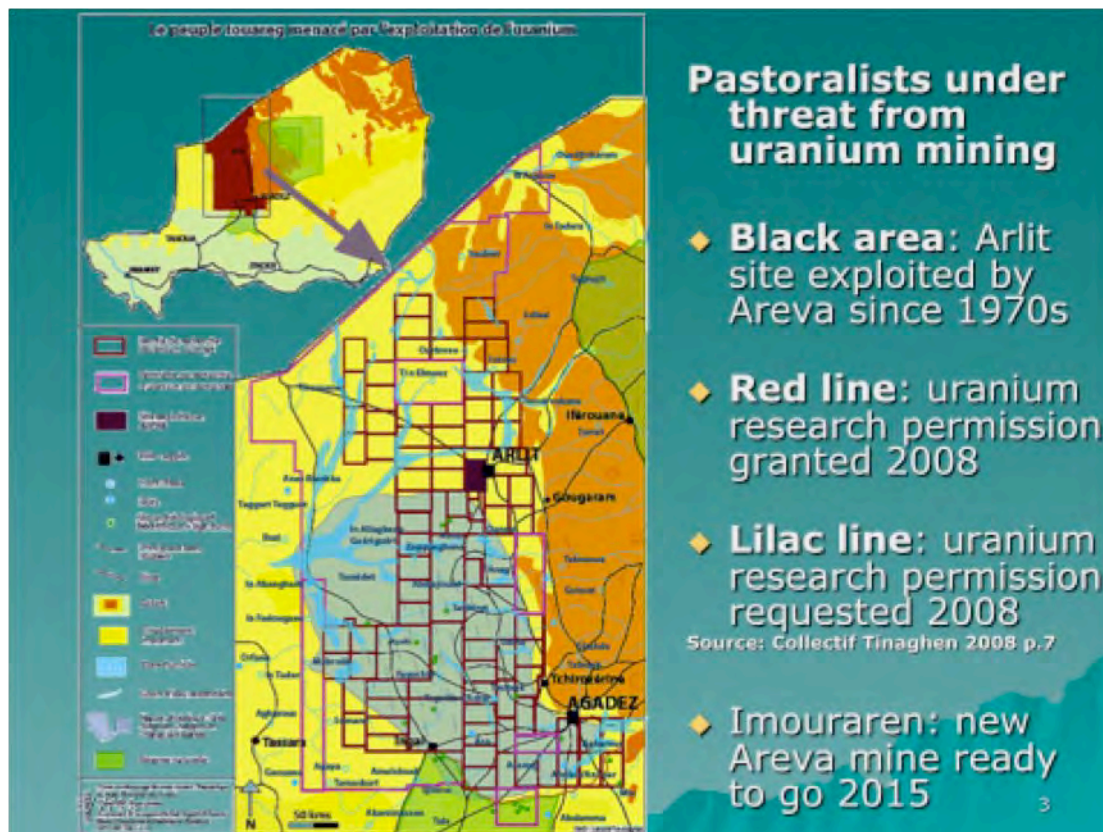
was severe drought and in 2007, there was drought again. There was a cyclical process. So, looking back over time, I suggest that when looking forward into the future, it is more useful to think about cyclical change – recurrence and repetition.

### Pastoralists under threat from uranium mining

I'm going to illustrate these three points by referring to some work that I've been doing with students and colleagues at the Institute of Social Anthropology at the University of Bern in Switzerland. They have been doing a number of case studies of the impact of mining on local communities and I am involved with the one concerning pastoralists, so I thought it would be appropriate to talk about this.

#### Trend 1 - the formal alienation of pastoral lands

The map below shows extensive areas of northern Niger taken up by mining concessions, to AREVA and other companies.



The area in green on the map shows the whole area allocated to a park – the Aïr and Ténéré National Nature Reserve. It gives an idea of the scale of the exploitation of uranium in Niger. The local people are Tuareg pastoralists. Agadez is in the centre of the country and we have Arlit, the centre of uranium production, which has been in progress since the 1970s. So, there has been a long history and big impact. This purple area (on the smaller map) is where all of the exploitation and impact is concentrated – a huge area which has been cleared of pastoralists. The mine is ready to start production as soon as the value of uranium on world markets improves. These are the homelands of the Tuareg and other pastoralists – the Kel Ferwan. And a lot of pastoralists come up

in the rainy season for the “cure salée” which is a big gathering of pastoralists. So, they are directly affected by these areas of land which have been allocated to mining concessions.

All of the squares on the map are to do with mining research and exploitation. And in many areas people have been asked to shift, to move away –and their migration movements have been distorted. I should mention that Niger is the third ranking world producer of uranium, and it supplies around 40 per cent of the uranium needed to fuel France’s fleet of nuclear reactors. So, mining is currently in expansion on this huge, new big site.

### **Trend 2 - Urbanization/pauperization of dispossessed ex-herders**

To illustrate the second trend, there is a lot of documentation on uranium-linked contamination and pollution. This is documented by local NGOs, and these reports have been summarized by Greenpeace. (Greenpeace (2010) *Left in the dust: AREVA’s radioactive legacy in the desert towns of Niger*. 4 May, 2010 and Greenpeace (2010) *Left in the Dust - Uranium Mining* [www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9bXNc1zygo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9bXNc1zygo)).

**Trend 2: Urbanisation / pauperisation of displaced ex-herders**

- ◆ Documented uranium-linked pollution
- ◆ Impact on local livelihoods
- ◆ Residents of N Niger miss out on mining jobs
- ◆ From rural independence to urban destitution

Recommended reading: Greenpeace 2010 'Left in the dust';  
Collectif Tinaghen 2008 'La malédiction de l'uranium:  
le Nord-Niger victime de ses richesses'

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There is quite a lot of documentation on:

- Water – the level in the wells has been depleted. Wells have been contaminated.
- Pastoralists have had to move away from certain wells that they used to use.
- The air – there is radioactive dust in the wind.
- Pollution of pastures.
- In terms of the earth, there is a use of recycled contaminated metals, which are sold on local markets – even things like cooking pots have been found to be radioactive.



There are huge health risks affecting the local population. The population at large does not have access to the hospitals for mine workers. The mine hospitals do not recognize any work-related illness. In 2005, there were allegations of misdiagnoses of uranium-linked cancers as HIV. In 2008, there was a counter-event to the World Economic Forum. This was called “Public Eye”. It meets annually in Davos, Switzerland. And two awards were given to AREVA, the French company involved, for the suppression of the true health conditions of uranium mine workers in northern Niger. In 2011, there were some improvements, but AREVA still denies any link between its mining activities and the health problems of local citizens.

So, in terms of impact on livelihoods, you can imagine – pastoralists have been moved away from certain zones near the mines. In terms of mining jobs, there is a phrase, “Jobs to local people”. This is a misleading phrase, as most jobs have not gone to local people who live in this area, but to individuals, particularly from the capital, Niamey, and other areas remote from the mines.

From rural independence to urban destitution – there has been a flow of ex-pastoralists into Arlit town. There are now 60,000 unemployed living in the shanty towns on the edge of town. Most of these are ex-herders from northern Niger. Meanwhile, the mine workers live in segregated housing, divided into different types - villas for expats, two-room accommodation for African employees, and dormitories for African workers, without electricity or water. However, pastoralism has not disappeared.

### **Trend 3 – Resilience of pastoralism**



Pastoralism is still alive and well. Indeed, livestock-based livelihoods are more resilient than livelihoods associated with uranium mining. The uranium jobs are risky. We have seen all the health

risks and others. They are precarious, for those lucky enough to get them. The jobs there are either without contracts or with very inadequate contracts, and they are dependent on external factors, beyond the control of local communities, such as the value of uranium on world markets. And so, they are subject to redundancies. Therefore, pastoralism remains the obvious long-term option within the reach of ordinary people in these locations.



Small market, Niger. Credit: Clare Oxby

Pastoralism is alive and thriving. The photograph above is unexpectedly green. It was taken in the rainy season, in what for most of the year would be a very arid and sparsely covered area – there would usually be scrub here. So, you do not usually get these pictures – but the same area renews itself in green every year. It is obviously difficult to travel. The roads have become mud during the rainy season. But small, weekly markets continue to thrive. So, although mining is threatening to pastoralism, pastoralism remains the most sustainable livelihood throughout many parts of northern Niger.

Pastoralists deserve wider publicity of the circumstances in which they are living. And they deserve our support. Pastoralism is not to be relegated to the past; it will continue to re-emerge as a key option for the future development of certain dry and inhospitable geographical locations – those vast, remote, and sparsely populated areas to be efficiently controlled by distant governments and international corporations intent on alternative visions of the future. It is the key to the future in certain locations of our planet. This is what we know as individuals who have experience of these areas. As such, pastoralism, pastoralists, and their community leaders deserve wide global publicity and support. This is the message that PENHA has been pioneering for over a quarter of a century. A

message that seems even more topical now than it did 25 years ago. So, congratulations PENHA! May your work go on – it is very much needed.

And to end, I would like to stress that the current growing impact of the mining industry on pastoralists worldwide, together with the little-known response of pastoralists and their organizations, is seen as a prime topic for future research, one that has been neglected for too long. Taking into account some of the current difficulties of travelling in places like Niger and Mali [where there are American and French military efforts to combat international terrorism and insurgencies], there is plenty of work that can be done from a base with a good internet connection. There is a lot of web-based research to be done, and there's a lot of linking up with pastoralists' organizations and people who have direct experience. People are also trying to present their views and publicize these issues –in the European Parliament, in the UN in Geneva. Students can be very important in reaching out to these people and carrying out analyses, I think John [Morton] said how important it was to give case studies of how power is implemented in various pastoralist locations. What does it look like from that perspective? This is what we can do, and this is a topic where this kind of research can be very well done, and is very much needed.

#### **A note on AREVA and uranium mining in Niger**

The issue was covered in a three-part Al Jazeera documentary, *Orphans of the Sahara* (January 2014). This also addressed the armed Tuareg rebellion and an Al-Qaeda suicide bombing that targeted the SOMAIR-operated mine in May 2013. AREVA operates two mines in northern Niger through SOMAIR and COMINAK, which employ some 7,000 people. AREVA issued a response to the Al Jazeera documentary contesting allegations about the local health impacts of its mining activities. AREVA is majority owned by the French state. Specialized in nuclear power and renewable energy, it operates in many countries, including in the UK ([niger.areva.com](http://niger.areva.com)). Under a renewed deal with the government, AREVA will spend £17 million on local development projects. ([www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/may/28/areva-niger-uranium-mining-deal](http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/may/28/areva-niger-uranium-mining-deal))



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## Some reflections on the evolution of the pastoral economy by John Livingstone

### ***Peace, property rights, specialization and productivity growth***

Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, argued that little is required beyond peace, easy (light) taxes and a tolerable administration of justice for a nation to go from poverty to prosperity. Across the region, we have been getting much more of these things, including better, tolerably good, governance. Property rights are more respected than before, with a diminished likelihood of seeing what you have worked hard to build up arbitrarily seized. On paper, at least, many governments now recognize that common property systems can also provide security property rights, and the incentives for investment and sound management. The move from subsistence to exchange to prosperity is based on specialization, which entails increased productivity and hence economic growth.

### ***An emerging modern and mobile pastoralism***

It has always seemed odd to me for whole communities to pursue one trade, or to be defined by one economic activity. Nevertheless, pastoralists are specialist livestock keepers, and they can continue to exploit the semi-arid rangelands. At the same, rural towns and the service sector can continue to grow, with women becoming nurses, teachers, professionals and entrepreneurs, as well as homemakers. Mobile pastoralism is compatible with modernity, and a new pastoralism that is both modern and mobile appears to be emerging.

Straight-line extrapolations into the future are usually unwise. Africa is rising, but it was also rising in the 1950s and 1960s, until everything changed abruptly. Looking into the future, we can imagine different scenarios for the continent and for pastoralism. A benign one involves continued economic growth, with positive social and economic evolution in pastoral areas, as they become more integrated with the national, regional and international economy, and with society at large.

The digital revolution is bringing about a transformation, and in parts of the region, pastoralists are connected, enthusiastically taking up mobile money services. There are great opportunities for the delivery of information, education and training, which can support the development of human capital and economic diversification.

### ***Defending the legitimacy of pastoralist livelihoods***

There has been a concerted attempt to defend the legitimacy of pastoral livelihoods. Pastoralism's significant economic contribution has been emphasized. But, large shares of GDP for subsistence-oriented production reflect the very small size of the region's economies. A 1986 FAO report defended pastoralism as a "job sink" – keeping large numbers of people employed who could not otherwise find employment in stagnant economies. Now, with growth and greater levels of education, knowledge, and skills, people can move out of pastoralism into modern jobs. A declining percentage of the population will be occupied in pastoralism and subsistence agriculture. Specialization and productivity growth should ultimately bring higher living standards.

Still, it is odd that we should have to defend the legitimacy of people's choices to pursue a particular livelihood or way of life - with central governments assumed to have the legitimacy to decide for others how they should make their living, and having the coercive power to enforce those decisions.

### ***Society, statism, corporatism and power***

The dominant view of development is based on an expansive view of the role of government – beyond classical economics' role for government as backer of the rule of law (based on widely accepted social norms) and provider of a limited range of public goods that the market under-supplies or does not supply. (China has appeared to offer an effective model of “state capitalism”.)

In pastoral societies, social norms and a set of beliefs have underpinned the functioning of an economic system. Knowledge and wisdom built up over the ages, through trial and error, strong social capital and the kinds of trust and kinship networks described by Avner Greif, have been interwoven into functioning pastoral systems. These pastoral systems have come under increasing strain because of the loss of traditional grazing land and as a result of population growth. As in governance and politics, scale presents problems of coordination. An evolution appears to be underway – perhaps towards a patchier system of local ad hoc agreements along the lines of what Elinor Ostrom described among different small communities managing open access resources, and preventing a tragedy of the commons. Pastoralists will have to engage in processes of dialogue with other economic actors, with private companies, and with local and central governments. (Surprisingly, leasing arrangements have yet to emerge as an important means of providing access to seasonal grazing. Here and there, pastoralists continue to barter with farming communities for occasional access, but there has not been a major shift to commercial leasing).

Somaliland is perhaps an example for pastoral communities around the Horn. It has a mixed economy in a semi-arid setting, with economic growth and diversification around growing towns and trading centres, for example, Hargeisa, Somaliland's capital, and Burao, its second city (around which the livestock trade revolves). Mbarara in Western Uganda plays a similar role, with the very significant difference that pastoralists there have lost their lands, and been displaced by wealthy ranchers.

Power is the principal factor here, often ignored by economists, but emphasized by some, notably Lawrence Haddad and Michael Green. In Somaliland, pastoralists are armed, and able to resist land grabs. Law-abiding gun ownership underpins pastoralists' freedom. Central government must negotiate with pastoralists. (In contrast, in Karamoja, widespread gun ownership has been associated with murderous lawlessness.)

Statism and a related “crony capitalism” (Joseph Schumpeter's coinage), as opposed to free enterprise, are emerging as threats to economic progress, and to equity. Political connections often determine the allocation of resources. Land grabs involve opaque deals that do not favour local people. This corporatism limits competition and slows growth.

### ***Cash transfers, extractive industries and “oil-to-cash”***

Cash transfers offer numerous advantages, empowering people and promoting choice. In dealing with extractive industries, one very promising policy option is “oil-to-cash”, advocated by Todd Moss at the Centre for Global Development (CGD). This involves avoiding the resource curse, and unduly

empowering central governments by distributing a substantial portion of oil revenues directly to citizens as cash transfers. Oil finds in the pastoral areas of Somaliland, Kenya and Ethiopia will in future benefit national economies, but will also displace pastoralists and undermine local livelihoods. Mobile phone payments make oil-to-cash a feasible option, putting money directly into people's pockets. Oil-to-cash is not likely to appeal to governments, but might get through in a competitive electoral process in which informed citizens are presented with a menu of options and civil society organizations help to make direct transfers to citizens an electoral issue.

### **Conclusions**

Power and politics will play big roles in determining the evolution of pastoral economies. Sustained economic growth will/would lead to a steady decline in the percentage share of the pastoral population, just as farmers have steadily declined as a share of the population in developed countries, while remaining important to societies and economies. But, in my view, there will always be pastoralists, as long as there are semi-arid regions that are less suitable for other economic activities. To borrow a phrase from Simon Levine of ODI – nothing works as well as pastoralism in the drylands.

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## Strengthening linkages between research and practice by Jeremy Swift

There are weak linkages between research findings and actual practice, and a gap between academic understanding and pastoral projects. For example, poverty is often not adequately defined in projects. The Turkana have several levels or kinds of poverty – lack of funds, lack of skills, and lack of knowledge – and these are not necessarily deficiencies of one group of people or individual. The Borana meet regularly to agree that some individuals who are poor are supported by other richer members of the community. This is often not recognized by outsiders.

We must learn from previous experience. Evaluations are now becoming more common – but there is a difference between “outputs” – what is done – and “outcomes” – the actual longer term benefits. The former is comparatively easy to measure – while the latter may take many years to measure and see.

Learning from other countries and other experiences is something that is far too often not happening. For example, Ethiopia and Uganda have taken a long time to learn from Ethiopia (and the PCDP) about drought control.

We started this conference with a list of PENHA’s successes, and I think that was impressive and important. I think that when talking of development organizations generally, there are three areas to pinpoint where I think we could do a bit better. The first is about **the link between research and practice**. Something we think about a lot. It seems to me that **research on pastoralism and work on pastoral project design are not well linked. There is a gap between academic understanding and development practice**. And, possibly, it’s getting worse.

The problem can be seen very clearly, for example, with respect to the definition of poverty. The tendency in development programmes is to identify the poor by a very simplistic mechanism – those on less than a dollar a day, or whatever. At the same time, research has shown how poverty is embedded in the social structure, how poverty runs through societies. I think of Vigdis Broch-Due’s work in Turkana, where the pastoralists have five or six different words for different categories of poor pastoralists. And I think that ranges from households with supportive lineages, households that have enough labour to do proper herding, to households with the necessary herd management skills. Those can still be poor, by accident or by attack by thieves or whatever. And those households have very little in common with households that don’t have enough labour, that are outside a proper lineage structure, that don’t have the skills – and yet those two categories, and categories in between, can easily be put together in a development project, based on some very simplistic way of measurement. But those categories, and indeed those between them, are equally liable to be targeted with credit, which may be appropriate in the first case I cited, and not at all appropriate in the second case. So, as far as poverty goes, I think we need to start bridging the gap between what the researchers are saying and what the project people are saying.

Another example, one of my favourites, is about the Boran, in Kenya and Ethiopia. As I understand it from Boran friends, (this is Kenya, not Ethiopia, but it should be the same in Ethiopia) most Boran lineages have a meeting every month, or once every three months, or every six months, and of the business that is conducted at these meetings is the identification of poor households, deserving poor households, but also the identification of those households, those richer households who are going

to help the poor households. Now, that coexists in the Boran areas of Kenya with development agency projects that are handing out money on a very simplistic poverty basis. That seems to me to be not very successful. I think this business of how you identify poverty, in pastoral areas, is very much a failure, one of many, I may say, of participatory project design. There's no reason why participatory project design shouldn't deal with the five or six categories of poor people in Turkana. It just hasn't happened. It's not really happening, and as a result, obviously if you ask the wrong question, you get the wrong answer. That's very straightforward.

Other areas where research seems to me to have got ahead of project practice ... is common property resource management. Elinor Ostrom, whose work has been mentioned, won a Nobel Prize for work on common property resource management. We maybe nod in the direction of Elinor Ostrom's work in much of the project design we do, but we don't really look at the detail and look at the conditions under which it works, and whether it works or whether it doesn't work, and we make sure it does work. The whole set of work on food security has lots of ... in the wake of Amartya Sen's work on entitlements, there's lots of work on food security which very often still doesn't get reflected in project design. Pastoral organization is a stalwart, a key part, of most project design. The whole of anthropology is about pastoral organization – nomadic pastoral anthropology is about pastoral organization - and I don't see that reflected very successfully in our work. And the whole question of geographical mobility and selective grazing is not at all reflected in project design.

So, I believe that project design has to catch up. Or the researchers have to do something slightly differently. I'm not quite sure which. We need to bridge that gap.

The second thing I want to say is about learning from past experience. It seems to me there's something of a failure in making pastoral development cumulative. We do things, sometimes we evaluate them, and then fail to learn from the evaluation – the lessons from the evaluation. Years ago, evaluations of pastoral projects were seen as dangerous; project partners would not like them. Most of the big agencies now do good evaluations, or they do evaluations, anyway, but I think we need more, and we need to learn from them. As far as pastoralists are concerned, we need some innovation in methods of evaluation. Because I don't think the methods of evaluation of many projects have been particularly successful in pastoral areas. But, particularly, something that occurs in all evaluations, but is particularly important in pastoral evaluations, is the whole question of the difference between outputs and outcomes. Project evaluations measure outputs – how many wells have been dug, how many millions of dollars in credit were handed out. Outcomes, improved well-being, and, dare I say it, improved happiness, are much harder to measure. And we don't know how to do that yet. But until we know how to do that in the specific context of pastoral projects, I don't think we're going to be able to say all that much about the success or failure of projects.

Another thing about evaluation is that it tends to look at the lifetime of the project or five years back. But, as we all know, anything that's worthwhile takes 50 years ... certainly 20 or 30, or 40 years, to actually work. So, if you're going to evaluate the real impact of a project, you have to evaluate it at regular intervals for a long time after the project is over, and you have to try to find a methodology for going backwards too. Unless we get the time horizon of these evaluations right, again, we're going to miss many of the key things.

And the last thing I was very struck by recently is about learning from other experiences. We appear to be very hesitant about applying the lessons of one model X on such and such a subject in country Y, trying that experiment in country Z. I'm not quite sure why it is, but we're not doing that. The best example that I know is the whole question of drought contingency planning in northern Kenya. Spectacularly, that could be obviously something where one would want to know what's happening over the border in Ethiopia or Kenya! Ethiopia has the PCDP, which is just implementing a drought contingency plan, and which is very similar to the one in northern Kenya. I believe they have the same designer. It has taken ten years for these proposals in Ethiopia to look at Kenya and say "is there something we can learn from Kenya, and others?" That seems to me to be outrageous. Because this is an urgent question and it relates to food security and famine. And these are lessons that could be available from Kenya, just over the border, in Uganda and Ethiopia.



## Future scenarios by Simon Levine

It has been predicted that in 25 years, the pastoralist population will have doubled, but will be producing about 10 per cent of the national income. There will be increasing urbanization. What do young people from pastoralist communities want? Many want to go to towns. At the same time, there will be market integration with the rural areas. What has kept the pastoralists going? Charcoal burning (mostly for export) – but most of the trees have been used up. *Prosopis Juliflora* will cover greater and greater areas and it will be impossible to move through because of its density.

How to deal with poverty in the pastoral communities? Some suggestions: develop urban-rural links to deal with the over population in the rural/pastoral areas. But most importantly develop the education of pastoralists- and this means more than just literacy but real learning - of knowledge.

Employment in the pastoral areas can be through communal lands, jobs from outside investment, or individual land ownership. Which way to go? There will be different answers for different areas - but some land will be very arid and so will be only realistic for pastoral/mobile types of grazing.

I'll be very brief. I learned a long time ago, studying philosophy, never answer a question - always question the terms in which the question was put! So, I was a good student, I'm going to do that.

### ***Why is pastoralism an "ism" – normative statements and judgemental attitudes***

Why is pastoralism an "ism"? Farming isn't an 'ism'. Working in the hotel trade isn't an "ism". Hairdressing isn't an "ism". Why is pastoralism an "ism"? Because it gets just that little bit too normative. We're a little judgemental. We have "pure pastoralists" - real pastoralists, true pastoralists. We don't say in this country that someone is a real farmer only if they plough using an ox, and only plant varieties and crops which were planted a hundred years ago. So, I'm a little bit worried about this. I got into trouble once - I wanted to use the word "reification" in one of my papers. I got into a lot of trouble for that! But the reason, it's kind of this "**thing**" called pastoralism. It makes you very, very judgmental. Not only do **we** talk about "pastoral drop-outs", **they** use the word "pastoral drop-outs"! We were doing some research in the Somali Region in Ethiopia this year, and this woman was saying she's a pastoral drop-out. She has a couple of shops and a very profitable tea shop. She is about to open a second one. More interestingly, she was born in town. She was not someone who had had a herd and then chose a better way of life. "I'm a pastoral drop-out". Does that work?

### ***"The pastoral economy" or the living standards of people in the drylands?***

I'm actually not so interested in the evolution of the pastoral economy. And I don't think that any of us should be! I think we should be much more worried about the lives of people who live in the drylands, the semi-arid lands, whatever we want to call them, where traditionally, until now, livestock keeping, extensive livestock keeping, has been the dominant part of the economy.

### ***Some speculative predictions***

I can make some very, very confident predictions about what it is going to look like in 25 years' time. Very confident because none of you will find me in 25 years to tell me I'm wrong, or even remember what I said!

#### **Population growth and urbanization**

First of all, in 25 years' time, let's just get a basic reality check, the population will have doubled, at least, on current growth rates. Now, I know that the term "carrying capacity" has been quite correctly critiqued. But that does not mean that you can put any number of livestock in a limited area and expect them to thrive. So, we know that the number of livestock that can profitably be kept is not going to go up and up and up. Some might argue there's already too many. But we do know that, at the very, very least, livestock keeping is going to be only half as important in those areas as it is today. Maximum! That's without even taking into account the economic growth which has already been mentioned.

So, probably, the livestock might be 10 per cent of the economy in the semi-arid lands, in what we still like to call the pastoral areas. There is obviously going to be a lot of urbanization. We have not had (large-scale) urbanization yet. We have just had collections of "drop-outs". But, I think, finally, in 25 years' time we might kind of recognize these settlements as being urbanization!

#### **Urban marginalization or social and economic integration?**

What is going to happen there? Now this is where my crystal ball is a bit foggy. There are two possibilities here. One is, we could get some seriously discontented people. Urban marginalization is far more dangerous than rural marginalization, where pastoralists are in isolated areas. When you start getting urban populations who are unhappy and resentful - security issues, conflict issues arise. That's one possibility. On the other hand, there are maybe glimmers of an idea that through urbanization we will actually start to get much better integration in society at large; much better growth and a stimulation of the economy. So, I'm not sure which way that one is going to go.

#### **Charcoal production and The Lorax**

There is actually another question which I think we have not really asked properly. And if we are interested in pastoralism, we ought to be much more concerned about that. Charcoal kept the so-called pastoral economy alive for the past ten years. Now there are not many trees left in the Horn of Africa, because they've all been cut down, burnt, and shipped over to the Gulf. What is going to happen when the last tree is felled? Has anyone read "The Lorax"? The last tree gets chopped down, and that's it. Suddenly gone. ("The Lorax" is a 1971 Dr Seuss children's book with a strong environmentalist message.) What happens when the last tree is chopped down? And there is no more charcoal. Because that is how people got by. That is where they got their money. It has been their coping strategy. So, I am a bit worried about that one.

### **The next generation and their aspirations**

25 years is at least a generation, so, we're talking about a situation where the current heads of the family are gone, and the next generation, the youngsters, are moving up. What do they want from their future? There is kind of an assumption that they obviously want to follow in their parents' footsteps – it is a traditional way of life. Some interesting recent research, a couple of years ago now, in the Horn, not in West Africa, looked at aspirations. And when they spoke to young people, the words "cow" and 'camel" were conspicuous by their absence. "Hairdressing" cropped up a few times, from the girls. "Town" cropped up an awful lot. But do the youngsters actually want this lifestyle? A lifestyle of wandering around, without television, without entertainment, without whatever. If you have grown up with it and want it, wonderful. But I am not sure that the next generation are going to want to carry on this so-called traditional pastoralism, and that might completely revolutionize where things go.

### **Land – enclosure and acquisition by foreign and domestic investors**

When it comes to land, my crystal ball is pretty clear on this one. Almost all the land will have been enclosed in 25 years' time. Some of it will have gone to international investors. An awful lot of the push for enclosure, as we know, comes from so-called pastoralists, individuals, who are enclosing it for themselves.

### **Indigenous reservations?**

Are we going to get the governments adopting a model that has been used very, very successfully by the Western countries, particularly the US and Australia – the creation of reservations. And they are going to be kept partly because there is going to be some kind of token pressure from the West. They are also really good for tourism – people like taking photographs of people who look different. So, we are going to get some of that.

### **Social stratification and the use of technology by wealthy livestock owners**

That does not mean that livestock is not still going to be profitable. Because, as we know – "arid lands, livestock works", extensive grazing. But, we already see this is becoming increasingly commercialized. We already know that most of the livestock are not held for "traditional" purposes – it is not subsistence any more. The people who are herding are very often paid to herd – to look after huge herds which belong to the rich. And we know that the world is getting, in every country, in every way, more unequal - assets are increasingly in fewer and fewer hands. And I see no reason why this will be different over time, in pastoral areas. So we are going to get huge herds.

But technology comes in – we have heard about satellite phones and drones. It's not 25 years – in two years' time, for US\$50, you can buy a nice little drone, strap a little webcam/sat phone to it. All those traditional knowledge networks for knowing where it rains – with this you can send your drone off, it can zoom around and you know exactly where your livestock are, exactly where the pasture is, and you are sending orders to your herders. And you know what, you don't need to be anywhere near – you could be actually sitting in the south of France!

### **Better market integration and participation in value chains**

But, that is going to go hand in hand with market integration. We have seen the beginnings of this and there is some very interesting work going on in Kenya, trying to link up so-called pastoral production systems with, say, ranching, so that in a time of drought, it might be possible to get much better market integration. So, you have meat export, meat processing, ranches - lots and lots of win-wins for everyone along the chain. I think this is a really great direction to go. But, I think it is going to go hand in hand with commercial extensive grazing. Now, that is also going to happen to small-scale agriculture.

### **The impacts of climate change?**

And again, this is where my crystal ball slightly failed me. With climate change, no one quite knows – everyone goes, “Oh, climate change, it’s not going to rain as much.” But, we know that is not true. We don’t know this one yet.

### **Water scarcity and *Prosopis juliflora***

There are two huge threats to the small-scale agriculture that we know that pastoralists actually get most of their food from – not from their livestock at all – certainly in many countries. One is water. Never mind that water is going to be more and more captured for commercial use. And the other one is *Prosopis*. I don’t know if it is a problem in West Africa? But *Prosopis juliflora*, mesquite, a wonderful tree in its right place, has been introduced into East Africa. Hundreds and hundreds of square miles are completely impenetrable. Livestock can’t get through. People can’t get through. It spreads like wildfire. (Or wildfire spreads like *Prosopis*, I guess!) And we do not know what to do about it.

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## Session 3: Pastoralism and the environment: adapting to shocks

**Chair:** John Plastow, Programme and Policy Director, CARE International; PENHA Board Chair

This session considers issues relating to climate change, rangeland management, and responding to emergencies.

What are the negative and positive impacts of climate change in the pastoral space - pastoralists are great adaptors to the environment. Are pastoralists expert navigators of accelerated change as a result of climate variability? Or is climate change pushing pastoralists over the edge of what they can reasonably manage?

### **Speakers:**

- Dr Camilla Toulmin, Senior Fellow, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)
- Dr James Bennett, Senior Lecturer in Environmental Studies, Coventry University
- Nick Pasiecznik, Independent consultant, Agroforestry Enterprises
- Amsale Shibeshi, Regional Programme Coordinator, PENHA

## Climate change and local governance by Camilla Toulmin

I would like to wish PENHA a very happy birthday and say how fortunate we were to have Zeremariam visit IIED 25 years ago to ask for some moral and financial support to help set up this emergent idea of a network on pastoral development. We luckily managed to provide PENHA with a small grant from BandAid to get it moving. It is tremendous to see what has happened to PENHA over the last 25 years in terms of the maturity, the agenda, the activities, and the outcome.

I'd like to speak a little about the work my colleague Ced Hesse is carrying out in northern Kenya, as well as some work in West Africa, in the Sahel in particular.

Climate change is a mixed picture. It is not happening in isolation but alongside a whole set of other important drivers of change, such as

- large-scale land acquisitions
- vulnerability of pastoral lands/common property resources with weak legal status
- spread and investment in large new irrigation systems with devastating consequences for high value flood pasturelands which are a small but key element in pastoral systems
- conflicts / militarization of pastoral zones (in particular in West Africa) creating barriers to the free movement of people and livestock in those spaces.

So if climate change alone is not enough of a challenge, other things weave in to make that tapestry more complicated.

Climate change brings losers on one side and winners on the other. In eastern Niger, what was Lake Chad – where fishermen earned their livelihoods – is now a wonderful grazing area where pastoralists come in large numbers. In this case, the pastoralists are the winners. There are also a whole range of opportunities that open up around the security and militarization agenda as well. In Mali, for example, there are new opportunities to earn money through kidnap and smuggling and joining various armed groups, and that is what some young men are choosing to do.

Creative diversification is a big opportunity, such as farming fish on the edge of the desert. In the north of Mali, large landscapes are providing means to generate additional incomes from fish farming because despite the fact that the land is flat, you can dig out depressions and capture water over the rainy season for 4-5 months and now significant amounts of money are being made by pastoralists and local villagers in the management of these ponds for fish.

Local government officials and local pastoral population are now coming to a common understanding of the area under the local government jurisdictions; they name and categorize different form of land forms, water sources, get a shared understanding and mutual respect. Local government officials see how resources are seen by local users, and this feeds into the development of local management plans (local conventions in Mali).

In northern Kenya, IIED is trying to test out how to demonstrate local management and local governance of a small county-level fund that will show how local people can prioritize and deliver on a whole set of investments around building greater resilience to climate impacts. We can see from several years' work of this fund and similar funds in northern counties of Kenya, that you can get

powerful stories of the benefits from the investment of small sums both for technical purposes, such as digging out water ponds, but also investment in some of the software of development, around local institutions for managing and controlling access to grazing lands and water. There is a short piece available on the Imperial College journal ANGLE that summarizes the lessons so far in investing in local institutions. <http://anglejournal.com/article/2015-06-investing-in-institutional-software-to-build-climate-resilience/> In terms of numbers, for a rough and ready rate of return, if you invest 1 K/Sh in local institutions, you get 50 K/Sh back in terms of the value of product that has been protected by those institutions.

How to strengthen that local governance both in terms of resources and in these small investment funds? We are trying to develop a simple blueprint so that when the Green Climate Fund (GCF) is operational, we will be able to show from the cases in Kenya, northern Tanzania, Senegal and Mali that some part of the GCF needs to come down to local level, and that there are mechanisms and processes that can guarantee effective and accountable delivery that builds resilience for people in that locality.

A recent publication, *Valuing Variability*, celebrates variability rather than mastering and managing it. Pastoral are past masters in making the use of variability partly through mobility.

#### RELATED

Toulmin, C., Hesse, C., Tari, D. and King-Okumu C. (12 May 2015) *Investing in institutional 'software' to build climate resilience*.

<http://anglejournal.com/article/2015-06-investing-in-institutional-software-to-build-climate-resilience/>

Krätli, S. (2015) *Valuing variability: new perspectives on climate resilient drylands development*.

<http://pubs.iied.org/10128IIED>



## Adapting to environmental change in pastoral areas by James Bennett

Environmental change is having an enormous impact on pastoralists globally. In its broadest sense this involves changes in both the physical environment (climatic patterns and rangeland vegetation) and associated changes to social systems (local institutions and related management strategies). It is important to understand both components and how they interact as part of a linked social-ecological system to effectively outline how pastoralists are adapting to change in both the short (shocks) and longer term. The focus of this reflective piece will be on southern Ethiopia. In particular, it will use a case study of Borana pastoralists on the Liben Plain to document the widespread social-ecological change that has occurred and the adaptations to the management system that pastoralists have made.

Regionally, the climate has changed fundamentally over the past 50 years. Data from 1965 show a significant ( $p > 0.05$ ) decline in rainfall overall with significant decreases in both the long (March-May) and short (October-November) rains. There have also been a number of broader-scale policy-driven changes in land use including the provision of permanent water and other infrastructure, proliferation of arable cropping, redrawing of the regional state boundaries resulting in loss of grazing land and a ban on the use of fire for vegetation management. Concomitant with this has been a doubling in the local population over the past 20 years. This has induced changes at the local landscape scale, most notably a decline in available grazing land, a decline in palatable grass species and grass biomass and an increase in the occurrence of invasive bushes.

These changes have had a fundamental impact on the way the rangeland is managed. Due to the presence of permanent water, the Liben Plain has now switched from being a key grazing resource during the wet season to being grazed primarily during the dry season. Where movement off the plain does occur it is now less extensive than previously and is less effectively coordinated. Aba didas (traditional leaders coordinating grazing) still attempt to manage grazing but their directives are increasingly ignored by local people, who either follow historical grazing patterns or maintain livestock on the plain throughout the year. Accompanying these changes in grazing management has been a general intensification of the production system. There has been increased adoption of enclosures (*kallos*) to conserve forage (widely documented in other studies from southern Ethiopia) and greater reliance on crop residues to support livestock during the dry season. There is also increasing adoption of camels over cattle by pastoralists as these are perceived as being more resilient in the face of increasingly frequent drought conditions and are also better adapted to the more limited forage resources available, giving better yields of milk and decreased calving rates.

The Borana in the local area now exist primarily as sedentary agro-pastoralists. In considering the opinion of Stephen Sandford that this is an inevitability for all pastoralists, it would be interesting for the session to reflect on the potential for:-

- greater mobility in the system involving reciprocal grazing arrangements between different districts (and even regional states)
- more effective co-management of resources between state (peasant associations) and traditional authorities
- the increasing role of enclosures in pastoralist grazing systems and how viable this is
- the role of the state in supporting pastoralists (providing more secure land rights, which might limiting the potential for policies supporting “land grabs”).

## *Prosopis* – a curse or an opportunity? by Nick Pasiecznik

A lot of the deserts were savannah. Droughts led to deforestation and a fuelwood crisis. In 1980s research programmes were set up to look for the most drought resistant trees in the drylands and plant many different species. There is now a million hectares of self-propagating forests in the Horn of Africa, growing at 5-10 per cent a year. We have *prosopis juliflora*, a plant which has been introduced from Peru and is growing at a rate of 5 to 10 per cent a year. However we do not have the indigenous knowledge. The issue is proper rangeland management. People are saying it's a threat – in fact it's a huge opportunity. *Prosopis* can be used to make charcoal and timber. It is a food source, fodder, a gum. It is replacing the native acacia. *Prosopis* is a resource for the future. There is a need to develop associations – people need to organize themselves around developing it, as well as controlling the level of spread.

PENHA can facilitate these transformations. Women have a big role to play. In Somaliland, most of productive land is affected by *prosopis*. The community has formed cooperatives since eradication is very expensive; women's groups use *prosopis* for school feeding programmes, furniture, etc. There is not enough input and training on how to make best use of it. PENHA has a huge role to play.



Pastoralist woman with *prosopis*, Somaliland. Credit: PENHA

For more information on *prosopis*, see: [www.penhanetwork.org/prosopis-global-scale](http://www.penhanetwork.org/prosopis-global-scale)

See also [Exploring Prosopis Management & Policy Options in the Greater Horn of Africa](#) - proceedings of a regional conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 26-27 November 2014, organised by PENHA with the support of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and in collaboration with the University College London (UCL) and the Ethiopian Agro-pastoral Development Association (EAPDA) ([www.penhanetwork.org/penha-ifad-prosopis-regional-conference](http://www.penhanetwork.org/penha-ifad-prosopis-regional-conference)).

## **PENHA's approach to livelihoods, women's empowerment, and resilience**

### **by Amsale Shibeshi**

Resilience is the enhanced ability to withstand to drought (“shocks” like floods, and climate change). Building resilience involves strengthening pastoral livelihoods, as well as diversifying livelihoods. Strengthening pastoral livelihoods involves: land tenure policies that ensure pastoral mobility; improved environmental management, animal health services, marketing infrastructure, financial services and livestock insurance. Strengthening alternative livelihoods involves: the provision of financial services and access to vehicles for saving, such as organized women's groups; the provision of productive assets (tools and equipment); and the provision of training; as well as policies that promote access to business and economic opportunities. PENHA has been involved in activities at the grassroots and policy levels that help to strengthen and diversify livelihoods.

#### ***Penha activities***

After the region-wide drought of 2011, there was a push to come up with better ways of dealing with drought, and to strengthen “resilience”. PENHA participated in regional workshops with IGAD with the goal clarifying the ideas behind it. One aspect is that new approaches aim to involve people as active agents of change, not passive beneficiaries, and this is very much in line with PENHA's philosophy. PENHA has always promoted bottom-up, as opposed to top-down approaches.

PENHA-Somaliland, from 2001, has been doing development work with pastoralists, local organizations and women's groups. After the 2011 drought, we emphasized on humanitarian work: food-for-assets and cash-for-work projects, and building soil bunds and other rural infrastructure. PENHA implemented projects, with ILO and FAO, under DFID's SEED program in Somaliland. Cash-for-work programs in drought affected areas employed people on infrastructure projects – building roads and environmental infrastructure, such as soil bunds. In theory, these will bring lasting benefits and strengthen local economies.

#### ***Pastoral mobility and resilience***

Mobile pastoralism is the best way of coping with semi-arid, drought-prone environments. But, many pastoral areas have become dependent on regular food aid programs. A number of factors have weakened pastoralists' resilience, including: the loss of traditional grazing land; restrictions on pastoral mobility, and population growth. Also, when severe drought hits the whole region at the same time, even pastoral mobility cannot prevent large livestock losses, with human suffering and the loss of livelihoods.

Pastoralism survived the 2011 drought. Many lost their livestock, their livelihoods, and dropped out of pastoralism. In Somaliland, environmentally destructive charcoal burning provided many with new livelihoods. But, most pastoralists were able to build their herds back up. Pastoralism has demonstrated its resilience – large herds, mobility and strong social capital helped people through.





Pastoralist woman with camel, Somaliland. Credit: PENHA

### ***Women, economic diversification and resilience***

Pastoral women are beginning to play a greater role in the economy and in public affairs. Pastoral women generally own small stock and run retail and tea-shops in rural settlements. Many earn good incomes marketing goats and sheep.

Population pressure and drought-related livestock losses are pushing many pastoralists to settle. For many ex-pastoralist women settling has brought poorer nutrition, un-rewarding work that is dis-empowering, and a constant struggle to provide the basics for their families. Still, more settled lives and economic diversification can also bring new opportunities for women. PENHA has promoted enterprise and income-generating activities for women, providing finance, grants for revolving funds and productive assets, and business skills training. PENHA provided women's groups with grants to kick start revolving funds to support livestock marketing (fattening and sale of sheep and goats) and a range of small enterprises. Increased incomes have raised women's profile in the communities and in some areas this has helped women to gain a greater say in local decision-making.

Fodder production is becoming increasingly important for pastoralists. PENHA has trained cooperatives and women's groups in Somaliland in hay-making. In agro-pastoral communities, hay is produced for sale to migrating pastoralists and to traders, who sell hay to livestock markets and

holding grounds. In Somaliland, hay sales serve livestock markets in Djibouti and Berbera ports, where livestock are exported to the Gulf. Hay production is highly profitable, and hay making also helps to maintain pastoral herds through the dry seasons.

However, when drought hits, or during severe dry seasons, pastoral households move away in search of pasture, and there are no customers for local businesses. Resilience will come when local people have access to financial services, and are able to save cash so that they can get through hard times. Earlier this year, PENHA-Somaliland participated in a workshop with Tawakul, an insurance company that offers services to pastoralists. This is one of the most promising recent developments.

## **Session 4: Pastoralism into the future: looking ahead to the next 25 years**

**Chair:** Professor Katherine Homewood, Professor of Human Ecology, UCL

This session looks forward to the next 25 years - exploring the paradigms of pastoralism, opportunities for youth and women, education, the changing face of pastoral civil society, and the role for actors such as PENHA. Speakers also reflect on the day's proceedings and draw out key themes that emerged.

**Speakers:**

- Dr Jeremy Swift, Pastoral Development Consultant
- Yusuf Dirie, Tutorial Fellow in Innovation, University of Sussex
- Dr Zeremariam Fre, Director, PENHA; Lecturer, Development Planning Unit, UCL
- Izzy Birch, former East Africa Regional Pastoral Programme Coordinator, Oxfam



## The future of pastoralism from an economist's point of view by Jeremy Swift

It seems to me that a lot of the things that we've talked about at this conference could usefully be brought together in the form of a few future models of pastoral livelihood systems, given likely events in the environment that surrounds them. Let me give you an example of what I'm thinking about. If we take the Sahel, there are a lot of things going on. There are key drivers of change that we have discussed – there's population growth, there's growing urbanization. We could look at that in various ways, but perhaps the best, the most interesting way, is to look at the economics of it, from a pastoralist's point of view.

Urbanization is proceeding very fast. Pastoralists are going to towns. One consequence of rapid urbanization is an even more rapid growth in demand for meat and milk. So, potentially, for Sahelian pastoralists there are good possibilities. Now some of that is vulnerable to a whole lot of things. It is vulnerable to features of the macroeconomic environment. For example, Australian meat producers may start delivering frozen lamb to Sahelian towns. It's happened before and it could happen again. Natural resources, environment – we've talked about some of those things. We've talked about common property resource management. We've talked about enclosures or exclosures. We've talked about competing demand for land for irrigation schemes. But there's a governance environment. The question of local governance, we've talked about that, about decentralization, and so on. And there's a communications environment, we've just mentioned, briefly, about telecommunications and the role of the web, and of mobile phones.

There's also something that we haven't talked about, or not very much, which is the security environment. And there's an elephant in the room, which is the whole potential impact, or the actual impact, of Jihadism and terror on pastoral societies. I don't know if somebody has got a clear view of this. I certainly don't. But, there are pastoralists who have certainly been removed from very large areas of Sahelian countries, and they will go on staying away until somehow the Jihadist problem is solved.

Now, I would have thought that taking those sorts of likely environmental actions, we could put together a series of models of pastoral livelihood systems which would then help very much in planning and we could fit in the various things we've talked about into that kind of framework. Because what we need is to stop or slow down the way we talk about pastoralism in a very general way, and reduce it to very specific environments, with specific economic and political situations. Pastoralists are highly varied, and we need to take that into account. And we also need to take into account the whole range of forces that are acting on pastoralism at the moment. I think the discussion we have had today shows rather admirably how, what a broad variety of forces people are interested in and know about. And I think we need to try and capture these and that would be, as far as I'm concerned, a useful way forward.

## **Pastoralism into the future: looking ahead to the next 25 years by Yusuf Dirie**

Firstly, I'd like to thank Zeremariam for the invitation. I'm not only honoured, but I'm quite humbled, because when I was looking at the list of the other speakers, there was that moment when I thought: "I have done nothing with my life!" I was also set the task of trying to think not only about the legacy of PENHA, but what the future could be in terms of pastoralism – thinking about it into the future.

As some background, I came to the study of pastoralism, not through a direct way. I'm of Somali origin, born in Mogadishu, so I'm Somali. But I was raised in West London – in Shepherd's Bush (and this is one of my mother's jokes). I remember when it came time to do my PhD and I said that I wanted to study pastoralism, the first thing that my mother said to me was, "why pastoralism? You know more about fish and chips than you do about camel milk!" And that was the first lesson that I ever got in terms of understanding the location about which one speaks. I grew up on very romantic stories of pastoralism. There was this idea that there was a great deal of freedom, we used to move around, we didn't have to worry about rent, etc. These were wonderful stories. Then I started to read policy documents on pastoralism, and the stories I grew up with didn't match. So, in my PhD, what I've tried to effectively do is not directly study pastoralists, being conscious of the fact that I know much more about fish and chips than I do camel milk, but rather look at debates about pastoralism, such as that of the 1980s (we talked earlier about this idea of the "new thinking"). A great deal of new thinking took place, but it wasn't that new for pastoralists! But from a policy point of view, there was great deal of new thinking that took place. And the question bugged me and it's still driving me as I hope to complete my PhD.

There is all this evidence that has been collected and today has been a wonderful example of the depth of knowledge, the complexity, the uncertainty, and the whole dynamic, of the study of pastoralism. Why is it that, from a policy perspective, pastoralism is often still put together as this homogenous lump of something that needs to be modernized – this idea of pastoralism as a single identity?

So, the background I come from is science, technology, policy. The question that I got asked in order to prepare for this conference was, "what do I think PENHA needs to do as the next steps for the next 25 years". So I'm going to go the long way round, to attempt to get to the answer to that. So by the end of it, if I haven't answered that question, I do apologize.

### ***Pastoralism into the future: looking ahead to the next 25 years***

Firstly, what PENHA needs to do now is to try to combat the linear narratives of progress that still dominate a lot of development debates when it comes to Africa. What do I mean by "linear narratives of progress"? The realities of progress are that at any given time there exist multiple different pathways for potential change. But what you often see is that those that are followed are those of privileged powerful interests. And often you see these paradigmatic positions pop up. So, this idea of moving from underdeveloped to developed, this idea of going from traditional to

modern, doesn't capture the complexity of what is actually happening. And the reason that I think that is, is that often, like the linear narratives of progress, we have been reduced down to this very linear narrative, not just of progress, but also of time.

### ***Before-and-After***

There is this idea that there was a "before" and that there's an "after" – and that "after" is a modern future. And it becomes this question of "how do we become modern?" What does it mean to be modern? And I think this is one of the questions that pastoralism is very much grappling with, as well as those who study pastoralism. And what you often have is questioning this idea of who are the contemporaries; who gets to imagine what the future looks like? Because often when you see characterizations of pastoralism as this traditional, backward thing, what is actually being said is that pastoralism is an anachronism to modern life – it belongs in the "before". It's a stage of civilization that has ultimately been overcome, and in order to move into the future, there is not a lot of time for it.

*"There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress."*

United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs.  
Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries, 1951

The above is a quote from the United Nations which says that progress means uncomfortable change. It's from 1951. But it's still valid and shows why this kind of thinking still pops up. This is what I mean by a very linear narrative of progress — this idea that there is an "after" towards which we need to try and transition, and many people just aren't willing to try and make that transition, so they must have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. So the part I want to focus on is what does this "after" look like?

### ***Socio-technical imaginaries***

*"...collectively imagined forms of social life and social order reflected in the design and fulfilment of nation-specific scientific and/or technological projects. Imaginaries in this sense, at once describe attainable futures and prescribe futures states believe ought to be attained...Such visions, and the policies built upon them, have the power to influence technological design, channel public expenditure, and justify the inclusion or exclusion citizens with respect to benefits of technological progress."*

Jasanoff and Kim (2009)

The key thing that I find interesting is that the way we think about the future is very much linked to how we imagine the future. And what Jasanoff and Kim are basically arguing here is that in order to try and understand these linear narratives of progress, when it comes to states, we need to think about what are the attainable futures and the futures that they're prescribing that they believe

ought to be attainable? So, that is what is projected in terms of the “after”, and then it’s a case of “this is the point that we want to get to”. So, progress then becomes almost like a teleological process. And in the case of pastoralism it’s quite interesting.

The quotes that follow are from Meles Zenawi and Raila Odinga, both former prime ministers. They both talk about the attainable after which there will be real benefit to the pastoralists. I like the following quote from Meles, because he sums up that kind of attitude, bearing in mind the wealth of evidence that has been amassed for the last 40 years:

*“...even though poverty and backwardness are a concern for the whole country, it is worse for the pastoralists...There are also some people who are the best friends of backwardness and poverty, but claim to be concerned about environmental conservation...They just want to keep the pastoralists as a tourist attraction and make sure no development happens in pastoral areas...We want our people to have a modern life and we won’t allow our people to be a case study of ancient living for scientists and researchers.”*

Meles Zenawi, former Prime Minister of Ethiopia (2011)

It goes back to that idea of a very linear passage of time where pastoralism belongs in the past. What we’re trying to do for pastoralism is not undermine it, not even try to destroy it; however the violence that is being unleashed on pastoralism is done with good intentions, it’s done in good faith – to become modern. It’s that idea that pastoralists represent the people that must have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated.

*“...The government is particularly determined to introduce irrigated agriculture among pastoral communities in northern Kenya as a way of weaning them out of pastoralism...Droughts and floods of recent years have shown that pastoralism is badly affected by climate change and is no longer a sustainable way of life.”*

Raila Odinga, former Prime Minister of Kenya (2011)

Another example is from 2001 by Raila Odinga who was Prime Minister of Kenya from 2008 to 2013. As he says “droughts and floods of recent years have shown that pastoralism is badly affected by climate change and is no longer a sustainable way of life.” And he talks about this idea of “weaning [pastoralists] out of pastoralism”. So, this isn’t about undermining pastoralism, but you’re trying to achieve this modern state, you’re trying to move into the future, and it becomes a case of, if pastoralism is an anachronism, then the violence that’s unleashed can be done in good conscience.

### **Trusteeship**

The final point that I then want to point to is this idea of trusteeship. Because what you really see here is this idea that pastoral communities have essentially become objects of development. There is idea that we must transition. Pastoralists can’t imagine what the future looks like, so we must imagine it for them, and we must bring them into that future.

*“...Trusteeship **assumes that some people do not understand their situation**; they may be **ignorant of ‘true’ knowledge, ‘true’ law, ‘true’ politics, and ‘true’ economy** in some way so **‘true’ happiness escapes their grasp**; and, on account of this ignorance, **they must be ruled for their own good** until they are able to comprehend and understand the ‘true’ nature of things. People that are treated as children, because they do not understand their situation, are necessarily excluded from the moral order expressed by the idea of the state...They will be subject to law, but not law of their own making. **They will live their lives, but not according to their own reason and purpose.** And they will be treated as members of the human family, because they are human beings and not something else, but not as autonomous individuals that are possessed of a fully developed personality, which establishes their authority to think and to choose for themselves.”*

Bain (2003)

So, we can see that the task for PENHA is, “how do we counteract these linear narratives of progress?” And particularly when it’s done in this way of ... “we can imagine the future, they necessarily can’t, and these are the necessary steps that must be taken in order to bring progress”. How do we pluralize progress? How do we try and open up this debate about how the future could be in order to be able to include pastoralism in it? And how do we move away from these false dichotomies of traditional or modern?

### ***The imagined future***

*“...People don’t vote for Thatcherism, in my view, because they believe the small print. People in their right minds do not think that Britain is now a wonderfully booming, successful economy. But Thatcherism, as an ideology, addresses the fears, the anxieties, the lost identities, of a people. It invites us to think about politics in images. It is addressed to our collective fantasies, to Britain as an imagined community, to the social imaginary. Mrs Thatcher has totally dominated that idiom, while the Left forlornly tries to drag the conversation round to ‘our policies’.”*

Stuart Hall (1987)

Going back to the point about imagination, Stuart Hall said in regards to Thatcherism back in the 1980s, that it is an “ideology that addresses the fears, the anxieties, the lost identities of a people”. ,

So, the task that I’m wondering now is, those who believe themselves modern and want to become modern, they’ve presented these images to us of what it is to be modern. It’s largely irrigated agriculture, it’s urbanization, it’s a lot of these things. And, are we are maybe going down the wrong path of trying to drag the conversation around to “our policies”, or our evidence that we’ve collected, when the people that we’re trying to counteract here, they’re dreaming of a modern future? So, it’s not just about collecting the evidence that shows the economic rationality of pastoralism, but it’s also about trying to counteract those who believe they are modern, and that they know what the future should look like.

### ***Africa rising and other grand narratives***

Ultimately, what I think, is that for the next 25 years, one of the things that we really need to be thinking about is, when you've got these grand narratives such as "Africa rising", and when you look at what it means for Africa to be rising, it's is very much that Africa is going down a certain path. How can we try to disrupt *that* sort of linear narrative? So that we can try and get pastoralism onto the agenda, in order to say, "well this can be modern and you're not the only people who have a monopoly on being able to imagine what the future looks like".

### ***Building other alliances***

So I basically think for the next 25 years the emphasis should be on continuing to gather the evidence, but also trying to build alliances with other people who are also suffering from these linear narratives of progress, so that we can try to come up with a different idea of what the future could potentially look like. And a really good example of that, I think, might just, technically, be the climate change debate. Whilst we talk about how we're suffering from climate change, people are also coming at the debate from a renewable energy perspective, what they're articulating is a vision of, a dream of "maybe we shouldn't try to control the environment, maybe we should try to adapt to the environment". And care for it. I think the pastoralists are doing a very good job of this. Those who come up with this perspective are the allies that maybe we can reach out to. Let's move beyond pastoralism, in order to be able to really build solidarity for pastoralism.

## Closing thoughts by Zeremariam Fre

So much has been said, and it would be unfair on people for me to wrap up. Fundamentally, my first point is to thank you all for coming today, and energizing us. As I said in my introduction, working in the Horn of Africa is quite a tough ride. 25 years feels like 250 years! So, I think for you to come and share your experience and your commitment to pastoralism is very important. There's nothing wrong with the "ism", by the way! There are so many "isms", so we might as well use the "ism" in pastoralism!

In terms of lessons, I think one thing is PENHA asking itself, where it is going in the next 20 or 30 years? We've been doing a lot of thought on that as an organization, and we will continue to reflect on this with my colleagues.

## Reflections by Izzy Birch

I would like to offer four reflections on what I've heard today. But first, I'd just like to say thank you to PENHA and to ODI. This has been a fascinating day and it has been lovely to catch up with old friends after some time.

### ***Continuity and generational challenges***

The first point is about continuity. And I think on a 25<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration, your mind turns to continuity. I've been thinking about that over the course of the day. I think Jeremy Swift used the phrase "cumulative". I'm going to reference my work in Kenya with the government. When I was working between 2008 and 2013 in a ministry set up specially to look at development in arid and pastoral areas, one of the challenges we faced was the lack of institutional continuity in government. So, after five years you have elections and a new administration comes in. You have a year, even two years, of turbulence, while everybody's sorting themselves out, and the momentum you that had gained is lost. Now, that's within government. I think the same thing is true within NGOs. I've experienced both sides – the poacher *and* gamekeeper! Despite ten-year strategies, five-year strategies, people come and go, directions shift. All you need is a new country manager, and all of a sudden you're dealing with a completely different beast.

The issues that we've talked about today are generational challenges. So, how do we manage this discontinuity? It's a reality, whether we're in government or outside it. But, what mechanisms do we need to put in place to manage that? That's my first observation.

### ***Flexible and responsive versus "projectized" approaches***

The second thing is about the way we work, and it's a reflection on approach. And here, I'd like to commend PENHA. From what I understand of your work, the characteristics I would describe it with are things like – opportunistic, flexible, responsive, adaptive – all the things that "good development" is about.

And yet, and this is a point John Morton made, so much of what we do is "projectized". Whether we are researchers, in government or in civil society, we are squeezed into boxes, which are time-bound, with specific results. There's no thought about what happens at the end of it. So, I just point to the disconnect between what we know is good practice and the system within which we're forced to work. And I know that raises a bigger question than any of us can address by ourselves, but I still think it's pertinent, particularly when we're dealing with these long-term, generational challenges.

### ***Inequality***

The third issue I'd like to raise is about inequality. I haven't heard inequality talked about today. We've talked a little bit about poverty, and different interpretations of it. We've talked about vulnerability. But we haven't really talked about inequality. And for me that's the critical issue. It's inequality in terms of outcomes. There's no denying that pastoral children have a raw deal when it comes to education and health. We're also talking about inequality of treatment – the fact that



certain production systems are treated differently than other production systems. So, in Kenya, for example, the coffee production system receives a level of state benefit and support which the livestock production system does not. Now, why is that?

For me it's the inequality that has always been the driving interest, and the driving passion. Why is it that certain citizens are denied certain rights and others enjoy them? And I think I would like personally to see much more of a focus on inequality in the debate going forward.

### ***"Bringing the politics back in"***

And that brings me to my fourth point, which is about politics. What has come up many times during the conference, particularly in Session 4, is about "bringing the politics back in". If I think of Kenya, there is no doubt that there have been transformations in the last two decades. The country is light years' away from where it was in 1989 and 1992. As I mentioned before, that's not to say that everything is rosy in the garden. But, the new constitution and devolution are perhaps some of the biggest gains for pastoralists that we've seen in the last two decades. Now, they're not specific to pastoralism. We know that pastoral MPs lobbied very, very hard to make sure that "pastoral-friendly" provisions were included in the constitution. They are. But the biggest gain for pastoralism hasn't come about because of a pastoral-specific policy or measure. I think this relates to Simon Levine's point about pastoralism as an "ism". We're dealing with people who have a portfolio of rights that they should enjoy, like any other citizen of the country. They happen to pursue a different productive system. So, my argument is to make sure of that, and I think this is true of PENHA's work. And I do appreciate the challenges across the region – there are many differences in contexts. But, it's through political change, action and struggle that we're going to see these more equal outcomes. And perhaps, as a little rider to that, I would ask whether, as civil society, we're equipped for that challenge. Over nearly twenty years, I have seen a gradual de-politicization of civil society in Kenya. Not among indigenous organizations. Not among, for example, the Dryland Learning and Capacity Building Initiative (DLCI) in Kenya, or PENHA, but certainly among some of the international partners. I see a much more technocratic approach to pastoral development. In the 1990s, I used to see a lot more around power, power analysis, building the institutions of pastoralists so that they could challenge the state. So, it's just a question to ourselves whether, as civil society organizations, we're equipped to support pastoralists in those bigger political struggles.

## RELATED

Birch, I. and Elmi, M. (2013) *Seminar: The politics of policy making around pastoralism in Kenya*, STEPS Centre/Future Agricultures, 22 May 2013. [www.youtube.com/watch?v=HXaLp1l5Zzo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HXaLp1l5Zzo)

Elmi, M. and Birch, I. (2013) 'Creating Policy Space for Pastoralism in Kenya', *Working Paper 068*, [www.future-agricultures.org](http://www.future-agricultures.org), July 2013.

Odhiambo, M.O. (2013) 'The ASAL Policy of Kenya: Releasing the Full Potential of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands - An Analytical Review' *Nomadic Peoples*, no. 17 (1):158, 2013.

Odote, C.(2013) 'The dawn of Uhuru? Implications of constitutional recognition of communal land rights in pastoral areas of Kenya' *Nomadic Peoples*, no. 17 (1):87-105, 2013.

## Conclusions and recommendations

PENHA's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference brought together an impressive group of researchers and practitioners, with a wealth of experience and expertise on pastoralism. A serious and substantive discussion ranged widely, but built towards a final session aimed at sketching out a future vision for pastoralism. Some were more optimistic than others, but the consensus was that pastoralism has a positive future. It is dynamic, adaptable, and able to respond to new challenges and opportunities. Pastoral societies and economies are evolving, becoming more integrated with national, regional and international economies, and with society at large.

The discussion showed that, in development thinking, pastoralism is central, not peripheral. Pastoralism is important because of what it tells us about development in general, and of society at large. The event demonstrated that pastoralism is not a “marginal” specialism that is receding into the past, along with the practice of pastoralism itself. In fact, the analysis of pastoralism yields important insights on the big development questions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century:

- **Governance** – What is the proper role of government in development? Does China offer a viable new model for state-led or technocrat-led development? Is decentralization making African democracy work better, or are we witnessing a democratic recession? How has unrecognized Somaliland made progress without an effective central government, and what does this success tell us about the relationship between society and government?
- **Security and terrorism** – In the Sahel, in Somalia and in Kenya, terrorists are exploiting semi-arid, pastoral areas, where central governments have a limited presence. Are these “un-governed spaces”, or are they “differently governed” spaces, where traditional authorities and ordinary pastoralists are important allies against extremist interlopers? Is increased (military) support for central governments the right approach? Or does it unduly empower a predatory elite?
- **Property rights and land tenure** as a basis for economic growth – Who owns the land? Can common property rights provide the security of tenure that underpins growth and development? Can new, hybrid approaches with different structures at different levels be made to work?
- **Oil and extractive industries** – Semi-arid lands across the continent are rich in deposits of oil, gas, uranium, gold and minerals. Can we find new mechanisms that safeguard local people's rights and allow them to share in the benefits of exploitation?
- **Climate change** – Can it be stopped or slowed without stopping or slowing economic growth in ways that hurt the poor? Is pastoralism an example of successful adaptation to climate change?
- **Environmentalism** – Opposition to Ethiopia's Renaissance Dam led the Government of Ethiopia to condemn environmental NGOs as “anti-development”. Can a new environmentalism emerge that supports economic growth, while safeguarding local rights and the environment? Is a return to ‘small is beautiful environmentalism’ possible?
- **Gender and the role of women** – can pastoral societies evolve, retaining their identities, while allowing women the freedom to participate fully? To what extent can or should outsiders play a role in promoting women's rights?

- **Education** – If education is central to progress, how best can education be provided to partly mobile people? As demand for education increases, can private provision and the digital revolution provide better, more appropriate types of education than government schools?
- **Technology and the digital revolution** – technology is dramatically expanding the range of possibilities, for the economy and for society at large. Will technology allow pastoralism to thrive, becoming more efficient at the same time as allowing a better quality of life in remote rural areas? Or will technology allow absentee land and livestock owners to push others out?
- **“Modern and mobile pastoralism”** – What does it mean to be modern? Are there different pathways to modernity? Does Africa need to westernize in order to modernize?

So, pastoralists are, to some degree, the canary in the coalmine. Problems in pastoral development tell us important things about what is going on in development at large. The balance of opinion at the conference supported a vision of a “modern and mobile” pastoralism, one that is dynamic as well as compatible with economic growth and social change. But, we should be wary of “linear narratives of progress” – as there are many different pathways to modernity. Pastoralists have not been passive. Whenever they are able, pastoralists have seized new opportunities, such as M-PESA and mobile money in Kenya and the exports of live animals to the Gulf from Somaliland.

As well as establishing an understanding that food security does not depend on crop production, Amartya Sen put forward a notion of “development as freedom”. There was a sense among participants in this conference that current policies and programmes are not providing this. Pastoralists are not “free to choose”, but they should be.

**Simon Levine**



**Simon Levine speaks at ODI conference, October 2015**

*“I think people ought to have the right to choose. But, very, very sadly an awful lot of people in pastoral areas don’t have the right to choose. They don’t have the right to choose to continue with their way of life when their land is taken from them. They don’t have the right to choose to get a good job because the state doesn’t provide the education services for them.”*

### From the general to the specific - the value of a regional perspective

Jeremy Swift emphasized the need to take into account the specific economic and political situation in which each distinct pastoral community finds itself. Comparisons between the Sahel and the Horn, West and East Africa, arose frequently.

PENHA is a regional organization. It was founded on the assumption that, while the cultural, social and economic contexts differ importantly from country to country, there are important commonalities across pastoral communities. Much can be learnt from cross-country comparisons. Moreover there is much to be gained from regional cooperation on issues that cross borders, just as pastoralists do.

#### Yusuf Dirie



Yusuf Dirie presents his perspectives on the future of pastoralism at the ODI conference, October 2015 (left Katherine Homewood, right Izzy Birch).

*"I think that what PENHA needs to do now is try to combat the linear narratives of progress that still dominate in a lot of development debates ... The realities of progress are that at any given time there exist multiple different pathways for potential change. But what you often see is that those that are followed by privileged powerful interests ... Who gets to imagine what the future looks like?"*

## **The “modern and mobile” vision<sup>2</sup>**

PENHA has long argued that pastoralism and modernity are compatible. At the core of much public policy discussion is the notion that pastoralism and modern life are mutually exclusive – two successive stages of human development in a unique line

The issue was well described by Saverio Krätli of IDS in the executive summary of a 2001 study for FAO. “At the core of the public representation of pastoralism is the idea that “pastoralism” and “modern life” are mutually exclusive, as two successive stages of human development in a unique line that goes from nature to civilisation, passing from sedentary life and agriculture. This frame offers no ground on which pastoralism and modern world could meet: one being thought to begin where the other is supposed to end. So informed, the discourse about pastoralists and pastoral development is constructed along strings of oppositions: nature vs civilisation; nomadic vs sedentary; traditional vs modern; ignorance vs education; irrational vs rational; dirty vs clean; women’s subjugation vs gender sensitivity; group tyranny vs individual freedom; prosperity vs poverty; etc. In reality however, pastoral people and modern society appear to be not at all mutually exclusive. On the contrary, instead of the separation and opposition of two worlds one finds a high degree of articulation and integration, to the point that a clear distinction appears misleadingly reductive. Pastoral social networks increasingly tend to include non-pastoral people in town. “Town” and “bush” people are strongly tied in relationships of economic interdependence. Pastoral material life relies substantially on “modern” items, and would use much more of them if only the market actually offered items useful for pastoral livelihood, rather than being geared towards urban dwelling or sedentary farming.” (Saverio Krätli, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex)

*(Educating Nomadic Herders Out of Poverty? Culture, education and pastoral livelihoods in Turkana and Karamoja, 2001, FAO, sponsored by the World Bank).*

PENHA-Uganda spotted these trends, towards “modernization”, early on. Following a 1999 regional conference (“African Partnership: Working Together for Pastoral Development”) organized by PENHA in Mbarara, PENHA was asked by Dr Kisamba-Mugerwa, the then Minister of Agriculture, to produce an outline vision for development. A short document highlighted the need to support on-going trends towards social and economic development revolving around growing pastoral-area towns and trading centres. More recently, Abdi Abdullahi of Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia (PCAE) has written about peri-urban pastoralism, and commercial camel milk supply, for IDS [IDS, “Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa: Diverse livelihood pathways”, FAC CAADP Policy Brief 06, March 2012 ([www.future-agricultures.org](http://www.future-agricultures.org))].

## **Passion, drive and vision – hearts and minds**

In attempting to sketch a way forward for PENHA, Yusuf Dirie talked about the need to engage people’s imaginations and to bring in new supporters with an attractive vision, beyond pastoralism. Looking back at British political history, he suggested that, when it comes to politics and policy,

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<sup>2</sup> See IIED/SOS Sahel UK (2010) *Modern and mobile: The future of livestock production in Africa’s drylands*. IIED: London.

emotions often trump argument and reason. Some recent research supports this.<sup>3</sup> Yusuf argued that it is not enough to put forward evidence-based policy recommendations.

This ties in well with some of the ideas that have come up in PENHA's recent internal debates on the way forward, as well as with PENHA's experience in advocating for pro-pastoralist policy. PENHA's work with NRI on governance and the Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups in the region was conducted as part of a wider effort by DFID to assess the political economy of policy change. One thing that came out clearly was that it is not enough to have experts present the "correct" set of policies, on the assumption that these would be swiftly taken up and implemented by policymakers. Policy must be argued for and promoted within a particular political system. "Pro-pastoralist" policies will inevitably be opposed by some, perhaps by powerful interest groups. In 2010, the African Union approved a pastoralism policy framework. An enlightened, pro-pastoral policy is set out in a well written document. But this will not necessarily or readily be translated into practice.

Yusuf Dirie's broader point was about the need to relate pastoralism to wider issues about which large numbers of people are passionate. Izzy Birch, in her reflections on the day's discussions, talked about inequality as the source of her passion and drive to work for development. Oxfam has recently emphasized global inequality in its advocacy work. In developed countries, young people have responded to the financial crisis with passionate protests about inequality (against the "one per cent"). Others argue that absolute, not relative, poverty should be the focus. Business-friendly policies and economic growth have been responsible for dramatic reductions in global poverty over the past two decades. There is also some energy among libertarian students who decry "crony capitalism".

The climate change debate continues to arouse passions and preoccupy policymakers. Yusuf Dirie felt that PENHA could find allies among those who approach climate change from a renewable energy perspective. PENHA-Uganda participated in the 2014 GAA conference in Nairobi, making a statement on behalf of civil society. But, it was strongly argued that livestock production is a source of greenhouse gasses and must be controlled or curtailed. John Morton's cautionary remarks on the notion of pastoralism as a means of adaptation to climate change are pertinent here.

Simon Levine, in some of his remarks, argued for a less state-centric approach to development, and for one that involves the private sector as well as civil society organizations. The re-assertion of governmental authority and the diminished space for civil society came up frequently.

Izzy Birch also noted that international development agencies have in recent years become less "political", with a shift towards a technocratic approach that does not address power asymmetries. She argued that we need to "bring the politics back in", and noted the valuable work that many had done previously in building local people's own institutions, so that they could push for positive change.

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<sup>3</sup> Mankiw, N.G. (2015) *'The Conservative Heart,'* by Arthur C. Brooks, *New York Times*, Sunday Book Review, July 28, 2015. [www.nytimes.com/2015/08/02/books/review/the-conservative-heart-by-arthur-c-brooks.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/02/books/review/the-conservative-heart-by-arthur-c-brooks.html)



## Promoting the growth of pastoral civil society

In the early 1990s, PENHA provided support for PCAE and developed a working partnership. Among other things, the two organizations collaborated in research on indigenous knowledge for animal health. PENHA contributed significantly to the development of coordinated civil society efforts in Ethiopia. These efforts were concretized by the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE), an effective organization that did much to raise the profile of pastoralist issues. Promoting the growth of pastoral civil society has been an important aspect of PENHA's work. The work of Ced Hesse of IIED was important in providing analytical support for this as a priority. PENHA-Uganda worked closely with Oxfam and LWF-Uganda in the early 2000s and subsequently became a founding member of Uganda's Coalition of Pastoral Civil Society Organization (COPACSO).

But, the current climate is much less favourable for civil society organizations. Across the region, these are challenging times for local NGOs, as governments have increasingly questioned the concept of international civil society and the legitimacy of externally funded NGOs, introducing restrictive NGO laws. NGOs are being pushed into service delivery, and out of policy analysis and advocacy. At a 2014 meeting with PENHA partners in Addis, John Plastow, PENHA's Board Chair, expressed his support for a vision of a "thinking network of pastoral civil society organizations", one that collaborated closely with research institutions and combines service delivery with analytical work. It remains to be seen whether or not there is space for such a vision.

## Education

Both Jeremy Swift and Simon Levine put education at the centre of their visions for the future of pastoralism. Simon emphasized the need to provide or make available to people a real education, beyond simple literacy training, that enables people to find jobs or establish new enterprises. The potential, greatly enhanced by the digital revolution, of distance learning and sophisticated mobile schools was discussed. John Livingstone mentioned the increasing demand for education in pastoral communities, and noted that the private sector is beginning to respond to this demand. It should not be assumed that educational provision is the sole responsibility of the government. The quality of provision is also an issue. The introduction of universal basic education in Uganda was associated with a decline in standards. Competition between private providers can be expected to enhance quality, and the use of vouchers for poor households can support this.

Dispersion makes for relatively high per capita costs, but boarding schools and technology might present more cost-effective options for pastoral areas. Digital technology can also make modern entertainment more available in pastoral areas, perhaps reducing the difficulty of attracting qualified teachers to hardship postings in the drylands. In a review for IIED, Krätli also notes the value of entertainment in education.<sup>4</sup>

Girls' education was not discussed, but is of central importance – for reasons of basic fairness and because it can contribute significantly to economic growth as well as social progress. In 2007, an

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<sup>4</sup> Krätli, S and Dyer, C (2009) *Mobile Pastoralists and Education: Strategic Options*, IIED, October 2009. <http://pubs.iied.org/10021IIED>



assessment conducted by the Centre for Global Development estimated that three-quarters of the 60 million girls still not in school belong to ethnic and other minorities, including pastoralist communities.<sup>5</sup>

Jeremy Swift has produced an outline for PENHA setting out the necessary elements for a review of international experience and practice in education services for pastoralists. PENHA has begun to conduct such a review, drawing in its experience across the region. Kees Maxey of PENHA, formerly Director of the Africa Educational Trust, has provided also provided guidance on the basis of his engagement on the issues over many years.<sup>6</sup>

### **Relevant work by speakers and participants**

In his inaugural professorial lecture, John Morton provided an excellent, clear and comprehensive overview of the issues (*Development for the World's Mobile Pastoralists: Understanding, Challenges and Responses*, Professor John Morton, Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich, 7 July 2010 [www.nri.org/images/images/nri-news/2010/d4191-10\\_morton-professorial.pdf](http://www.nri.org/images/images/nri-news/2010/d4191-10_morton-professorial.pdf)). He describes differing views on pastoralism and climate change. Some see pastoralism as being responsible for significant carbon emissions, out of proportion to its relatively limited economic value. Others see pastoralism as a useful means of adapting to climate change. He did not expand on this in our discussions, but urged caution on both sides of the argument.

#### **On governance**

Morton, J., Livingstone, J.K. and Mussa, M. (2007) 'Legislators and Livestock: Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda', IIED *Gatekeeper Series* 131, 2007.

#### **On Somaliland**

Birch I. (2008) *Somaliland/Somali Region Desk Review* (for *Securing Pastoralism in East and West Africa: Protecting and Promoting Livestock Mobility*), IIED/SOS Sahel UK, April 2008.

#### **On *prosopis***

Pasiecznik, N., Choge, S., Fre, Z., Tsegay, B. and Parra, F. (2015) *The Great Green Forest is here and expanding all on its own: A call for action*, paper presented at the RRI conference, Djibouti, 2015.

Tsegay BT, Livingstone JK, and Fre, Z (eds.) (2015) "Exploring *Prosopis* Management and Policy Options: Proceedings of a Regional Conference", Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, November 2014, PENHA.

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<sup>5</sup> Lewis, M. and Lockheed, M. (2007) *Inexcusable Absence: Why 60 Million Girls Still Aren't In School and What to do About It*. Centre for Global Development. [www.cgdev.org/publication/9781933286143-inexcusable-absence-why-60-million-girls-still-arent-school-and-what-do-about-it](http://www.cgdev.org/publication/9781933286143-inexcusable-absence-why-60-million-girls-still-arent-school-and-what-do-about-it)

<sup>6</sup> PENHA, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Council for Education in the Commonwealth (2007) *Educating Nomadic and Pastoralist Children*, Conference Report, September 2007, Marlborough House, London. [www.penhanetwork.org/educating-pastoralist-children](http://www.penhanetwork.org/educating-pastoralist-children)

## ***African Union***

African Union (Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture) *Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing, Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of Pastoralist Communities*, Addis Ababa, October 2010.

Coalition of European Lobbies for Eastern African Pastoralism (CELEP) – [www.celep.info](http://www.celep.info)

## ***IIED***

Drylands and pastoralism – [www.iied.org/drylands-pastoralism](http://www.iied.org/drylands-pastoralism)

de Jode, H (ed) (2009) *Modern and mobile. The future of livestock production in Africa's drylands*  
<http://pubs.iied.org/12565IIED.html>

## ***Institute of Development Studies***

[www.ids.ac.uk](http://www.ids.ac.uk)

Future Agricultures Consortium – Pastoralism

[www.future-agricultures.org/research/pastoralism#.Ub8hgue-rRk](http://www.future-agricultures.org/research/pastoralism#.Ub8hgue-rRk)

## ***Overseas Development Institute***

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

[www.odi.org.uk/publications/3303-pastoralism-policies-practice-review](http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/3303-pastoralism-policies-practice-review)

ODI - Pastoral Development Network Papers

[www.odi.org/publications/4375-pastoral-development-network-papers](http://www.odi.org/publications/4375-pastoral-development-network-papers)

## ***OXFAM***

[www.oxfam.org](http://www.oxfam.org)

## Conference participants

	Name	Organization
Zenab	Abdi	Somali Heritage and Academic Network
Estifanos	Abebe	Islington
Doreen	Adusei	Fashionworks
Ali	Ahmed	The Federal Government of Somalia
Claudia	Amphlett	University College London/Institute of Zoology
Susi	Arnott	Walking Pictures
Eunica Anna	Aure	Landell Mills
Joseph	Bangnikon	International Medical Corps
Paul	Barnes	UCL
Emmanuelle	Beguin	DFID
Lulseged	Belayneh	Ethiopian Embassy
Izzy	Birch	Independent
Christopher	Boahen-Boaten	Cygnnet Healthcare
Caroline	Bosire	University of Twente
Diana	Bouch	
Elizabeth	Carabine	ODI
Matteo	Caravani	Institute of Development Studies
Sue	Cavanna	Sahel Consulting
Catherine	Clarke	UCL
Zoe	Cormack	The Open University
Bridget	Crumpton	DFID
Anthony	Dancer	UCL
Phuong	Dang	Independent Consultant
Abdikadir	Daud Hussein	UNOCHA
Jenny	Eddis	Bond
Elizabeth	Egzibaheir	Research
Judy	El-Bushra	Independent
Catalina	Gallego Lopez	IMC Worldwide
Gilles	Gasser	Dahlia
Abdirizak	Gedi	University of Westminster graduated
Elizabeth	Gegzibaheir	Researcher
Samuel	Greene	IIED
Felicite	Holman	The Brooke
Diyad	Hujale	Oxford Brookes University
Roda	Ibrahim	Saaif Organization
Mark	Ireland	Self Help Africa
Guy	Jobbins	ODI
Bryony	Jones	Royal Veterinary College
Kudakwashe	Kanhutu	GSO
Morgan	Kindberg	Health Poverty Action
Saverio	Krätli	Freelance
Lara	Langston	KCL

Alessandra	Licini	Minority Rights Group
Sheri	Lim	CARE International UK
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Sheila	Maxey	Individual
Michael	Mortimore	Independent
Helen	Mountfort	ODI
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Peter	Murphy	ActionAid International
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Charlie	Paton	Seawater Greenhouse Ltd
Peta	Rogers	Howes Kaye Halpin
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Anthony	Stonehouse	PENHA
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Mark	Tebboth	UEA
Mesghina	Tedla	PENHA
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Berhane	Tewolde	Freelance Consultant
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Martin	Whiteside	Freelance Consultant
Alice	Whittle	Bristol university student
Morgan	Williams	IIED
Ibrahim	Yahuza	Independent

## Speakers and chairs

Dr James Bennett	CAWR, University of Coventry
Izzy Birch	Independent
Yusuf Dirie	IDS
Dr Zeremariam Fre	PENHA
Dr Tekeste Ghebray	former IGAD
Katherine Homewood (Chair of Session Four)	UCL
Simon Levine	ODI
John Livingstone	PENHA
Professor John Morton	NRI
Dr Clare Oxby	Independent
Dr Sara Pantuliano (Chair of Session Two)	ODI
Nick Pasiecznik	Agroforestry Enterprises
John Plastow (Chair of Session Three)	Care International
Angela Raven-Roberts	Independent
Micheline Ravololonarisoa (Chair of Session One)	Independent
Amsale Shibeshi	PENHA
Jeremy Swift	Independent
Dr Camilla Toulmin	Senior Fellow, IIED

## Organizing committee

Melanie Archer	ODI	
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