

INTRODUCTION

By: **Mr. Melakou Tegegn**
(Panos Ethiopia and Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia)

In 1986, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted what is known as *The Declaration on the Right to Development*, which has since become an important instrument for indigenous populations throughout the world in their struggle to choose their own form of development. In this *Declaration*, the right to development is defined as “an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, control, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully recognized” (General Assembly Resolution 41/128, Dec.4, 1986). The UN has also established a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) under the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, which in turn is under the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The WGIP has been meeting every year since 1982 to promote the rights of indigenous populations. It is well known that most of the world’s indigenous populations are in Africa, constituting, in the main, pastoralists, hunters and gatherers, of which the pastoralists, present in many African countries, are in the majority.

However, as has happened to many declarations and resolutions of the UN General Assembly and many of its summits, African governments have hardly ever respected the 1986 *Declaration on the Right to Development*, which means that many of them have failed to respect the right of pastoralists to determine their own form of development. Most of the governments condemn pastoralism as an uncivilized mode of life and one that must submit to changes, often imposed from without. Pastoralists are also victimized by multi-national corporations and local “developers,” who are destroying the last frontiers of the world’s remaining natural resources, not to speak of the abject poverty they are subjected to as a result of this “development” intervention. Corporations and governments are still out to exploit and destroy these resources, all in the name of economic growth and development.

The issue of pastoral development in Ethiopia still has a long way to go before it is officially recognized as being worthy of serious attention. Lack of official recognition of the issue negatively affects policy formulation. A great deal of effort needs to be exerted to influence policy through advocacy. It is for this reason that the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) resolved to organize an annual national conference on pastoral development in Ethiopia. In its first national conference, it deliberated in the main on the heretofore-adopted macro-economic policy that affects pastoralists.

At the beginning of February this year, exactly one year after we held our first national conference on pastoral development in Ethiopia, a few members of the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) attended a workshop in Isiolo, Kenya, on the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) of the Kenyan government and pastoral development in Kenya. The efforts of Kenyan pastoralist organizations and other NGOs to have a chapter on pastoral development included in the final PRSP that the Kenyan government would present to the World Bank prompted us to do the same in Ethiopia. Further inquiry revealed that the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation of the Ethiopian government had prepared the country's I-PRSP, of which we managed to secure a copy. We found out that the I-PRSP was completely devoid of anything having to do with pastoral development. The complete neglect by the Ethiopian I-PRSP of the question of pastoral development prompted a discussion at the PFE meeting, and it was decided to organize the second conference on pastoral development around the general theme of Poverty

Reduction Strategy and Pastoral Development.

As things stand now, the PRSP has become a global issue not only for debate and discussion but as one that needs concrete action to protest against many governments in the South about their adamant refusal to include civil society in the consultation process, a condition stipulated by the World Bank for eligibility by Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) for debt relief. However, in the process of the dispute and debate, the whole issue of poverty reduction and development strategy seems to have been replaced by political programmes and/or five-year economic plans. What should a development strategy constitute? Is it a mere declaration of intentions as to what to achieve in a given span of time, or of having a shopping list of items in a fantastic economic plan? Economic plans or macro-economic policies are declarations of intent on the part of a given government answering the question **what** to achieve in a given span of time.

Development strategy, on the other hand, answers the question of **how** these plans and policies can be attained and at what pace, taking into consideration all local, regional and global conditions, and, most above all, identifying priority objectives as preconditions to the attainment of other components of the plan. At a macro level, a strategy should first of all identify the major areas of strengths and weaknesses (economic, social and political) of the country. This exercise of identifying strengths and weaknesses is absolutely essential. Whether we like it or not, there are processes that are not only prevailing on but also detrimental to the lives of billions of people the world over, of which the globalization process is the most important. First, we must accept globalization as the unavoidable context for our analysis of the conditions of our own existence. Secondly, as the globalization process is increasingly complemented by regional integration and regional initiatives, it is also unavoidable for us to analyze the regional situation vis-à-vis our own overall situation. Economic, social and political processes in any given country are increasingly interwoven with similar processes at the global and regional levels. Such an approach undisputedly establishes our position in terms of strengths and weaknesses, and that will indeed help us chart the right path towards appraising what we have at hand, including livestock wealth in the hands of pastoral communities, the emerging class of entrepreneurs, the Diaspora, and so on.

What are the main hurdles that a development strategy has to do away with in order to eradicate poverty? The hurdles that have to be dealt with concern both structure and policy, and they may broadly be discussed under three headings.

I. Structural Problems

Structurally speaking, the main obstacle for development, and one that plays a great role in exacerbating poverty, is the bureaucracy. Ethiopia's bureaucracy has a long way to go in order to be effective and efficient. It is notoriously under-developed, the level of red tape is indescribably ridiculous, and the monotony of the paperwork is frustrating. The bureaucracy is, beyond any shadow of doubt, one big factor standing in the way of all efforts to eradicate poverty. A high-level government official once admitted that the government bureaucracy was "anti-development." In this context, the I-PRSP is right to point at the need to reform the civil service commission. As good as this sounds, the questions that must follow are: What steps need to be taken in the processes to reform the bureaucracy? How far is the reform planned to go? At this point, it is essential, first of all, to emphasize that quality education is an absolute precondition to building an effective and efficient civil service. Those expected to work in an efficient civil service commission need to be versed in development education, i.e. they need to be clear on contemporary development issues. Technocrats need to be clear on the issue of promoting gender

equality and the equality of marginalized communities, such as pastoralists. It is precisely in these areas, where it is enormously difficult to initiate and sustain development, that high-level development practitioners and technocrats are needed. A poverty alleviation strategy needs to seriously take this into consideration, for without a bureaucracy that does not operate smoothly any development strategy, however well intentioned, is doomed to fail.

Secondly, it is crucial for development plans to focus on upgrading the documentation system of the bureaucracy and bring it to the information age by digitalizing it. Computerizing the documentation system of the bureaucracy is an absolute precondition if it must be efficient and effective. In countries such as Ethiopia, where government intervention in the economy is high, most of the basic public services are provided by government agencies. Computerization plays a key role in boosting the efficiency of public services and galvanize the government's own capacity to generate and collect revenue.

II. Development Policy

The second problem has to do with development policy. Most developing countries are wallowing in a mire of a “development” myth that equates development with industrialization. With the end of the Cold War this has been pushed further so as to include the two pillars of contemporary globalization: namely, marketization and Westernization, so that today, development has become synonymous with industrialization, Westernization and marketization. Developing economies are out to bring this “development” through a postulated industrialization that, as each day passes by, has become nothing more than a “pie in the sky.” Accumulation is forecast in exactly the same way as that of the industrial revolution of Western Europe or via the Asian Tigers. This has in turn led to a certain type of myth with regard to agriculture, which equates it with crop cultivation alone. Other forms of agricultural production systems, such as traditional livestock production by pastoralists or traditional fishing systems of fishing communities, are not considered as agricultural production activities. On the contrary, they are condemned as backward, even when compared with the system of crop cultivation, and subjected to forceful and ill-considered change. This perception has prevented pastoral communities as well as the government from benefiting from traditional livestock production as an important source of capital accumulation. Ethiopia for one has the largest number of cattle in Africa. But, livestock production in general, and pastoral livestock production in particular, has not been recognized as an important component of the national economy.

Indeed, the strategy of pastoral development and that of poverty reduction among pastoral communities in Ethiopia is under the spell of the development myth mentioned above. The issue is not just what the government's perception of eradicating poverty in the body and soul of its I-PRSP is and whether or not it has addressed the plight of pastoralists, but whether or not it has broken from a development myth that:

- does not recognize pastoralism as a way of life as viable as that of crop cultivating communities;
- does not recognize the pastoral livestock production system as part of the national economy capable of generating capital accumulation; and
- subjects pastoralists to forced sedentarization.

III. Education

The third main hurdle to social development in general is the high level of illiteracy and low level of education. Education, but selective quality education in particular, is the key to development, for social development is possible only if experts take command of the development process. When a greater part of the world has attained the status of being information society or is already on the way to attaining it, passing the stage of merely being an industrial society, Ethiopian society has not yet even emerged out of one of the most undeveloped traditional systems. Undoubtedly, massive education, but quality education with emphasis on development, is of utmost importance and necessary for social development in our country. It goes without saying that the same goes for poverty reduction strategies.

The emphasis on development education brings to light the crucial role that the media can play in educating the public. However, development education must be carried out on a massive scale, as existing awareness about development is too low. The media, broadcasting media in particular, can play a decisive role in this regard. Development education should also be diversified and carried out by civic groups as well. That makes liberalization of the airwaves absolutely imperative. Indeed, the broadcasting law enacted by the parliament two years ago needs to be put in practice in order to enable civil groups to take part in disseminating development education, for it is our belief that civic participation in disseminating development education is one of the keys to raising public awareness on development issues. At a time when change in human behaviour plays a crucial role in the development process, particularly in areas such as ending violence against women, preventing HIV/AIDS and preserving the environment the role that civic groups can play in educating the public is crucial indeed. It is particularly in this context that broadcasting by civic groups plays an important role.

It is in face of such gigantic problems of poverty and under-development in Ethiopia that the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDAC) came up with the I-PRSP. We, like many others in the civil society sector, contend that the I-PRSP has fundamental flaws. One of these flaws, and a very important one at that, is that the I-PRSP completely ignores pastoralism and, hence, pastoral development. We are not sure if MEDAC even knows or recognizes the existence of such a thing as pastoral development. The I-PRSP came as a shock to many of us, what with the highest authority that plans the country's development programmes completely ignoring pastoralism. It was precisely for this reason that the PFE decided to organize its second national conference on this issue.

The conference was structured in such a way that it began with the I-PRSP itself. Considering that none other than the author of the document could best explain it, we contacted MEDaC and approached a high level official to extend our invitation. The official was not co-operative. We also thought that the initiator of the I-PRSP, the World Bank, would be interested in explaining the background of the process and inform the conference what is expected from the Ethiopian government when producing the full PRSP. The World Bank, too, had other preoccupations and declined to present its case. The ensuing gap was filled by Dr. Mohammed Mussa, who made an incisive presentation on the framework of the whole PRSP process.

Before dealing with the strategy on reducing poverty among pastoral communities, we decided to start with a discussion on the nature of pastoral poverty in Ethiopia. We asked Dr. Getachew Kassa from the Department of Sociology at the Addis Ababa University to make a presentation on the subject.

Though pastoral poverty is very much the work of external factors, pastoral development definitely needs to address pertinent issues from within too. In as much as modernization

accounts for pastoral poverty and marginalisation, internal dynamics, such as those that determine the prevalence of harmful traditional practices, in turn, perpetuate pastoral under-development. As most of the harmful traditional practices affect women, it was important to deal with this question, too. We asked Ms. Sintayoh Fisseha from the Department of Economics at Mekelle University to make a presentation on the subject.

This session was followed by a presentation by Mr. Daoud Tarik from Kenya, who spoke on the interesting experience there of Kenyan pastoralist organizations, who succeeded in having a chapter on pastoral development included in the Kenyan government's final PRSP, which has already been submitted to the World Bank.

For the third theme, namely, what a strategy for pastoral development should encompass, we asked, Dr. Taffesse Mesfin, the well-known expert on pastoralism in Ethiopia, currently at FARMAFRICA, to make a presentation, which he gladly did.

The fourth theme dealt with UN perception of poverty and poverty alleviation and what its role is. The presentation was made by Dr. Samuel Nyambi, the UNDP country representative in Ethiopia.

The main presentations were followed by a panel of development practitioners from various institutions, all involved in pastoral development. The panelists were: Mr. Beruk Yemane, from the Ministry of Agriculture's Pastoral Extension Team; Mr. Yvon Madore, from ORHC-OCHA; Ms. Fatuma Abdikadir, from the Arid Lands Project Kenya; and Mr. Melakou Tegegn, from Panos.

At the end of the conference, the Minister of Agriculture, H. E. Dr. Mengistu Huluka, who kindly accepted our invitation, delivered the closing speech. We are grateful to His Excellency for his cooperation. We also thank W/o Hadera Gebru, Head of the Livestock Department at the Ministry of Agriculture, for officially opening the conference on behalf of the Minister.



REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

By: **Mr. Samson Getahun**
(Rapporteur)

The Second National Conference on Pastoral Development in Ethiopia convened from May 22-23, 2001 and was attended by representatives from various NGOs working on pastoralist issues, relevant government offices, elders from pastoralist areas and scholars. The conference was formally opened by W/o Hadera Gebru, Head of Livestock Department of the Ministry of Agriculture. In her opening speech, W/o Hadera first extended an apology to the organizers and participants of the conference on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture, H.E Dr. Mengistu Huluka, who gladly accepted the invitation to address the opening of the conference but was unable to attend due to some urgent matters that required his attention. Proceeding with her opening remark, W/o Hadera underlined the need for development policies and programs of the country to pay due attention to pastoralists and pastoral areas, and pointed out that the efforts hitherto made in this regard were insufficient. She indicated at the same time that the moment now was ripe for a consultative process to ensure that the concerns and problems of pastoralists were sufficiently addressed at the various levels of national development initiatives. She added that it was imperative that the overall development endeavors of the country had to be inclusive of pastoralist concerns. Now that the country was in the process of the preparation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), in line with the requirements of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it was important, she said, to make sure that the document included a chapter on pastoralist issues, such as the provision of basic services, marketing, security, institutional requirements, education, etc. W/o Hadera further pointed out that the timely organization of the conference and the objective it set out to achieve were commendable because of the relevance they have to initiating a consultative process for the inclusion of pastoralist issues in the preparation of the final PRSP. Finally, urging the participants to channel their efforts to contribute meaningfully to the sustainable development of pastoralists, W/o Hadera declared the conference officially opened.

Following the opening remark, Ato Melakou Tegegn of PFE/Panos welcomed the participants of the conference and informed the audience that it was the second conference organized by the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia focusing on pastoral issues. The scenario that preceded this conference, he said, was the issuance of an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) by the Ethiopian government, as part of the requirements of the World Bank and the IMF in order to be eligible for debt relief and financial support. This document, he said, had already become a subject of public discussion and criticism, particularly questioning the absence of transparency, participation and the exclusion of development stakeholders during the process of its preparation. From the pastoralist perspective, he said, apart from questions and criticisms around the process in the preparation of the Ethiopian PRSP, whether it is going to be a “national” strategy owned by all the stakeholders of development, the document needed to be questioned for its neglect of the issue of pastoralist development. Ato Melakou said that, up to then, no initiatives had been taken to open a dialogue and make consultations on the preparation of the PRSP. The conference, he said, was meant to stimulate a dialogue between the government and civil societies and among stakeholders, both at the national and regional levels, in order to bring the PRSP into focus with the particular issue of pastoral development. In order to have a better understanding of the document and the process involved in its preparation, he said, an effort had been made to ensure

the participation, among others, of those government bodies and their experts involved in the process, but that they could not be available.

After introducing the conference agenda and the order of the proceedings, Ato Melakou concluded by expressing his gratitude to DFID, CORDAID, Oxfam-Canada and Oxfam-Great Britain for their financial support to the organization of the Conference.

Following the introduction, pastoralist elders from Borena of Oromiya Regional State, Filtu of the Somali Regional State, and Afar Regional State addressed the participants of the conference, expressing their gratitude to the organizers who provided them with such a rare opportunity to impart and communicate the needs and problems of pastoralists. They stated that the pastoral community was the most neglected and forgotten segment of the society, devoid of access to essential public services and development undertakings. Provision of water, education, health services, veterinary services, market, etc. are inexistent and, worse still, the recurrent drought in the pastoralist areas has made their life difficult. Apart from the lack of understanding and respect for the pastoralist way of life, pastoralists have been incessantly pushed to be confined to ever smaller dry land areas in the process of allocating the dry season grazing areas for the expansion of farming.

The elders expressed their view that the fact that pastoralism and pastoralists were becoming an issue or the focal point of discussion among government officials and non-governmental organizations, as was happening at the conference, gave them hope that some positive results would emerge in the near future.

Following the opening remarks, three presentations were made on day one of the conference, followed by comments and questions from the participants and replies from the presenters. The presentations made on day one were the following:

- **“The PRSP Process and the Ethiopian I-PRSP,”** by Dr. Mohammed Mussa, Private Consultant and PFE member;
- **“PRSP and Pastoral Development: the Kenyan Experience,”** by Mr. Daoud Tarik;
- **“Dimensions of Pastoral Poverty in Ethiopia,”** by Dr. Getachew Kassa, Addis Ababa University.

1. The PRSP Process and the Ethiopian I-PRSP, by Dr. Mohammed Mussa

Poverty is characterized by a number of dimensions, such as lack of purchasing power, exposure to risk, insufficient access to social and economic services, lack of opportunity to generate income, etc. It is stated that Africa comprises a significant number of the poorest countries of the world. Around 240 million of its people earn less than one dollar a day, while the most vulnerable of these live in rural areas. The pandemic of HIV/AIDS is undermining the meager social and economic gains so far made. Population explosion in Africa is tasking resources necessary for bringing about better standards of living. Likewise, the poverty situation in Ethiopia is acute, where the level of per capita income is US\$167.4, one of the lowest in the world; infrastructure is poor and inadequate; the level of human development is low; and, in general, poverty in the country is manifested in its extreme form.

To change the scenario of poverty and underdevelopment, programs and strategies have often been prescribed by international financial institutions, such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with the perception that foreign aid has a strong positive impact on the economies of poor and underdeveloped countries. In the mid-1980s the remedy

prescribed for the countries concerned was to adopt structural reform programs, which are stimulated by an infusion of large amounts of foreign aid. Although the implementation modalities of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) varies from country to country, assessment of the achievements and effectiveness of the prescription are not at all encouraging. In many African countries poverty still remains to be the priority agenda. Therefore, in 1995, a new development strategy of debt-relief for the world's poorest countries was initiated by WB and IMF, on the basis of whose nationally-owned poverty reduction strategies, there will be effected concessional lending and debt relief through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC). This approach has led to the development of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which is to be formulated by national authorities in consultation with donors. The PRSP is expected to:

- diagnose poverty conditions in the country;
- describe the macro-economy, social policies and programs, and structural framework;
- associate the external financial needs;
- indicate sources of finance; and
- present medium-term plan of action for poverty reduction and rapid economic growth.

The rationale behind the PRSPs as indicated by the WB and IMF are:

- To ensure that the needs of the poor come first in public debate;
- Experience shows that sustainable development and poverty reduction require a true transformation of the society driven by countries in consultation with the civil society. Most importantly, the transformation must enjoy broad support from the true experts on poverty - the poor themselves;
- Armed with poverty reduction strategies, countries become the masters of their own development, with a clear vision for the future and systematic plan to achieve the goals;
- Countries are in charge of the PRSP, but they are not alone.

Ethiopia is one of those countries that qualified to benefit from debt-relief and assistance of the WB, IMF and other multi-lateral organizations, because it is one of the poorest, highly indebted countries and has been undertaking a Structural Adjustment Program. Accordingly, the country has already prepared an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, which it submitted to the WB and IMF in December 2000. The content of the Ethiopian I-PRSP presents :

- * the poverty situation of the country and the various macro-economic indicators based on the analysis of data from the 1995/96 HHIC of the CSA;
- * broad outline for poverty reduction strategy, which is grounded in the development strategy of the country that primarily focuses on agricultural-development-led industrialization (ADLI);
- * other components of the development strategy; viz, civil service and judicial reform, decentralization and empowerment, and capacity building;
- * discussions explaining the inter-relation between the various components of the development strategy of the country;

- * the main macro-economic targets and development goals of the country;
- * the policy matrix which indicates the objectives, policy measures to be taken, and the implementation schedule;

The final point to be underlined regarding the I-PRSP is that it did not at all have any reference to pastoralists.

Following the presentation by Dr. Mohammed Mussa, the floor was opened for comments and questions from the participants.

Comments

- ⇒ The PRSP provides an opportunity to address the problem of poverty through participation. It is a new approach that gives emphasis to output indicators than inputs, which used to be the approach in the past. However, it is evident that there will be a time pressure that will undermine the final product - the full PRSP. Before moving towards designing a strategy that is deemed appropriate, it is imperative to first identify the problems of poverty, which is an approach very much relevant to the pastoralist chapter to be included in the PRSP. However, the absence of data or survey on this sector, coupled with the pressure of time, will greatly affect the quality of the final product.
- ⇒ Pastoralism is an economy and a way of life very much different from others, and the problems of pastoralists are best identified by the pastoralists themselves. The first task, therefore, is to identify pastoralist areas and communities.
- ⇒ It is clear that the I-PRSP is not all encompassing in its content. It has left out the pastoralists, who constitute a big proportion of the Ethiopian community. The document, as a national strategy document for poverty reduction, is expected to be reflective of the Ethiopian society. The pastoral area covers 60% of the land, but as regards development activities, the area and the people have always been invisible. They are looked at suspiciously and viewed as problems, and the areas they occupy are areas of conflict and are exposed to severe and recurrent drought. If the PRSP is going to be a strategy for poverty reduction, it must be inclusive of the poorest of the poor and should have a chapter on pastoralists. Otherwise it will be a strategy to carry the problem of poverty to a very acute level.
- ⇒ The dominant perception about pastoralists is negative to a point where they are dehumanized. There is no attempt to understand that pastoralism is a way of life dictated by the topography of the area they inhabit. This is an opportunity to change the prevailing perception as regards this section of the Ethiopian society.
- ⇒ The preparation of the Ethiopian I-PRSP did not involve the participation of stakeholders, and the process lacked transparency. Its content also has excluded the poorest of the poor of the Ethiopian society - the pastoralists. It has denied attention to 10% of the population. The pastoralist community has been excluded from the macro-economic policy and the economic reform strategy of the country. This means that it is high time that the government establish an institution that would specifically address the concerns of pastoralists and design a strategy by which to solve their problems.
- ⇒ There is a near complete absence of provision of some of the essential social services in pastoral areas, such as education, health, market, credit schemes, etc. These and other social services are important for development if they are made

available so as to accommodate the pastoral way of life. For instance, the absence of markets within the national boundaries forces the pastoralists to look for markets across borders, a fact that brings them in conflict with the law and the authorities.

- ⇒ Pastoralists depend very much on their cattle and move from place to place for the survival of both the cattle and themselves. It has been said that cattle export, like coffee, can contribute to the economy of the country. However, no one seems to give serious attention to this issue. Given this, it is necessary to ask why the government does not give due attention to the pastoralists and pastoral areas.
- ⇒ Life in urban and rural areas is very much interdependent. Nowadays, problems of drought, conflict, etc. are rooting out the pastoralists from the pastoral areas, as a result of which they are forced to migrate to nearby towns and cities. Therefore, productivity in the pastoral areas is going down and the cattle population is dwindling. Up to now, no one has turned up to help or solve the problem. If situations are left to persist, it is inevitable that we will all perish.
- ⇒ In the past, there projects funded by international institutions for the development of dry-land, range-land and pastoral areas. The impact of these projects, particularly in terms of providing an opportunity for research, is commendable, but the efforts were scattered. Presently, efforts are being made to network these and similar undertakings through pertinent government authorities. The present development strategy for the agricultural sector is being worked out so as to be inclusive of pastoral areas, whereby the pastoralists are going to benefit from pertinent technologies and development packages.
- ⇒ The PRSP being discussed now is an interim document. The government was not obliged to invite the participation of others at that stage, but it will be correct on the part of stakeholders to take the initiative and do whatever is possible in order to influence the process for the preparation of the final document.
- ⇒ The interim document of Kenya was similar to the Ethiopian Interim PRSP, and the process was not inclusive. However, initiatives were taken during the preparation of the final PRSP, during which process the government was very much transparent and entertained the concerns and demands of the stakeholders. The final product, consequently, was inclusive of the major concerns of the pastoralist sector.
- ⇒ What we need to do is bring to the attention of government authorities factors that need to be considered. In most instances, the reason that keeps people in authority or in the bureaucracy from being inclusive is their attitude towards the poor and the underprivileged. But the truth is that, those in need are the ones who can give us a clear picture of their problems and their magnitude, as well as that of their priorities.

2. The PRSP Process and Pastoral Development: the Kenyan Experience, by Mr. Daoud Tarik

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers are the new frameworks announced by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in late 1999 to help reduce poverty in the

poorest countries of the world through debt relief schemes under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) and concessional loans from international financial institutions. Currently, there are some forty countries eligible for HIPC debt relief, and the majority of them are in Africa. To get the said debt relief, those eligible are expected to come up with a PRSP that outlines the poverty reduction goals and the plans for attaining them. The focus of PRSPs, according to the WB, is on identifying, in a participatory manner, the outcomes of the poverty reduction efforts a country wishes to achieve and the key policy changes, institutional reforms, programs and projects needed to achieve the desired goal. The one major problem with the preparation of the PRSP is time pressure.

The Kenyan Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) was issued in June 2000, and it was submitted to the WB and IMF and, then, approved sometime in July and August 2000. The preparation of the Kenyan I-PRSP was not inclusive and participatory. However, the Kenyan I-PRSP is a document in which the Kenyan government has committed itself to undertake the finalization of the full PRSP by April 2001 through an elaborate, all-inclusive and comprehensive consultation process that extends down to the grassroots level.

The Kenyan PRSP consultation process is run from a secretariat in the Ministry of Finance, under the direction of a National Steering Committee, which includes representatives of the civil society sector as its members. The Steering Committee reports to a broad-based National Consultative Forum, which is entrusted with the task of providing an over-all guidance on the consultative process and ensuring that the process is all-inclusive and participatory. In the consultation process there are three levels of district consultations:

- The first level is the general district consultation, which takes place in all districts of the country. The focus at this level is the district;
- The second level is the comprehensive consultation, which will be held in twenty-five districts selected by systematic random sampling on the basis of ecological zones. The point of focus at this level is consultation with stakeholders at divisional level. The stakeholders' participation is expected to be broad, including women, pastoralists, religious groups, teachers, local authorities, etc.;
- The third level is an in-depth consultation of Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) at twelve districts selected from the twenty-five districts mentioned above.

The whole process of consultation at the national level is assisted by eight sector working groups chaired by permanent secretaries that produce reports on the consultation process and feed their findings into preparation of the final PRSP.

As the pastoralist areas of Kenya find themselves with the highest incidence of poverty and the lowest level of access to basic services, it was natural that the PRSP should sufficiently reflect their problems. However the I-PRSP made only a passing reference to the concerns of pastoralists. When the consultative process for the preparation of the final PRSP was set in place, therefore, it was recognized by a number of NGOs working on pastoralist issues, that it was necessary to influence the process for the inclusion of a pastoralist chapter in the final PRSP. To this effect, the NGOs organized a Pastoralist Strategy Group on the PRSP, which led to the formation of the Pastoralist Thematic Group (PTG). Broadly defined, the goal of the PTG was to ensure that the voices of the marginalized and poor pastoralists would be represented in the final PRSP and that they would benefit from a poverty-focused assistance that addresses their needs. The specific objectives of the PTG were the following:

- Enhance the consultation processes at all stages of the PRSP formulation;

- Ensure that pastoralists' priorities are incorporated undistorted in the final PRSP;
- Ensure that the PSRP is linked to the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), so that resource would flow into pastoral areas in accordance with the needs and levels of the existing poverty;
- Produce a document that lists pastoralist priorities, which will be captured in subsequent budgets.

The PTG was formally launched on December 22, 2000. It then started to engage in the consultative process right away. It organized participation at all levels of the consultations, conducted a number of regional workshops and closely worked with the sectoral working groups established under the National Consultative Forum. Dividing the pastoralist areas of Kenya into consultation regions, it gathered information and identified key issues, such as marketing, food supply, bad governance, insecurity, livestock mono-culture, clan conflict, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, all of which are priority issues to pastoralists. It then communicated its findings and information during the national consultation conference and submitted documented information to the national secretariat. In general, the PTG has made the efforts it did so that the PRSP process would achieve the right mix of policy and budgetary decisions that would assist the pastoralist people.

The process was indeed a competition for the limited resources available. Our goal, as stated earlier, was the equitable representation of pastoralist issues in the final PRSP, and the drive was to effect the inclusion of a pastoralist chapter. In the Kenyan PRSP, what we found out is that the pastoralist issue was a cross-cutting issue that cannot have a chapter of its own. We believe that the inclusion made in the final document, as regards the pastoralist issues, was not all that we asked for, but what has been achieved is reasonable, considering the resources available and the number and magnitude of problems that need to be addressed.

The PRSP process does come to an end with the production of the final document. There remain the important aspects of implementation, monitoring and assessment of the strategy, which make it a continuous process.

The Kenyan PRSP process is a unique experience, regarding which the government has become what it should truly be, in the sense that transparency and participatory interactions in prioritizing poverty issues and designing of strategies for poverty reduction have been witnessed.

Following the presentation by Mr. Daoud Tarik, the floor was opened for comments and questions from the participants.

Question

- ⇒ How do you find the poverty eradication strategy, which is the wish of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund acceptable, instead of seeking a strategy based on the needs of your people?

Answer

- ⇒ This requires the invocation of the international discourse and the situation in international political arena. Here, we are caught up with a process that follows the long-standing engagement between the Kenyan government and the WB and the IMF. The government has been working with these institutions in the past, with an objective to alleviate poverty. What we see now, particularly in comparison to what these institutions used to prescribe to poor countries, that the PRSP initiative

allows the people concerned and people who are suffering from the scourges of poverty to talk about needs, priorities and issues that are important to them. Not only this, but it also afforded an opportunity to design a nationally owned strategy for poverty reduction. Allowing people to take part in the process is not bad; it is, in fact, beneficial to us. This issue, therefore, is acceptable as long as it is good and useful. This PRSP process, laid down by the WB and IMF may be a new step that would help amend what these institutions have done to poor countries by the prescriptions of SAP.

Question

- ⇒ We have been listening today that governments are working with the WB and the IMF toward poverty reduction and to change the living conditions and the economy of the poor countries for the better. However, most of the governments of the poor African countries are not transparent and accountable to the people; most of them ascend to power through bloody coups d'état, and they are corrupt, even by their own admission. How, then, could the WB and IMF work with such governments by recommending a process like the PRSP?

Answer

- ⇒ To begin with, I am a representative of the Kenyan pastoralists and, therefore, am not in a position to respond to this question from the position it deserves to be answered. However, if you are asking my own personal feelings and ideas, I think that the poor African countries have become more and more dependent on these international financial institutions and donor agencies. These institutions have been there in the lives of these countries for a long time now. Our Kenyan experience, in this regard, is that we have witnessed, for the first time, the government opening itself up to allow us to sit there during the budget allocation. The level of openness that the Kenyan government exercised in this PRSP process was never seen before.

Question

- ⇒ Can you tell us some tangible examples of the changes you have proposed and which have been accepted?

Answer

- ⇒ For instance, in the education sector, we have raised several issues. The national education program, which addresses the issue of education country wide, has been made to include a peculiar program that is fit to the life-style of the pastoralists and that is aimed at alleviating the marginalization they have been subjected to so far in this regard. This program refers to mobile schools, adapting the education curriculum to suit the pastoral life style, fee waivers in case of drought, quota system (affirmative actions), establishment of a national fund that will support children of pastoralist families in case of necessity, setting up of institutions of national excellence, etc. Some of the changes made are results of change in attitude and outlook on the part of government authorities regarding pastoralism.

Question

- ⇒ Does the PRSP process bring change in the approaches of government authorities towards alleviating or solving the problems of pastoralists?

Answer

- ⇒ The fact that they have taken up our issues and proposals is encouraging. Now that the final PRSP is in place, the next task is the implementation. We do not know how they are going to go about the implementation, but we, on our part, have set up a monitoring mechanism. The bottom line is, one should not expect much to be attained after going through this process - as the English saying goes 'old habits die hard.'

Question

- ⇒ While undergoing the PRSP process, did you come across or did you identify trans-boundary pastoralist issues that are common, for instance, for Kenya and Ethiopia or Kenya and Tanzania, or issues that could be taken as regional pastoral concerns?

Answer

- ⇒ Naturally, pastoral issues are trans-boundary. We believe that there are issues that cannot be solved in isolation. My presence here is a testimony to that. There are, for instance, issues like animal diseases, marketing, proliferation of small arms, ethnic conflict, etc., which are all trans-boundary. In fact, we are now trying to develop a working document in this regard and have recommended to the Kenyan government to take these issues up and interact at regional level.

Question

- ⇒ It is true that there are issues that go beyond the three-year WB time frame. Have you gone to see pastoralist issues beyond this time frame.

Answer

- ⇒ I agree that the PRSP is not the panacea for all the problems of the pastoralists. But it is an entry-point that provided us the rare opportunity of recognition at the national level and the momentum to address pastoralist issues. We are also working on issues that require to be looked at from their long-term perspective and those that have policy implications. For instance, there is a 'National Development Plan' in Kenya and there is also a fifty-year 'National Poverty Eradication Program', regarding which we have to keep up the momentum. Thus, we cannot look into issues only on ad-hoc- basis, but work, on a relatively permanent basis, on those issues having long-term implications as well.

Questions

- ⇒ Here in Ethiopia, we are now at the beginning of the process. What do you think will be our best position, or the best entry point, to start up the consultation process? What is your advice as to how to start the process?
- ⇒ How do you select and determine who should be a member of the PTG?

Answers

- ⇒ In the Kenyan case, the PTG was an interim group composed of NGOs working in pastoralist areas and represented by individuals of pastoralist background, intellectuals interested in pastoralist issues, donors, other development partners, persons from government offices in charge of pastoralist development. However,

the core-group consisted of pastoralists like myself. The selection, of course, was voluntary. The tasks that await those particularly in the core-group are time consuming and require full-time attention. The first task is to understand the PRSP process and the national consultative process set in place. Following this, it will be necessary to design a strategy as to how to engage the process at the national level. Once the advocacy document is in place, the task ahead will be to get into consultation with pastoralists and obtain legitimacy. The key factor in the process was to organize a core group that is dedicated and ready to take up the demanding tasks coming ahead.

Question

- ⇒ In the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) do you give consideration to indigenous technologies and mechanisms?

Answer

- ⇒ When we went to talk with the communities during the PPA, one of the issues raised concerned the definition of poverty according to a certain community. It was found out that the definition of poverty for somebody from the farming community was completely different from that of the pastoralist community and the definition at the national level. The other issues that were raised concerned the characteristics of poverty, what the major problems caused by poverty were and what the solutions for poverty would be. As regards the solutions for most of problems, the communities came up with suggestions, such strengthening traditional institutions, for instance, the traditional institutions and techniques for conflict resolution, and traditional cropping techniques. What they were saying was something like bringing the old and the new together. These suggestions and solutions have become part of the PRSP.

Comments

- ⇒ The dominant picture that we see here in Africa, regarding pastoralist ethnic groups or nationalities, is that their settlements transcend state borders. For instance, we find the Afar nationalities divided between Djibouti, Ethiopia and Eritrea; we also find the Issa in Djibouti, Somalia and Ethiopia, and the situation is similar with the Tuaregs in West Africa. The realities, therefore, clearly show that it is necessary to view the issue of pastoralist development from a regional perspective, if we are seriously committed to poverty alleviation. Some of the cross-border issues very much perpetrate poverty. There are initiatives already started by the UN, OXFAM and others, and there are also initiatives by governments involving, Uganda, Kenya and Sudan, for instance. There are lots of interests in this regard and it is the responsibility of pastoralist forums and friends of pastoralists to put an ongoing endeavor in this direction.

3. Dimensions of Pastoral Poverty in Ethiopia, by Dr. Getachew Kassa

The pastoral communities of Ethiopia inhabit 61% of the land and they constitute about 12% of the total population. The areas they inhabit are arid and semi-arid, with an elevation of below 1500 meters. Out of the total area inhabited by pastoralists 64% is very arid, which can be used only during rainy seasons; some 21% is semi-arid, and the remaining areas are sub-humid, which are relatively dependable for water and are inhabited on a permanent basis. This shows that the

dependable area for the pastoralist population is very small and that is why agro-pastoralism has been condemned as a development policy component for pastoral areas.

The land policy of the Imperial era and the 'land to the tiller' slogan of the Dergue period, which were completely heedless to the pastoralists' concerns have contributed to their marginalization. The tribal conflict in Borena between the Boran and the Geri, between the Afar and Issa in Afar, which have lasted for some six decades or more, was the result of the creation of tribal areas during the Imperial era, which was a model taken up from the British. What the people in these areas needed was not confinement within the tribal areas but some kind of flexible, accommodative arrangement. With the accession to power by the Dergue we witnessed a policy that promoted sedentary way of life and agriculture. The attempt to implement this policy didn't work because of ecological reasons and because it didn't conform to the pastoral way of life, culture and values. The people could not accept the fact that life had to be hooked to one village. The irrigation scheme in Afar, the livestock development scheme in Borena and the like, were projects that took away large chunks of grazing land from the people, eventually forcing them to be squeezed into smaller and undependable grazing areas. Such kind of programs took away the best of their lands and contributed to the increased impoverishment of the pastoralists in the said areas. The spread of the 'Woyane' bush in Afar, in the middle Awash area, is one other instance associated with the reduction of lands owned by the pastoralists.

The diminishing of resources in the pastoralist areas is another prevalent factor associated with the displacement and migration of refugees, particularly due to conflict and drought. The influx of Somali refugees from Somalia and Kenya is one such instance.

Marketing is the other problem the pastoralists face, and the Afar case, in this regard, may be the worst. For the Afar pastoralists, the market in Ethiopia is not attractive, and if they want to go to Djibouti, where they will get good prices for their cattle, they have to cover long distances and end up being robbed by the Issas in the process. On top of these problems, the cross-border trade is branded by the authorities as contraband.

Lack of provision of public services, such as health, education, etc., is evidence of the marginalization of the pastoralists. The other dimensions of marginalization involve reference the issue of conflict and insecurity. As stated above, the war between the Afar and the Issa, between the Geri and the Borena has been going on for decades, but no one has paid attention to the problem and the situations has never been acknowledged in the public media.

Recurrent drought is the other dimension of poverty, which is not usually publicized when it occurs in pastoralist areas. The interventions made to mitigate the difficulties faced by the pastoralists following incidents of drought are mainly limited to provision of food that the pastoralist community found detestable. But as the long periods of drought took their toll, dependence on relief food was institutionalized, which, through time, has also eroded the values of independence in the pastoralist communities.

There were and to some extent, still are institutions and customary laws that have sustained the pastoralist way of life. What was needed was, perhaps, providing them with some basic services and appropriate technologies. But, as discussed above, the various man-made and natural pressures have resulted in the marginalization of the pastoralist communities, thereby making their members the poorest of the poor. Poverty, therefore, has driven the pastoralist into engaging in activities that previously were unthinkable. Engaging in raid, cutting trees and making charcoal, contraband trading, etc. greatly increased the demand for and, therefore, proliferation of small arms. Now, the issue of poverty alleviation in pastoralist areas has assumed another dimension; the issue of peace and security.

Until recently, pastoralists were good in resource management, environmental conservation, peace settlement, etc. It was taboo to cut trees whose shades are valued much and where the big ones are considered as elders. The mobility of the pastoralists was one factor in maintaining some kind of balance in the environment. But following forced settlement, such practices as sinking water-wells in many areas have gradually changed the indigenous values and eroded the wisdom of the communities, resulting in the ever-worsening poverty situation in pastoralist areas.

To alleviate the poverty situations, therefore, there are some important measures that need to be taken:

- ⇔ Government policy regarding ownership of resources in pastoralist areas has to be changed;
- ⇔ The way of life, the ecology, the settlement of the pastoralist communities, etc., have made them disregard interstate boundaries. The conflict with authorities and the law emerges particularly in case of cross-border trade. The policy and the law in this regard have to be changed;
- ⇔ Enhance the involvement and participation of communities to resolve cross-border issues, such as disease, conflict, etc.;
- ⇔ Revise government policies with regard to land, settlement and conflict resolution in pastoralist areas.

Following the presentation by Dr. Getachew Kassa, the floor was opened for comments and questions from the participants.

Comments

- ⇒ Poverty in pastoral areas is sustained partly due to the policies pursued by governments. There is a constitutional provision for the protection of pastoral interests, but no law has been enacted detailing the enforcement of the constitutional provision. Researches are available and, if necessary, more can be conducted; conferences are organized and rhetoric abounds, but what is lacking is concrete action.
- ⇒ Market is one of the major problems for pastoralists. Due to the absence of marketing mechanisms for products of pastoral areas, there are instances where pastoralists take their livestock to markets across borders. In such instances, they come into conflict with the law and the authorities. Not only in cases of search for market, but also because the government is not providing public services in these areas, the pastoralists engage in cross-border trades for the procurement of essential commodities. Because the contribution pastoralists can make to the national economy is not appreciated, no effort has been made to create markets for them.
- ⇒ The statement made during the presentation with reference to the livestock projects in pastoral areas, namely, that these projects have taken away valuable land from the pastoralists, thereby contributing to the aggravation of already existing problems, is not exactly true. One of the livestock projects is the “livestock marketing project.” The project was established to create livestock markets for the pastoralists, based on the expressed need of the community. This project built

routes that will be used to siphon-out livestock from the lowland to the highland area, with a view to promoting the marketing of livestock for the pastoralists. The project built stading-points, watering-points, markets and holding areas. The other project is the third livestock development project, which is a rangeland development project. This project was engaged in the development of rangelands, providing veterinary services, building roads and provision of credit to siphon-out livestock to the high land areas. These projects were also carried out with the eventual aim of integrating the pastoral communities with the national economy, which has been indicated, time and again, as one of the issues of the pastoralists. It is evident that the constructions and infrastructures are to be built on the grounds where they live, and this cannot be referred as an example of aid projects taking away land from the pastoral communities.

Day 2; May 23, 2001

During the sessions of the second day of the conference, three presentations were made:

- a. **"Impact of Poverty on Pastoral Women,"** by W/t Sintayoh Fisseha, Mekelle University.
- b. **"What Should a Pastoral Development Strategy Constitute Towards Poverty Reduction Among Pastoral Communities in Ethiopia?"** by Dr. Taffese Mesfin, FARMAFRICA.
- c. **"UN Perceptions of Poverty Alleviation and its Role,"** by Dr. Samuel Nyambi, UNDP Country Representative.

Following each presentation questions and comments were forwarded by the participants and replies were made by the presenters.

4. Impact of Poverty on Pastoral Women: the Case of Aba'ala , Afar Region, by W/t Sintayoh Fisseha.

Poverty and its impact are not strange to those of us who live in one of the poorest countries of the world. This presentation attempts to show the impact of poverty on the pastoral women, taking as a basis a case study, or survey, made in the Aba'ala locality of the Afar Regional State. It is appropriate to state at the outset that this presentation is not meant to bring out exhaustively the dimensions and impact of poverty on pastoral women. Rather, it is an attempt to highlight some of the realities in order to trigger discussions around the issue of poverty from a gender perspective.

Generally speaking, poverty is nothing but lack of access to basic necessities and social services, such as education, health, etc. There are, of course, the distinctions referred to by scholars as 'absolute' and 'relative' poverty. The first refers to poverty in its rawest form, such as lack of food, cash and assets, while the second refers to general lack of access by some to certain services and facilities relative to other members of the community. It does not refer to starvation or being destitute, but to the position one has as compared with others, which short of the living standard of the community considered as a whole.

When we talk about the state of poverty in poor countries, we are, of course, referring to the deprivation of basic necessities. Poverty in pastoral areas in such countries is the worst kind of deprivation, and the condition is even much worse for pastoral women. The deprivations in pastoral areas, particularly for women, are aggravated by the environmental condition in which they live and by the traditions and culture prevalent in their communities. The environment of the pastoral areas is classified as arid or semi-arid area, where rainfall is a rare occurrence. This makes water resources, which are essential for survival, out of easy reach for the people. As fetching water is the responsibility of women, this task becomes arduous, particularly when there is no rainfall for a considerable period of time and when water-holding points or rivers get dry. Collecting firewood is another chore that women do, which is not an easy task, considering the recently accelerated degradation of soil and deforestation in these areas. The prevailing traditions and culture constitute another poverty-aggravating factor for pastoralist women. Division of work in pastoralist society is gender-specific. There are certain types of work that are exclusively left for women and others exclusively for men. Men usually carry responsibilities outside homes, such as looking after cattle, marketing livestock, controlling the property and money that belong to the family, while women are responsible for such tasks as building the traditional hut, caring for children, preparing food, looking after small animals, fetching water, collecting fuel, etc. Beside this type of division of work, there are issues of control over resources, polygamy, divorce, inheritance, property management, etc., with regard to which situations are very much in favor of the men. These and other cultural and traditional values marginalize women very much. Life for women in the pastoral areas is always difficult, whether they are married or living alone.

Measures need to be taken to alleviate the marginalization of women in the pastoral areas, which can alleviate their burden and the obvious ones are these:

- ⇔ construction of water points;
- ⇔ providing health centers;
- ⇔ empowerment of women and provision of education and other types of training;
- ⇔ seeking substitutes for fire woods as sources of energy;
- ⇔ introducing public administration reform;
- ⇔ providing credit schemes that would benefit women in terms of economic independence;
- ⇔ regulating marriage.

Following the presentation by W/t Sintayoh Fisseha, the floor was opened for comments and questions from the participants.

Comments

- ⇒ This is the first attempt ever made to look into the poverty situation of pastoralist women, for which such efforts as the presenter has made need to be encouraged. What is needed is changing, where and when necessary, the traditions and outlooks in order to join the forces of pastoral men and women in the fight against poverty and for the preservation of the pastoral way of life.
- ⇒ There are some important indicators that need to be looked into in the life of the pastoral women, some of which are harmful traditional practices, such as female

genital mutilation, health problems, such as high maternal mortality rate, and social problems, such as the low rate of school enrollment of women.

- ⇒ Because Aba'ala is a place close to the highland areas, some of its values have been influenced by those of the highland communities. Therefore, it does not serve as an adequate sample for understanding the life of the pastoralists in the Afar region. There are some aspects of the cultural values treated in the paper that need to be corrected.
- ⇒ The purpose of presenting this topic at this conference is to highlight the issues that concern pastoral women. We have been talking about the marginalization of pastoralists with respect to mainstream policies and practices in the macro-economic, social and political areas. But this does not mean that there are no specific problems faced by pastoralist women with a dimension of gender inequality. There exist different dimensions of a given problem in any traditional society, and the pastoralist community is not immune to this trait. Unless, therefore, we acknowledge the existence of the gender dimension of the problem and are prepared to address the issue in a prudent manner, we cannot come up with a sustainable solution to the whole issue of pastoral development.

5. What should a Pastoral development Strategy Constitute Towards Poverty Reduction among Pastoral Communities in Ethiopia? by Dr. Taffese Mesfin.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have already approved the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper submitted by Ethiopia. As regards the PRSP process, one of the underlying principles is that it should be country-driven and result-oriented. However, the government has not yet publicized this document, nor has the document reached the ministerial offices. Neither has the process included stakeholders. Interest about the PRSP process has been expressed by different groups, of which the Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA) is one. The CRDA has already formed a working group to explore how civic society can be involved in the process. The PRSP is designed to be part of a long-term strategy, which is going to be updated following the dynamics of the development of the country. In this regard, the participation of development stakeholders is very important.

Regarding pastoralist communities, the I-PRSP has briefly highlighted ways for improving pastoral welfare through support service development and risk minimization, which is a positive thinking. The document also suggests voluntary resettlement from the highlands to the lowlands under irrigation schemes.

History of Pastoral Development

As in other similar places, efforts of pastoral development in the past were based on the theory of the 'tragedy of the commons.' This theory is about communal ownership of grazing land and individual ownership of livestock. The perception in the 60s was that pastoralists were degrading the available rangelands, with each pastoralist family trying to enlarge the size of its livestock at the expense of overgrazing the commonly owned rangeland. This perception gave rise to development interventions in pastoral areas, using such approaches as protectional grazing through ranching and paddocking, etc. A component of marketing, such as increasing the off-take from these areas was included in the projects initiated during that period. The first of such

interventions was the USAID-funded project of the Arero Range Pilot Project (ARPP), which was followed by the Second and Third Livestock Projects funded by the World Bank and the African Development Bank. Although these projects were initiated with good intentions, because the underlying assumption was wrong, the approach was top-down, and because there was lack of knowledge in traditional pastoral management, the result was failure of the projects to achieve sustainable development in the pastoral areas. The undertaking, however, was much of a learning process for those in the field, and what we know today about the pastoral areas, the pastoralist way of life and the ideas of pastoral development are mainly a result of the lessons learnt during that period. Some of these lessons are:

- Past development interventions were based on erroneous assumptions of the traditional pastoral production system and operated with a top-down approach;
- There was no attempt to deal with pastoral problems using a holistic approach, and projects were applied piece-meal;
- There was lack of desire on the part of policy makers to understand the dynamics of pastoralists and to act accordingly;
- Lack of opportunity to undertake research in order to better understand the pastoral way of life and the traditional methods of resource management.

The current status of the pastoralist communities is in many respects different from that of the 60s. Now, the growth rate of the population is high because of the relative improvement in the provision of health services, better conflict management, etc. Livestock per capita is declining due to shortage of animal feed and high animal mortality rate following the long and recurring drought years. These and other factors have contributed to food shortage, decrease in pastoral production and income, environmental degradation, etc., which have all resulted in the instability of pastoral life. The pastoral issues at the macro-economy level are not addressed clearly and prudently. Policy makers suggest such alternatives as sedentary way of life as solution for pastoral development. There is no law that clearly stipulates the modality for pastoral land administration, as a result of which we see the expansion of private agriculture on the pastoral lands.

One of the important issues involved in the PRSP process is the identification of problems. Regarding the pastoralists some of the problems that pose constraints to pastoral development are:

◆ **Drought**

Recurrent drought has seriously affected the arid and semi-arid areas of the country. In some areas, 80% of the livestock population has been decimated, and the long drought period and its recurrence at short intervals has made recovery of loss difficult. In Eastern Gashamo in the Somali Region, even camels are becoming victims of the drought, because there is nothing to browse, as the vegetation has been completely wiped out.

◆ **Poor Promotion of Livestock Marketing**

Livestock marketing, even during the normal periods, has been an issue requiring the consideration of a number of factors. Presently, the international livestock market has become tough for Ethiopia. The prevailing idea is to export live cattle, which, considering the efforts being made to develop this sector -by way of providing veterinary services, sinking water wells, etc. - does not bring in comparable benefits. The local market situation, as well, is very tough for the pastoralists.

- ◆ **Inadequate Veterinary Services**

What we have managed to do in the last thirty or forty years is control only the rinderpest disease. But there are several other diseases that need to be controlled.

- ◆ **The Land Issue**

The 1995 Constitution has stipulated that the right of pastoralists not to be displaced from their land is protected, but in the absence of subsidiary laws that would give effect to this provision, there is still uncertainty about pastoral land issue. At the same time, however, there is an interest on the part of regional governments to attract investment in irrigation farming at the river basins of the pastoral areas, which are prime dry season grazing areas for the pastoralists.

- ◆ **Inadequate Support to Agro-pastoral Activities**

Where agro-pastoral activities are people-initiated, we cannot neglect the sector. It is part of the food self-sufficiency or food security effort.

- ◆ **Poor Tourism Development and Wildlife Conservation**

We have not developed our tourism industry although we keep on saying that we have a lot of potential in this sector. It is evident that the pastoralist areas are well known for their tourist attractions. In order to instill a sense of ownership in the minds of the pastoralist communities and enlist their cooperation with respect to wildlife conservation, we have to find a way for them to share the benefits obtained from tourism.

- ◆ **Poor Social Service Development**

The issue of the provision of health services and education in pastoralist areas has to be seen differently from that of other areas. The pastoralists' mobility and their life style has to be taken into consideration. For instance, the kind of education to be provided in these areas has to be related and beneficial to the pastoral life style.

- ◆ **Poorly Developed Infrastructure**

The whole expanse of the pastoral areas has poor communication infrastructure. Power and electric supplies are unknown in these areas.

- ◆ **Water**

Water is one of the main problems of the pastoral areas. The distribution of water-points is uneven.

- ◆ **Shrinkage of Food Resources**

Communal grazing land is currently under competition, and the prime dry-season grazing lands are being allotted for large and small farming enterprises. Bush-encroachment in some pastoral areas has reduced the size of grazing land and affected the tradition of mobility.

- ◆ **Gender Inequality**

Pastoral women have no decision-making power over resources. They are responsible for most of the household chores and are victims of a number of harmful practices.

- ◆ **Conflicts**

Pastoral areas are very much prone to conflicts. The conflicts may be inter-state or intra-clan. Clan conflicts that have lasted for a long period of time have been witnessed, and such conflicts usually are not publicized. It could also be said that no attempt has been made to resolve them.

◆ **Poor Research Undertaking**

More research is needed on pastoralism. There are institutions, such as ILRI and some NGOs, such as CARE, who have done some research work on pastoralism. The second and third livestock projects also have provided an opportunity in this regard. But what has been achieved is not sufficient, and there are large areas of research to be covered yet.

◆ **Poor access to Financial Institution**

Credit schemes are non-existent in pastoral areas. Although the pastoral communities are new to cash economy and may not be readily receptive to credit schemes, and because their mobility may create difficulties, there has been no attempt to create awareness about the benefits of credit and savings and to provide them with the facility.

◆ **Absence of Holistically Organized Pastoralist Institution**

Although the Ministry of Agriculture has a small unit - 'the pastoralist extension team' - it is limited in its function by the sectoral mandate given to the Ministry. Therefore, issues such as health, education, infrastructure, etc. cannot be addressed by this team. In order to impact pastoralist development, what is needed is to establish an institution that is multi-sectoral or multi-dimensional and capable of executing matters pertaining to pastoral areas and pastoralist issues.

Following the presentation by Dr. Taffese Mesfin, the floor was opened for comments and questions from the participants.

Questions

- ⇒ How are we going to forward these issues? Are we asking a chapter for pastoralism or a chapter for marginalized groups to be included in the IPRSP?
- ⇒ The PRSP is required to provide a proper and broader analysis of poverty. In this regard, however, the I-PRSP has provided only facts and figures.
- ⇒ This presentation, and the others as well, have not mentioned the people in the western peripheries of the country, such as the Gumuz, Nuer, Angnuak and other nationalities who are said to be pastoralists. Are we excluding them from the category?

Answers

- ⇒ What has been presented here is not a poverty analysis but just a desk reference. This document is only a preliminary exploration that needs to be expanded.
- ⇒ How the pastoralist issues are to be incorporated in the PRSP document is yet to be discussed and determined. There is no blueprint from the WB and the IMF regarding how the document should be organized or prepared, and we do not know what the final PRSP will look like when completed. In the Kenyan case, as stated earlier, they did not consider pastoral issues separately and dealt with them under a pastoralist chapter. But the issues are addressed as cross-cutting issues under the

various sectoral categories. It is expected that such matters will be cleared as we go along the process.

- ⇒ Literature indicates that there are some twenty-nine pastoralist ethnic groups in Ethiopia and the category of 'pastoralist' is bound to include them all. No doubt that issues to be discussed and recommendations to be made are inclusive of all the pastoralist communities in the country.

Questions

- ⇒ The utilization of the fertile plains along river-banks through irrigation schemes is believed to be vital to increasing crop-production and ensuring food self-sufficiency. However, as these irrigable lands are the dry-season grazing areas for the pastoralist communities, there seems to be a conflict between the desire for the expansion of irrigation schemes and the fact that the expansion of irrigation is going to deprive the pastoralists the security of the wet-land grazing areas. It is true that the sixty-four thousands hectares of irrigated land have benefited the country much, but not the pastoralists. How could we reconcile the contradiction so that the pastoralists will benefit from the schemes as well? Is it at all proper and possible?
- ⇒ The pastoralist areas have been and are being hit severely by the long-lasting and recurrent drought cycles. Because of the drought, people in the pastoralist areas have lost their livelihood assets, and a large number of people have been displaced. When we are thinking of poverty reduction, we are referring to the uplifting of the poorest of the poor, but many people in the pastoralist areas have already lost their livelihood. Therefore, what is the strategy to cope with the drought situation in these areas, and how is this to be incorporated in the strategy paper?

Comment

- ⇒ Considering the facts on the ground, the problem is not food security, rather it is the threat to the livelihood of the pastoralists and to its sustainability. The second point is the time-frame for the PRSP implementation, which is between two to five years. Records show that the main reason for the failure of a large number of development projects is their short life-span.

Answers

- ⇒ If irrigation schemes are going to be carried with the consent of the people, it will be beneficial for all. But in the past, irrigation ventures were not carried out with the consent of the communities concerned. However, as the PRSP document is not to incorporate project details, such tasks are to be worked out after the paper has been approved.
- ⇒ It is stated as a principle that the development of the PRSP is to be through a process of participatory consultation and transparency, but it is not clear whether the development of projects in line with the PRSP is going to be participatory and transparent as well. It is correct that the intervention period for pastoral development should not be short, because short-term projects in pastoral areas will not have sufficient impact to bring change in the poverty scenario.

Comment

- ⇒ Integration of irrigation schemes in pastoral areas is not acceptable, because the issue here is not the contribution of the scheme to food security but the deprivation of the means of livelihood and sustainability of livelihood security for the pastoralist community. The impact of such schemes will be to worsen the poverty condition of the pastoralists.
- ⇒ There seems to be no contradiction between promotion of irrigation schemes and pastoralism, rather both can be promoted in parallel. The issue here is whether the government is committed to providing security of access to grazing land that is sufficient for the size of cattle available and to support the sustainability of the pastoralist way of life. In fact, both activities have the potential to contribute much to the GDP of the country.

6. UN Perceptions on Poverty Alleviation and Its Role, by Dr. Samuel Nyambi.

In the UN, the issues of pastoralism are integral to the work of the UN system. The challenges are posed in terms of how best to deal with pastoral issues, how best to grapple with the poverty challenges that affect pastoral people in a unique way, and how best to build upon past experiences to create a different future.

This moment is opportune because we have reached an important juncture in the process of pastoral development in Africa as well as in other parts of the world where the issues constitute a major agenda of development. This juncture centers on what might be called a shift from livestock and rangeland management towards what should be seen as and what should become a more holistic approach, an approach that focuses on sustainable livelihood and better understanding of arid and semi-arid ecosystems.

There is a lot of evidence that the nomadic or transhuman way of life of pastoralists is the mode of production best suited to the sort of environment in which they live and that enables them to exploit the seasonal water sources and pasture strategically. Poverty in the lowlands is more than food security; the population suffers from lack of access to health and education facilities, and quite often, it does not have enough opportunities to engage in income-generating activities other than livestock production. Pastoralists, thus, are marginalized not only geographically, but also economically and politically, particularly in Africa.

Given the extent and added costs of past failures, in terms of what has been tried, what has worked and what has not worked, the question is: should one suggest that a new paradigm be developed? It might be better that we do not see a new paradigm, but to look toward the opportunity to build on the past and do something different. It is required at this time that people who are involved look at the range of issues that would determine the new approach, which many of us feel is timely. These areas that require major actions are:

- ⇔ **Rangeland ecology in arid and semi-arid areas:** We know that there has been quite a revolution in recent years. The traditional concepts were based on an assumed stable relationship between range vegetation and the animals that graze it, wherein overgrazing was perceived, quite often, as something that would lead to an undesirable deterioration in rangeland species, mix or density. However, in most of the African dry rangelands, what determines the size of the livestock population and consequent state of vegetation are external incidences, such as drought, disease or war. This, combined with the observed

capacity of degraded rangeland to recover when grazing pressure is reduced, has led to the realization that traditional pastoralist systems, which track-feed surpluses, are the most efficient way of matching supply with demand. This is not new but we often tend to forget it.

- ⇔ **Reforms of pastoralist associations:** Pastoralist associations have been plagued by poor social coherence, lack of legitimate authority, difficulty of delineating traditionally ‘fluid’ rangeland territories, insufficient investment in capacity building and challenges of how to promote participatory approaches with government. This is the picture we know, however, more recent experience indicates that pastoral groups are turning to be more dynamic and effective when they are pursuing voluntary action, when they are focused and build competence and confidence gradually. If these efforts are successful, positive group experiences could lead to more permanent structures. In areas where customary institutions remain robust, as they do in many parts of pastoral Ethiopia, development effort will usually be best focused on supporting their adaptation to new physical and political realities. While these kinds of approaches, needless to say, carry a substantial time and financial cost, we believe that some of the approaches should be integrated more in what we all do.
- ⇔ **Recognition of land-use rights:** The new ecological thinking, combined with the analysis of past rangeland settlement or tilting programs, leads to three key observations.
- There is a need to shift from technical to social and economic issues when we are really determined to tackle pastoral development. It has been said earlier that the approach had been heavily hinged on technical issues.
 - The privatization model provides neither equity nor efficiency for pastoralists in uncertain environments, either in terms of their well-being or environmental sustainability.
 - There should be increased attention given to a number of relationships, the issues of tenure, the issues of formal and informal pastoral institution capacities, etc. One might say that, in order to move towards a more efficient common property management of the rangelands, countries should formally recognize sustainable pastoral land-use as a land management practice which is equivalent to sustainable cultivation.
- ⇔ **Drought:** Drought is intermittent, but now we have to accept it as a normal occurrence. Previously, it used to be that drought is an exception, but now it is seen as a rule. We have been fortunate in Ethiopia, those international institutions working on drought issues, that we have had to grapple with drought as a phenomenon and we have not had for quite sometime to grapple with a persistent phenomenon, which is called desiccation. Desiccation is a form of drought that lasts for periods in the order of decades. It has occurred once in the Sahel, West Africa. The phenomenon of drought has become a challenge that is central to any program aimed at improving the livelihood of the pastoral people. One can, with time and based on experience, sort of draw a matrix of vulnerability and develop a model that allows predicting both the booms and the busts that are usually associated with the comings and goings of drought. There are a number of lessons we might draw here:

- the new rangeland ecology model predicts that booms and busts are dictated by nature, sometimes by war, rather than by pastoralist strategies themselves;
- de-stocking should be an emergency response to buffer pastoralists from effects of disastrous and often exogenous events;
- post-drought rehabilitation should focus on re-stocking, as extensive livestock herding makes the best use of range resources; and
- longer term planning should focus on an enhanced capacity for early warning of drought and other exogenous disasters.

⇔ **Improved agro-pastoralism:** Agro-pastoralism has been overlooked in the development of pastoral zones, despite mountains of evidence indicating that pastoralism and agro-pastoralism can develop a synergistic relationship, leading to overall higher rates of food production than either could generate on its own. Potential benefits of agro-pastoralism include marketable grain surpluses, improved supply of cut-fodder and crop-stover, improved husbandry of paddocked animals and so on. But these benefits have to be weighted against the loss of dry season grazing and 'tracking' efficiency resulting from settlement and changed land use. Often what is missing is this weighing process.

If one is going to round up some of these technical and conceptual advances that are referred to above, what are the lessons that one would capture?

- the objectives of interventions in pastoralist areas must be to build sustainable livelihoods;
- this can be achieved only through holistic social and economic development;
- the process must be community-driven, fully exploiting indigenous knowledge and land management systems;
- the process must be interactive, must involve substantial attitudinal and institutional change and acknowledge that it will take time;
- the NGOs, civil societies, bi-lateral organizations, donors and UN agencies have a key role to play in supporting the government to implement some of these ideas. This role poses, to all of us, a challenge; however, if we have a role to play, we have to carefully work out the best entry points so that our role would be as constructive and productive as possible.

For future pastoral area development projects certain elements must be borne in mind.

- to invest heavily in institutional and organizational reform;
- to invest in infrastructure and necessary basic services as well. This would help draw remote communities into the fabrics of the nations' economic and social web;
- to support capacity building in what should really be called pastoral science, also capacity building in participatory development;
- to begin to see more and more that pastoral land use is a sustainable land management strategy and to invest in disaster early warning and preparedness systems;
- to invest in community-based education, health and veterinary services;

- to invest in research and extension activities driven by community-identified needs; and
- to support the integration of traditional and state laws to build linkages between the two social and administrative systems and addressing, at the local level, issues that could lead to conflict.

We in the UN, of course, would want to be a part of many efforts in support of the group as important as pastoralists and of a country as important as Ethiopia. The projections are that the population of this country will be ninety million in the year 2015, where one out of every six Africans, at that time, would be Ethiopian. It is in that respect that the UN is determined to work with partners and the government in a number of initiatives. Currently, there are a number of areas in which some work is being done, one of which is the initiating of dialogue with pastoral communities and pastoral organizations that should, hopefully, lead to an increased pastoral capacity to organize, to be accountable, and to participate effectively. Secondly, taking the initiative to increase the understanding on how to incorporate pastoralists into the design and implementation of effective anti-poverty programs. Thirdly, we must support and increase the capacity of government and other resource-led institutions to respond to and benefit from pastoral advocacy and pastoral participation. Fourthly, we must help NGOs and other partners whose activities are aimed at pastoral groups. Finally, the issues of research are important and, again, the issues of technical assistance, cross-border livestock trade from both national as well as sub-regional perspectives, and improving basic facilities such as water and health are important issues and are some of the areas where we are looking for partners.

The PRSP

The idea of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) is something that emerged some three years ago, primarily from discussions led by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The two institutions determined that they would, henceforth, use the PRSP developed by countries as the basis for their programs. Secondly and more importantly, countries that want to benefit from the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief initiative will use the resources so freed for poverty alleviation programs. Therefore, eligibility under the HIPC debt relief initiative is connected with PRSP. Looking at the experiences of other African countries that have worked on the PRSP, the process involves three parts. The first is the basic discussion and agreement by which a country is allowed to do the PRSP with the understanding that it will become part of the HIPC countries. Secondly, once an agreement has been reached and the necessary formalities have been completed, the country is expected to do what is called an Interim-PRSP document. The I-PRSP is, then, forwarded for approval by the WB and the IMF, and once the endorsement has been obtained, it sets the rest of the process in motion. The third and big phase is the preparation of the full or final PRSP. Relating these phases with where Ethiopia is now, the Ethiopian I-PRSP has been done by the government and sent to the WB and the IMF and has been approved and endorsed. Now, Ethiopia is working on the full PRSP. The work towards the full PRSP, in substance, has not yet begun, but the understanding is that, unless some changes are made, Ethiopia is expected to complete the full PRSP by March next year.

What are the issues involved around the preparation of the PRSP?

- **Participation:** It is crucial that as many stakeholders as possible are involved in the process, and that includes donors who are partners in development. All kinds of groups that have something to say should ideally be able to participate in the process. This may not be easy but it is important to the process.

- **Structures:** The set up of structures for the management of the process are necessary. There are variations from country to country, in this regard, but in the case of Ethiopia, we have the general understanding that there will be a steering committee that will be created by the government. The steering committee will then manage and lead the consultative process. In addition to the steering committee, there will be a technical level responsibility that will involve experts from the various ministries and coordinated by the appropriate ministry, probably the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDaC). On the donor side, the Donor Assistance Group (DAG) is going to be the main donor forum that will be working with the government, offering suggestions and assistance in the PRSP process.

With regard to the challenges in the preparation of the PRSP, there are four major points that should be mentioned.

- **The entry point for the preparation of the PRSP that would do justice:** the suggestions of entry points could be sectoral or geographical from policy point of view, etc.
- **The way in which the PRSP is understood:** Is it a document prepared to fulfill the requirements for HIPC purposes for lending or is it a document that in fact can serve as a poverty reduction strategy framework for the country? There could be divergent views in this regard, but now there is an emerging understanding that the document, as much as possible, should go beyond the HIPC requirement and, if it is well done, could be a document that rallies many donors to support activities and, therefore, add more benefits.
- **Duration:** There is an expectation that the process would be completed by March next year. As the country is big, as compared to other African countries, the time pressure will be higher to complete the process in time.
- **The time-frame:** The time-frame for the PRSP is three years. Therefore, no matter how much you discuss or consult, the challenge you finally face is the responsibility to prioritize and determine in the document what you can accomplish within the three year period.

Questions

- ⇒ What are the roles of the UNDP in the preparation, implementation and evaluation of the PRSP?
- ⇒ Considering the number of problems that should be tackled and the diversity of themes, isn't the time-frame is very short?
- ⇒ Considering the diversity of Ethiopia, how are we going to deal with the issue of pastoralists and pastoral areas? Are we going to follow the Kenyan example by dealing with the issues as cross-cutting issues or are we going to have a pastoralist chapter in the PRSP?

Answers

- ⇒ The role that the UNDP is going to assume in the PRSP process, at the moment, is to work with the Donors Assistance Group (DAG). As the process moves on, we intend to help, like we did in other countries, in the process of the consultative and participatory action plan. In other countries, we have been able to respond to the governments' needs to support the process of consultation and participation in the PRSP process. This kind of assistance takes several forms, such as technical assistance, material assistance, etc., to enable the process to be as rich as it should

be. To cite one example, in many countries, where the PRSP process is taking place, we realized that tremendous amount of information is lost because it has become very difficult to capture, synthesize, retain and use all of the ideas that come up during consultations at the different places and various levels. So one of the challenges for a country as big as Ethiopia concerns the kind of information technology capability that we can bring to make sure that all the consultations that take place, diverse and many as they could be, are captured synthesized and stored. This is an area where we can provide some specific assistance. As regards the issues of evaluation and monitoring, we believe that these are important issues, and UNDP has played a role in many countries. We, however, will not be working alone but with other organizations within the UN system and other bi-lateral donors.

- ⇒ It is true that the PRSP process is a mammoth undertaking that requires collective endeavor. If it is a consolation, there is no one expert regarding this undertaking. Therefore, it is a learning process for anyone involved in the process, as it is a new approach towards poverty reduction. Ensuring that the inputs of as many and diverse groups as possible are entertained during the process is paramount, in order to make the end product truly nationally owned. Therefore, what can be stated in view of the magnitude of the task and the time pressure is that it is vital to start thinking and acting as early as possible, regardless of what the grouping is. The second area of preparation is working both on the content and the process. But here, it is important to note that the process is to be led by the government, as it should be, not by any other group. The point here is that other organizations and groups have to be ready to give their inputs when requested.
- ⇒ Whether or not a special chapter should be made is too early to ask. But if groups are working on issues, certainly some of them will find their way into the document in whatever way it is found appropriate at the time. At this stage nobody knows what the Ethiopian PRSP will look like in terms of layout. As the set-up here is different and has its own peculiarities, what can be done is to learn from other experiences and yet realize that there is always room to be innovative.
- ⇒ It was good to see that the WB and the IMF took the initiative to include poverty reduction squarely in their approach for collaborating with countries. This is a significant change in a number of ways from things in the past, and this is to be welcomed very much. There are UN agencies that have poverty reduction at the heart of their mandate, and so, there is an understanding that this is something that deserves joint action. The process may be difficult to understand and the acronyms very confusing but, if we look back, we are doing this because there is an international commitment that by the year 2015 poverty in the world has to be reduced by at least half. This is a lofty objective, and challenging as it is, it should bind all of us to see the PRSP as one instrument that can test the extent to which we can all support a new set of actions so as to work towards this international development goal of reducing poverty.

Comment

- ⇒ When the Ethiopian I-PRSP was submitted by the government to the WB and the IMF for approval, the deadline set for finalizing the full PRSP was December 2001. This submission date now has been pushed further to March 2002, which, considering the fact that the process has not yet been started, is understandable.

During the submission of the I-PRSP, the government was committed to beginning the consultative process within three months time, but it has already been six months since then. One of the reasons for this is that the attention and priority of the government has been shifted to other more important issues of its own. Secondly, because it believes that it has already developed a very good poverty reduction strategy, in the form of the second five-year development program, which it is considering to adopt in the final PRSP. This has to get the attention of all parties concerned, because the issues and concerns of the significant poor majority will not be reflected in the final PRSP. We, on the other hand can also look at the process involved during the preparation of the I-PRSP and the indications apparent as regards the avenues it is planning to follow regarding the preparation of the final PRSP. The committee that was formed to draft the I-PRSP was composed of representatives from selected sectors and from four selected regions only. In this technical committee, regions like Afar and Somali were not represented. For the preparation of the final PRSP, although the government is expected to establish a steering committee that will guide the consultation process, this committee has not been formed yet, but there is also information that the former technical committee has been reinstated and has begun working. The bottom line, therefore, is that forums like PFE and other NGOs have to start immediately to play a pro-active role and lead the process, as it is evident that it may not be wise to wait for the government to start the consultative process.

Questions

- ⇒ How do you see this PRSP initiative with the current trend of the move to globalization?
- ⇒ The implementation of the strategy of the PRSP is said to be funded by the resources to be secured as a result of debt-relief. This implies that a country has to have some money that it is going to pay to its creditors. What happens if a country does not have the money at all, and what would come out of this elaborate process?

Answers

- ⇒ The issue of globalization, looked along side poverty reduction, is a particular challenge. My suggestion for a country like Ethiopia, with partners like us, working on poverty reduction strategy, is that we should not forget the kinds of things that have an influence on poverty eradication and are linked to the global situation. It is not a secret anymore that a lot of decisions that are made in offshore centers for this country affect what happens in this country - the same as for every developing country. Therefore, there is some work to be done externally to provide that friendly environment and, yes, globalization has to be given attention. One can address the sub-set of issues that can be addressed locally, and one should also look into what should be addressed globally.
- ⇒ If there is no funding that a government has, then the amount of money that is supposed to be saved and be reinvested in development activities that are anti-poverty will not be there. That is why, maybe, many people nowadays would like to see, as I also would like to see, that the PRSP goes beyond meeting the HIPC requirements. However, if we have a good strategy framework of poverty reduction that has some good and new entry points, we can mobilize resources, including grant funding resources and rekindle interests.

7. Panel Discussion

The last activity of the conference was a panel discussion. Four panelists proposed ideas as to what the follow-up action by friends of pastoralists should be in view of the objective to ensure the inclusion of pastoralists' issues in the final PRSP. The panelists for this session were:

- * Mr. Beruk Yemane, Ministry of Agriculture
- * Ms. Fatuma Abdikadir, Kenya
- * Mr. Yvon Madore, ORHC-OCHA (UN)
- * Mr. Melakou Tegegn, Panos and PFE

The panelists stated that the PRSP is an initiative to influence the development of poor countries and that it envisages transparency and participation that would ensure the inputs of the main stakeholders, the marginalized poor. It was stated that this opportunity, therefore, has to be used by the friends of pastoralists and pastoralists themselves, in order to ensure that issues focal to pastoral development get through. As nothing has been done till now by the government to initiate the consultative process expected, and as the time-pressure is mounting, it is urgent that civic societies take the initiative and get prepared to get involved in and influence the process of the PRSP. Looking into the proceedings of the conference and the points raised during the discussions, the following recommendations were forwarded:

- ⇔ Make the utmost use of the participatory nature of the process.
- ⇔ Establish a collaborative working relationship with international organizations, such as the UN agencies.
- ⇔ Establish and maintain communication with the responsible government institutions.
- ⇔ Form an action group or a task-force that has members committed to the tasks involved and that undertakes the follow-up of recommendations; taking similar forums to the regions and establish coordination with the donor community.
- ⇔ Mobilize the support and cooperation of other civic organizations.
- ⇔ Work to acquire legitimacy with the government and the pastoralist communities.
- ⇔ Enlist the assistance and support of those working in the government.
- ⇔ Lobby with politicians.
- ⇔ Establish communication in all directions with pastoralists, pertinent government authorities, NGOs and UN agencies.
- ⇔ Set-up a pastoralist task force with the immediate task of following-up on the process.
- ⇔ Form a technical committee with a responsibility to develop a structure, work plan and a plan of action for subsequent activities.
- ⇔ Convey the report of this conference to concerned government authorities.
- ⇔ Utilize the media to promote pastoralist issues.
- ⇔ Review research, surveys and studies made on pastoralism and pastoral areas.

Closing Address

At the end of the two-day conference, the Minister of Agriculture, H.E. Dr. Mengistu Huluka delivered the closing address. In his closing address, the Minister noted that pastoralism, which is a way of life for more than twelve million people of the country, had never commanded the attention it deserved, and the pastoral communities, therefore, had remained marginalized and unable to benefit from development undertakings. In fact, he said, the recurrent drought, which had been severe in the pastoral areas, was at the moment threatening the pastoral way of life. The huge knowledge gap in the understanding of pastoralism has misguided the limited efforts made to solve the problem of pastoral areas. The Minister stressed that what is needed now is to formulate options that would really work for the benefit of the pastoralists. He said that forums like this were necessary to create awareness among the population and to attract the attention of policy makers towards issues relevant to pastoralist concerns. Finally, the Minister said that the government valued such efforts and would do everything possible to facilitate endeavors and to consider the recommendations forwarded during the conference.



AN OVERVIEW OF POVERTY IN AFRICA: PROCESS OF THE POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPERS (PRSPs) IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND THE ETHIOPIAN IPRSP

By: **Dr. Mohammed Mussa**¹

Summary

Over the last 50 years, the international financial institutions, led by the World Bank, have been prescribing different approaches and strategies for tackling poverty in developing countries. However, policy reforms have not resulted in economic growth and poverty reduction. Although some success stories of economic reforms and growth in different countries have been reported, poverty remains pervasive and continues to plague millions of people in most African countries, owing to unequal access to resources and institutional constraints. The preparation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) is the most recent policy tool designed by the World Bank and the IMF. This policy tool is designed under the HIPC initiative for debt relief and assistance to countries that are undergoing the World Bank and IMF supported policy and structural reforms. The results of the PRSP exercise are expected to contribute towards tackling poverty in the countries concerned. Unlike past policy tools, the process of the PRSP encourages the participation of the civil society, the private sector, donor agencies and development partners before being finalized and submitted to the Bank and the Fund for approval. Ethiopia is one of the countries eligible for the preparation of PRSP to acquire the leverage of debt relief and assistance. This paper reviews the poverty situation in Sub Saharan Africa, with a special emphasis on Ethiopia, the policy and structural reforms undertaken and their impacts on poverty reduction. Then, the process of PRSP in general and the content of the Ethiopian Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP) are presented.

1. Introduction and Objectives

Over the last three decades, widespread poverty has prevailed in many Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries, including Ethiopia. Poverty has a multi-dimensional facet and is not characterized only by income status of households or per capita food production but also other non-monetary social dimensions. It is characterized by inadequate food and calorie intake and lack of access to health, nutrition, education, domestic water supplies and sanitations. Thus, poverty in general could be defined as to include all dimensions of the hardship people face (World Bank, 1994). Townsend (1985) defined poverty as “a lack of resources required to participate in activities and to enjoy living standards that are customary or widely accepted in the society in which poverty is measured.”

Poverty can be measured at national and/or household levels. Poverty at the national level is often the reflection of poverty at the household level. Thus, poverty reduction at household level leads to the economic growth and development of a nation (Mohammed Mussa, 1995). Measurement of poverty is problematic, and alternative measurements are used in the development literature (Aldeman and Garcia, 1993; Glewee and van der Gaag, 1988; Ahmed et al., 1991; Haaland and Keddeman, 1984; Dammen, 1986 and Braun, 1992). Two categories are identified by the different measurements of poverty in the literature: absolute poverty and relative poverty. Absolute poverty, measured in terms of a minimum level of calorie intake required for survival (2,100 calorie intake per adult per day) is the most common indicator of poverty, while relative poverty is measured in terms of standard of living, which is considered to be below a

national/international average (Haaland and Keddeman, 1984 and Ahmed et al., 1994).

The available literature on poverty mainly addresses causes of poverty and focuses on household characteristics: age, sex, education, health, asset ownership, etc. A poor household tends to be characterized by high dependency, lack of education, poor access to health, sanitation services, assets, etc. It is often argued that wrong economic policies are the major causes of poverty, while appropriate policies could be the means to attack poverty. The objectives of this paper are to provide: an overview of poverty in SSA with a special emphasis on Ethiopia, the policy and structural reforms undertaken and their impacts on poverty reduction; and the process of PRSP in general and the content of the Ethiopian Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP).

2. Sources of Information

This paper has benefited from various sources of information. World Bank and IMF publications on Africa and other developing countries and published and unpublished papers are some of the sources. The Ethiopian government's five-year development program, the new IPRSP as well as other government documents have also been intensively used for the preparation of this paper. The comments and suggestions made by participants during the conference on "Poverty Reduction Strategy and Pastoral Development in Ethiopia" have also been incorporated in the paper. Some facts and figures on economic growth and poverty situations have been provided for some selected SSA countries that have been practising the Bank and Fund supported policy reforms and undergoing the preparations of the PRSPs under the HIPC Initiative.

3. An Overview of Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa

A recent report, *Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?* prepared jointly by the African Development Bank (ADB), the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA) and the World Bank, states that Africa enters the 21st century comprising some of the poorest countries in the world. About 290 million people, which constitute about 46% of the total population of the region, live on less than a \$1 (one dollar) per day per adult. Average income per capita is even lower than at the end of the 1960s. Incomes, assets, and access to essential services are unequally distributed. Those most vulnerable to poverty live in rural areas, in large female-headed households (World Bank, 2000a).

The social poverty of the region is also on the rise. A significant proportion of the population does not have access to safe water and does not know how to read and write, has limited or no access to social services, such as health and education (World Bank, 2001a). The high prevalence of HIV/AIDS is an additional burden to the socio-economic development process of Africa. HIV/AIDS is killing the productive force, rapidly reversing some of the socio-economic gains of the last 40 years in the region, and causing declines in life expectancy and increases in infant and child mortality rates in the countries that are seriously affected by the epidemic (Botswana, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Lesotho). The SSA region has also experienced declines in school enrollment rates between 1980 and 1994. The combination of low economic growth, the highest rate of population increase in the world (2.7 percent per annum) and a high ratio of dependants to workers puts Africa low on the rankings for the most critical indicators of social progress: how long people live, how much knowledge they acquire, and how much access they have to resources necessary for a better standard of living. The challenge for SSA now is to achieve the international development goal of year 2015 through an economic growth rate of over 7 percent per annum and to make sure that the targeted growth reaches the poorest (World Bank, 2000a).

In 1997, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had estimated human poverty index (HPI) for 77 developing countries, of which about 42% were from the SSA region. The HPI provides an aggregate of the different dimensions of deprivation in human life. It reflects the percentage of the population living below a certain poverty line and does not include all

dimensions of poverty, such as lack of political freedom, lack of personal security, inability to participate freely in the life of the community and threats to sustainability that are hardly measurable and quantifiable. It only includes life expectancy (health), access to education and income status. The results showed that HPI ranges from 3% in Trinidad and Tobago to 62% in Niger. In SSA, the HPI ranges from 25.5% in Zimbabwe to 62% in Niger. According to the HPI measurement, Ethiopia is in the 74th position followed by Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and Niger (UNDP, 1998).

The basic development indicators for some selected SSA countries are given in Table 1. The table shows that the per capita GNP is the lowest in Ethiopia and the highest in Ivory Coast. The growth rate of the per capita GNP seems to be very slow, and negative in some cases. The average growth rate for SSA is negative, since some countries have slow and even declining growth rates in GNP per capita. For instance, Burundi, Rwanda, Cameroon and Zambia have rapidly declining per capita GNP, resulting in the decline of the overall SSA per capita GNP.

Table 1: Basic Development Indicators for Selected SSA Countries

Country	GNP Per Capita	Growth rate (%)	Life Expec.	School Enrollment (%)	1994-97	Secondary	1994-97
	USD		1998	Primary			
	1999	1988-99	1998	1980	1994-97	1980	1994-97
Ethiopia	100	1.3	43	37	43	9	12
Ivory Coast	710	0.6	46	75	71	19	24
Kenya	360	0.0	51	115	85	20	24
Ghana	390	1.5	60	79	79	41	-
Nigeria	260	0.7	53	109	98	18	33
Uganda	320	3.9	42	50	74	5	12
Average for SSA	492	-0.7	50	81	78	15	24

Source: World Bank, 2001, African Development Indicators

Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya have a life expectancy of above 50 years, while that of Ivory Coast, Ethiopia and Uganda is below the average for the SSA region. Overall, the life expectancies of most of these countries have declined compared to the 1992 figures. For instance, in Ivory Coast and Ethiopia, the life expectancies were 56 and 49, respectively in 1992 (World Development Report 1994). The decline in life expectancy at birth in the region is associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the region. Similarly, school enrollment is relatively high in countries with high life expectancy. There is an overall decline in primary school enrollment in the region, while that of the secondary school has increased. This may partly show the education policies and strategies that different countries follow.

Table 2: Poverty Levels in Selected SSA Countries

Country	Survey Year	International Poverty Lines		Poverty gap	
		Less than \$1 per day (%)	Poverty gap (%)	Less than \$2 per day (%)	Poverty gap (%)
Cote D'Ivoire	1995	12.3	2.4	49.4	16.8
Ethiopia	1995	31.3	8.0	76.4	32.9
Kenya	1994	26.5	9.0	62.3	27.5
Ghana	-	-	-	-	-
Nigeria	1997	70.2	34.8	90.8	59.0
Uganda	1992	36.7	11.4	77.2	35.8

Source: World Bank, 2001. World Development Indicators

International poverty lines have been used for comparison of poverty situations in selected SSA countries, as indicated in table 2 above. Nigeria has the highest percentage of the population living under a dollar per day (70.2%), followed by Uganda (36.7%). Ethiopia and Kenya have 31.3% and 26.5% of the population below the international poverty line, respectively. The percentage of the poor that cannot meet the minimum food requirement is also the highest in Nigeria and Uganda. Similarly, the percentage of the population living under two dollars per day is the highest in Nigeria (90.8%), followed by Uganda (77.2%). Although the per capita income is the lowest in Ethiopia, less percentage of the population lives under a dollar per day (31.3%) and under two dollars per day (76.4%). The Ethiopian headcount has declined compared to the 1981-82 survey that indicated nearly 90% of the population living below the poverty line of less than 2% per day (Berhanu Abegaz, 2000).

A policy of economic growth that takes into account the equal distribution of resources could be a strategy for poverty reduction. However, in Africa where there are low incomes and high inequalities and exclusion, economic growth alone is not the solution for poverty reduction. Efforts to tackle extreme poverty during the 1990s were constrained by increasing inequality in a few countries that accounted for a large share of the world's poor. The continued increase in inequality implies failure to reach the poverty reduction targets of developing countries, and in particular the substantial increase in the number of poor in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The consumption poverty of selected SSA countries based on their respective national poverty lines is given in table 3 below. The figures show that Nigeria and Zimbabwe have experienced significant increase in rural and urban poverty. On the other hand, in Ethiopia and Uganda, both urban and rural poverty situations have improved. The squared poverty gaps show that, in Ethiopia and Uganda, economic benefits have filtered down to the poor compared with that of Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

Table 3: Consumption Poverty for Selected SSA countries (based on national poverty lines)

Country	Headcount ratio		Squared Poverty Gap	
	1 st year	2 nd year	1 st year	2 nd year
Ethiopia Rural 1989 and 1995 Urban 1994 and 1997	61.340.9	45.938.7	17.48.3	9.97.8
Ghana 1987 and 1996 Rural Urban	31.937.519.0	27.430.220.6		
Nigeria 1992 and 1996 Rural Urban	42.845.129.6	65.667.857.5	14.215.912.4	25.125.624.9
Uganda 1992 and 1997 Rural Urban	55.659.429.4	44.048.216.3	9.910.93.5	5.96.561.65
Zambia 1991 and 1996 Rural Urban	57.079.631.0	60.074.934.0	25.539.19.7	16.623.15.4
Zimbabwe 1991 and 1996 Rural Urban	37.551.56.2	47.262.814.9	7.210.20.5	9.313.01.4

Source: World Bank, 2000a.

4. Policy Reforms and Poverty Reduction in SSA

Over the last 50 years, the World Bank and IMF have been designing different development strategies for tackling poverty in developing countries. Some of the strategies are interrelated and are designed to strengthen each other. In the 1950s and '60s, development experts viewed investment in physical capital and infrastructure as the primary means of development and poverty reduction. In the 1970s, the strategy shifted its focus to stressing the importance of the social sector and improvement of health and education. It was widely argued that health and education are important not only in their own right, but also in the promotion of growth in the income of poor people (World Bank, 2001a). Therefore, investing in human capital by improving health and education was a strategy that was followed by donors and recipient countries. At the end of the 1980s the development strategy shifted to policy and structural reforms as a way of tackling poverty.

4.1. The Global Development Strategy of the 1980s: Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)

It was felt among the financial institutions that foreign aid would have strong and positive effect on the economies of African countries if they undertook policy and structural reforms. In this connection, structural adjustment program (SAP) was prescribed in the mid-1980s as a remedy to improve the economic performance of the countries concerned. Some African nations and scholars were also convinced that Africa would be one of the fastest growing regions in the world if its nations resolved the constraints that hinder them from developing.

Since the mid -1980s, many African countries have been implementing structural reform and they have also received large amounts of foreign aid that is aimed at stimulating the reforms. Reforms have been substantial in three areas: macroeconomic balance, market forces and private initiative. The modalities of implementation and achievements of SAP differed across countries. Some countries were reported to have been successful in economic growth and poverty reduction, while most of the countries were reported to be even in worse economic conditions, becoming highly indebted in the process. As claimed by the Bank, the reforms have contributed to economic growth in the second half of the 1990s (World Bank, 2000a). In SSA countries where adjustment has been sustainable, the benefits have reached the poor. However, the rural poor who produce tradable goods have benefited more than the urban poor who produce and consume goods (World Bank, 1994: Adjustment in Africa).

A World Bank study (2000b) on “Aid and Reform in Africa” was carried out in 11 Sub-Saharan African countries, including Ethiopia. The findings of the study varied enormously from country to country. Ghana and Uganda were found to be successful reformers that grew rapidly and reduced poverty. Cote d'Ivoire and Ethiopia have shown significant reforms in recent years, but it was too premature to judge their sustainability. The study results further indicated that the rest of the case-study countries showed little or no change in economic growth and poverty reduction even with the foreign aid they got and structural reforms they attempted (S. Devarajan, D. Dollar and Torgny, 2000).

The policy, structural reforms and the SAP prescribed by the World Bank and IMF have, however, been widely criticized and are considered as one of the causes of poverty in many SSA countries. The reforms ignore the social sectors and have negative impacts on the developing nations, resulting in an increased dependency by the developing countries upon the richer nations. “Many developing nations are in debt and poverty partly due to the money-lending programs of institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. The IMF imposes its SAP to ensure debt repayment in such a way that social spending must be cut back. In effect, the IMF demands that these nations lower the standard of living of their population“ (J.W. Smith, 1994).

Some argue that the reforms are not favourable to the poor and worsen the economic situations of countries adopting the reforms. "Debt is an efficient tool. It ensures access to other peoples' raw materials and infrastructure on the cheapest possible terms. Dozens of countries must compete for shrinking export markets and can export only a limited range of products because of Northern protectionism and their lack of cash to invest in diversification. Market saturation ensues, reducing exporters' income to a bare minimum while the North enjoys huge savings. The IMF cannot seem to understand that investing in ... [a] healthy, well-fed, literate population ... is the most intelligent economic choice a country can make." (Susan George, 1990).

The link between policy reforms, economic growth and poverty reduction are also becoming debatable in development literature. It has been argued that economic reform and growth do not necessarily lead to poverty reduction unless suitable policy tools are designed. Most economic reforms have failed to spread their benefits to the poor. In countries where privatization and free market economies are exercised, a large majority of the people has been plagued with poverty.

Unemployment is growing and life expectancy has taken a nose dive (Muna Ndulo, 1999).

As indicated in table 2 above, some SSA countries have progressed in GDP growth and per capita income. However, the poverty levels are still high among significant proportions of their populations. For instance, Uganda and Nigeria have good records in GDP growth rates and per capita income. However, the percentage of the population living under the international poverty line is higher than that of Ethiopia. The poverty gap is also high, indicating that the poor in Nigeria and Uganda are 34.8% and 11.4% short of meeting the required minimum expenditure respectively. In Cote d'Ivoire and Ethiopia, the poverty gaps are relatively lower. This is one of the evidences that economic growth does not necessarily mean poverty reduction or that resources reach the poor. The reasons for this situation could be numerous: corruption, unequal distribution of resources, unbalanced growth in the public and private sectors etc. One major constraint prevailing in policy reforms and poverty reduction efforts is that some governments borrow money and/or get assistance to speed up the process of the reforms. However, some of these governments use the assistance/loan for establishing financial and industrial groups that have political strings to influence the market. These groups which are referred to as party-statal contribute to the imperfect market competition affecting the growth of the private sector seriously (Berhanu Abegaz, 2000).

4.2. The Development Initiatives of the 1990s

In the 1990s, it was learnt that previous approaches and strategies did not succeed much in attacking poverty. International Development Goals (IDG) for the year 2015, relative to 1990, were drawn up by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and endorsed by various UN agencies. These goals, set for the year 2015 relative to 1990, include:

- Reducing the incidence of extreme poverty by half;
- Reducing infant and child mortality by two-thirds;
- Achieving universal enrolment in primary education;
- Eliminating gender disparity in education (by 2005);
- Implementation of national strategies in all countries by the year 2005 to reverse trends in loss of environmental resources by 2015.

Development goals cannot be achieved through economic stabilization and policy adjustment alone – they require holistic and broad based approach/strategy (World Bank, 1999). This strategy builds on the earlier strategies of development in light of the experience learnt. Under this strategy, the participation of various civil society members and other stakeholders is required. In order to achieve the above goals, African countries are required to shape their policies in line with the global economic development direction.

World Bank (2001a) emphasizes that promoting opportunity, empowerment and security is the strategy for attacking poverty. Promoting opportunities entails expanding economic opportunities for poor people by stimulating overall economic growth and by building up their assets and increasing the returns on these assets. This means promoting the job, credit provision, markets for their products and social services. Empowerment, on the other hand, means the participation of civil society in the policy dialogue, making state institutions more accountable and responsive to poor people, strengthening the participation of poor people in political processes and local decision-making, and removing the social barriers that result from distinctions of gender, ethnicity, race and social status. The state can facilitate interactions between local administrations and communities to engender development and reduce poverty. There are two main aspects to this measure: reducing obstacles to collective action in communities and encouraging greater

collaboration between communities and local governments. Furthermore, enhancing security entails reducing poor peoples' vulnerability to ill-health, economic shocks, policy-induced dislocations, natural disasters and violence, as well as helping them cope with adverse shocks when they occur (World Development Report, 2001).

4.3. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)

In order to promote opportunity, empowerment and security, a strategy that allows for the participation of various development stakeholders is required. As discussed earlier, despite the policy and structural reforms and foreign resource flows to many African countries, poverty still remains a serious issue on the agenda. These countries need further assistance and loans to reduce poverty. Therefore, in 1999, the World Bank and IMF initiated a new development strategy. The new development initiative encourages the participation of various stakeholders, including the poor, in the process of developing the strategy. The strategy is meant to provide debt relief for the world's poorest countries. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have determined that nationally-owned participatory poverty reduction strategies should provide the basis for their concessional lending and for debt relief under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. The HIPC Initiative entails coordinated action by the international financial community, including multilateral institutions, to reduce to sustainable levels the external debt burden of heavily indebted poor countries that pursue IMF and World Bank-supported adjustment and reform programs. This approach, building on the principles of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) of the World Bank, has led to the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). National authorities, in consultation with donors, formulate the PRSPs.

The perspective of the World Bank on the PRSPs is that the enhanced framework for poverty reduction seeks to ensure a "robust link between debt relief and poverty reduction by making HIPC debt relief an integral part of broader efforts to implement outcome-oriented poverty reduction strategies using all available resources. The PRSP, once approved by World Bank and IMF, will provide the basis for the tripartite agreement between the two institutions and governments. Accordingly, over 46 developing countries are eligible for preparation of the PRSPs in order to receive external assistance. Some African countries have prepared the full PRSPs and submitted them the World Bank and IMF, while others are still working on the IPRSP. Ghana, Burkina Faso and Tanzania have made progress and have already finalized the full PRSP.

The PRSPs describe the macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs of the countries concerned to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing. They diagnose poverty conditions in a country and present a medium-term action plan to reduce poverty and generate more rapid economic growth. In principle, getting the PRSPs right is very crucial. The PRSPs will not only serve as the framework for the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to craft their lending policies, but they will also be the basis upon which the wider donor community will align their policies and programs in a developing country. Therefore, PRSPs have a leveraging role, not only in terms of debt relief but also in terms of the mobilization of development assistance.

The general objective of PRSPs is to improve the poverty sensitivity of development assistance and country action plans. The necessity of changing past development strategies to better reduce poverty has been recognized by donors and recipient countries. The recognition is based on the following grounds (World Bank Poverty Group, 2000):

- The failure of the past national poverty reduction strategies;
- The mounting influence of the Jubilee 2000 international debt campaign, endorsement

of this campaign by prominent religious leaders, and growing parliamentary and political support;

- The launch of HIPC Initiative II at the G7 Summit in Berlin in mid -1999, which made debt relief conditional on the formulation of a poverty reduction framework;
- The recognition of the negative social impacts of the East Asia crisis;
- Limited sustainability of policy change driven by external conditionality.

According to the principles of the PRSPs, participation of the various community groups enhanced and ensured that the needs of the poor come first in public debate – that, despite various efforts, poverty and inequality still plague developing countries. Experience in many developing countries shows that sustainable development and poverty reduction require a true transformation of the society, driven by the countries in consultation with civil society. Most importantly, the transformation must enjoy broad support from the true experts on poverty – the poor themselves. Furthermore, with rich experience in poverty reduction strategies, countries become the masters of their own development and can articulate a clear vision for the future and a systematic plan to achieve the goals. The participation of civil society in poverty reduction strategies is viewed as essential for their sustainability and effectiveness. Broad-based participation of civil society in the adoption and monitoring of the poverty reduction strategy tailored to country's circumstances will enhance its sustained implementation.

However, the recent prescribed PRSPs are not without criticisms. The papers have been considered as a means to continue the implementation of the harsh policy and structural reform measures (The Business Review. June 2001). The other shortcoming of the PRSPs is associated with the time frame. Some of the HIPC countries have long-term development visions and strategies, often prepared with the support of the UNDP. For instance, Ghana has a vision of 2020 and, also, five-year medium-term plans. Other HIPC countries have 2015 and/or 2020. The time frame of the PRSPs, which involves a three-year cycle, could be a constraining factor for the development process of the respective countries according to their longer visions and strategies. Furthermore, the degree of participation of the different stakeholders is not well defined in the guideline of the PRSP preparations. Participation in the discussions on the IPRSPs does not mean anything unless stakeholders influence the budgeting and implementation of the PRSPs. In almost all cases, consultation with civil society has precluded an open debate on the macro-economic targets and their implications for the spending priorities developed through broad-based consultation. A case in point is Uganda. Uganda is often cited as a model case in participatory PRSP because of the extensive nature of the consultations that NGOs conducted with local communities. The participations of the communities, however, are limited to establishing needs and spending priorities among and within sectors and do not extend to influencing the budgeting and the implementation (Abugre, 2000).

5. The Poverty Situation in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is often reported as one of the poorest countries in the world almost by all dimensions of poverty. This is partly evidenced by the empirical facts discussed above. Regardless of its agricultural potentials, it has not yet managed to attain food security. Agriculture accounts for about 85% of the working force, 90% of the exports and about 50% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the 1980s, the sector grew by only 0.1% per annum, which is 2.9% below the rate of the population growth (Mohammed Mussa and Abiye Astatke, 1996). During 1980-90, the GDP grew at an average rate of 1.1%, while during 1990-99 the growth rate was 4.8% per annum. This situation could be explained by the fact that in the 1980s, the economy of the country had stagnated due to the civil war. It is important to note that the growth rate of the GDP

is attributable to the growth of the agricultural sector due to the application of the extension package in recent years in high potential areas of the country. The 1995/95 CSA Household Income, Consumption and Expenditure Survey estimated that 45.5 percent of the population in the country are absolutely poor, meaning they are unable to lead a life fulfilling the minimum livelihood standard. In 1995-96, about 43% of the farm households were food insecure (Berhanu Abegaz, 2000).

The status and availability of infrastructures, such as road, transport, communication, market, etc., is very poor. Public utilities, such as electricity and water, are unavailable to a significant portion of the population (Mekonnen Manyazewal, 1999). Low level of human development is also one of the ways poverty is manifested in Ethiopia. For instance, life expectancy is about 42 years, which is below the average for SSA countries, 75% of the population has no access to safe water, 54% is without access to health services and 81% without sanitation (UNDP, 1998). Other socio-economic indicators also clearly indicate that poverty exists in the country in its extreme form.

Table 4: Absolute and Relative Poverty Level By Region Using National Poverty Lines

Region	Absolute Poverty (%)	Relative Poverty (%)
Tigray	57.9	39.3
Afar	51.8	38.0
Amhara	56.7	38.6
Oromiya	34.7	19.9
Somali	34.6	17.2
Benshangul-Gumuz	47.6	31.4
Southern Region	56.6	39.9
Gambella	41.8	28.6
Harrari	29.1	17.5
Addis Ababa	30.0	19.7
Dire Dawa	24.6	11.9
National	45.5	29.8

Source: MEDAC, 1999.

The absolute and relative poverty levels are given by region based on the national poverty lines. Although it is not very clear how the poverty lines were drawn, the national absolute poverty line of the country is Birr 1075, while the relative poverty line is Birr 1311 per annum per adult. Absolute poverty level varies from region to region. It ranges from 24.6 and 29.1% in Dire Dawa Administration and Harari Regional State, respectively to 58, 57 and 56 percent in Tigray, Amhara and Southern Regional states, respectively. This implies that in Tigray, more people live below the absolute poverty line compared to other regions. In the case of the relative poverty situation, the highest percentage of poverty is observed in Southern region, 39.9%, followed by Tigray, Afar and Amhara.

The urban population of Ethiopia constitutes 17% of the total population of the country (World Bank, 2001b, World Development Indicators). Urban poverty and inequality have risen owing to population increase, retrenchment, rural-urban migration and internally displaced people due to the boarder conflict with Eritrea. The CSA data shows the significant difference in poverty levels between urban and rural areas. According to the survey, about 47 percent of the rural population

lives below the national absolute poverty line, while 33 percent of the urban population is found in absolute poverty (MEDAC, 1999).

Since 1992, Ethiopia has been exercising economic reform geared towards sustainable economic growth. The government of Ethiopia has shown commitment in the policy and structural reforms of the country. The policy reform has attracted sizeable increase in external assistance to support liberalization, stabilization and rehabilitation. Ethiopia has managed to attract USD 17 billion in official development assistance during the period of 1980-97, which is about 16% of the GDP of the country. The increase in external assistance facilitated the commitment of the government in the reform and also in economic growth (Berhanu Abegaz, 2000). However, the assistance in the 1980s had a minimal impact on economic growth and poverty reduction, mainly due to the civil war.

Some improvements have been observed in the social indicators of the country since the implementation of the policy reform. In 1980, 3.1% of the GDP was spent on education, while in 1997 this figure increased to 4% of the GDP (UNDP, 1998). However, despite the structural and policy reforms and loans and assistance obtained from various sources, poverty still remains pervasive and millions of people are plagued by it. Although information on the relationship between policy reform, economic growth, and poverty reduction is scanty, the overall situation indicates that policy reforms have not managed to tackle the poverty issue. Ethiopia is also on the list of heavily indebted poor countries seeking debt relief and more assistance for poverty reduction programs.

6. Ethiopia and the PRSP

Ethiopia is one of the countries eligible for the preparation of IPRSP and for benefit from the debt relief program and further assistance from the World Bank, IMF and other multi-lateral and bi-lateral organizations. The country qualifies for three major reasons: it is among the poorest countries in the world, it is highly indebted and exercises policy and structural reforms. Accordingly, the country has prepared the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP), which it submitted to the World Bank and IMF in December 2000. For this purpose, a Donors Assistance Group (DAG) has been established to provide technical inputs in the preparation of the PRSP. The DAG, the World Bank and IMF have already given their comments on the first IPRSP. Suggestions on the issues that need to be included/strengthened in the full PRSP have also been made.

The participation of civil society, the private sector and development partners in the process of finalizing the full PRSP is encouraged by the World Bank and IMF as well as by the Ethiopian government. Thus, various civil society groups and development partners are discussing the Ethiopian IPRSP so that their views will be captured in the full PRSP. The Pastoralist Forum of Ethiopia (PFE) is one of such concerned groups, which organized a conference for discussion on the IPRSP in relation to pastoral issues.

7. An Overview of the Ethiopian I-PRSP

This section provides only the summary of the Ethiopian IPRSP. Critical review and comments are not given in this section. Instead, some comments and recommendations have been presented under the concluding remarks.

Generally, the IPRSP of Ethiopia is the second five-year development plan of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In fact, the second five-year plan is a follow-up on the first one with some modifications. All the elements of the IPRSP are also found in the EPRDF development document. The IPRSP, in its first sections, presents the poverty situation of

the country and the various macroeconomic indicators. The poverty situation is analyzed using the 1995/96 HHICE data of the Central Statistical Authority (CSA). Poverty indicators in the economic and social sectors of the country are provided and analyzed in the IPRSP.

The IPRSP presents a broad outline for reducing poverty, which is based on the development strategy of the country. The poverty reduction strategy is centered on promoting economic growth and increasing the income earning capacity of the poor. It comprises four main blocks, namely: an agricultural-development-led-industrialization (ADLI) strategy which is the core element of poverty reduction in the country; civil service and judicial reforms; decentralization and empowerment; and capacity building. The inter-relations between the blocks have also been established and discussed in the IPRSP.

Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI)

The Ethiopian development strategy is ADLI. The ADLI strategy is based on using agriculture as a primary motive to generate increased output, employment and income for the people, and as the springboard for the development of the other sectors. The agricultural sector is the crucial part of the country's poverty reduction strategy. In the IPRSP, it has been emphasized that agricultural growth should improve the food security and the poverty situation in the country. In this regard, technological improvement in the sector that would allow the good performance of the agricultural sector has been considered as one of the strategies for poverty reduction in the country. To this effect, the application of the extension package is discussed in the IPRSP. The extension package, with direct application of the new technologies on individual farmers, plots with the active participation of the farmers themselves, has been recorded as a key factor in agricultural growth. Improvement in technology, rural finance, rural infrastructure, internal and external markets and the role of the private sector have been well reflected as the major components of the ADLI. As indicated in the IPRSP, the extension package has so far reached about 37% of the farming households in rural Ethiopia. During 1993-98, crop production had an annual growth rate of 4.9%. It is to be noted however, that the extension package is applied in high potential areas with adequate rainfall.

Regarding dry-land agriculture, some progresses were stated in the IPRSP - afforestation, soil and water conservation and terracing were some of the measures taken to improve the food security situation in the dry-land agriculture areas. The country has also developed food security policy and strategies for low potential and drought-prone areas of the country. The policies and strategies are also developed at the regional level. Tigray, Amhara, Southern Nations and Oromia have developed such policies and strategies.

The civil service and judicial reforms, as well as decentralization and empowerment, have been well stated in the IPRSP. The civil service reform falls outside the economic domain and belongs to political transformation. However, it is believed that achieving economic development and poverty reduction goes hand in hand with civil service and judicial reforms. The regionalization policy of the country is considered as a means of giving more responsibilities to the regions, and is expected to bring decision-making closer to the people.

Sector Development Programs (SDPs)

The IPRSP also addresses the sectoral programs of the country, which were developed in the late 1990s and are under implementation. The multi-year sector development programs include the health, education and road sectors as well as projects in agriculture and rural development. The programs are financed partly by the Ethiopian government and partly by multi-lateral and bilateral donor agencies.

Agriculture

The IPRSP provides the different strategies followed in the agricultural sector. The agricultural development strategy of the country since the 1960s had been an area-based package program. However, in the 1990s, this strategy was shifted to countrywide program and was limited to agricultural and credit components. This first program focused on the application of fertilizer and improved seeds in relatively high potential areas with adequate and reliable rainfall. The application of the new extension package has been considered a major factor in crop production growth - from 0.6% in 1994/95 to 49.2% in the year 1999/2000.

The second countrywide program focuses on dry-land agricultural areas, where the rainfall is erratic. Some progresses were reported in the IPRSP in the area of afforestation, soil and water conservation, tree planting and terracing. The community was involved in food-for-work program for these activities, which was also a means of ensuring food security. It was not, however, denied that impact of these activities was minimal due to lack of technologies. Furthermore, attempts were made to introduce irrigation schemes with diversion of small rivers and building small dams. The acquisition and adoption of suitable technological packages for moisture-stress, drought-prone areas still remains the outstanding task for the coming years.

The third countrywide program covers livestock production, which was initiated in 1999. Although the figure could be disputable, it was stated in the IPRSP that about 75% of the livestock resource of the country is found within the smallholder agricultural areas and the rest in pastoral areas. The program has three components: production of animal feed and forage, improvement of animal health services and betterment of livestock breed. It is envisaged to reinforce the capacity of the relevant offices at the federal and regional levels so as to extend improved technologies, products and services to farmers, with the eventual aim of increasing livestock productivity and production.

As stipulated in the IPRSP, the plan for the agricultural sector for the coming five years is to strengthen and carry forward the existing programs in high potential areas and increase the training level of extension workers and supplies of inputs. In the food-insecure areas, it is planned to increase the ability of households to purchase food through various means, including farm and off-farm activities. In the regions where the most vulnerable population resides, the respective regions have identified various projects at the woreda level to address the problems of food-deficit households. As stated in the IPRSP, the time frame for such projects is seven years. On the other hand, the time frame of the PRSP is only three years, which would need further thinking by the government – all donor funding is to be tailored according to the full PRSP, which must be approved by the Bank and the Fund. The IPRSP has failed to address the concerns of the pastoralists, who account for about 12% of the population and occupy 60% of the territory of the country, and who are the most food-insecure.

Social Sectors

The health and education sectors are referred to as strategic sectors, which means that healthy and educated human resources would be required in order to carry out economic activities for economic growth and poverty reduction. The agricultural sector, which is the main sector, forming the basis for poverty reduction, requires healthy and skilled human resources. Rural roads are also strategic for accessing the poor and also for the poor to access social and other services and promote the economic sectors. In the IPRSP, the objectives and the targets of the social sectors, roads and ESRDF have been set. The sector objectives and targets are summarized as follows:

Education Sector Development Program (ESDP): The ESDP plans the expansion of educational opportunities in a manner that is directly linked with the present and future economy of the country. The primary focus of the ESDP is the improvement in quality of education and expanded access to education. It emphasizes primary education in rural areas as well as the promotion of the education of girls.

The goals for the first five years, among others, could be summarized as: a) increasing enrollment from 3.4 million to 7 million; b) improving the quality of education through improved provision of textbooks on core subjects to each child, improving educational facilities, and improving teacher training; c) expansion of higher education— education, public health and medicine, engineering, economics, management and accounting; d) encouraging the participation of the private sector.

Health Sector Development Program (HSDP): The goal of the HSDP is to improve the coverage of primary health services from about 40 percent to 55 per cent and immunization from 67 per cent to 80 per cent over the five years to 2002.

The HSDP focuses on developing comprehensive and integrated primary health care services at all levels, with primary emphasis on community level; appropriate first referral and other hospital services; and realistic and equitable solutions for the rehabilitation and expansion of basic infrastructure and provision of standard equipment. The program is designed to tackle communicable diseases, reproductive health, the treatment of basic infectious diseases, and the control of epidemic diseases and immunization. These are the most prevalent health problems in Ethiopia.

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia is among the highest in the world. Therefore, as stated in the IPRSP, a five-year strategic plan, covering the period of 2000-2004, has been formulated at federal and regional levels. An HIV/AIDS secretariat has been established under the responsibility of the President of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Road Sector Development Program (RSDP): Ethiopia's current road network is very inadequate and most of the farms are very far from all-weather roads. To improve the road network the Government has designed the RSDP, and its implementation is getting underway. The RSDP aims to increase the road network by 80 percent by the year 2007. The RSDP is estimated to cost US\$ 3.9 billion. This is to be financed by the Ethiopian Government and donors.

The Ethiopian Social Rehabilitation and Development Fund (ESRDF). The ESRDF is designed to provide technical and financial support to enable communities to rehabilitate or construct and maintain social and economic infrastructure. These include: a) basic health and education facilities; b) rural water supply; c) small-scale irrigation; and d) capacity building for communities and those involved in the implementation of the program. The program is estimated to cost US\$242 million. The World Bank covers US\$120 million, the Government US\$36.35 million, Community Contribution US\$24.25 million and bilateral donors financing close to US\$61.80 million.

The main macroeconomic targets to be addressed are set in the IPRSP. The comments of the World Bank and the IMF on the targets are that they are consistent with the goals of the poverty reduction. The targets aim at poverty reduction by promoting higher growth and increasing social expenditure. The main macroeconomic targets indicated in the IPRSP include the following:

1. GDP growth of 7% per annum during 2000/01 – 2002/03;

2. Containment of inflation to low single digit rates;
3. Reduction of the overall fiscal deficit, including grants, to less than 7% of the GDP;
4. Reduction of current external deficit, including grants, to less than 6% of GDP.

The IPRSP also has what is called a policy matrix, which summarizes the issues discussed in the main text of the IPRSP. It indicates the objectives, policy measures to be taken and the implementation schedule. There is no doubt that the implementation schedule could be affected by the long process of the financial institutions to release funds.

8. Concluding Remarks

A review of the literature on poverty showed that despite the efforts made in policy and structural reforms in SSA countries, poverty has become pervasive in most of these countries. Africa joins the 21st century with the poorest countries in the world affected by economic and social poverty. About 290 million people live on less than a dollar per day per adult, and social services are inadequate. For Africa to achieve the international development goals, new strategies and approaches of economic growth and development are required. The review further indicates that, owing to unequal distribution of resources in Africa, policy reforms and economic growth alone are not enough for poverty reduction. Some countries have good records of economic growth and high GNP per capita. However, the proportion of their population living below the poverty lines is higher than that of the countries with lower growth rates and GNP per capita. This situation mainly suggests that there is unequal distribution of resources and that economic benefits do not reach the poor. Therefore, inclusion policies should be designed in order to reach the poor and reduce poverty.

The World Bank and IMF have prescribed a new strategy of development for attacking poverty in developing countries. The strategy leads to the preparation of the PRSPs for countries undergoing the policy and structural reforms. The preparation of the PRSPs has been initiated under the HIPC debt relief and assistance initiative geared towards poverty reduction. The HIPC Initiative entails coordinated action by the international financial community, including multilateral institutions, to reduce to sustainable levels the external debt burden of heavily indebted poor countries that pursue IMF and World Bank-supported adjustment and reform programs. Accordingly, many developing countries, including those in SSA, are preparing the PRSPs in consultation with the Bank and IMF.

Ethiopia is one of the countries eligible for the preparation of the PRSP and getting the leverage of debt relief and more assistance targeted for poverty reduction. The Ethiopian IPRSP is currently being discussed in various civil society and development partners' forums. It is expected that the full PRSP will capture the perceptions and recommendations of the various stakeholders.

It has been stressed in the IPRSP of Ethiopia that the development strategy of the country is Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI). Obviously, the agricultural sector is the main base for poverty reduction efforts in the country, and the success in reducing poverty mainly depends on the performance of the agricultural sector, which is expected to enhance industrialization in the country. Agricultural development is a combination of crop production and livestock production. To this effect, the pastoral and agro-pastoral systems are the major contributors of livestock for export and for domestic consumption. For instance, about 90% of the country's livestock export comes from the pastoral areas. However, past and present development

policies and strategies have often ignored the pastoral production system. The IPRSP has paid very little attention to how poverty in the pastoral system of the country should be addressed. For agriculture to serve as a leading sector for attacking poverty, there will be a need to pay attention to the issue of pastoralism – human health, education, infrastructure, livestock production, marketing, etc. The full PRSP is expected to incorporate these and other pastoral issues.

The review of literature suggests that economic growth alone is not the means to attack poverty and reduce the poverty gaps. Thus, inclusion policy needs to be devised in order to address this issue. Targeting the poor, improving social services and infrastructure (public goods), employment generation for the poor, provision of credit are among the areas of concern that need to get due attention for attacking poverty. Therefore, the full PRSP needs to pay due attention to this important aspect of poverty reduction.

It is worth noting that the Ethiopian PRSP should follow a participatory procedure in order to assess who the poor are and where they are located. This exercise needs to be carried out in consultation with the community, including the poor. Participatory, action-oriented research methods are becoming increasingly important in identifying poverty targets. One of these methods is Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA). Various stakeholders, mainly the poor, are involved in the process of problem identification, prioritization and implementation. Kenya, Uganda and Zambia have already undertaken the PPA for the preparation of their full PRSPs. Therefore, Ethiopia, which has heterogeneous communities with different needs and priorities, should adopt such methods for targeting the poor in its poverty reduction plans.

The experiences of some SSA countries have shown that promotion of the private sector is one of the strategies for attacking poverty. The private sector could contribute to employment generation and production of goods and services for domestic consumption and export. As the main development strategy of the country is ADLI, encouraging foreign and domestic investment in the agricultural sector is crucial to the poverty reduction plan. However, in the IPRSP of Ethiopia, these issues have not received due attention, which will hopefully be addressed in the full PRSP.

The PRSP has a three-year cycle, and progress reports need to be submitted to donors periodically. However, the country has some agricultural projects with 5-7 project-life years. To this effect, the possible gap between the reporting period and release of funding could be problematic for the continuation of the projects. Therefore, there is a need to make compromises with the donor community, which, in the future, will base their assistance on the PRSP for longer-term financial assistance for special projects without sticking to the cycle of the PRSP and the progress reports.

Monitoring and evaluation systems are part and parcel of implementing such important poverty reduction strategy projects. In the IPRSP, the system of monitoring and evaluation and the stakeholders who will be involved in the process are not indicated. It is envisaged that the full PRSP will take care of this crucial aspect of poverty reduction plan in Ethiopia.



DIMENSIONS OF PASTORAL POVERTY IN ETHIOPIA

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PART I

Dimensions of Pastoral Poverty in Ethiopia

The Pastoral areas cover some 61% of the national land area of Ethiopia and are home to some 12% of the human population, that is, about 7.5 million people. These communities (about 29 Cushitic- and Nilotic-speaking ethnic groups) are largely engaged in extensive livestock herding, combined with opportunistic cultivation, and local and cross-border trade. The pastoral livestock rely on natural vegetation. The pastoralists have been self-sufficient and able to tackle problems of poverty. Moreover, they contribute to the local and national economy of the country. But since their incorporation, and especially since the past four decades, pastoralists have been subjected to interventions that have led to increased poverty in their respective areas (Hogg 1997, Coppock 1995).

THE ISSUE

The different dimensions of the current pastoral poverty cannot be explained just by using one factor or variable but by a range of interconnected factors. In this paper an attempt will be made to show the dimensions of pastoral poverty, the factors responsible for the poverty, and the degree of poverty, as observed among three representative pastoralist communities. The first part of the paper outlines the historical dimensions and roots of pastoral poverty, starting with their administrative and political marginalization; the second part outlines the economic aspects of marginalization by focusing on the policies of the state; and the third part deals with the responses of pastoralists to marginalization and how these responses added to their poverty. The final part deals with what should be done to eradicate poverty in pastoral areas.

1.1 Traditional and Changing Views About Poorness and ‘Pastoral Poverty’ and Community-Based Poverty Eradication Practices

The local view of wealth differentiation is very blurred. A rich person (*gadali/taguru*) is one who owns sufficient livestock of all types and a large family as well as other income sources. But more importance is given to livestock wealth, particularly camels and cattle. A poor person (*tu dagoyta /tu-mali /maskintu*) is one with insufficient livestock, family members and no other income sources and, therefore, dependent on community social investment or network support.

The Afar maintain that differences in wealth are insignificant in their social relationships. Because both rich and poor are there for each other in mutual interdependence. The existence of difference in wealth is acknowledged but is deliberately ignored. According to the Afar, no Afar is born ‘poor’ (*maskintu*) or ‘rich’ (*taagiru*). It is a person himself who turns himself or his

family into 'poor', mainly through carelessness, self-love (*goba*) and mismanagement of family resources. A 'poor' person can become 'rich' through effort, effective management of livestock, and by being generous towards his community members. Both poverty and richness are, therefore, temporary phenomena. Unless a person continues to be a '*goba*' he will not become or be regarded as 'poor'. Similarly, a rich man's wealth-standing may totally change due to unexpected misfortunes, such as droughts, epidemics, raids, or bad management of livestock.

The Afar differentiates the quality (status) of a person who is 'poor' from that who is 'greedy' (*ganahur*) (m) and 'very selfish' (*goba*). A '*goba*' is a 'self-loving' or a self-concerned person. This quality of a person applies to all wealth, age and sex categories. Unlike 'poorness', this quality is despised and disapproved, because a '*goba*' person unlike a '*greedy*' person, may improve his character through time. The Afar view of sharing resembles that of the pastoral Boran Oromo people, Somali and many other pastoralists of Ethiopia and the Horn.

Sharing must be distinguished from 'giving' when begged, which is very common. To be a '*goba*' or '*ganaur*' and engage in continuous begging is a socially disapproved practice (irrespective of wealth difference). The Afar beg from each other. Everything is begged for except a woman (wife). In Afar perception, begging (like sharing or gift) is a reciprocal activity and is not very different from sharing. Both poor and rich beg from each other (they borrow from or lend to each other). However, this practice, too, is ignored. People appreciate the predicament of a poor person who is aged and destitute (*dagohayta/maaskintu*), such as a good herdsman who has been overwhelmed by old age and has no caretaker. Such poor community members are more tolerated by all members than a '*goba*' or greedy person. With the socio-economic changes that are taking place, the continuity of such 'egalitarian' values appears to have become questionable. New forms of inequality are evolving that make these noble Afar values obsolete and largely impracticable (Getachew 1997b: 250-251, Getachew 2001).

Boran and Somali Views of Poverty or 'to be Poor'

Baxter (1990, 1991) speaks of the notion of poorness or poverty among the pastoral Boran. He notes that the loss of stock and the subsequent destitution have generally been considered as if they were economic, only to the neglect of human factors, such as sociability and maintenance of neighborhood solidarity (1991: 13). In Baxter's words:

'the consequences of the loss of stock and consequent destitution have generally been considered as if they were economic problems consequent on the loss of livelihood. They are, of course, in part, economic, but they are much more than that. A pastoralist's livestock cannot simply be reduced to figure in a bookkeeper's ledger, as if they were battery-hens or pigs. Firstly, stock are components in a larger productive system that seeks above all to maintain the stock holding unit itself, that is, to maintain both the stock and the people who tend them and depend on them, and not just to turn a paper profit. Traditional modes of pastoral production have been modified to achieve this double task, of feeding and maintaining the family unit, most effectively. When rural development agencies ignore this social purpose and concentrate on the economic then their efforts founder. It was not chance that the peoples who have best survived the droughts of the last twenty years have generally been those who have been less 'developed', in the sense, that is, of being most oriented to cash production. Property is never inert, but where stock are incorporated into ongoing social lives it assumes particular additional value, indeed it is transformed. Cattle have genealogies as well as pedigrees. A beast that has been allocated for bridewealth or sacrifice will have an ascertainable cash price, but that will be only part of its value. The contextual value of a beast is irrelevant to the butcher or to the rangeland manager. To measure pastoral production in 'standard livestock units'

or in 'kilo calories' is convenient for some simple purposes, but generally it denatures, demeans, diminishes and distorts. It is the equivalent of categorizing soldiers as 'replacements' or working people as 'hands', and can only be done by distancing the observer from life. Such detached observer categories legitimize exploitation by ignoring folk categories and concerns. As Somali proverb puts it: 'To be without livestock is slavery.' (1991: V).

To be stockless deprives a pastoralist of his or her identity and has endless cultural ramifications. The relationships between elders and juniors, between genders (especially between parents and children and between spouses) and between affines are quite altered (Baxter 1991: 14). Baxter also notes that

“the Boran, for example, in addition to economic loss, have experienced bitter spiritual loss. They have not been able to maintain properly their full range of prayers and rituals, which require the regular sacrifice of stock, butter and coffee beans (*bun*). Spiritual relationships have become as attenuated as social relationships. It is no wonder that the poor have become followers of Sheikh Nur Hussein of Bale (Islamicized). They have not only been deprived of sociability, conviviality and commensality, but of those realms of traditional life which were bound up with rituals of sacrifice. They are left to a life of hardship and struggle bereft of the cheer and the sustenance of traditional rituals (Baxter, 1987; 1990a, 1990b, 1991).

He further adds that this is not an area of life which development has ever been much concerned with; unless it has been to proselytize.” (1991: 14-15).

PART II:

The beginnings of Marginalization of Pastoralists and the Origins of Pastoral Poverty: Misconceptions and Cultural Prejudices towards Pastoralism and Pastoralists and their Contribution to Pastoral Poverty

Multiple factors and variables that shaped government policies might explain the marginalization of pastoralists and the poverty situation among them. These may include the cultural backgrounds of those elites who controlled the political, economic and policy decision making power in various institutions of the Ethiopian state.

In fact, cultural prejudices of the non-pastoral administrators, settler communities and development planners have their contribution to the marginalization of pastoralist communities and to their subsequent poverty. Accordingly, the roots of the political, administrative and social exclusion of Ethiopian pastoralists and their subjection to inappropriate development and administrative interventions as well as their increasing impoverishment could be explained by the negative attitudes (cultural prejudices) and the contempt shown towards them and pastoralism itself by non-pastoralists as well as educated pastoralist elites. Most of those individuals that were involved in the country's administrative, educational and other national institutions come from non-pastoralist, sedentary and agricultural backgrounds. These individuals in higher echelons of the Ethiopian State and in the pastoral areas tended to consider nomadic pastoralists (*zelan*)¹ and pastoralism as culturally and economically the most backward (*huwalaqer*, uncivilized, lawless). These individuals and their negative attitude to pastoralists and their way of life dictated the development thinking and modes of governance of pastoralists'; such as: what to do with nomadic pastoralists; how they should be governed; how to change their backward life style and economy; and how to modernize and improve their standard of living and encourage them to contribute to the national economy.

2.1 Historical Dimensions of Pastoral Poverty

Beside the cultural prejudices, the roots of the pastoralists' political and administrative marginalization in Ethiopia lay in the processes of the formation of the Ethiopian Empire at the turn of the 19th century, when the pastoralist areas, which roughly constituted the pastoral regions today - Afar, Somali, Borana, Oromia and Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz, southern Omo in SNPP - were incorporated into the boundaries of the Ethiopian state. They became political subjects of the Ethiopian State. The state claimed for itself the most fertile, well-watered high areas and high potential grazing areas, which it then allocated to settlers from the highlands of Ethiopia, soldiers, and their families.

2.2 Administrative Marginalization of Pastoralists and their Leadership

In the early days of the conquest, the Imperial State and its governors in the pastoral areas abolished the traditional administrative structures and authority of pastoralist communities. The government officials in the pastoral areas made very little attempt to reorganize the pastoralist leaders and the governance structures of nomadic pastoralists other than imposing tribute and taxation on livestock and pasture use .

Non-pastoralist staff recruited from northern settlers but assisted by a minority elite recruited from local pastoralists dominated the administration and security police. In addition, whenever it was possible and found suitable, the Imperial State officials in the pastoral provinces officially recognized or confirmed existing tribal and clan administration/leadership structures and leaders. In some pastoral areas they simply and very arbitrarily imposed their own appointees from among settlers or the local elite on the pastoralist groups (such as the Afar, Somali, Boran and Garri and others), as the official representatives in the provincial administrative bureaucracy. These non-local administrative officials and security forces, who were based in garrison towns (katamas), shared with the so called pastoralist representatives (*ye-gossa teteris*, which were given official titles as *balabat*, *chiqa shum* and *ye gobez aleqa, mislene*) the task of collecting livestock and pasture use taxes and other forms of levies from pastoralist communities. Besides, they assisted in the maintenance of peace and security, dispute settlement and the implementation of government policies. The pastoralist elites, on the other hand, gradually lost their position of power within the governing structure (state bureaucracy and administrative structures) of the provinces and the country due to the abolishing of the traditional pastoralist governance structures and local authority of elders as well as of the legal and conflict management structures. Because of the integration the traditional leadership or local authority, legal institutions, laws and sanction-enforcing bodies could no longer effectively defend the pastoralists' rights on their tribal lands against the state-designed land alienation policies and state-led development initiatives. As inferior or junior partners in the administration, pastoralist leaders were not in a position to demand the social service deliveries needed by members of their communities, nor were they in a position to solve conflicts through traditional mechanisms. Thus, the erosion of pastoral governance has contributed to the exposure of pastoralists to circumstances that led to their increasing impoverishment.

2.3 Cultural Prejudices and Contempt Shown towards Pastoralists

The political and administrative domination and subjugation of pastoralists and their leaders by the Ethiopian state and the mutual ignorance, misconceptions and misunderstandings about each other, mutual exclusion and avoidance, mutual distrust and cultural prejudices have contributed to the marginalization of pastoralists and their subjection to policies that accelerated their impoverishment.

The rigidly parochial and paternalistic attitude of the administrative officials and security forces towards pastoralists meant the political, administrative and social exclusion of pastoralist groups and their leaders from equal participation in the decision-making processes of the state. Socially, the administration officials in the pastoralist areas shared no cultural values, religion, language, and economic and political interests with the pastoral communities. Besides, since there was very little or indirect interaction between pastoralist leaders and non-local administrators, or between settlers and the subjugated and dominated pastoralists, the development of negative attitudes towards each other became inevitable. Moreover, the governors and settlers treated the pastoralist communities and their traditional leaders as culturally inferior (*hwalaqer* and *nyalseletenu zelanoch*) and who ought to be uplifted (cultivated, civilized) under the benevolent guidance of the administrators and settlers from the north. The pastoralists and their leaders on their part saw the governors and settler soldiers as very arrogant, coercive, highly extractive in their administrative practices and treatment of the people. In other words, the people considered the government officials as alien and, therefore, unrepresentative of their rights and interests.

The attitudes and cultural prejudices of the settlers and officials have also shaped the administrators' actions in the pastoral areas, actions intended to Ethiopianize pastoralists, and these inappropriate interventions resulted in the gradual impoverishment of the majority of the pastoralist communities of Ethiopia, as shall be investigated next.

2.4 Creation of Border Restrictions on Pastoralists, Stock Mobility and their Contribution to Pastoral Poverty

Another aspect of the marginalization of Ethiopian pastoralists was the creation of fixed administrative structures and the restrictions imposed on pastoralists through the arbitrary administrative actions of early Imperial administrators, which started in the 1930s and later increased in the mid-1940s and 1950s. Beside the international colonial borders which were arbitrarily drawn by Ethiopia and the colonial powers, the Ethiopian administrators in the pastoral areas, in their attempt to control mobility of the people, stem inter-tribal conflicts, livestock raiding, and levy taxes on them, created tribal lands/areas (*ye gossa gitosh kilel*). Besides they arbitrarily allocated water wells to each pastoralist community in Borana, Somali and Boran regions. To enforce this measure and to make the pastoralists respect state borders, these early administrators introduced regulations by which they punished herders and their leaders who failed to confine themselves to the areas they were allocated (even at times of serious droughts, outbreak of epidemic, and resources scarcity). Besides, the Imperial administrators established a good number of police stations and garrisons in some selected locations (especially in dry-season pasture areas and well sites) a measure aimed at enforcing the rules in the tribal areas and to stem cross-border movements by pastoralists (to evade taxation and retaliation by government troops).

The creation and enforcement of tribal grazing territories and the international state borders both resulted in restricting the mobility of pastoralists and their livestock within the confined territories. These administrative and political measures were meant to control pastoralist communities, to maintain peace and security in favor of the state and to levy multiple taxes on the pastoralist peoples. But these interventions had negative impacts on the pastoralist populations in the hinterlands and border regions of Ethiopia. The international borders resulted in the separation of pastoralist groups, families and the division of their respective territories among two or three countries. It also disrupted migration and settlement patterns, trade networks, disrupted pastoralists' access to their own and other regional grazing and water resources. Moreover, it drastically weakened traditional herd management practices, which were based on extensive physical mobility of herders and stock; it eroded and, at times, abolished long-established non-territorial and non-kinship/descent-based inter-ethnic and inter-clan social, economic and political relationships and regional alliances for resource sharing, reciprocal stock exchange, crisis

management, restocking institutions and conflict management. Weakening and abolishing these established regional inter-ethnic networks encouraged the evolution of narrow descent and ethnic identity based on separate territorial claims. This development caused intensive and frequent inter-ethnic territorial and resource conflicts, livestock raiding and increased insecurity for pastoralist families. Besides, the congregation of people and their livestock within the confines of the tribal territories and within state borders reduced access to regional livestock and food markets, with no increased off-take of livestock, led to increasing resource degradation, prevalence of human and livestock diseases, and the vulnerability of pastoral people and livestock to droughts and resource scarcity. With the prevalence of droughts and the outbreak of diseases, loss of livestock by pastoralist families and communities became very high and people died from famine and diseases. Moreover, due to the breakdown of inter-ethnic crisis management and restocking practices, the ability of pastoralist families to recover from the loss of livestock and rebuilding the depleted stock diminished, and many families became poorer and poorer.

The impacts of the above stated administrative interventions in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia (Afar, Somali and Borana) have substantially contributed to the exacerbation of the loss of livestock by the majority of pastoralist families. As shall be explored in the next section, the poverty situation of pastoralists has been further worsened due to economic development and land use policies implemented by the subsequent governments of Ethiopia between the 1960s and 2000.

2.5 State Development Policies and Economic Marginalization of Pastoralists

Political and administrative marginalization of pastoralists and their exclusion from participation in the state, together with the weakening of pastoral governance system paved the way to their economic domination. Starting with the mid-1960s up until recently pastoralist peoples of Ethiopia have been subjected to an increasing economic alienation by the state and its militarily and politically stronger allies. The agricultural transformation and land policies (nationalization and privatization of land) as well as policies geared toward the promotion of livestock development, conservation and tourism adopted by the subsequent governments of Ethiopia since the early 1960s were intended to satisfy the food demands development needs of the country. They were also meant to conserve the natural environment - fauna and flora and soil resources - in the pastoral areas. These policies were implemented using western expertise, scientific (western) knowledge, institutions and imported inputs, without any attempt to integrate pastoralists' knowledge, institutions and technologies and without keeping the interests of the pastoral peoples in mind. As a result, high potential grazing lands (dry season pastures) and water resources along the Awash valleys (Omo, Shebele, and Baro river) have been converted into state- or privately owned, large-scale, mechanized commercial farms to produce cash crops, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, sesame and fruits and beef.

Similarly, settlement farm schemes and livestock development programs (such as NERDU, JIRDU and SORDU) were established in the Afar, Somali and Borana areas beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the 1980s. These were intended to increase the pastoralist populations' contribution to the national economy through improved livestock production.

Besides, state-initiated and state-owned National parks and game and forest reserves have been created in the pastoral areas (as in Afar, Oromiya, Somali and south Omo) to conserve the wild life resources and forests and to increase the national income of the state through the development of the tourist industry. But no attempt has been made by the state and its development planners to integrate the traditional users of the park areas and forest reserves, which are now owned by the state. Pastoralists were neither allowed to participate in the park management and the sharing of the income from the parks nor were they allowed to access and use the pastures and water places

in the parks and forest reserves. They lost their traditional rights over these areas with no alternative concessions or compensations given to them. Thus, these developments have excluded pastoralists and set in motion the process of pastoralist impoverishment among the Afar, Karayu, Borana and others.

2.6 Commercialization of Pastoral Production, Market Failure and Government Restrictions

The dominance of market values over non-market values and the emergence of terms of trade within the framework of global interests and national policies, which did not work in favour of the pastoralists, have further exacerbated their economic marginalization, leading to their involvement in cross-border livestock trade, which increased livestock off-take and food security for pastoralists in Borana, Somali and Afar regions. This practice has been and still is regarded as illegal by the state. Pastoralists have been accused of smuggling livestock and their animals have been confiscated by the state. The bad terms of trade for pastoralists' livestock in the country's market and the higher prices for grain and other commodities have resulted in increased pastoral poverty. The victims of commercialization of pastoral production are poor pastoralists and women. These categories of pastoralists are forced to sell more animals to feed their family members and they are thus unable to maintain themselves in the pastoral sector or to continue as pastoralists, whereas commercialization has benefited rich stockowners and allowed the elite to engage in livestock trade and other businesses and to reinvest in their family stock.

2.7 Inappropriate Social Service Delivery Projects

Infrastructure and basic social services in the pastoral regions are gravely inadequate; much of what exists dates from the time of the Imperial era. Attempts have been made to provide social services to pastoralist communities, including water development, veterinary care, human health, marketing and road construction.

Ill-Planned Water Development Programs. They expanded the availability of water through excavations of boreholes, cisterns, and dams in wet- and dry-season grazing reserve areas. The programs were intended to open up new grazing areas to overcome resource scarcity. The program were implemented in Borana, Somali and Afar and other pastoral areas. But as argued by Helland (1997) and Getachew (2000, 2001), the interventions became a source of disaster and impoverishment for the pastoralists. These interventions in the stated pastoral areas led to concentration of people and livestock all year round in permanent settlements that evolved around these water points, resulting in the creation of severe rangeland and tree depletion and soil degradation.

Various types of infectious diseases, stress, and congestion have affected livestock health in the said areas. The loss of livestock as a result of these diseases has been high and has contributed to pastoralists' stocklessness and increased impoverishment. Neither has the government provided adequate veterinary care services to the pastoralist communities. Those existing services are fixed and situated in certain localities. They are staffed by non-pastoralist staff and are not accessible to the majority of mobile pastoralists living in remote areas. Besides, pastoral communities have not been strengthened through provision of adequate training. Thus, there are no adequate veterinary professionals and vet-scouts within the communities while supply of drugs has been very low. In addition, there has not been any attempt to integrate ethnic veterinary medicines and the expertise of pastoralists with modern health care systems.

Human Health: The major prevalent diseases in the different pastoral areas are malaria, TB, water-borne diseases, measles and upper respiratory infections. Since human health service coverage is very low, most of the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists use traditional medical

practices. Such practices are more common in remote places located far from urban towns and settlement villages and where health service is unavailable. Vaccination coverage is the lowest in Ethiopia. The available clinics and health posts lack drugs. No attempt has been made to introduce mobile health care delivery, train pastoralists in health care and provide health education to combat diseases. Thus, mortality rate among pastoralists is by far higher than in other communities. The prevalence of diseases due to food deficiency and lack of access to health services have contributed to pastoral poverty substantially, for herders with poor health conditions are often unproductive.

Pastoral Education: Formal education services are available in small towns in the Somali, Afar and Oromia regions. Most of these schools are run by the government. There are also some schools run by community and religious organizations. Both male and female students are enrolled. The number of male students is by far greater than that of female students. However, the number of female students has increased during the past three decades. Generally speaking, attempts made so far to provide fixed or immobile education services to pastoralist children has been inadequate in eradicating illiteracy and in producing adequately trained manpower. Besides, this type of education has not helped in strengthening the pastoralists' institutional capacity, economy and culture and in creating employment for the pastoralist youth. Attempts made to eradicate pastoralist illiteracy have been very insignificant. Thus, the lack of adequate and pastoralist-oriented education (both fixed and mobile) has contributed to the marginalization of the pastoralists and their inability to adapt to modern knowledge, develop their communities, and to compete with educated people in search of employment. Thus the poverty situation in the pastoralist areas has been exacerbated due to the high rate of illiteracy.

If poverty is to be defined in terms of human development, rather than on the basis of simple calculation of income versus purchasing power, then the pastoral communities exist in virtual absolute poverty. These regions require special attention if they are not to become increasingly marginalized and fall even further behind Ethiopia's other regions and communities.

Part III

Inadequate and Inappropriate Government Poverty Alleviation Interventions

In spite of the increasing impoverishment of pastoralists, the government and donor agencies in Ethiopia have not made serious attempts to rehabilitate pastoralists on a long-term basis through restocking schemes and promotion of pastoralist-oriented social development, such as provision of pastoralist-centered education, training, health care and health education, credit schemes to rehabilitate the poor, employment-creating projects, building institutional capacity and governance structures, and marketing facilities, resource conservation strategies and policies suitable and adequate to the majority of mobile and semi-nomadic pastoralists. Rather, most of the interventions have been short-term food distribution, provision of agricultural tools, agricultural extension packages and seed distribution. These were intended, like all other interventions, to encourage pastoralists to settle and become sedentary farmers, ranchers, and laborers. These interventions led to increased destruction of the environmental resources, land degradation, and impoverishment of many households and communities.

The agricultural expansion and livestock and tourism as well as urban development programs implemented in the pastoral areas have displaced and pushed the original owners, users and managers of the lands into very marginal areas that are less suitable for livestock production and for pastoralists' engagement in cultivation (given the erratic and insufficient rainfall pattern and

infertile soil).

3.2 Increasing Conflicts in Pastoral Areas and their Contribution to Poverty

The continuous displacement of the pastoralists, along with their excessive administrative, political and economic marginalization has increased inter- and intra-ethnic conflicts, inter state conflicts in the pastoral areas and frontier regions, cross-border conflicts, and livestock raids. All these and the government's failure to settle conflicts through negotiations as well as lack of inter-state cooperation to stem cross-border conflicts and promote cross border trade and pastoral development schemes have resulted in further escalation of conflicts, loss of livestock by herders, increase in cross-border diseases, degradation of resources and increasing impoverishment of borderland pastoralist communities. These problems have led to the displacement, dislocation and gradual sedentarization of pastoralist families and communities, thereby exacerbating their poverty.

3.3 Responses of Pastoralists to Change their Contribution to Poverty

Moreover, the described government-engineered interventions among the pastoral communities in Ethiopia have constituted an encroachment upon their livelihood basis (pastoral production systems). The assaults on the presumably 'backward' and 'uncivilized' nomadic way of life of the pastoralists have resulted in the extreme erosion and abolition of their long-established knowledge systems (environmental, botanical, medicinal, veterinary and healing practices), resource conservation rules and regulations, various types of pastoral institutions and poverty-alleviation, crisis and conflict management strategies and practices.

Under such circumstances, in order to maintain their traditional systems of livelihoods, pastoralists in the arid and semi-arid areas of Ethiopia have developed new survival strategies. However, recovery (from herd and land loss, resource scarcity), in the sense of restoring sustainable, self-reliant systems of livelihood, has become difficult (poverty having taken its own considerable toll) and may no longer be an attainable alternative.

The new pastoralism, or the new survival strategies adopted by pastoralists in order to allow for continuity in the pastoralist systems, today include transformations in a new pattern of mobility of the people and livestock, new settlement pattern, and reliance on supplementary economic activities, all of which bring pastoral and agropastoral systems together in small-scale cultivation survival schemes.

Moreover, the state-led transformations have resulted in the emergence of a category of stockless, poor pastoralists, who now derive their living from opportunistic farming and production of charcoal and firewood for market, selling water, and being employed as herders for rich pastoralists and town residents; pastoralists in towns who derive their income from wage labor and engagement in small scale and low capital businesses; and sedentary pastoralists who earn their livelihood from cattle-raising and the selling of milk to urban centers. There are also pastoralist refugees in refugee camps and in relief distribution settlements, who belong to a category of destitute pastoralist men and women and depending on relief assistance by the state and donor agencies. Most of the camp dwellers are elderly men and women and children, the more able-bodied men have moved to towns in search of means of income.

3.4 Pastoral Poverty

The situation of marginalization and pastoral poverty amongst the pastoralists of Ethiopia is not uniform. It varies from group to group and from location to location and depending on the levels of interventions. There are both losers and winners. Since the late 1960s, there has been an ongoing process of displacement (internally displaced, refugees and returnees) caused by

famine/droughts, development-induced dislocations, inter-ethnic and inter-state border conflicts. Thus, in the past four or so decades, pastoralist communities in Ethiopia saw the settlement of poor (stockless) families, who had been impoverished, forced to drop out of the pastoral mode of life.

Meanwhile the magnitude of pastoralist poverty has increased tremendously. Many of the impoverished and stockless pastoralist men in the Afar, Borana and Somali areas have been forced to become laborers on plantations, privately owned farms, in towns and herders for rich and absentee stock owners, working for incredibly low wages and in appalling conditions. Several others in the Afar, Somali, Boran and Southern Omo pastoralist communities - mostly young men and poor pastoral men - have opted to join rebel forces or government militia since 1970s while others have been engaged in livestock raiding, highway robbery, and cross-border raiding. Yet others are smugglers to get income for their survival and that of their families.

On the other hand, there have been some winners. Those represent the elite and rich herd owners, who, in one way or another have managed to relate themselves to the agricultural production system, ranching, government administrations and political systems, and secure to maintain their livelihood. There are also pastoralists who have managed to use their livestock wealth to access resources that allow for the restoration of their herding activities, a result of state policies directed towards the promotion of the agricultural sector at the expense of the pastoral sector.

In general, the adoption by pastoralists of sedentary pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, and opportunistic farming and practices on enclosed areas and the engagement of poor (stockless) families in the selling of charcoal and firewood in the remaining rangelands (in Borana, Afar and Somali) have resulted in increased loss of bio-diversity (both fauna and flora) emanating from deforestation, bush encroachment of the rangelands and soil degradation and erosion. This has in turn contributed to increased poverty amongst pastoralists.

PART IV:

Summary, Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Intervention Measures

If the marginalization of pastoralists, ecological destruction, resource scarcity, and poverty among Ethiopian pastoralists are results of the various factors so far discussed, it follows that the solutions for the eradication of poverty and marginalization must necessarily be broad-based, holistic, integrated and led by pastoralists. One may suggest the following:

- ⇔ Inappropriate development interventions, degradation of resources, and poverty are interconnected. To break this cycle what is needed in the first place is to work out carefully together with the communities concerned, appropriate and relevant pastoral development: strategies, specifically livestock, land and rangeland resource management systems. Such interventions require that they be community-driven (taking into account prime needs of the people), situation-, location- and group-specific, and they have to take into account the local ecology, cultural and social institutions, and local knowledge of the pastoralists. The components may be improvements in controlled expansion of water, livestock and human population control and adjustment, pasture development and bush clearance and afforestation programs centered on the growing of fodder and trees of economic value acceptable to the local people. These programs must be led by the communities themselves if the process of resource and land degradation and erosion that took place for decades in the pastoral areas must be reversed;

- To have a lasting impact, 1) pastoral related projects should be reasonably long-term; 2) they should not depend on donor agency financing, which are often short-term; hence the need to link them to national and regional government plans and community contribution; 3) Long term pastoral projects of assistance – technical, man power, and financial – should replace the rather short-term ones (a minimum of 10 year-long projects are needed); 4) Local personnel need to be involved to ascertain the projects' continuity; 5) projects should be financed by local resources. This would greatly reduce post-donor - personnel and financial - dependency;
- ⇔ Provisions of essential infrastructural amenities by the government or NGOs have often created ecological and health problems. What is required is the promotion of three types of service delivery based on: (a) mobile (b) seasonal, fixed facilities (c) through the use of front-line health workers.
- **Early Warning Systems** should be worked out as a measure to safeguard livestock and environment from ravages of epidemic, drought and other natural disasters and to alert the public; **DISEASE CONTROL SERVICES** should be better equipped to be able to counteract and control livestock and human diseases; to attain these goals there is a need for mounting effective campaigns for the prevention and control of human and livestock diseases.
- ⇔ **Eradication of Illiteracy:** Education of pastoralists might stress the role of a revised system of schools providing a more comprehensive and appropriate development package with a degree of control by parents; a pilot initiative with mobile 'tent' schools and suitably situated rural boarding schools should be considered.
- ⇔ **Health education:** many common health problems among the Afar, particularly among women and children, are diet-related. The nutritional content of the local regime, primarily comprising milk, bread and some meat, is poor, given the environment in which anaemia (TB, Malaria) and several opportunistic infectious diseases are prevalent. A core issue in maternal and child health care is therefore health education.
- **Attention to Women:** Women have generally been ignored in pastoral development projects that focus for the most part on what is perceived as a predominantly male sphere of productive activities. They have thus been excluded as participants in or beneficiaries of all but the more social services such as literacy training or health care, which rarely exist in pastoralist areas. Women and their children are usually responsible for the bulk of the activities that serve to sustain the household on a daily basis². Promotion of the role of women in a society as traditionally male-dominated as the Boran, Afar, Somali and other communities is difficult and requires sensitivity to cultural rules and norms. But with persistence and increased participation of women in their own welfare and development and that of their children, this, too, should be attainable.
- ⇔ **Institutional Capacity Building:** One key proposed area of program focus concerns the study and promotion of pastoral modes of life and the reconciliation of pastoralism with the needs of a modern administration. As long as the regional administrations in the pastoral areas – the Afar, Somali, Borana and others - remain institutionally weak, they will remain handicapped by limited capacity and a finite absorptive potential for funding and material support at all levels. A policy for local capacity building with dual focus - institutional building and human resources development - is required. Human resources development involves the development of a plan for increasing the knowledge, upgrading the skills and changing the attitudes and behavior of key members of the administration as well as technical training for those workers in different social services. The number of staff to be

trained should be carefully reviewed in advance together with the regional governments. Investment on the training of personnel who will not be retained to work in the regions will be ultimately counter productive.

- ⇔ The promotion of **Credit Facilities** and credit schemes to pastoralists is one of the areas of intervention to be considered in the fight against and mitigation of pastoral poverty. Thus, the provision of credit and poverty alleviation schemes need to be built on the existing though weakened local pastoralist credit and rehabilitation institutions. These institutions include community-based restocking and livestock loan institutions. The credit facilities to be extended to pastoralists need to be complementary and long-lasting and should enable the poor to come out of their poverty situations.
- ⇔ **Conflict Management Must be Pursued:** A major constraint to the development of the pastoral regions has been chronic instability and the absence of an effective administration. The failure to end the long standing inter-ethnic and other forms of borderland conflicts in the pastoral areas has made them very insecure and have led to resource scarcity and the displacement and impoverishment of pastoralists. Thus, ending these conflicts will substantially assist in the eradication of pastoral poverty. To promote pastoral development, peace itself must be promoted to begin with. Successful conflict management takes place most often where formal institutions of the State and the customary institutions of pastoralists work side by side with commitment and willingness towards the same end. On the other hand, peace and social development will not be attained unless poverty eradication, social development and administrative reforms are undertaken and post-conflict construction strategies are put in place. Besides, the control of illicit arms trade and its widespread use needs to be controlled if peace and social development is to be promoted.
- ⇔ **Promote Cross-Border Trade Via Inter-State Cooperation:** Livestock cross-border trade in the Afar, Oromia and Somali regions has always assumed considerable importance in the socio-economic life of the region and contributed to increased food production and security in the area. Thus, food security and poverty eradication in pastoral areas depend on the productivity of the animals and the terms of trade of livestock and marketed products, i.e., food grains. Even though there is some flexibility regarding cross-border grazing and watering and trading, government-initiated constraints related to cross border mobility and trade have severely limited pastoralists' engagement in this area, further contributing to pastoral poverty.

Strategies designed at national, regional and inter-state levels, and aimed at strengthening pastoral economies of the border areas, are needed. The Ethiopian State and its neighbors need to cooperate and work out policies that take into consideration the pastoralist communities in these frontier regions and provide unrestricted access to regional and cross-border markets.



IMPACT OF POVERTY ON PASTORAL WOMEN: THE CASE OF ABA'ALA

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Introduction

More than 70% of the world's poorest people are women. If we compare the lives of the inhabitants of the poorest communities across the Third World, we will discover that virtually everywhere women and children experience the harshest deprivation. Women are likely to be poor and malnourished because they are the ones who lack medical services, clean water, sanitation and similar other necessities. Besides, women have less access to education, health services, natural resources and social security. These factors combined ensure women's poverty.

Pastoral women have even lesser access to the resources necessary to generate stable income, and they are frequently subjected to laws that further compromise their earning potential. Legislations often prohibit women from owning property. Besides, pastoral women have little or no access to government-sponsored services, such as water, sanitation and health care; hence they often get ill in a situation where they are least likely to receive medical attention.

Women's control over household income and resources is limited for a number of reasons. A large portion of the work performed by women is unremunerated. The consequences of dealings in women's relative or absolute economic status have both ethical and long-term economic implications. Any process of growth that does not strive to improve the welfare of the people experiencing the greatest hardship, broadly recognized to be women and children, fails to accomplish one of the principal goals of development.

In Aba'ala there is a wide gap between men and women because of the cultural norms and traditions inherited across generations. The question of women's equality with men has always been in the balance because of religion, which itself is intricately woven into the culture. Therefore, customary norms and values are the main factors hindering Aba'ala women from getting their share in the event of divorce and inheritance.

1. Meaning of Poverty and its Challenges.

Poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of the concept of relative deprivation. Individual families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain their basic survival needs. Their resources are so much below those required by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from the living patterns, customs and activities of the society they live in (Peter 1974).

Every government in Africa, indeed in all the less developed countries (LDC's), has made a pledge to abolish poverty. International agencies, such as the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), all claim the eradication of poverty to be a central concern of their programs of development assistance. National agencies engage in bilateral programs of development assistance. USAID

and ODA have also given notice that they have redirected their assistance programs to focus upon the problem of poverty.

It may appear rather surprising that scholars are still trying to redefine the concept of development, an effort that can be traced back to eighteenth century philosophy and political economy. The dissatisfaction with existing definitions arises from the unresolved and painful question of how to liberate the less developed countries from chronic poverty, a condition that Denis Goulet describes as a "cruel kind of hell". A group of social scientists and economists who met in a seminar organized under the joint auspices of UNCTAD and UNEP in 1974 had the following to say about the meaning and purpose of development in what has come to be known as Declaration of Cocoyec(Fasil 1985):

This should not be to develop things but to develop man. Human beings have basic needs: food, clothes, shelter, health, and education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfillment, or even worse,disrupts them is a travesty of the idea of development.This stress is on the satisfaction of the basic needs of the poor as being the core of the development process.

The same concern is re-emphasized in a document titled "Reshaping the International Order", a report by an international group of experts under the leadership of economist Jan Timbergen and commissioned by the Club of Rome. The report states that the fundamental aim of the world community should be "to achieve a life of dignity and well being" for all the world citizens. The condition of the poor continues to worsen. However, nothing expresses the worsening condition of the poor in LDC's than the observation of FAO at the 1979 world conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development.

The terms 'poverty' and 'inequality' are closely related. Although poverty is more than inequality, the poor undoubtedly receive unequal share of resources, and any explanation of this fact must be related to the broader notion of social inequality in general.

In most developing countries, rising average income and GNP have not led to a visible improvement in the living standards of the masses of the people. Eradication of hunger and poverty, the ultimate goal, is farther away than ever before. Close to 1.3 billion people have incomes of less than US \$200 per year per person, and more than half that number, an estimated 750 million people, are utterly destitute, lacking the most rudimentary requirements for human dignity (The World Bank).

These are some of the usual facts about poverty in the so-called Third World. Rapid growth, it had been expected, would ensure a rising standard of living for everyone through a 'trickle-down process', to the disappointment of development strategists. In the majority of the so-called Third World, not only has growth failed to bring about any tangible improvement in the living standards of the poor, but it has even often led to their worsening impoverishment. Poverty is a matter of value judgement; it is not something one can verify or demonstrate, except by inference and suggestion, even then with a measure of error. To say who constitute the poor is to use all sorts of value judgement. The concept has to be limited by the purpose which is to be served by the definition given to it(Orshansky).

1.1 Nature of Poverty

In rural areas, whether agricultural or pastoral, people are highly affected by poverty. This is mainly due to the fact that their livelihood is dependent on agriculture and livestock, both of which in turn depend on land resources. Gurren's theory makes a distinction between 'relative poverty' and 'absolute poverty'. Relative poverty means that some people are poorer than others. It becomes recognized as a real problem when the difference between the richest and the poorest

is intolerable, in the sense that the poor, while not actually destitute or starving, are nevertheless deprived of many of the goods and services which others take for granted. In the world of Galbraith:

‘people are poverty stricken when their income, even if adequate for survival, falls radically behind that of the community. Then they can not have what the larger community regards as the minimum necessary for decency, and they can not wholly, escape, therefore the judgement of the larger community that they are indecent. They are degraded, for in the literal sense they live outside the grades or categories which the community regards as acceptable’.

In Africa and Asia, inequality with respect to land, capital, equipment, income, livestock, fuel, diet, nutrition, education, entertainment and income-producing property, such as rural housing, furnishings and consumer goods, is closely associated with relative deprivation. Pastoral poverty, which is a consequence of structure and mechanisms, that foster inequality, is one of the several major dimensions of the complex phenomenon called poverty. But for the time being the main concern of this paper is absolute poverty.

Absolute poverty represents the problem of poverty in its crudest form. It means lack of food, cash and assets. It is:

"a condition of life so degraded by disease, illiteracy, malnutrition and squalor as to deny its victims of basic human necessities" (Fassil).

It thus means a condition in which it is not possible to obtain the basic needs of life, or where deprivation is so severe that the basic needs of life, can scarcely be met at the minimum level required for survival. In other words, absolute poverty is the state of existence in which the overall needs of individuals are not satisfied due to lack of purchasing power or means for self-provisioning. The victims of absolute poverty are characterized by physical weakness, reflected in lower body weights and greater seasonal variation in those weights, vulnerability to irreversible ratchets of impoverishment, such as the mortgage or sale of assets or the incurring of debts because of sickness, famine, disaster, dowry, bride price or other costs. The absolute poor may also be victims of isolation, both spatial and social and, also in terms of lack of access to knowledge, information, and services, such as health, transport and education.

Whether urban or rural, poverty integrated in that its dimensions are inter-locking, as the causes of poverty also have national and international dimensions. In measuring absolute poverty, most analysts use a physiological standard. According to such measures, a person is considered to be in poverty if s/he lacks resources to obtain enough food, clothing and shelter to maintain a tolerable standard of physical health and efficiency, which consideration has given rise to the concept of 'poverty-line', that is, a line signifying the minimum most purchasing power. This is a quantitative measurement of poverty, in that such things as nutritional requirements can be worked out; cost and availability of the necessary items can be determined; and a figure of what income is required to maintain a person on physical efficiency can be produced. A poverty-line is drawn on the basis of the minimal amount of money needed to keep a person out of poverty, after which the number of people who fall below this line can then be ascertained.

The adequacy of biological and physiological definition of poverty has been questioned. It is contended, that although it enables precise quantitative assessment of poverty problems, it is hardly adequate for a society with an average standard of living that is well above the subsistence level.

Like the biological or physiological definition of poverty, the ‘basic-needs’ or ‘minimum-requirements’ definition is also regarded as inadequate. It is contended that there is a need for a structural definition of poverty, in which poverty is regarded as a product of a social system, that is, difference between various groups on access to economic resources and political power. Both nationally and internationally, there is a need for greater attention to the problem of rural and urban poverty for a number of very important reasons.

1.2 Who are the poor in Ethiopia?

a) The Landless:

Those who do not have access to land and who live on a day-to-day basis. This group includes the rural unemployed, unskilled workers or laborers, some skilled wage earners and those engaged in the informal sector.

b) Subsistence Producers:

These come next to the landless laborers as constituting the absolute poor. But they are better than landless laborers in that they have access to land, which lies at the core of their economic existence. However, their total product (output) is just enough to support their survival. Peasant farmers are small-scale commercial farmers, including migrant farmers.

c) Peasant Farmers:

The term refers to those in transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture where regular production of surplus for the market is deliberately aimed at. Those in this category differ from subsistence farmers because their agricultural product is in excess of what is required for subsistence.

d) Pastoralists:

Pastoralists are poor not in the sense that they lack wealth, but in terms of their lack of access to essential services, in their isolation both spatially and socially, and in terms of lack of access to knowledge, information and education. They are also poor in terms of vulnerability to the vagaries of seasonal changes, natural disasters like drought and health hazards, such as mosquitoes and tsetse flies. It should be known that pastoralists do not constitute a homogeneous group. The degree of vulnerability and, therefore, of poverty is a function of herd size and geographical location. Pastoralists are spread over large areas of Ethiopia, mainly in Oromia, SNNP, Somalia and Afar.

In addition to the above mentioned groups, salaried employees, civil servants, teachers, and those self-employed in other sectors (retailers; etc.) are also categorized under the poor. This is mainly due to the fact that their purchasing power is well below the cost of living corresponding to the “basic-needs” poverty-line. Poverty also includes some other groups, such as the unemployed, the disreputable poor, the retired and the squatters.

2. Pastoral Women and Poverty (Case of Aba’ala Wereda)

Arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) cover about 60% of Ethiopia’s land surface and are home to 12% of the human population and 26% of the livestock population (Coppock 1994). Land-use in these areas is dominated by various forms of pastoralism and agro- pastoralism. The

uncertainties of rainfall and primary production in the rangelands of Ethiopia have given rise to a mode of life that involves (and requires) mobility and taking advantage of opportunities provided by nature, with coping strategies to deal with its caprices. As elsewhere in Africa, pastoralists in Ethiopia and their production systems are under pressure from internal as well as external factors, which render their systems unsustainable. Of the major pastoral groups of Ethiopia, the Afar have suffered most due to man-induced and natural disasters. Population pressure, recurrent drought, encroachment of cultivation, ill-conceived development policies and subsequent disruption of their traditional institutions are some of the causes of the unsustainability of their systems (Helland, 1980; ILCA, 1981; Mariam, 1991; Ali, 1995).

The main production systems in the northern part of the Afar regional state are pastoral and agro-pastoral. Aba'ala Wereda is an important area where both livestock production and flood-based agricultural system are practised. In this Wereda an extensive plain area is cultivated, the area being occupied mainly by pastoral nomads. In a pastoral economy, cereals (maize and sorghum) and animal by-products are an important part of the people's diet. However, the pastoral areas suffer from an inauspicious environment, where the climate is often harsh and the weather unpredictable. Flood-recession cultivation has resulted in loss of prime grazing land. Overgrazing on uncultivated grazing land is another factor in the degradation of the land-resource base. Generally, pastoral life is highly dependent on livestock. One of the main problems for the alarming rate of the growth of poverty in pastoralist areas is livestock health problem. Some of the livestock health problems are not curable, only preventable. At such times, pastoralists are forced to sell or slaughter their livestock and their milk yields are affected. The environmental problem is one factor for the existence of famine, drought and poverty. Of the total population in the area, women are highly affected by poverty. They have no access to health services or schools. They feel isolated, powerless, and have little say in how their lives are run. They are often victims of domestic violence and conflict. For many the prospects of a better life are getting worse due to overpopulation and perhaps, what is intended is 'proliferation of development projects in the area'.

Traditionally, division of labor in pastoral society has been gender specific; men carry predominately outside responsibilities, such as ploughing (limited extent), marketing of large and small livestock (camel, cattle, sheep, goat), whereas women's activities are mainly limited to household management and management of small animals (such as goats, sheep, poultry), collecting sticks for the construction of traditional houses (Afar), gathering fuel wood and fetching water.

Women are not allowed to hold political and religious positions; they neither become arbitrators, nor achieve legal rights without guardianship (men). Apart from this, men have greater access to and control over principal pastoral resources all of which have provided them with higher status and the exercise of power over women (Getachew 1991).

The impact of the existing economic and social problems affects the women more than the men, forcing them to lead the kind of life that can be characterized as a life that is "above-the-dead-and-below-the-living" (Assia Balu, informant). Because of their low economic status and work load, pastoral and agro-pastoral women are forced by poverty to engage in off-house activities, such as selling animal by-products (butter, milk) and petty trading (selling sugar, flour, tea) in order to contribute to the livelihood of their families.

2.1 Causes of Poverty:

One route for investigating the causes of poverty of women is to examine the factors highlighted by poor women in pastoral areas. These are:

- Inhibited rights, sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in the house as well as in social institutions;
- Lack of income and assets to attain the basic necessities of food, shelter, clothing and acceptable levels of health and education;
- Existing environmental problems in the pastoral areas (lack of firewood, water, etc);
- Social norms and barriers can that contribute to their voicelessness and powerlessness
- Practices of polygamy.

2.2 Characteristics of Poverty of Women in Pastoral Area:

The reasons for the failure of development in pastoral areas are economic, political and social. The existing conditions in the areas do not provide opportunities for women to live long and decent lives, participate in productive activities and hold positions of responsibility in different social organizations and institutions. Poverty among pastoral women is an age-old phenomenon.

In fact, when considered in relative terms pastoral women's conditions goes beyond the boundaries of what 'poor' means. There are cases in which women, including their children, are not able to get the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. Their life, in short, is miserable.

In addition to the general poverty they suffer, women are burdened with multiple roles: biologically they have the primordial role of bearing and nurturing children; culturally, they are often recognized as the main providers of the basic needs of the family. Men are mainly heads of the families and breadwinners. Poor women frequently sell what little milk they get in order to get cash to buy enough flour to feed the family. But this does not mean that the men do not provide for the family; it simply means that the gender-based division of labor and responsibility weighs far too much against women. Therefore, the implications of poverty and the marginalization of women in pastoral areas should be the main issue. Here are some of the implications:

1. Women always carry additional functions and responsibilities. According to some of the studies conducted in Aba'ala, division of labour among the pastoralists is mainly based on sex and age, implying that women have extra burdens to carry than do men. They are responsible for the production of goods and services for consumption and trade. In this particular area, women, travel around five hours to fetch water and more than that to collect wood for household use and for sale. Pastoral women's burden is further aggravated by the environmental problems characterizing the area.
2. More than 94% of the women in this area are illiterate (Sintayoh, 2000). This indicates that women lack awareness about their rights, family planning, and the knowledge and means for improving their standard of living.
3. Culture and its Impact: Every society has culture, no matter how simple that culture may be, and every human being is cultured in the sense of participating in a given culture. One of the main factors that aggravate the poverty of women in pastoral areas is their culture and tradition, which poses an obstacle to their active participation in different activities and leading a better life. Aba'ala pastoral tradition portrays women as less important than men, less deserving of basic life support, of fundamental right to work and right to political participation. The paradox is that the women themselves have internalized this

perception so deeply that they endorse as 'natural' their own sub-class status.

- (a) **Women's Inequality in the Society:** The social division is the main cause for the severe deprivation and poverty of women. Values, norms and social institutions may reinforce persistent inequalities between groups in society, as in the case of gender-based inequality observed throughout the world. If men and women are not equal to some extent, it is difficult to eliminate poverty. Participatory socio-political order and an environment of equal opportunity are needed in order to minimize the problems which are faced by women. In pastoral areas, lower value is assigned to women and girls than to men and boys, and this translates into poorer life for the former. Gender inequality also has strong repercussions on the development of human capital for the next generation.

- (b) **Divorce:** Male chauvinism pervades the culture, and it usually comes in the guise of religion. When a woman is divorced, a settlement must be made concerning the bride price paid for her and the animals obtained by her during her stay with the husband. Animals obtained by the woman from her own relatives are considered hers, unlike those allocated by her husband. If she came without dowry, whatever happens, she usually leaves only with her clothes and the mate (meant for making traditional houses).

Similarly, if any pastoral woman is widowed, she will never get part of her share unless she has an adult son. If she marries to her brother-in-law (her husband's brother) her property will remain hers. In order not to lose their inherited property, most widowed women marry their brothers-in-law, which they find difficult and boring, according to informants.

- (c) **Inheritance from Family:** By custom, pastoral women do not have the right to claim for equal inheritance as men. A woman can inherit only half as much as her brother's inheritance. A father prefers to favor his son. In general, one of the main causes of poverty for pastoral women is lack of equal share of property, whether during divorce, when widowed, or as a result of family inheritance. In other words, they are deprived of the means to their independence.

- (d) **Inequalities in Voice and Access to Resources:**

Inequalities related to political, legal economic and educational status perpetuate women's lack of access to resources, non-participation in decision-making, and in public life. Such constraints systematically undermine the capacity of women to participate in productive activities and affect their ability to bargain for and protect their own interests. Generally, the existing social and cultural problems in the area are one of the major reasons for the impact of poverty on women. To overcome these problems of inequality, legal measures, accompanied by effort to raise awareness about culture, religion, etc. are required. Legal measures alone would be unable to effect real change.

2.3 How to Meet the Present Needs of Pastoral women

In order to alleviate poverty and achieve sustainable development more concrete efforts are required. In order to achieve this, one must take special note of protecting everyone's human rights, especially those of the poorest and most disadvantaged groups. In pastoral societies

women are the most disadvantaged and they have to have rights to such things, as life security, freedom, and dignity, regardless of their gender.

2.4 What Are the Changes Required?

We all want to see a better society in which everyone can live in peace and security, has a say in how their community is run, has access to those things we often take for granted, such as clean water, fresh air and the chance to earn a decent living and bring up healthy, educated children. We need a government that is accountable to its people, that obeys the rule of law, protects human rights and creates equal opportunities for everybody's economic growth. But to create such a society is a formidable challenge. It is true that today's world offers many opportunities, but poorer countries are often unable to take advantage of them. To create such a society, we must help the poor to help themselves towards a better future.

In most regions of Ethiopia political and legal equality between men and women is gradually on the rise, though it needs more effort and perseverance to change the values and beliefs society attaches to gender. However, in pastoral areas, due to custom and tradition, and also to religious beliefs, this political and legal change is not yet practised, even to the minimum satisfaction of women. There is a very insignificant number of women who have gained from the new changes in the political and legal arena. At least 90% of the country's women are not even aware of these changes, let alone benefiting from what little gains have been made. The extreme manifestation of power inequality between women and men is the persistent violation of women's rights by the latter, a fact that contributes to the aggravation of the poverty of the former. More concrete and direct interventions should be made to at least minimize the conflict between formal legislation and customary law; to ensure women's access to production resources (granting equal land rights, rights to natural resource use and management); to guarantee secure livelihood to women and their children in the event of separation or divorce.

2.4.1 Basic Needs versus Women

Basic needs are required not only by women but by everyone. But there are special needs that are required by women, primarily due to their reproductive roles. Hence due consideration should be given to the following:

- ⇔ On top of providing for their basic needs, such as food, fresh water and basic education, more attention should be given to the care of their health in order to reduce both maternal and child mortality and morbidity rates;
- ⇔ Building new health centers alone will not reduce the number of mothers who die in child birth; women also need to be able to exercise choices and benefits from improvements in obstetric services and rural transport. Otherwise poor women will continue to be at least one hundred times more likely to die in child birth than usual under existing circumstances;
- ⇔ A more important factor for achieving sustainable development and helping eliminating poverty is creating the right conditions for economic growth. Poor people, particularly women, must be given opportunities to work, generate income and share the fruits of development.
- ⇔ Government and non-government projects should help the pastoral areas through the supply of humanitarian and non-humanitarian needs so that the rate of poverty faced by women may decrease. To win the fight against poverty there must be regionally agreed upon policies to promote sustainable development and encourage the appropriate use of

resources.

2.4.2 Environmental Sustainability and Regeneration:

There should be a targeted period (projected years) for the implementation of national strategies for sustainable development in the pastoral areas, so as to make sure that the current trend in loss of environmental resources is effectively reversed at the national level.

- Environment matters to everyone. There is a strong relationship between women and environment, especially in the Afar areas. In most of the pastoral areas women are responsible for collecting sticks to assemble their traditional houses, for gathering of fuel wood as well as for income generating. When the vital resources are badly damaged women are the ones who suffer most, because they have to compete for scarce resources to earn their living. However, it should be known that precious natural resources need to be managed properly. In the pastoral areas there is a need for promoting sustainable agricultural activities (including livestock reproduction), which is basic to alleviating the hunger and poverty women suffer but without damaging the environment, the protection of which is not only advantageous but also necessary for the survival of society, but particularly women whose interests are inextricably linked to it.
- Lack of water is another major source of the high risk pastoral women face. There are problems, such as lack of drinking water, and/or existence of contaminated water. Development projects should, therefore, work with pastoralist women by providing better facilities which would help them get clean water near their surroundings through different water management systems.
- According to some of the studies conducted in the pastoral area under consideration, there is lack of awareness in the community about the existing rights of women. Therefore, there is a need for an awareness creation program for women and the public at large.
- Lack of access to credit facilities is one of the major problems faced by Afar women. Hence, interventions by way of initiating micro-finance programs and enterprise intermediation (strategies that include programs and projects to improve management) within a micro-enterprise framework has to be put in place to ensure the provision of such services.

2.5 Affirmative Action:

Poverty is not an outcome of economic processes only, but also of interacting economic, social and political forces and the accountability and responsiveness of state and regional institutions. In order to reduce the poverty of women in the pastoral and agro-pastoral areas, there is a need to undertake affirmative action programs to enable women to compete in the economic and political arena. The violation of women's rights, including discrimination when it comes to sharing property, demands that special assistance be provided to them in order to acquire education and the power of decision-making both at home and in the public sphere. It has to be understood that poverty should not be seen in terms of limited economic criteria. It also has to be seen broadly so as to include women's freedom, liberty and equality in every aspect of their life. Then it may be possible to decrease the trend and degree of women's poverty by eliminating the existing social barriers and creating a conducive environment that brings men and women together in collaborative efforts towards the achievement of both at the national and regional levels. Some possible suggestions for reducing women's poverty in pastoral areas are:

⇔ Policies that are implemented by administrative bodies should be efficient and more

responsive and accountable to pastoral women;

- ⇔ The national governments should create a conducive environment that will encourage pastoral women's participation in different developmental activities;
- ⇔ Legal systems should promote equity among poor people and they should function progressively towards gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating existing disparities between the sexes;
- ⇔ There is a need for the expansion of educational centers into all pastoral areas;
- ⇔ There should be strategies designed to reduce infant mortality, mortality of children under the age of five as well as maternal mortality;
- ⇔ Access to the primary health care system and reproductive health services for all women;
- ⇔ Financial institutions should give credit to women, supported by training;
- ⇔ According to the culture of the pastoralists (in Aba'ala) a man can marry more than one woman and have large number of children, a fact that leads to poor life and results in several health problems. Therefore, governments (both regional and federal) should make cautious interventions to restrict the practice of marrying more than one woman (perhaps, two) if the men's economic capacity is low, and marriages should be officially registered.

In pastoral areas the public sector often pursues activities that are not socially justified. Public sector reforms and modernization measures have great potential to reduce the poverty of women only if women are included in the design and implementation of development strategies with clear priorities addressing the needs of pastoral women. The functional and organizational structures of the public sector need to be so reorganized and rationalized as to improve resource allocation for programs with social priority and having greater capacity to reduce poverty. Besides, the public management system has to work more to make public programs more efficient and accountable. In general, there is a need for improving the poor administrative and other services. Although the rule of law benefits poor women, culture and religion are not geared to protect their interests, such as inheritances and sharing of property in case of divorce or widowhood.

2.6 Conclusion

This paper has focused on the impact of poverty on pastoral women, the 'case of Aba'ala' being used as an example and has tried to identify the main causes of poverty and the possible means for its alleviation.

Poverty can be relative (some people are poorer than others), and is characterized by a wide gap in living standards between different individuals and/or social groups, where some live more or less comfortably while others just make it barely to meet their basic needs. Absolute poverty refers to lack of food, cash and extreme difficulty or inability to meet one's basic needs of life. In the pastoral area the majority of the population are in this category. They are also poor in terms of lack of access to essential services, knowledge, information and education. The existing environmental problems are also one of the main contributors to their deprivation.

In pastoral areas women are the main victims of poverty, because they are perceived merely or predominantly in their reproductive rather than their productive roles. In addition they are the

ones who assume greater responsibilities for the entire family and are thus burdened. The existing economic and social arrangements as well as the environment work against women. When environmental conditions become unfavorable, men are more likely to evade them by the greater mobility that the culture allows them, while women are left behind to face the consequences. Some of the major causes of poverty have been identified as follows:

- Social norms and barriers are the main contributors for women to remain voiceless, powerless and lacking equal rights;
- Existing environmental problems (lack of water, existence of various diseases, etc.) in the area are another factor in exacerbating women's poverty;
- Lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities;
- Lack of credit from micro finance projects to improve their way of living.

In order to reduce the condition of poverty in pastoral areas government and non-government organizations must make more efforts. They can and should support the pastoralist women in Aba'ala through:

- ⇔ Demonstrated progress towards gender equality by helping remove cultural barriers;
- ⇔ Providing water points, establishing other service in nearby surroundings so as to reduce the women's burden of having to travel long distances to get what they need;
- ⇔ Creating conducive environments that will encourage pastoral women's participation in different developmental activities;
- ⇔ The establishment of financial services to provide credit facilities, supported by training;
- ⇔ The expansion of educational centers and training facilities to enhance their knowledge and raise their awareness.



WHAT SHOULD A PASTORAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY CONSTITUTE TOWARDS POVERTY REDUCTION AMONG PASTORAL COMMUNITIES IN ETHIOPIA?

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1. Introduction

Ethiopia's Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) of November 2000 has been submitted to the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donors for consultation and subsequent preparation of the full-PRSP. The preparation of a PRSP is conditional for debt relief and concessional loan.

The I-PRSP document highlights the improvement of pastoral welfare through support service development and risk minimization. While this is positive thinking it also suggests voluntary resettlement from the highland to lowland under an irrigation scheme.

In Ethiopia, most often pastoral development is addressed under the agriculture sector dominated by sedentary agriculture, which rarely tried to include pastoral way of life. Pastoral development is misperceived as a synonym to livestock production.

The purpose of this paper is to raise some important pastoral issues that need to be addressed in the full PRSP. Because of pastoralists' unique life style, which is based on extensive land use through mobile strategy, all development efforts should aim at satisfying their needs and life style.

2. Background

Pastoral and agro-pastoral people occupy the arid and semi-arid areas located around the peripheries of the Ethiopian territory. Generally, these areas are below an elevation of 1500 meters and with an annual rainfall below 700mm. The situation in the Western part of the country however, differs, where the annual rainfall exceeds 700mm. These pastoral areas cover 60% of the land mass, with a human population of 7.2 million or 12% of the country's total population. Annual population growth is estimated to be 1.5 to 2.5%, much lower than for the higher altitude population. The pastoral areas are home for 29 ethnic pastoral groups (Coppock, 1994). They are found in six administrative regions; namely: Afar, Benishangul, Gambella, Oromiya, Somalia and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples.

Livestock is the main stay of the pastoral people who occupy the more arid areas. The agro-pastoral people occupy the semi-arid and arid areas, where they practice sporadic crop cultivation. Crop agriculture along the major rivers, such as Wabe Shebele, Awash, Omo, Weito, Genale, Dawa and Baro, is increasingly practised, mainly through the introduction of irrigation schemes.

3. The History of Pastoral Development in General

Early intervention in rangeland management was based on the theory of "tragedy of the commons", which states that grazing lands are owned communally while livestock is owned individually. Pastoralists would like to maximize their livestock size at the expense of communally owned grazing areas, thereby causing degradation of the rangeland. Following such thinking "stocking rate" and "carrying capacity" principles were adopted through ranch introduction.

This thinking along the line of "tragedy of the commons" dominated until recently when "new thinking" or new direction in rangeland ecology challenged it. The new thinking emphasizes that African rangelands are heterogeneous. Therefore, opportunistic tracking strategy (traditional management) is the best way to make use of the available range resources. Any barrier to such mobility, push for settlement, and occupation of the prime dry season grazing lands will only increase the herd size in a given area. This will lead to range degradation and livestock mortality, thereby leading to pastoral impoverishment.

Traditional livestock management, which is based on herd diversification, herd splitting and movement between dry and wet season grazing areas, is often misunderstood by policy-makers because of preconceived ideas of settlement and ranching.

4. Pastoral Development Projects in Ethiopia

The ecological settings of the arid and semi-arid areas are more suitable for transhuman pastoral production than for rainfed crop production. With this assumption a series of development interventions were put into action beginning with the 1960s. In 1964 a Livestock and Meat Board (LMB) was established to assist the livestock sector development. The Arero Range Pilot Project (ARPP) was the first USAID-funded project, which was implemented in Yabello and Abernossa. The project focused on improving the standard of living of the pastoral community and increasing animal off-take for commercial markets. Paddocks and watering facilities were created to improve livestock productivity through controlled rotational grazing. The idea of charging an annual grazing fee to recover some of the project's cost and the rotational grazing system were not respected by the pastoralist. This was because the interventions were not compatible with the traditional common property rights of the Borena.

The Yabello project attracted settlement around the new water points, resulting in severe overgrazing. As a result, the open wetland grazing area changed into woodland. In Afar region the Awash Valley Authority (AVA) that was established in 1962 opened up opportunities for private entrepreneurs to set up commercial farms. By 1990 about 50,000 hectares of land was lost to government-owned commercial farms using irrigation. This figure includes part of the upper Awash valley. Pastoralists lost their prime dry grazing resources that were essential to their economic and social security.

In 1973 the World Bank funded the Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP). This was initiated to develop an integrated market and stock route system in order to improve livestock off-take. These stock routes were destroyed during the Ethio-Somali war of 1977 even before they became operational.

The Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP) operated between 1975 and 1984. This was the first large-scale pastoral development project funded by the World Bank and the African Development Bank. The project was operational in three major pastoral areas: Afar, Somale and

Borena. This project was meant to rehabilitate and develop the three areas through its sub-units North East Rangeland Development Unit (NERDU), Jijiga Rangeland Development Unit (JIRDU), and Southern Rangelands Development Unit (SORDU).

TLDP aimed in raising the standard of living of pastoral people through restructuring the traditional system of extensive livestock production. The project provided, among other things, veterinary services, water and infrastructure development.

TLDP continued to provide services with funding from the Ethiopian Government until 1996. It was abandoned due to the government's decentralization and regionalization policy. Currently, NERDU, SERP (Southeast Rangeland Project), SORDU function under the Afar, Somale and the Oromiya regional governments.

TLDP has improved its veterinary services and engaged in infrastructure undertakings, such as the construction of roads and development centers, but has failed to bring about sustainable development. It failed mainly because of its top-down approach and poor knowledge of traditional pastoral management.

In 1988 the Ethiopian Government, with funding from the World Bank, launched a pilot project at SORDU. This pilot project was implemented under the Fourth Livestock Development Project. The three important elements of the project were sustainability, participation and cost sharing by pastoralists. The difference between this project and the previous ones was the fourth project took into account the traditional organizations and indigenous knowledge of the pastoralists. This helped to promote development activities based on a participatory approach. Unlike TLDP, a system has been put into place in order to monitor project efficiency and evaluate its impact. These activities were disrupted as a result of civil unrest due to government change in 1991.

The South East Rangeland Project (SERP) took over the management of JIRDU in 1990 in Somali region. The project was funded by the African Development Bank and upon it built the outcome of previously implemented projects and experiences. This project, unlike the previous rangeland projects, learned from the activities of agro-pastoralists and introduced drought-resistant crop and fodder species.

Also UN agencies, NGOs, church organizations and International organizations (ILCA/ILRI) were involved in research and development activities in pastoral areas.

5. Lessons Learnt

The following are some of the lessons learnt

- Past development interventions used a top-down approach based on erroneous assumptions about traditional pastoral production system.
- Piecemeal project application: There was no attempt to deal with pastoral problems using a holistic approach. Veterinary services without marketing, wildlife park establishment without considering feed shortage, water development without understanding its consequences on range land was short sighted.
- Failure by policy makers to understand the pastoral dynamics and act accordingly.
- The last four decades of project intervention and research have been a learning

process. This has provided an opportunity to interact with pastoral people and understand their traditional resource management.

6. The Resource Base

The pastoral people of Ethiopia have a rich resource potential. Their diverse cultural setting is the result of centuries of adapted knowledge. They keep diverse livestock species adapted to their ecosystems. The national livestock population is generally estimated at 27 million cattle, 24 million sheep, 18 million goats, 1 million camels and 7 million equines (FLDP, 1987). Of these, the pastoral sector raises 40% of the cattle, 75% of the goats, 25% of the sheep, 20% of the equines and all the camels.

The pastoral areas are well known for their wildlife. They consist of large and small mammals, such as the giraffe, the elephant, the buffalo, different monkey species, rabbits, squirrels, etc. The area also has different species of birds, reptiles, amphibians and fish.

In terms of plant biodiversity, the rangelands are well known for their diverse plant species. They are also rich in minerals, gas and thermal energy.

The major rivers that originate in the highlands of the country flow to the lowlands, supporting the riverine vegetation and animal species.

The rangelands have scenic value with high potential for eco-tourism. They are not only important for livestock raising but have high potential for irrigated agriculture, incense collection, wild food, medicinal plants and charcoal production. Therefore, these resource bases need to be considered when addressing pastoral poverty reduction.

7. Current Status of Pastoral People

The growth rate of the pastoral population is increasing. This is because, since the 1974 drought, the government was ready to inform the international community about the crisis on time, as a result of which food aid was in place. This and relative improvements in the health sector and better conflict management have contributed to the population growth.

Due to change in food habit, and also because milk is becoming a scarce commodity, most pastoral people are now dependent on a grain diet. Now some pastoralists are practising crop cultivation. However, there is frequent crop failure due to drought and pest problems.

Livestock per capita is declining because of decreasing availability of feed. In a recent study conducted at Borena, average TLU/per person has declined from 4.1 in 1988 to 2.25 in 1999. The average number of cattle, sheep, goats and camels dropped from 38, 37, 125 and 27 per household in 1977 to 13, 17, 53 and 9 in 1997, respectively.

The 2000 drought caused heavy livestock mortality. It was common to see many pastoralists without livestock. Pastoral production is increasingly characterized by instability, food insecurity, decreasing income, increasing poverty and environmental degradation.

The pastoral issue is not clearly addressed at the macro level. As a result, different thinking and approaches are envisaged. Policy makers suggest sedenterization and ranching as the right direction for pastoral development. Due to neglect and marginalization, pastoral people lack education opportunities. Therefore, their problems are addressed by other people.

There is no by-law for pastoral land administration. Resettlement and private agriculture extension programs are being advocated. Encouragement of immigration and expansion of large private farms will eventually put pastoral people out of their traditional livestock production system.

The more arid areas, which are far located from permanent bodies of water, can be better managed by the traditional, mobile livestock production system. Crop agriculture in this harsh ecology is less viable except for the sporadic cultivation in few bottomlands.

Settlement can be sought along river basins. This will keep people out of the extensive arid areas. Pastoral people can't afford to abandon such huge vegetation, which, needless to say, is what their camels, cattle, sheep and goats survive on, depending on the ecosystem. In addition, seasonal flood is a threat for sedenterization. Mosquitoes and other biting flies could also pose a health hazard.

8. Constraints to Development

8.1 Drought

Drought is one natural phenomenon that has been affecting the livelihood of both cultivators and pastoralists. Its impact is felt more in arid and semi-arid areas.

Since 1972-74 serious drought occurrences have decimated a high percentage of the livestock population, with little time for recuperation. The following table shows the size of livestock (by type) lost to droughts:

Source: 1999/2000 - Sanford 2000.

It takes many years for pastoral people, but particularly the cattle keepers, to recover the loss caused by drought. Goats and sheep take shorter period to recover because of their shorter reproductive cycle. For example if only 20% of stock are left then the recovery period will take 24, 10, 6, 28 years for cattle, sheep, goats and camels respectively (Dahl, 1976, cited by Sandford, 2000).

In times of drought, terms of trade get disrupted because the supply of cattle for market increases, their price falls sharply, and the price of grain shoots up, causing market imbalance.

Although a Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) is in place, it does not often focus on taking adequate measures to minimize livestock death during drought periods.

8.2. Poor Promotion of Livestock Marketing

Pastoralists are mistakenly blamed for hoarding saleable animals. Under normal circumstances, pastoralists sell male animals, barren cows or cows with non-functional teats and old animals. This can be witnessed from the low male to high female ratios of the breeding cattle. For example, in a Borena market study, 69% of cattle purchases were dominated by male animals. The presence of both mature and immature female animals in the market indicates distress sales arising from unfavorable situation.

Since the establishment of the LMB in 1964, a series of initiatives were taken to improve the condition of livestock for both internal and export markets. The Livestock Development and Marketing Enterprise (LDME) of the Ethiopian Livestock Marketing Corporation was the principal buyer of livestock based on live weight. The enterprise installed weighing scales in many market areas.

The most notable livestock market development initiative was the implementation of the Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP). Its purpose was to organize markets and construct stock routes that included staging point and grazing reserves leading to interior markets. The project constructed municipal slaughter houses and hide sheds.

Another component of TLDP that dealt in livestock marketing was the stocker/feeder programme.

Cattle from Jijiga and Borena were purchased on credit and transported to highland cooperatives on credit basis. This arrangement brought good results by way of increasing off-takes from the rangeland. It also assisted the highland farmers in ploughing and cattle fattening.

Ethiopia's cattle are sold to neighbouring countries legally or illegally. In 1987/88, 150,000 cattle and 300,000 sheep and goats were sold out of the country. Recently, 40,000 cattle from Ethiopia have been inspected for FMD at Moyale, Kenya and were certified for trucking to Nairobi slaughterhouses.

Ethiopia exported live cattle, sheep and goats to the Middle East. At times frozen, chilled and processed meat was also exported. Currently, the export market is affected because of the ban due to the perceived rift valley fever disease.

8.3 Inadequate Veterinary Service Coverage

The different ecological settings of the country favour the existence of different livestock diseases. Ethiopia provisionally has declared that it is free from the rinderpest disease. The success of rinderpest control is the outcome of four decades of vaccination through the Joint Programme 15 (JP15) and Pan African Rinderpest Campaign (PARC) projects. Currently, PARC has been replaced by Pan African Control of Epizootics (PACE) to deal with other contagious and infectious diseases.

The low veterinary service performance is the outcome of government-monopolised services. Government veterinary staff are small in number and cannot cover such a vast area to adequately address the veterinary needs of livestock keepers. Besides, government staff need adequate mobile facilities, for which currently the government does not have the capacity to provide.

Since a decade ago, there has been good progress in terms of facilitating privatization of veterinary services. Many private veterinary drug importers and private practitioners have been issued with legal certificate. But most of these private people are concentrated in big towns, far from the pastoral areas that need their services on a regular basis.

8.4 The Land Issue

Past government attitude was one of complete neglect of pastoral people. It had made large scale irrigated agriculture intervention on prime, dry-season grazing areas, such as the Awash, Wabe Shebelle, Omo, Baro and Weito river valleys. The 1995 proclamation on property rights protects the right of pastoralists not to be displaced from their land. It further has in mind the formulation of a by-law, which is not yet in place. The absence of such a by-law has created confusion. There is a growing interest in attracting investors to invest in river basins, which are prime, dry-season grazing areas, while, at the same time, the rights of the pastoral people have not been protected, in total contradiction of the 1995 proclamation on property rights.

8.5 Inadequate Support to Agro-Pastoral Activities

Pastoralists, and occasionally cultivators from the highland areas, cultivate bottomlands, lake areas and river basins. Some examples are Afambo, Chiffra, and Abalala in Afar; Mustahil and Kelafo in Somale; Weito in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples; and Baro in Gambella regions.

Some bottomlands and plain lands, such as Mega, Negelle, Yavello and Moyale, are heavily used for cultivation primarily by farmers from other areas. Agro-pastoral areas have high potential for food security if they are supported by appropriate agricultural practices. Currently, extension support in arid and semi-arid areas is limited.

8.6 Poor Tourism Development and Wildlife Conservation

Because of the diverse culture of the people, abundant wildlife and plant resources, scenic value and archaeological exploration sites, pastoral areas are well known for tourist attraction. Most areas, however, have not been easily accessible. Although these areas have big potential for tourism, due to accessibility of automatic guns, pastoralists find themselves encouraged to kill wild animals for food, for cultural value and for income generation. As a result, big mammals are endangered.

8.7 Poor Social Service Development

8.7.1 Pastoral health situation

In most pastoral areas, diarrhoea, respiratory infection, malaria, tuberculosis, etc. are common. Particular health problems are aggravated by the nature of the pastoralists' mobile life style. Pastoralists live in dispersed and remote areas far from health facilities. Pastoral women, children and the elderly are especially affected by the lack of adequate health services and medical facilities. There are no adequate mobile services even for immunization programs. This is because the costs for a mobile population are much higher than that for the sedentary people.

Ethiopia is among the countries with high incidence of HIV/AIDS. Although pastoral areas may have low incidence, tourists, demobilized soldiers, mobile pastoralists, etc. contribute to the spread of the disease. Also, the current family-planning programme is inadequate.

8.7.2 Poor access to education

Both formal and informal educational structures have been weak in pastoral areas. Because of their mobility, pastoralists have very limited educational opportunities. Existing school curricula do not fit into the pastoral ways of life in general and their cultural values in particular.

In some localities, Qor'anic schools have been used as bases for pre-formal education. Pilot mobile schools have been tried in the Borena Zone of Oromiya Region, but have limited success.

In pastoral areas schools don't function regularly, particularly during drought periods, because students move elsewhere with their families. Among the small number of children enrolled, the percentage of girls has been much lower. This is because girls are required to assist in housework, and also partly, due to early marriage.

In some places, with the assistance of church organizations and NGOs, few students from pastoral areas have acquired some education.

8.8 Poorly Developed Infrastructure

Most pastoral areas are situated in very remote corners of the country that are not accessible by road, particularly during rainy seasons. Because of bad roads, or their total absence, pastoralists remain helpless, particularly during periods of crisis, when badly needed food aid cannot be delivered easily. Also, electricity and air communication is very limited.

8.9 Water

The distribution of water in the area is not even. Water points were indiscriminately installed, as a result of which range degradation has occurred.

Potable water for household use, small stock and calves are absent in some pastoral villages. This condition forces pastoral women to travel long distances to fetch water.

8.10 Shrinkage of Feed Resources

Communal grazing land is currently under pressure of competing interests. Important grazing areas, such as bottomland, riverbanks and swamps are increasingly occupied mainly for cultivation purposes. Therefore, they are no more accessible for livestock use. In some areas, the rangelands were used by both domestic and wild animals. At present these areas have been enclosed for the protection of wild animals. As a result, livestock producers are forced only to concentrate out in the plains, losing their mobile life style. This leads to overgrazing and increased mortality.

Bush encroachment has been observed in Afar, Somale and Borena. This has reduced the grazing potential of the rangelands.

8.11 Gender Inequality

Pastoral women have no decision-making power over resource use and management. They do most of the household activities, and endure the pain of many harmful traditional practices.

8.12 Conflict

Conflict is more common among pastoral communities than among sedentary populations. Pastoralists have been victims of inter-state wars. Inter-and intra-clan conflicts are also common, involving both human deaths and livestock raiding.

8.13 Poor Research Undertaking

Only recently, CARO has included pastoral research programme in its dryland and livestock directions.

8.14 Poor Access to Financial Institutions

Credit scheme is non-existent in pastoral areas. This is because of their mobility. Their livestock wealth is not a guarantee for securing credit. They are also new to cash economy, and there has not been an effort to make them aware of the benefits of credit and saving.

8.15 Absence of Holistically Organized Pastoral Institutions

The Ministry of Agriculture (MOA), under its extension department, has organized a pastoral extension team. Although the team has an idea of holistic approach, the MOA sectoral mandate limits its function. Consequently, pastoral issues are handled by different ministries, authorities and organizations in an unintegrated manner.

9. Solutions to the Problems

Generally, pastoral development strategies should focus on improving food security and livestock production, minimizing risks, improve, enhancing migration, and increasing long-term sustainability of the pastoralist system. This should be based on social and ecological factors.

9.1 Drought

- (i) Livestock early warning system with adequate response mechanisms should be developed. The development process should focus on analysis of the situation, contingency planning, capacity building of local NGOs, CBOs and wereda drought committee.
- (ii) Construction of slaughter slabs at strategic areas to promote dry meat sales and dry meat preparation for household use and emergency provision for children.
- (iii) Food for Work, cash for work, grain exchange for livestock, supplementary feed (mineral lick fortified block) have to be managed by the wereda drought committees to mitigate the effects of drought.
- (iv) Focus on post-drought restocking.

9.2 Improving Livestock Marketing by:

- (i) Re-instating the stocker/feeder programme through private traders or service cooperatives.
- (ii) Facilitating cross border trade.
- (iii) Promoting the sale of dry meat.
- (iv) Controlling major diseases that are implicated with bad quality of live animal or meat export.

9.3 Improve Veterinary Service Coverage by:

- (i) Encouraging veterinary privatization through credit system.
- (ii) Training community animal health workers (CAHWs).
- (iii) Conducting sero surveillance on notifiable diseases.
- (iv) Facilitating immunization programme on notifiable diseases through private veterinarian and CAHWs.
- (v) Focusing on external parasites that have effect on hide and skin quality.
- (vi) Conducting studies on the control of important diseases to facilitate a better supply of livestock and meat for external market.

9.4 Introducing Land Use Policy by:

- (i) Finalizing the by-law according to the proclamation of 1995.
- (ii) Promoting participatory land-use right system.
- (iii) Creating awareness and promoting civic education.

9.5 Support to Agro-Pastoral Activities by:

- (i) Strengthening the provision of drought-resistant crop and fodder varieties.
- (ii) Promoting water harvesting techniques.
- (iii) Improving pest control methods.
- (iv) Promoting improved beekeeping and fishing techniques.

9.6 Strengthen the Capacity of Promoting Tourism by:

- (i) Participatory wild life conservation approach.
- (ii) Promoting necessary infrastructure to attract internal and external tourists.

9.7 Strengthen the Provision of Social Services

9.7.1 Improve Pastoral Health Services by:

- (i) Adapting mobile health services.
- (ii) Training community health workers.
- (iii) Promoting community health training.
- (iv) Conducting surveillance on HIV/AIDS and promoting awareness creation.
- (v) Creating adequate awareness on family planning.

9.7.2 Strengthen Pastoral Oriented Education System by:

- (i) Strengthening mobile education system.
- (ii) Including "pastoral way of life" in teachers' curricula.
- (iii) Promoting traditional education (Qur'anic).
- (iv) Introducing flexible curriculum development to benefit pastoralists of different cultural background.
- (v) Supporting boarding schools.
- (vi) Expanding informal education to benefit women and girls.

9.8 Improve Infrastructure Development by:

- (i) Constructing accessible/feeder roads to ease development efforts.
- (ii) Strengthening the provision of electric power and air communication.

9.9 Promotion of Water Development by:

- (i) Focusing on water development compatible with range resources.
- (ii) Developing potable water points to ease women's burden.
- (iii) Constructing birkas for small stock and calves.

9.10 Improve the Management of Feed Resources by:

- (i) Creating flexible management system in line with traditional grazing systems.

- (ii) Introducing crop residue conservation method.
- (iii) Promoting bush control mechanisms.
- (iv) Negotiating with wildlife management for seasonal on- and off-grazing.
- (v) Introducing drought-tolerant fodder species into the agro-pastoral systems.
- (vi) Promoting the introduction and utilization of fortified block.
- (vii) Introducing hay-making techniques.
- (viii) Creating awareness on timely destocking.

9.11 Promote Gender sensitive Workshops by:

- (i) Conducting gender analysis.
- (ii) Focusing on promotion of technology that reduce the burden of women.
- (iii) Promoting continuous sensitization workshops on harmful practices.

9.12 Promote Conflict Management by:

- (i) Developing programmes to support internally displaced pastoral people.
- (ii) Creating participatory conflict management through involvement of local communities, NGOs and government administrations.
- (iii) Arranging negotiation forums to reduce conflict.
- (iv) Providing all necessary development support, such as livestock marketing, education, and other income generating activities.
- (v) Strengthening regional organizations (OAU/IBAR, IGAD).
- (vi) Supporting cross-border linkages, such as cross-border livestock marketing.

9.13 Improve Access to Financial Institutions by:

- (i) Introducing micro-financing institutions.
- (ii) Creating awareness about credit and savings.

9.14 Strengthen Holistic Approaches by:

- (i) Creating institutions that have a coordinating and decision-making role.
- (ii) Promoting training on multi-disciplinary approaches.
- (iii) Linking research and development based on knowledge generated from within and outside of the country.

10. Conclusion

This draft Pastoral Poverty Reduction Strategy (PPRS) is only a beginning. Therefore, it should not be taken as final. Similar attempts are expected from other stakeholders. The final PRSP document will eventually be formulated through a participatory process, which should involve pastoralists. Finally, a chapter on pastoralist poverty reduction will be part of Ethiopia's full PRSP.



PASTORAL AREA DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA

By: **Dr. Samuel Nyambi**
(UNDP Country Representative to Ethiopia)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am pleased for this opportunity to speak to you concerning the UN's perspective on pastoralism, as I believe we have reached an important juncture in the process of pastoral area development that gives considerable hope for more sustainable approaches to this challenging issue. This "juncture" centers on a shift from livestock and rangeland management as the mechanisms for pastoral people's development toward a more holistic approach that focuses on sustainable livelihoods and is built on a better understanding of arid and semi-arid ecosystems.

There is now a solid body of evidence that the nomadic or transhumant way of life of pastoralists is the mode of production best suited to the sort of unstable environment in which pastoralists live, enabling strategic exploitation of seasonally available water sources and pasture. However, environmental degradation, water scarcity, increasing human and livestock populations, and expanding areas under cultivation have contributed to a reduction in the quantity and quality of productive rangeland, which, combined with poor animal and human health, place enormous stress on the traditional pastoral and land management practices. A substantial portion of the pastoral populations are consequently food insecure, even in normal rainfall years.

Poverty in lowland areas, however, is more than food insecurity. The population also suffers from poor access to health and education facilities, and has few opportunities to engage in income-generating activities outside of livestock. This situation, in part, relates to the fact that most development investment and strategic thinking has been devoted to the highland populations. Pastoralists are thus not only marginalized geographically, but also economically and politically.

Major investments in rangeland development in Ethiopia have been driven by development paradigms that in turn promoted controlled grazing, infrastructure development, pastoral associations, and integrated natural resource management. These paradigms have been shaped by changes in conventional wisdom on themes such as rangeland ecology, pastoral societies, common property management, food security, traditional law, and agro-pastoralism. Many of these investments have received widespread criticism. Some of that criticism is justified. Past interventions were indeed top-down unsustainable, and failed to provide sufficient technical, institutional and financial support. On the other hand, these projects made considerable progress in water development and animal health (although often not sustained) and in accumulating a wealth of knowledge on pastoral society and economy. Nor did the projects attempt the folly, at least not on any large scale, of introducing large-scale ranches, ill-suited exotic breeds, untenable efforts to settle pastoralist or change their traditional institutions. Success or failure of past investments must also be viewed in the context of several constraints, including the almost total lack of social and economic infrastructure, massive shifts in the political climate, and insecurity from civil conflict and war.

Given the extent and cost of past failures, both in Ethiopia and the whole of Africa, it may sound unrealistic to suggest that a new development paradigm for pastoral areas is at hand. However, the pragmatic evaluation of past approaches, new science and innovations in holistic community

driven pastoral development, led by pastoralists themselves, initially assisted by the international community (NGOs), gives considerable hope for a more sustainable future.

Rather than dwell on past problems, I would like to draw your attention to a number of recent scientific, sociological and institutional shifts in approach to pastoral area development that promise opportunity for the future. These include:

- Rangeland ecology in arid and semi-arid areas has undergone a quiet revolution in recent years. Traditional concepts were based on a stable relationship between range vegetation and the animals that graze it, wherein overgrazing was perceived to lead to an undesirable deterioration in rangeland species mix or density. In much of Africa's dry rangeland, however, episodic external shocks, including drought, disease or war largely determine the size of the livestock population and consequent state of the vegetation. This, combined with the observed capacity of degraded rangeland to recover when grazing pressure is reduced, has led to the realization that traditional pastoralists systems which "track" feed surpluses are the most efficient way of matching supply and demand, even where they lead to periodic range degradation. In the future, efficient pastoralists "tracking" strategies will also employ drought-related de-stocking and re-stocking programs and, in some circumstances, the protection of drought feed reserve areas;
- Historically, attempts to form pastoralists associations have been plagued by poor social coherence, the lack of legitimate authority of elected committees, the difficulty of delineating traditionally 'fluid' rangeland territories, insufficient investment in capacity building and a lack of government commitment to participatory approaches. More recent experience indicates that pastoral groups are likely to be more dynamic and effective if they are small, voluntary, flexible, narrowly focused and, at least initially, transitory. Competence and confidence are best built by gradually giving groups increased responsibility. If successful, positive group experience leads to more permanent structures. In areas where customary institutions remain robust, as they do in many parts of pastoral Ethiopia, development effort will usually be best focused on supporting their adaptation to new physical and political realities while these approaches carry a substantial time and financial cost for the associated institutional and capacity building and may present particular problems for donors who frequently rely on tight annual budgeting and readily measurable performance indicators, these should not be insurmountable problems;
- Past development interventions in dry land areas of Africa, which frequently included settlement objectives, have not generated the expected improvements in range or livestock productivity or pastoralists welfare. The new ecological thinking, combined with analysis of past rangeland settlement or titling programs, leads to three key observations (i) that the privatization model neither provides equity nor efficiency for pastoralists in uncertain environments, either in terms of well-being or environmental sustainability ; (ii) that there is a need to shift from technical to social and economic issues in tackling pastoral development; and (iii) that increased attention is needed to the relationship between tenure systems and formal and informal pastoralists institutional capacity. **For efficient common property management of the rangelands, governments should formally recognize sustainable pastoral land-use as a land management practice equivalent to sustainable cultivation.** Governments should also move to ensure the rights of tenure of the pastoralists, if necessary through the specific zoning of pastoral lands. At the same time, responsibility for land tenure choices should be shifted to local user groups, supported by traditional law, and rangeland users and their informal organizations must be empowered to compete on equal terms with other land users, In some cases this process will lead to voluntary settlement, particularly if government provides supporting social and economic

services, however, the option of settlement should always be the prerogative of the pastoralists, not government.

- Drought is an intermittent but normal event in Ethiopia's pastoral areas. The range of options available for drought mitigation depend on the structure of the livestock sector, the nature of the pastoral environment and the organization of pastoral community. An understanding of the matrix of vulnerability of each group is a pre-condition for food security planning and disaster preparedness. The new rangeland ecology model predicts that (i) booms and busts are dictated by nature (or war) rather than pastoralists strategies themselves; (ii) de-stocking should be an emergency response to buffer pastoralists from the effects of disastrous exogenous events; (iii) post-drought rehabilitation should focus on re-stocking, as extensive livestock herding makes the best use of range resources; and (iv) longer term planning should focus on an enhanced capacity for early warning of drought and other exogenous disasters.
- The growing pressure on natural resource use in the dry rangelands, compounded by population growth and settlement by farmers encroaching on rangeland will require greater attention by pastoralists themselves to seek ways of dealing with these issues and government to resource use arbitration. An emerging approach is for government with pastoralists to elaborate and enforce procedural law (rules of procedure built around an egalitarian interpretation of customary rights) rather than statutory law (rules of right applied by courts) at the local level. The establishment of procedural law also provides advocacy for the disenfranchised, improves government-pastoralist communication and provides a facility to enforce decisions made. Over time, and appropriate jurisprudence develops and competence accrues in the processing institutions.
- Agro-pastoralism has been largely overlooked in the development of pastoral zones, despite evidence indicating that pastoralism and agro-pastoralism can develop a synergistic relationship, leading to overall higher rates of food production than either could generate on their own. Potential benefits of agro-pastoralism include marketable grain surpluses, improved supply of cut fodder and crop stover, improved husbandry of pad docked animals and human settlements that can be a foci for sustainable social services. These benefits, however, must always be weighed against the loss of dry season grazing and "tracking" efficiency resulting from settlement and changed land use. The need for further social, technical and farming systems research on the impacts of agro-pastoralism is clearly indicated.

Where do these recent technical and conceptual advances lead us? In my opinion, the lessons are fivefold. Firstly, that the objective of interventions in pastoralist areas must be to build sustainable livelihoods. Secondly, that this can only be achieved through holistic social and economic development. Thirdly, that the process must be community driven, fully exploiting indigenous knowledge and land management systems. Fourthly, that this process must be iterative, must involve substantial attitudinal and institutional change and will take time. Fifthly, I think that NGOs and UN agencies will play a key role in supporting Government implementation of the aforementioned processes.

What might this equate to in terms of specific interventions? Future pastoral area development projects must:

- ⇔ Invest in institutional and organizational reform that ensures strong and informed advocacy for the pastoral people at every level of government;

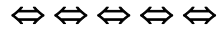
- ⇔ Invest in infrastructure (roads, water supply, communication systems and education and health facilities) that ensure basic services and draw remote communities into the fabric of the nation;
- ⇔ Support capacity building in pastoral science, participatory development and investment analysis for government staff in problem analysis, participatory monitoring and evaluation and rural leadership at the community level and a better synergy between the two. Future projects must ensure that top-down planning meets bottom-up problem analysis at an administrative level where the community can be actively involved in developing appropriate policies, programs and activities;
- ⇔ Recognize pastoral land used as a sustainable land management strategy and invest in disaster early warning and preparedness systems, particularly at the community level, and effective de-stocking and re-stocking strategies (probably involving credit and banking services) so as to improve the efficiency of pastoralist land use (“tracking”) systems;
- ⇔ Invest in community-based education, health and veterinary services and the supporting legal and institutional frameworks for their sustained development and linkage to formal services, thereby facilitating social and economic growth without cost to traditional patterns of lifestyle and land use;
- ⇔ Invest in research and extension activities driven by community-identified needs; and
- ⇔ Support the integration of traditional and state law with a view to building linkages between the two social and administrative systems and addressing, at the local level, issues that could lead to conflict.

The UN has so far taken initiatives in:

- Initiating dialogue with the pastoral communities and pastoralists organizations, that would lead to an increased pastoralist capacity to organize, be accountable, representative and voice their concerns and interests in an effective manner and subsequently a greater awareness of national players of the contribution of pastoralism to national economy and to poverty alleviation through, among other means, a contribution into the Ethiopia PRSP of a policy position on pastoralism;
- Increasing the understanding on how to incorporate pastoralists into design and implementation of effective anti-poverty and other programs;
- Increasing the capacity of government and other resource-led institutions to respond to and benefit from their advocacy and participation;
- Population tracking and migration;
- UN agencies support to the DPPC/SCF-UK initiative on Food Security Monitoring and Early Warning in Somali region of Ethiopia;
- Coordinating, together with the government, NGOs and other partners working in the pastoral areas;
- Formation of a pastoralist facilitation unit within the EUE;
- Planning and implementation of small projects to improve water, health service, access roads and refugee integration and recovery activities;

- Initiating research to improve the understanding of the pastoralist society;
- Providing technical assistance to cross-border livestock issues, like trade, animal health etc.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the opportunity to present these views. The UN system looks forward to the opportunity to support government, development agencies and pastoral communities in the socially and economically sustainable development of Ethiopia's pastoral areas.



CLOSING REMARKS

By: **H.E.Dr. Mengistu Huluka**
(Minister, Ministry of Agriculture)

Mr. Chairman,

Distinguished Conference Participants,

It is indeed a great pleasure to have been invited by Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia to make a closing remark after your arduous two days discussion to deliberate on a very important issue i.e. Poverty Reduction Strategy and Pastoral Development in Ethiopia.

Pastoralism as a way of life and as important as it is for the livelihood of over 12 million people and for the economy as a whole here in Ethiopia, did not command the necessary attention and had not been exposed to the wind of change to muster any improvement be it in social aspects and in overall development to the well-being of the inhabitants.

Even if, at times when there are some interventions that have seen the light of day, here and there, the expected output has been very little. In fact due to being exposed to recurrent drought and natural and manmade calamities, it became difficult to sustain even their traditional way of life. In general, all attempts in the past could not bring the necessary change in their way of living and in fact all the efforts exerted resulted to unattainable end.

Hopefully, during the past two days you were able to analyze the problems, constraints, and the prevailing condition thoroughly and have reached a consensus on viable approaches and strategy of reducing poverty of our pastoralists.

However, one thing is clear. There is a huge knowledge gap and a limited understanding of Pastoralism under Ethiopia's condition. One track approach that has been pursued in the past for solving the problems of Pastoralism is undermining the nature of diversity in the way of life among the different pastoralist groups living at various locations. Social and cultural values, economic potential of the area, natural resources availability varies from place to place. In light of this diversity, a thorough analysis and scientific approach is mandatory to identify the potentials and to formulate options for possible interventions for development.

Settlement and sedentary agriculture, the practice of ranching system, proper exploitation of natural resources, marketing operations, and processing of products, and the likes, can be considered as options. For this to happen a huge sum of financial resources must be invested to educating the Youth a larger percentage of whom were deprived of the opportunity. If we aspire for any possible change to come within a reasonably short time, and to minimize the perpetuation of Pastoralism the promotion of education cannot be refuted. Hopefully much more attention will be provided in the future than had been given in the past, including a change of policy framework and implementable strategy, a viable programme, and structural and functional reform as soon as possible.

This forum and many fora of this nature are necessary to create awareness among the populace to command the required developmental programmes and to attract attention of policy makers. We highly value your efforts in this regard and will do everything possible to facilitate your

endeavors and your recommendations to promote development in pastoral areas and to reduce impoverishment of the pastoral society.

With this brief remark I declare this conference closed.

Thank you.



FOOTNOTES

Dr. Mohammed Mussa

¹ Dr. Mohammed Mussa is a Private Consultant and focal person for PENHA.

Dr. Getachew Kassa

¹ “The word Zalan refers to a mode of production of subsistence, as well as to a mode of ascribed moral conduct. (Teshale 1995: 5). It has a double meaning: nomadic pastoralists, on the one hand, and rude, uncultured, uncultivated, on the other. The zalan, eragnya, and balagar are all defined as rude and lacking in manners. The contempt for the Zalan was not simply a superiority complex of an agricultural mode of production over a nomadic pastoralist mode of production; In Ethiopia it was not the pastoralists that imposed their – political and economic dominance over the sedentary agriculturists, but the other way round (Teshale 1995: 6).

²Collection of firewood and water, herding young animals, preparation of food, construction and maintenance of houses, care for the young and the very old, etc.



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Ms. Sintayoh Fisseha

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ANNEX I

List Of Participants

Name	Organization
Abdelkhadir Ahmed	Panos Ethiopia
Abderahman Ebrahim	Filtu Somale
Abdi Abdulahi	Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia
Abdi Dolaal	Parliament
Abdi Mealim Beshir	Filtu Somale
Abdidaad Ibrahim	Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia
Abdulkarim Ahmed Guleid	Hope for the Horn
Abera Tola	Oxfam America
Admassu Gebeyehu	Ethiopian Democratic Party
Alemayehu Boka	Ministry of Agriculture
Alemseged Eshete	Ethio Press
Aliye Hussen	Oromia Agricultural Development Bureau (OADB)
Andualem Abebe	United Nations Development Program
Asfaw Fekadu	ETV
Asrat Tadesse	Unity College
Assaye Legesse	World Bank/CO
Assefa Addisu	Committee of International Sviluppo People (CISP)
Awall Wittika	Parliament
Ayele Gebre Mariam	Africa Consult
Balew Yenealem	Press
Bekele Jirata	Oromia Agricultural Bureau
Berecha Turi	Oromia Agricultural Bureau
Beruk Yemane	Ministry of Agriculture
Bob Hedley	Dutch Interchurch Aid

Bronek Szynolski	UN/-RHC
Camille De Stoop	ENDA-Ethiopia
Carla Ricci	Coopi (Cooperazione Internazionale)
Dagmawi Tariku	Radio Ethiopia FM Addis
Dagnachew	The Daily Monitor
Daniele Morbin	LVIA
Daoud Tarik	UN-OCHA/PTG (Office for Coordinating Humanitarian Affairs)
Dawit Kebede	Norwegian Church Aid
Dawit Ketema	The Daily Monitor
Debebe Ero	Pact-Ethiopia
Dires Demissie	Intermon
Edmealem Shitaye	Ministry of Agriculture- Pastoralist Extension Team
Ejerso Shuma	Gudina Tumsa Foundation
Elias Guyo	Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia
Emebet Kebede	Save the Children Fund - UK
Endalk Ayalew	ETV
Eshetu Abate	Oxfam GB
Fatuma Abdikadir	Arid Lands Project-Kenya
Federica Cerulli	LVIA
Fesseha Meketa Dr	Save the Children Federation- USA
Firehiwot Senay	WALTA Information Center
Getachew Kassa	Addis Ababa University
G/Michael Heramo	Ogaden Welfare Society
Gerti Perlaki	AEDC
Getachew Asamenew	UNDP
Getachew Sim	Panos Ethiopia
Getahun Tafesse	Ethiopian Economic Association/EEPRI
Gezahegn Kebede	Oxfam GB
Gijs Van 't Klooster	FAO-Emergency

Girma Bekele	Council of Alternative forces for peace and Democracy in Ethiopia
Gizachew Mulugeta	Radio Fana
Gizachew Shiferaw	Addis Ababa University
Gobema Borena	Borena Negele
Habiba Faris	Ethiopian News Agency
Hadera Gebru	Ministry of Agriculture
Hailemarkos Ayalew	Radio Fana
Hamadu Derfa	Yeteem Children & Destitute
Hanna Yemane	Ethiopian Media Women's Association
Helen Bekele	AEDC
Humed Gase	Panos Ethiopia
Hummayso Mohammed	Afar Elder
Hussein A. Halane	Save the Children Federation-US
Indra Biseswar	Panos Ethiopia
Ismael Ali Gardo	Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA)
Janet Paz Astillo	USAID
Jemal Wabe	ETV
Jose Louis Vivero	European commission
Kanbera Godana	Borena Negele
Kahsay Berhe	International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)
Kassaye Hadgu	FARMAFRICA
Kebede Duga	ACO
Kifle Lemma	Oxfam GB
Konjit Fekade	Addis Ababa University
Kostas Loukeris	
Laoita Ali	Afar Elder
Les Moll	Austrian Development Cooperation
Li Hanping	Chinese Embassy
Luigi Luminari	Committee of International Sviluppo People (CISP)

Manuel Fari	Coopi
Maria Strintros	Relief Society of Tigray(REST)
Martha Dibissa	Netherlands Embassy
Martha Yeshiwork	Inter Africa Group
Massimo Amorosi	Committee of International Sviluppo People (CISP)
Mekonnen Kebede	Prime Minister's Office - Regional Affair Sub-sectors
Melakou Tegegn	Panos Ethiopia
Melkamu Jaleta	Regional Affairs S/Sector
Melvin Peters	Oxfam Canada
Menbere Admassie	Afar Mothers and Children Care Organization
Mengistu Huluka	Ministry of Agriculture
Messeret Zemenfes	Panos Ethiopia
Mohammed Mussa	Consultant and PENHA
Misganaw Degu	Prime Minister's Office - Regional Affair Sub-sectors
Moges Shiferaw	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
Moges Tilahun	Austrian Development Cooperation
Moh.Osman Saleh	Ayelu
Mohammed Yusuf	Guardian Seero(Somali Relief & Rehabilitation Org.)
Murha Abekeri	Regional Representative- Afar Region
Negussie Belay	UN Emergencies Unit
Nick Taylor	Department for International Development Addis (DFID)
Niessner	Austrian Development Cooperation
Original Wolde Giorgis	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association
Peter Kerby	DFID-British Embassy
Rahel Tessema	German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)
Roman Sebehatleab	Prime Minister's Office
Samson Getahun	Rapporteur
Seleshi Woldeyes	Tomar Newspaper
Shashigo Gebru	International Institute for Rural reconstruction -Ethiopia (IIRR)
Sileshi Zeleke	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC)

Sintayehu G/Mariam	Food and Agricultural organization (FAO)
Sintayoh Fissiha	Mekelle University
Solomon Hailu	Peace & Development Committee
Solomon Moges	RUH News Paper
Sora Adi	Borena Livestock Production AP/GTZ
Stiphanos Teka	Greener Ethiopia
Taffese Mesfin	FARMAFRICA/Private
Tegegne Teka	OSSREA (Organization for Social Science Research in East and Southern Africa)
Taffesse Mesfin	Private/FARMAFRICA
Tesfa Tegegne	ETHIOP (Newspaper)
Tesfaye Legesse	ETV
Tewedaj Kebede	Ethiopian Media Women's Association (EMWA)
Tibebe Mergia	The Sun (Newspaper)
Tim Waites	Oxfam GB
Tsedale Lemma	Addis Tribune (Newspaper)
Wondwossen Haile	Guardian Seero(Somali Relief & Rehabilitation Org.)
Workneh Hundessa	Oxfam GB
Yacob Arsano	Addis Ababa University
Yeshimebet Gameda	Oxfam GB
Yidnekachew Alemayehu	ETV
Yimer M/Mohammed	Yeteem Children & Destitute
Yirgalem Assegid	FARMAFRICA
Yoseph Lemma	ETV
Yoseph Negassa	Action for Development
Yoseph Tesfaye	Inter Africa Group
Yusef Hassen	Peace & Development Committee
Yvon Madore	ORHC/OCHA



Annex II

Agenda of the Conference

Day 1, May 22

8:30 - 9:00 Registration

Session I

Chairperson: Ato Sora Adi, GTZ

9:00 - 10:00 **Opening Remarks**, Woizero Hadera Gebru, Ministry of agriculture
Welcoming and introduction, Ato Melakou Tegegn, PFE/Panos
Messages by Pastoralist Elders

Session II

10:00– 10:30 Background to PRSP, a presentation by Dr. Mohammed Mussa, Private Consultant and PFE member

10:30-11:00 **Break**

11:00-13:00 Discussion

13:00-14:00 **Lunch**

Session III

Chairperson: Ato Abdi Abdullahi, Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia

14:00-14:30 PRSP and Pastoral Development, the Kenyan experience by Mr. Daoud Tarik

14:30-16:00 Discussion

16:00-16:30 **Break**

16:30-17:00 Dimensions of Pastoral Poverty in Ethiopia, a presentation by Dr. Getachew Kassa, Addis Ababa University

17:00-18:00 Discussion

Day 2, May 23

Session IV

Chairperson: **Ato Assefa Addisu, CISP**

9:00 - 9:30 Impact of Poverty on Pastoral Women, a presentation by Ms. Sintayoh Fisseha, Mekelle University

9:30 – 11:00 Discussion

11:00-11:30 **Break**

Session V

Chairperson: **Dr. Mohammed Mussa, Consultant**

11:30-12:00 What Should a Pastoral development Strategy Constitute Towards Poverty Reduction Among Pastoral Communities in Ethiopia? A presentation by Dr. Taffesse Mesfin, FARMAFRICA

12:00-13:00 Discussion

13:00-14:00 **Lunch**

Session VI

Chairperson: **Dr. Taffese Mesfin, FARMAFRICA**

14:00-14:30 UN Perceptions on Poverty Alleviation and its Role, a presentation by Dr. S. Nyambi, UNDP country representative

14:30-15:00 Discussion

15:00-15:30 **Break**

Session VII

Chairperson: **Ato Abdelkarim Guleid, Hope for the Horn**

15:30-17:30 Panel among participants from government, the UN, Kenya and PFE

17:30- 18:00 General recommendations

18:00 **Closing Remarks by Dr. Mengistu Huluka, Minister of Agriculture**

19:00-21:00 Dinner/reception

Annex III

Members of the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia

Ogaden Welfare Society

Penha

Action for Development

Oxfam GB

Committee of International Sviluppo People (CISP)

Hope for the Horn

Panos -Ethiopia

Patoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia (PCAE)

SOS Sahel

Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD)

Save the Children/USA

Gudina Tumsa Foundation

Oxfam Canada

FARMAFRICA

Intermon

Afar Mothers and Children Care Organization

Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA)

BLPDP/GTZ

UN Emergency Unit